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The Heritage Machine: a Heritage Ethnography in Maragatería (Spain)

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1. Preface.

I have always considered that research careers can hardly be disentangled from personal backgrounds. In an existentialist outburst in *Del sentimiento trágico de la vida*, Miguel de Unamuno (1984) affirmed that most histories of philosophy disregard the biographies of philosophers. For him, however, it is precisely their biography that could reveal their most intricate thoughts. Consider what follows a form of “research autobiography”, a healthy practice whose more eagerly practitioners are normally anthropologists.

This dissertation started officially in 2008 when I was awarded a four-year research contract by the Regional Government of Castilla y León at the University of León under the supervision of Margarita Fernández Mier, for a project soberly entitled “Archaeology, Museology and Territory: The Creation of a Cultural Park in Maragatería (León)”.

Unofficially, it had started much before. I grew up in Astorga, whose status as the ‘capital’ of Maragatería is an issue of heated and never-ending debate for both *Astorganos* and *maragatos*. The breeding ground of my love and interest on everything concerned with Maragatería was my constant interaction with a group of friends whose engagement with the *comarca* was intense in many fields. We used to do trekking routes, cycle all over place, visit every archaeological site we came to know about or ‘discover’ –in some cases just from our point of view, in others for real-. Especially, we developed a connection and respect for the people of these rural villages whose worldview, relation with material culture, and whose bodily language and linguistic traits, differed from ours. I refuse to define them with the already politically-charged term of ‘traditional’, which would also convey an idea of a too hard dividing line between ‘us’ and ‘them’. I will stick to the informal, neutral and situated term of ‘*paisano*’ that we and many colloquially use and leave this complex issue for later.

What interests me is to underscore the fact that stroke me most: these people had become *objects* of interest of folklorists, historians, journalists, linguists, ethnographers, anthropologists and archaeologists who wanted to gather ‘traditions’, ‘oral data’, ‘linguistic traits’, or messianically ‘save’ their abstracted knowledge for future generations. However, they were rarely treated as *subjects* with agency over contemporary political or practical issues. As years went by and I read more and travelled more, I came to realize how unfair our treatment of these ‘internal others’ had been in Spain. Moreover, their presence had raised scarce institutional and academic attention, especially in comparison with the efforts made in – differences aside - countries such as Sweden, Australia, United States or Canada with their ‘cultural others’.

During that period, I was involved with people working in the shelters and hostels in the World Heritage Trail *Camino de Santiago*, the Way of Saint James. I met people living in the eco-village of Matavenero –colloquially known in the area as ‘the hippies’, and other individuals or groups coming from all over the world to settle down in abandoned or nearly abandoned villages and live in close contact with nature. All of them were really active people willing to set up new projects. I was curious about their relation with local *paisanos* and with middle-upper class ‘neo-rurals’ who had recently started to settle down in Maragatería as well. Also, they were reinvigorating the deadly villages of the Maragatería and I started to think how things would be in Maragatería if their good will and vitality were backed up with some funding and institutional support.

Meanwhile, I was studying a BA in History and doing some archaeological work in the summers. Academically, my engagement with Maragatería started in the village of Val de San Lorenzo. I did a short anthropological documentary in 2003 about the decaying textile industry there, and then I carried out research there from time to time. I published some articles and three books about the village, on industrial archaeology (Alonso González), museology (Alonso González 2009b), and ethnoarchaeology (Alonso González 2009a). Moreover, I spent six months there in 2008 working as a local heritage manager and in the museum. During that six months I gained extensive knowledge about the intricacies and dynamics of local institutions, the political and bureaucratic framework, the workings of the European Union's LEADER sustainable development group, and many other local issues. Furthermore, I spent much time researching issues of material culture, heritage, memory and local history, not only in Val de San Lorenzo but also in Val de San Román and Lagunas de Somoza.

The third strand that coalesced to the elaboration of this project was the collaboration with professor Margarita Fernández Mier from the University of León. Despite being a medieval archaeologist, her view of an integral landscape archaeology as a discipline that aims to understand the past in order to provide a vision for the territory in the present definitely influenced me and reinforced my certainty that research should always derive in real-world action. We shared the idea that, despite strong E.U. financial support, most projects relying on heritage to promote sustainable development and tourism were flawed because of their disregard for the social actors of the territory and the great gap they created between discourse and reality, form and content. Why was this so? Was it a matter of faulty bureaucratic, political or technical performance? Or may be an issue of disciplinary segmentation? Where was the missing link between planning guidelines and the world 'out there'? What kind of research was needed to account for what is going on in peripheral areas like Maragatería in terms of heritage?

Guided by those simple but well directed questions I wrote up the would-be winning project, which then took a life on its own by the way. But things were far from teleological and linear. When I knew I had won the four-year contract in 2009 I was in Rome studying and working as a filmmaker. It was hard to take the decision to leave Rome but I finally came back to Spain and started my ethnography. A year after, I started recording a documentary in Maragatería thanks to the insistence of my colleague Luca Incarnati, who was always amazed by the "many weird things going on and amazing people living in such a tiny place". We recorded 65 hours of footage in 3 months between 2009-2010. The documentary turned out to be a fundamental source of information. It provided a different point of view – the lens of the camera –, and enabled me to deeply understand Maragatería from the standpoint of a foreigner – my Italian colleague Luca, and the German anthropologist Johan Scharfe, who also collaborated for a month in 2010 -. Furthermore, the camera creates a *differential subjectivity* and thus provides different data for the researcher.

I combined reading with fieldwork, which went on for three years. I interviewed people, from politicians to hippies, and attended as many social events as possible. The main focus was always heritage, but fieldwork showed that heritage is diffuse and can be understood, assembled and disregarded in many forms. The deeper my analysis was, the more 'heritage data' blurred among different connections and networks. Many times I just drove past villages, see if there were people sitting in groups outside their houses or in the 'hot-points' of the village –church, big trees, squares

and rows of stone benches-, sit down and talk with them. At times it did not work. Most times I ended up talking for hours and eating home-made chorizo and ham in their houses. I also did an inventory of the cultural resources and looked at ethnographic issues: material culture, house-building, traditions, etc. All these aspects have been taken into account in the elaboration of the thesis but have moved to the background with the view of a more analytical and dynamic flow of the text. Another thesis of other kind could build up on that material. And in fact, the original thesis idea related to the creation of a Cultural Park became an MPhil dissertation and was gradually abandoned as a real project, as the economic crisis and the lack of collaboration undermined any possibility of actual realization.

The most daunting task was the village-by-village inventory and classification of all the houses in Maragatería. I photographed everything and talked to everyone I met while walking around the villages, ringing to some houses when necessary to ask about some detail. Most times my arrival to the villages was an event: a *young* guy, with a *notebook*, a *satellite photo of the village*, a *photo and video camera* hanging to the sides, and a bag full of stuff. People would come and ask, or simply shout to me in the streets. I cannot recount how many different ‘subjects they thought I was: the guy who fines people for illegalities in buildings, the guy who names the streets, or numbers the houses, the one that will finally solve the electricity or water supply problems, the new postman, and so on. One got close: “you are one of those who look for old things”. Ultimately, the huge amount of data was brought into a GIS to help answering some questions and ease organization.

As time went by, I clearly understood the dynamics and rhythms of the Maragatería and the forces crisscrossing it at different planes and pushing it in different directions. In short, there is a tendency for the territory to become a *junkspace* (Koolhaas 2002), a peripheral depopulated area that could – and already does – host tire and rubbish dumps, toxic ash and open mining, apart from the overarching problem of the real-fire military camp of the Teleno mountain in operation. The E.U. funding group does not present a clear vision for the territory. Claiming to support - the keyword – endogenous sustainability, their actions only tentatively back up rural hostels while at the same time fund actions which entail destruction of landscapes. Also, financial support is mostly granted only as a percentage of the total investment: thus, only those who have a solid economic position are given financial support. Meanwhile, the majority of the vernacular population is retired. The few remaining young or middle age people are engaged in agricultural or farming sector activities and aim at modernization: new houses, new materials and new streets. ‘Neo-rurals’ coming from capital cities buy or build ‘traditional’ houses and live the region during holidays and especially in the summer. Some are fond in actively participating in the social life in the villages, some are not. Conflicts with local people arise regularly. The *Camino de Santiago* crosses the Maragatería from side to side. Many of the new citizens of Maragatería ‘discovered’ it thanks to the Camino, which follows its own dynamics. Finally, a floating population of eco-villagers and foreigners with alternative ways of life are spread over the area. Clearly, this is a simplistic sketch of it, but I think it captures the main traits of Maragatería.

The investigation has undergone a series of turns and shifts at the theoretical level. At first, I was struck by the huge amount of positivist Spanish literature on issues of spatial planning and tourism, E.U. funding, sustainable and rural development, heritage enhancement and cultural parks. Most scholarship simply lists the ‘values’ of heritage and the goodness of rural development, or

tries to demonstrate the success of determinate policies with statistics and facts. Reading the literature it seems that everything works just fine in rural Spain. Furthermore, I was drawing on hermeneutics and Heideggerian philosophy in search for some ideas to make sense of Maragatería, mostly in vain. In 2010-11 I did an MPhil in Heritage Studies at the University of Cambridge (U.K.). The MPhil opened my theoretical horizons to a wide range of critical literature on heritage, spatial planning and anthropology. Contrarily to the fundamentally empirical Spanish literature on heritage, in general terms I found English-speaking literature too abstract and focused on discourse, meaning and identity: take a case of study and critically analyze it. My position is somewhat different, riskier and weaker: I do not analyze what others do or build and criticize them, but rather study a specific context to *problematize* it and seek answers. If I draw on theory it is not for gathering academic capital but to try to provide the better answer to a pragmatic, real-world problem.

In this period I started reading the works of the French philosopher Gilles Deleuze, who provides the necessary philosophical underpinnings to my project. His thought functions as glue binding the many strands of my forcefully interdisciplinary project, giving it consistency and coherence. Also, he enables me to build new theoretical and methodological tools and to think Maragatería *differently*, as a multiple body, a set of interconnected worlds and practices in constant flow. The encounter with his philosophy did not stem from an academic search. Actually I came to him for his cinema books at first. It resembled more an encounter with a friend: someone with whom to discuss, to think, to share and to reject *within the same plane of thought*.

Deleuze strongly influenced my MPhil dissertation, an in-depth analysis of cultural parks and heritage areas, as they are called in the U.S. My conclusion was clear: cultural parks undergo the same problems as the rest of spatial planning projects. Basically, they disconnect planning discourse and reality and fail to bridge the gap between micro and macro scales. However, I argued that this disconnection has to do with political issues rather than with technical or bureaucratic flaws or with disciplinary boundaries. The need of capitalism to re-invent itself and find new vectors of valorization in the shift towards post-industrial economies required every drop of value to be squeezed from territories and people.

Thus I started to regard the heritage turn as a characteristic trait of a new form of capitalism, and cultural parks as a suitable instrument for managing and capturing the value that territories produce. This value does not lie in factories, but in aesthetics and knowledge. One can call it cognitive capital, biocapital or a Marxian “general intellect”, the fact remains that value is being generated and captured by private hands, and mainstream development policies support this model. A combined theoretical and experience-based step forward led me to the certainty that, despite its claims to sustainability, this new economic model was doomed because the common territorial value tends to be eroded and weakened if it is not redistributed fairly and equally among the people in a territory. Therefore, to find the missing link between discourse and reality, the key to attain a *real sustainability*, we must turn into politics: could a cultural park in Maragatería become an instrument for the common redistribution of this territorial value? If so, how? Which social actors would be willing to support such a territorial model? What different conceptualizations of heritage emerge from these different territorial subjectivities? This thesis can be understood as the *pre-constitutive* moment of a cultural park, an inquiry into what is there, who would benefit from a

heritagization process, what virtual potential and what problems lie at the root of the territory, and what solutions can be sought.

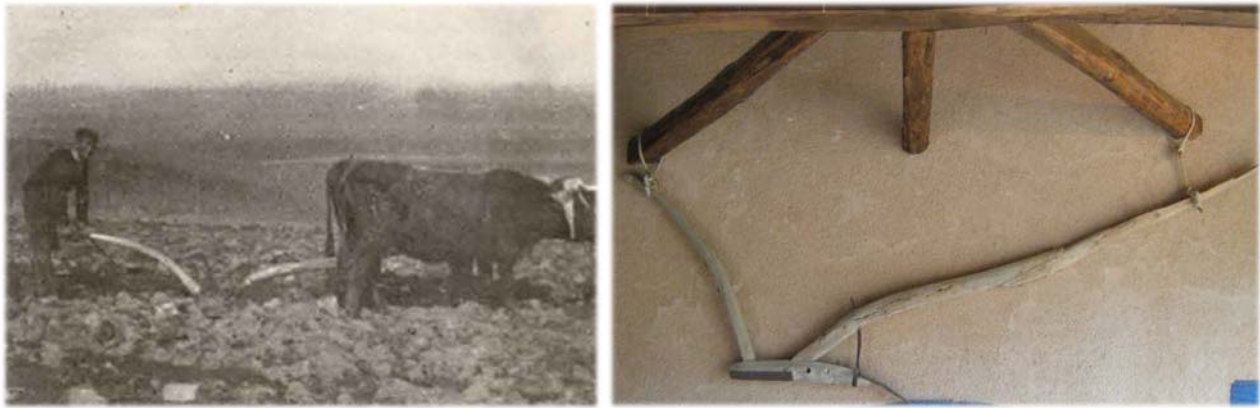


Image 1. The question of the research question. Why *roman* plows that were used until the 1980s are now symbolically displayed in the walls of huge mansions in Maragatería? Here, a man plowing in Val de San Lorenzo during the 1910s on the left, and a plow hung in a new ‘old looking house’ in Santiago Millas. Source: *Revista del Centro Val de San Lorenzo de Buenos Aires*, 5 (1931), and author.

The crisis of 2009 that has shaken and brought the Spanish economy close to bankruptcy in 2012 causes me mixed feelings. On one hand, if the chances of seeing the cultural park implemented in the region were few, now they seem to have evaporated. To make things worse, the funding from the E.U. is coming to an end in Maragatería, and the blunt reality comes to the fore: the social and economic tissue of the region is weak and the consequences of the crisis are devastating. The crisis at the national level mirrors the thousands of micro-contexts marked by real estate bubbles, wasted or misguided investments, bureaucratic inflation, lack of knowledge transfer between research centers and public and private institutions, and neoliberal policies. Probably, the 1990s and 2000s will be regarded in the future as a wasted opportunity for both Spain and Maragatería. On the other hand, people in Maragatería might be open to support alternative options facing the impossibility of living on public subsidies or relying on traditional sources of development. Also, financial shortcomings might force to reduce the six city councils in Maragatería to one, a possibility that would surely pave the road for the creation of a cultural park. Nonetheless, a cultural park is just an instrument as any other. What is at stake is not to create it or not, but by whom is it created, for whom, and for what. This study sets out to analyze the broad socio-economic situation of Maragatería to try to solve these questions. Then, whether the park will happen or not in reality, and how, only time will tell.

2. Introduction.

This dissertation is about trying to think heritage differently. But it is many other things: a story about a small region and the people living in it, an academic experimentation with reality, and a reflection of my personal journey as an author. Heritage has become a widespread concept and practice playing a fundamental role in the assertion and representation of cultural identities and the

legitimization of cultural and other policies. This growing global awareness of the relevance of cultural inheritance has led many societies to consider heritage as something to be “cherished and preserved, celebrated and promoted” (Anico 2009: 63). In parallel, many scholars and institutions acknowledge the potential held by heritage as an instrument to reinvigorate territories in economic decadence, demographic depopulation, or both. In Spain, the last two decades have witnessed a rocketing of the number and size of projects trying to combine heritage with sustainable development and tourism. Mostly, their discourses and practices mirror those of international bodies such as UNESCO or the World Bank, underscoring the universal character of heritage and its potential as an economic resource. Substantial investments have been made by local, regional, national and European institutions to save many poor rural and marginal areas from a socioeconomic collapse through their conversion into service sector economies.

This thesis looks at a territory where top-down heritage initiatives have not been carried out and where the power and reach of public institutions is rather feeble. To give a name the historic moment I describe we could use the ‘pre-heritage’ time. In this moment, institutions have not taken over heritage management and thus social desire and processes occur without predictability and evolve in different ways in relation to physical and intangible elements that, from an ‘official’ heritage discourse, could be considered as heritage assets broadly: monuments, memories, traditions, and so on. This territorial exploration draws a cartography and maps fluxes of change around specific matters of concern, tracing the ways in which agency is distributed among social actors and the distributions of power and formations of otherness that those distributions entail. In this sense, it could be considered a sort of heritage ethnography (see Andrews 2010; Breglia 2006; Herzfeld 2004) that draws strongly on anthropological literature on heritage as well (Bendix 2009; Geertz 1997; Rowlands 2002a). This kind of exploration is useful in practical terms as it provides the basis for territorial and heritage interventions. Also, it evinces how every heritage management has fundamental political implications in every specific context and cannot be implemented under the guise of a technical procedure that is essentially ‘good’ because it is underpinned by the universal discourse on the positive values of heritage. Thus, despite the dissertation does not deploy a direct instrumental approach and does not deal at large with issues of management and heritage enhancement, it is triggered by those as a ‘virtual quasi-cause’. In other words, the possibility that Maragatería might undergo official or institutional heritage processes in the future triggers my reflections in this investigation.

My thesis looks at Maragatería, a region living in an ongoing socioeconomic crisis since the 1900’s. The last two decades of economic growth at the national level (1990 and 2000s) and the strong E.U. funding program at work in the region have not changed the overall situation in any significant way. Maragatería is a *comarca*¹ located in the province of León and in the Autonomous Region of Castilla and León in northwestern Spain. It comprises six city councils and 57 villages, characterized by cold continental weather, poor soils and an average of around 900 meters above sea level. These characteristics explain the low agricultural productivity that led many *maragatos* to assume other trades. At least since the medieval times, the *maragatos* were well known all over Spain for their performance as reliable mule-drivers (Rubio Pérez 2003). However, the arrival of

¹ A *comarca* denominates a small region with cultural, historical or geographical affinities, despite not holding any official recognition at present. The boundaries of *comarcas* are not at all strict and many villages might share cultural traits and appertain to different *comarcas*.

railways in the late XIX century shattered the wealthy *maragato* economy, prompting an economic and demographic collapse that endures until present. Many people left for South America, especially Cuba and Argentina, during the first half of the century. During the 1950s emigration flows shifted towards Barcelona and Madrid, and towards Germany, Switzerland and France. Many villages were deserted or left with one or two households.

The last two decades brought changes to Maragatería. Some migrants retired in their former villages and national ‘neo-rurals’ from urban centers, along with international ‘eco-rurals’ – or *hippies*, as they are usually called in the region – started to settle down in the area. Moreover, the re-awakening of the Way of Saint James as a pilgrim’s route crossing the region from side to side reinvigorated some villages. In addition, Maragatería was included in an E.U. funded LEADER project for rural development that promoted tourism and economic activity in the area. Notwithstanding these facts, economic activity diminishes constantly and the population ages rapidly. Today, amid a brutal economic crisis, we are witnessing the gradual withdrawal of E.U. funds in the area and facing the evidence: rural development policies and public policies aiming at maintaining the livability of the area have not worked in Maragatería.

My investigation analyzes the situation after two decades of growth and cannot account for the consequences of the crisis in the area, which started to be felt in the end of the fieldwork period. The underlying research question of my study is related to the peripheral character of Maragatería. What happens with heritage when there are not strong agents (usually institutions) constructing it and defining what it is and how it should be used and conceived? The question points to the possibility of developing a novel theorization of heritage through an analytic experimentation in Maragatería. In the absence of ‘strong agencies’ in the territory, multi-layered meanings and uses are given to heritage, which is constructed in many different ways. This exuberance of practices and conceptions cannot be reduced to any simplistic explanatory model. Heritage cannot be considered as something ‘good in itself’ that is therefore to be protected, nor an arena for a dialectical struggle between bottom-up and top-down approaches to it, where heritage is a vector for the deployment of these symbolic and political conflicts. Accordingly, one fundamental objective of my study is to develop a heritage theory that accounts for its construction in terms of partial connections, multidimensionality and hybridization. Rather than merely stating it, I have empirically analyzed different contexts to show the complexity of heritage processes and the need to take into account local epistemologies and ontologies and put them in relation with international hegemonic discourses on heritage.

This pragmatic questioning demands a renewed theoretical conception of heritage. Most social science has largely remained bound to ontologies which privilege simple and static entities (Srnicsek 2007), preventing us from understanding heritage as an unstable hybrid. Current characterizations of heritage do not fit well neither with the views of institutions, planners or people: they are whether too materialistically naive and thing-oriented, or too abstract and focused on the sphere of meaning and discourse. Would a novel theorization of heritage help us understand the recent dramatic growth of heritage practices throughout the world and its relation with the workings of contemporary capitalism? Heritage combines objects with universal concepts, with sensibilities and beliefs (Lowenthal 1986). The contemporary expansion of heritage emerges with, rather than from or after, post-industrial capitalism and postmodernism. It is co-constitutive to them. Heritage is involved in a socio-economic context of intensification of commoditization processes in

both time and space. It is a fundamental vector for the propagation of new values and ideologies because it is intrinsically biopolitical: it deals with affects, bodies and emotions. This situation has to do with a shift in capitalism towards more abstract realizations of surplus profit: given that no more markets can be opened up and existent ones are already saturated with material goods, the system needs to reinvent itself constantly in order to gain feedback and ensure its reproduction (Thrift 2006). As a consequence, use value and exchange value gradually lose weight. The new ontology of puissance (Featherstone and Venn 2006) embedded in the economic system increasingly extracts surplus value around the "general intellect" (Lazzarato 1997). In Marxist terms it could be affirmed that there has been a shift from fixed capital (steam engine, cell phones, etc.) to a linguistic and communication-based system in which our brains, linguistic faculties and interactive skills become the source of value replacing fixed capital (Marazzi 2008; Marazzi 2010). Of course, heritage is the fundamental vector through which all these 'immaterial values' are channeled and propagated. How does this occur and how does it affect specific localities in the field?

This issue is related with the fundamental question of heritage values. According to Nigel Thrift (2006) "value increasingly arises not from what is but from what is not yet but can potentially become, that is from the pull of the future, and from the new distributions of the sensible that can arise from that change". No doubt heritage fits the model outlined here, in which social self-knowledge and self-expression become repositories of value (Jíménez 2007). Accordingly, heritage is part of an overall trend that emphasizes the *construction of places* as a "process of meaning-creation which is carried out in the networks and flows that connect various physical places and draws forth their recognized and sustainable differences of identity. In other words, it is an exercise of *differentiation*, rather an exercise in *identification*" (Rullani 2009b: 244).

It is this 'constitutive outside' (Derrida 1988) created through differences that I would like to map and ontologically ground in Maragatería. This implies moving away from ideological politics to the analysis of *ding* (Latour 2005a), *ontological* (Mol 1999) or *sub* politics (Beck 1997). Similar to issues like global warming, in heritage processes there are no definitive solutions, stances or perspectives that can be equated with specific ideological stances. Every ethical and political positioning emerges relationally in specific states of affaires (Degnen 2005). Thus, heritage is conceived here as always engaged in complex assemblages of academic disciplines, institutions, theories, ideologies, inert and living things, etc. Thus, I aim to deal with one of the chief shortcomings of contemporary social science, namely the prevalence of "inquiries with no systematic explanations for political and economic outcomes being integrated with contextually informed analyzes of social relations" (Hall 2007: 14). This approach responds to the demands of Carretero and Ortiz (2008), concerned by the lack of critical studies of processes of heritagization in Spain.

A situation in which, as Gabriel Tarde had predicted (Lazzarato 2002), economic and socio-cultural values emerge, demands not only a new theorization but also a new methodology for the analysis of heritage contexts. Instead of looking at processes going on 'out there' and critically analyzing them, I try to place myself actively in the middle of and in a symmetric position to things and social actors, adopting an experimental attitude that engages in a parallel process of analysis and imagination and a constant dialogue between theory and reality, methodology and data.

As nomad experimentation, my approach disregards disciplinary boundaries and hinterlands (Law 2004a)² that tend to be “staked out like dogmatic sects” (Gremmells, nd: 54, quoted in Hillier 2007). Due to the immaturity of the field of heritage studies (Merriman and Poovaya-Smith 1996) my undertaking draws on a synthesis of existing approaches, freely borrowing from anthropology, some strands of archaeology, material culture studies, and social theory in general. An interdisciplinary stance implies that research draws on diverse tools, strategies and approaches. However, this must be done “on the grounds that they are best suited to their subject matter or because they might provide a way in which to extend or challenge the normalized boundaries of the discipline with which the researcher primarily identifies and to which they seek to contribute” (Message 2009: 125).

With poststructuralism, I abandon the antagonism between philosophy of knowledge and philosophy of action, embracing knowledge as a practice and an experiment with reality (Badiou 2000). ‘Producing knowledge’ only makes sense in relation to real-world problems. I thus explore the ‘minor’ possibilities of Maragatería without offering clear-cut schemas or blueprints, universal laws or constants, only insights that resonate with “real life operations” (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 374). This implies moving from asking ‘what is’ to exploring ‘what if’, “mapping the realm (existing texts and practices) and identifying patterns and trajectories (through empirical examples) (Hillier 2007: 17). Thus, I acknowledge the “ultimate undecidability of meaning and the constitutive power of discourse, calling into question received ideas and dominant practices, heightening and appreciation of the political effectivity of theory and research and demonstrating how openings for alternative forms of practice and power can emerge” (Gibson-Graham 2006: 54-55).

Instead of relating heritage with identity, as most recent scholarship does (e.g. Ashworth 2003; Graham and Howard 2008b; Howard 2003; McDowell 2008), I aim to think *heritage as difference* to understand its proliferation within this new socioeconomic framework. Heritage generally implies slowing down flows of change and becoming through the fixation and stabilization of specific social contexts around particular desires, interests and identities. Because I do not consider capitalism as an abstract, transcendental entity situated ‘out there’, but rather a construction that is constantly performed in specific practices (Butler 1997), I deem necessary to ask which subjectivities embark in the heritage endeavor and work in tune with the re-invention of capitalism. I also ask what and who construct and embody the ‘heritage subjectivities’ in Maragatería. Because there are ‘non-heritage’ subjectivities as well, an issue broadly overlooked by heritage scholars that tend to inflate the relevance and centrality of heritage (Andrews 2010), thus contributing to the self-realization of the heritage prophecy.

My dissertation also accounts for ideology as an *object of research* related with heritagization processes in Maragatería. I thus tackle the role of a relatively novel set of political discourses and practices revolving around an essentialist and nationalist ideal of the Leonese identity, bringing this issue to bear in connection with the twin concepts of modernity and tradition. These terms are assiduously employed by these new political discourses in order to detach the ‘traditional culture’ from its socioeconomic underpinnings. This eases the task of individuating an

² Law, J. (2004a). *After method: mess in social science research*, London, New York: Routledge. considers a hinterland as a “bundle of indefinitely extending and more or less routinised and costly literary and material relations that include statements about reality and the realities themselves; a hinterland includes inscription devices, and enacts a topography of reality possibilities, impossibilities, and probabilities.”

abstract and essentialist idea of Leonese culture that becomes a manageable object to employ in cultural policies and for political legitimization.

In this sense, heritage has everything to do with issues of governance or governmentality in Foucault words (Foucault 2007), that is, with how bodies and territories are managed and shaped, how they are disciplined and regularized in a certain fashion. Governing implies a control over the future, over desires, interests, chances and hopes. Therefore, governing entails defining what is possible, commonsensical and legitimate in a determinate context (Idem). However, it is necessary to avoid speaking of Power, the State, Globalization or Capital in general, because if we consider those as ‘outworldly’ transcendental totalities, we prevent the possibility of challenging them in real contexts (Gibson-Graham 2006). Control is never total even in the most powerful states, society is always leaking at some point (Deleuze 1995), and the creativity and potential of self-organization of the people can never be totally subsumed under the axioms of the State and Capitalism. Accordingly, I look at the relation between processes of heritagization and the different subjectivities that exist in Maragatería, where I find forms of control along with strategies of escape and self-organization. This is an anthropological endeavor in the sense that it analyzes different forms of common sense (Herzfeld 2001), and how these come to be homogenized and subsumed under the schizophrenic and paradoxical claim of heritage discourse to reinforce the identity of the entities falling within its reach. In a way, many of the processes and stories put forward here may sound familiar for people from Maragatería. To a large extent, I uncover everyday issues that go unrecognized or muted, thus defamiliarizing commonsensical notions about heritage.

Ultimately, I aim to develop a non-essentialist and materialist theory of heritage that accounts for affects, meanings, discourses and practices as well. I thus challenge transcendent notions embodied by Habermas’ theory of communication, the Hegelian lineage of orthodox Marxism, psychoanalysis, Lacan and Žižek and the discourse-centered Foucauldian analysis. Despite I freely draw on social theory, especially Actor-Network-Theory, Gilles Deleuze offers the fundamental ground to think through a range of problems such as the dichotomies of natural and social, objects and subjects and the interrelations between science and philosophy. His philosophy provides the connective tissue for my broadly interdisciplinary approach. However, I do not force theory to fit empirical data. Rather, reading Deleuze enables me to make sense of some processes and situations in Maragatería, and through my encounter with Maragatería I constantly make sense of Deleuze. The critical reader will surely argue that this is one more case of the importation of foreign models to the social sciences or uncanny postmodern experimentation. Against this claim, I argue that this choice stems from the need of a different ontological grounding to account for complex and multi-layered contexts of research. Moreover, in a sense, every model is ‘imported’. As Viveiros de Castro affirms, we ‘moderns’ have not gone beyond the simple drawing from and building upon a millenary metaphysics developed by the ancient Greeks (2010).

Nonetheless, theoretical models must develop in close relation with detailed empirical research. The data collected derive from an enduring ethnographic encounter with Maragatería which tentatively began as a self-conscious analytical endeavor in 2003 and steadily intensified after 2006. My case study approach has been a kind of distillation process in which my methods have gradually evolved, improved and adapted to the changing conditions of the field and the increasing complexity of my theoretical inquiry. Consequently, the methodology employed is

highly contextual, subjective and qualitative. And yet, it has cross-disciplinary theoretical and applied implications.

My most significant contribution will be to the field of heritage studies, and to a lesser extent to anthropology, material culture studies and spatial planning. Most literature on heritage studies focuses on issues of memory, identity, place and community. There is a secondary body of literature, basically essentialist and positivist, which relates heritage with economics and considers heritage as a resource, whether as territorial value or as an externality. Instead of assuming the existence of some pre-given connection between heritage and value, memory, identity, place or community, I follow Deleuze and try to think heritage as a *difference* that is connected with those concepts in specific contexts. What if identity or community building are not considered the 'natural role' heritage plays, but rather the outcomes of processes of change that for some reason stop differing and turn into themselves, seeking stability, fixity and power? My theoretical premise is that heritage is *not only* related to meaning or ideology, and that it is *not only* a resource or an object. It always comes in the form of assemblages combining content and form, signifying and a-signifying regimes, discourses and materials. The potential for change in any assemblage comes from desire – i.e., the productive onwards drive to connect. For Deleuze, power comes after desire. He conceives of desire “as Spinoza once described it, as the form taken by desire when it turns around on its own connections and elaborates and re-entrenches them” (Brown 2009: 107).

Some consequences derive from this theoretical stance.

1. We can account for power configurations as by-products of specific heritage assemblages and configurations. Conceived this way, it ceases to be a transcendent entity to become an ambiguous but earthly process whose conditions of emergence can be traced and challenged.

2. Heritage is granted an ontological status and is not only considered as an epistemological construct, thus being co-constitutive of reality and inherently political: it builds subjectivities, breaks apart, or reinforces specific states of things. It is slippery and diffuse, and can hardly be accounted for through ideological critique as it is neither bad or good, progressive or reactionary. This will depend on the affects and connections it promotes, the energies it releases or restrains, and the subjectivities and ways of life it constructs.

3. Heritage is as much a physical construct as it is a social or political one – does not intangible heritage comprise bodies? –. To understand heritage as meaning and mere political representation, or contrarily as a thing ruled by 'natural' laws of market value, is problematic. With Latour, we can talk about construction, but not only about 'social construction' (Latour 2005c). This mechanism will enable us “to produce problematized matters of concern: *things* rather than *objects*” (Zaera-Polo 2008: 76).

4. The dichotomy between explanation and interpretation vanishes. Because heritage presents open-ended interpretations and cannot be framed within a closed set of causal relations and laws, we can only provide *partial explanations and understandings* (Law 2004a). Therefore, we should avoid the reductionist getaway that bestows agency to entities which irradiate meaning and act as primary causes, such as the State (Breglia 2006; Herzfeld 2010), the State and the elites (García Canclini 1999), the professionals and experts (Smith 2006) or Capital (Harvey 2001)) The existence of certain powerful agencies in heritage – which I do not deny – cannot prevent us from looking at processes of social mimicry and contagion, struggles –material and symbolic – around objects, and to acknowledge the 'diffuse' character of heritage that renders it so slippery.

5. Assemblages are always involved in different lower and higher level assemblages. Therefore, we should abandon the infeasible hard-line scientific task of ‘individuating heritage data’ or striving to define ‘what is heritage’. We must face instability and assume that heritage is diffuse, which does not undermine its ontological status whatsoever. Furthermore, assemblages are boundless and open-ended. Consequently, without relinquishing thorough methodological depth, we must acknowledge that our analyses are fundamentally incomplete. Referring to the issue of analysis, Geertz argues that “the more deeply it goes the less complete it is ... There are a number of ways of escaping this—turning culture into folklore and collecting it, turning it into traits and counting it, turning it into institutions and classifying it, turning it into structures and toying with it. But they *are* escapes” (Geertz 1973a: 29).

6. Heritage and spatial planners cannot take heritage value for granted and must be sensitive to the particularities of each context, thus jettisoning universal concepts and empty signifiers such as community or sustainability (Gunder 2006). There are no heritage resources, but rather processes of valorization to be modulated according to planning criteria.

Throughout the dissertation, a renewed empirically grounded conceptual framework for heritage is set out. My hope is that a novel and multidimensional understanding of heritage will open new strands of research and thought. According to Deleuze and Guattari the fundamental task of philosophy is to form concepts (1994). Thus, if following Saldanha (2007) we were to ask: why Maragatería and why this dissertation? To form new concepts.

Argument and Structure.

This section presents an outline of the main argument of the dissertation and briefly introduces some concepts. The book is a sort of patchwork, organized in a form that provides a coherent structure that at the same time conveys the complexities of the many crossing thoughts, networks, ideas and planes traversing Maragatería. It is better to conceive it as a rhizome, a complex entanglement of connections that work as a subtext, mapping processes of networked, relation and transversal thought (Colman 2005). Despite the chapters might seem disconnected, the reader can trace links between them and regard the text as a whole. The theoretical introduction to the main ideas of Deleuze provides the necessary tools to make sense of his thought and my conceptual framework, and to embark in the analysis of the empirical case studies. This concise presentation aims at openly explaining some of the arguments that traverse the dissertation, to prevent the reader from losing sight of the whole picture due to the fragmentation into chapters.

During the last century, Maragatería has undergone a severe process of economic depression and depopulation. The arrival of ‘modernity’ during the 1960s and 1970s³, and especially with the democratization process after the 1980s has brought many benefits to the area, whose fundamental defining traits and prospects remain similarly negative however. During winter, Maragatería seems a deserted area and only in vacation periods it regains some vitality. The economic crisis and the end of E.U. economic support for the territory, which partially alleviated the economic problems, leave a gloomy panorama in the region: it can become either a deserted area and a junkspace

³ However, modernity does not come instantly as a material or cultural change; it is rather an attractor towards which the people tend. Only in 2011 the – to my knowledge – last person living without electricity and piped water died in Lucillo.

(Koolhaas 2002), or a vacation region with some activity during summer and abandoned during winters, or both. To offer an alternative vision necessarily involves rethinking policies of sustainable development implemented hitherto and the socioeconomic model that they put forward. Moreover, it involves rethinking the conceptualization of heritage and its potential role as ‘mediator’ between social processes and spatial planning. Heritage can also function as a fundamental element to seek a real sustainable development when put to work in the form of a cultural park, a territorial project of development designed on different grounds than previous policies. Despite this study is confined to a small area, I believe it can be relevant for many other Spanish and European areas that are in similar situations.

Different social groups live in Maragatería. These are not strictly defined or closed. It would be better to conceive Maragatería as a multiplicity where different forms of life exist that represent ideal ‘tendencies’ or ‘archetypes’. These groups are far from being homogeneous, but I need to create and identify them as such to make data manageable. In addition, I think they fit well with empirical data. The vernacular population is broadly aged and remains quite attached to local traditions and ways of life. Some people of younger generations are employed in local primary activities – farming and agriculture –, chiefly sustained by the Common Agricultural Policy of the E.U. that subsidizes these activities. However, most of them migrate to national large urban centers. Usually, migrants who left Maragatería during the 1950 - 80s retire in their former villages bringing the ‘modernity’ of urban life with them, a common phenomenon in Spain (Rodríguez Eguizabal and Trabada Crende 1991). They know well vernacular culture and traditions but they self-consciously acknowledge it as traditional and adopt dissimilar stances in relation to it, from rejection to a proud adoption of its forms and expressions.

In turn, local elites profited from E.U. financial support and reinvested their capitals in the ‘new economy’ related to heritage and tourism – farmhouses, hostels, cottages and restaurants –, along with renewable energies. With the support of local city councils, they have tried to embellish and heritagize villages to attract more tourists. These efforts only benefit some social groups and are often counterproductive because they relinquish aesthetic and social heterogeneity. A quick example: the massive demand of stone to build new monumental houses that comply with the ‘rules of heritage’ has led to the plundering of the walls that used to divide agricultural properties and that provided a special character to the *maragato* landscape. Stone becomes valuable when assembled in a certain fashion, and capitalism just connects desires with materials overlooking the self-destructive potential of these desires. Also, it is basically elite groups who advocate Leonese politics, as they provide the legitimacy for heritagization processes through the slogan of the ‘promotion of what is ours’.

The ‘neo-rurals’ are a well known social group in Spain (Colom Gorgues and Sáez Olivito 2009). At first, the phenomenon of urbanites visiting the rural and altering the calm during weekends was satirized with the term *domingueros*⁴. Since the 1990s onwards, however, having a country house became an attractive option for many urban dwellers. There are many different reasons for this, broadly related to issues of social status, repose and leisure in contact with nature, and escaping urban routines and stress (Rivera Escribano 2007). Whist returned migrants know well the ‘laws of the village’, neo-rurals normally do not, and self-consciously or unconsciously prefer to

⁴ An untranslatable term, it refers to the temporally restricted character of their activities to week-ends: ‘Domingo’ means ‘Sunday’.

stick to their own ways. This attitude, of course, generates conflicts with the locals. Many of them participate in different forms in heritagization processes. Some build heritage houses and are active in the promotion of heritage. Others profited from the real estate bubble, buying, restoring and re-selling old houses.

As in Medieval Times, the re-activation of the *Camino* de Santiago as a pilgrim's route has brought to Maragatería many people from different parts of the world, besides religious groups from different Orders, and many national *hospitaleros* - volunteers or workers living in hostels for pilgrims. Most of them have alternative ways of life. Similarly, groups of northern European 'eco-villagers' arrived after the 1980s to reconstruct and settle down in the village of Matavenero⁵. Some of them have moved to other villages in Maragatería, growing the land and performing all kinds of activities related with arts and crafts. They move around a lot and establish complex networks with positive outcomes for the territory and its people broadly. For instance, a textile artisan told me that the 'hippies' kept her business going because they bought her products and sold them in Germany and Switzerland, where people is willing to pay three or four times as much as here. Soon, many other artisans 'secretly' told me that they were doing business with the hippies. However, most of these practices remain invisible for institutions and planners.

These kinds of situations made me think on the impossibility of institutions of conceiving hybrids, complexity, and minor networks of open-ending and unstable character– let alone planning or supporting them. But they also led me to the conclusion that, ultimately, this epistemological shortcoming was secondary to the fundamental ontological (and thus political) one: the unwillingness to directly support and communicate with *the people*, which are not considered as political subjects any more – if they ever were. It is possible to support a company with thousands of Euros to create a tire dump, a rural hostel or a pig factory because they will create one direct permanent job and two indirect new dwellers. Nevertheless, how would it be possible to support *hippies* to sell products from *artisans*? That would entail overcoming many epistemological and political barriers and institutions are not willing to do so. Curiously, though, the *artisans* and the *hippies* are allegedly the real subjects of sustainable development discourses emphasizing the local product, the craft, or the local networks of commerce. That these discourses are rooted in empty signifiers is not a theoretical abstraction but an empirical reality. These kinds of minor networks could not only provide a sustainable economic solution, but also a demographic one: many people, especially northern Europeans, would be willing to settle down in Maragatería and start new lives and businesses. This is especially so in times of crisis, when living in cities becomes unaffordable for many. Given this situation, why not supporting these forms of action in some way? This thesis provides the necessary ground for future potential projects in this direction. It shows the need to map the ongoing heritage processes in Maragatería and to offer a conceptualization of heritage able to account for hybrid, minor and unstable processes. In order for something to be discussed, supported or funded, it must first *exist*. It then becomes compelling to grant ontological status to these minor contexts I encounter in Maragatería, and to develop a conceptual framework accordingly.

My study considers fundamental to provide an alternative grounding for projects of enhancement and thus provide a differential ontology for heritage studies. This is why I deem

⁵ Matavenero is not administratively situated in Maragatería. However, it is quite close to it – the first village of the other *comarca* called El Bierzo- and their dwellers are quite connected to many people and villages in Maragatería.

necessary to consider heritage as a ‘common’. I will not extend much on the issue by now. Nonetheless, a ‘communal’ perspective would not only result in a better understanding of how minor processes work and could be supported. Rather, it could help people consider and participate in its construction and to draw not only symbolic or cultural, but also material benefits from it. This means challenging the whole contemporary distribution of values and power entirely, and the policies that support it in different fields. As Patton (2000) shows, all effective politics is a becoming-minoritarian, not appealing to who we are (identity) but to what we might become (difference). However, this is not done on the grounds of Marxist politics pointing to changes in wage distribution or rights, but in the Deleuzo-Spinozian ideas of capturing flows and affects. The conundrum of contemporary capitalism is not to extract value from work, but to ‘enroll’ others (Lordon et al. 2010). Why should only some restaurants and hostels benefit from the common value generated by the Maragatería as a whole, its people, buildings and reputation granted by historic-cultural factors? In fact, redistributing that value would stop the processes of destruction of the common that arise as by-products of heritagization processes. Moreover, it would promote the proliferation of positive connections, heterogeneity, and thus the creation of more common value in a mechanism of positive feedbacks. This is hardly a totally original approach. The Val di Cornia in the Italian Tuscany and the Historian’s Office of Old Havana in Cuba already boast more or less similar frameworks – and they seem to work.

But the commons are a rather troublesome matter. There are also the ‘old’ and the ‘new’ commons, which seem impossible realities. Eco-rurals acknowledge both, local people only the former, and the workings of modernity undermine both gradually. Thus, it is necessary to look at specific sites where values are assembled, or deconstructed to be rearticulated in a different manner. Maragatería is still undergoing a process of extinction of the traditional commons whose performance is rather atrophied and most likely doomed: the *Juntas Vecinales* for instance have been suppressed by governmental decree in summer 2012. Why not the commons and their related practices are considered ‘heritage’ and thus supported instead of being undermined? Modernity cannot tolerate the existence of the impure commons, and must, after undergoing a process of purification, extricate the cultural from the socioeconomic to assert their value as heritage. Modernity is here considered immanently: it can arrive with returning migrants from Buenos Aires or Zurich, with neo-rurals, in altered form from eco-rurals, or with the institutions of the modern state. It never pervades everything but is rather modulated and transformed, negotiated and embodied in different manners.

What started as an ethnographic study of the traditional *tamboriteros maragatos*⁶ became, after pulling different strings for years, an exploration of the complex intricacies that underpin the whole system of *fiestas maragatas* – *maragato* parties –. The balance necessary for their survival is quite fragile now, and rests on an equilibrium comprising diverse elements. First, the existence of common institutions of local governance – the already mentioned *Juntas Vecinales* in risk of disappearing in the face of modern governmentality – who hire *maragato* dancers and *Tamboriteros*. Second, the renewal of the old *Tamboriteros* and dancers by young generations, and the demographic constitution of the village – more foreigners imply less support for *Tamboriteros*. This situation made me think on ‘heritage meshworks’, complex chains of interconnected processes

⁶ Those are male individuals who play *maragato* music with the drum and the flute at the same time. They liven up ‘fiestas’ – parties – and encourage people to dance with the music. More on *Tamboriteros* below.

that operate in conditions of metastability, always in need of renewal and reaffirmation. Heritage meshwork is a materialistic concept clearly differentiated from 'intangible heritage'. Institutions are fine with considering *Tamboriteros* and dancers, who perform and dress up traditional clothes, as intangible heritage and support them. However, modern government institutions refrain from backing up the whole heritage meshwork: those are entangled with common forms of government, which are not considered pure and thus remain considered as traditional and hybrid, and thus not worth of support and neither considered as legitimate political subjects. Again, my approach is not a romantic attempt to pose the vernacular as an aseptic positive world ridden of conflict; rather, I know well the inequalities, injustices and conservatism it implies in some contexts. But this is no reason to obliterate it and impose on it of a supposedly better modern framework.

I bring these issues to bear in relation to one of the more inflamed theoretical debates around postmodernism involving the critique of Baudrillard to orthodox Marxism and the works of Foucault and Deleuze (Baudrillard 1975). Do the strategies of postmodernism really break the link between signifier (the representation, discourse or word) and signified (the phenomenon supposedly represented by the signifier), the cultural and the economic, the superstructure and the infrastructure, or do they just enter into new assemblages of desire/power? Do we really shift from the material conditions of history to that of the simulacrum, as Jameson suggests? This question is relevant both theoretically and methodologically: if signs are separated from signifiers, it then becomes justifiable, and even desirable, to analyze the social field only in terms of meaning and discourse, as many contemporary social science does, and the proliferation of cultural studies attests. Meaning is generally represented as a given representation. However, we should understand it as a relational and emergent property of dynamic interactions in open systems (Cilliers 2002). If not, then it is necessary to account for the material processes also, the a-signifying and the non-language centered aspects of the world. The issue has implications for macro-scale processes too. Many territorial projects of development have failed because they consider that they could detach sign (the immaterial values of the brand, the logo, etc) from the signifier (the territory as it is), thus relying on marketing and tourism-centered strategies that consider heritage as an abstract resource. This strategy can be functional in the short run, but is probably flawed in the long term. Reaffirming the significance of the material entails affording a central role to social and humanistic disciplines.

This also comes to bear upon the concept of heritage we set forth. The profusion of literature on heritage has contradictory effects. In the effort to open up new strands of research, scholars have overinflated heritage (Andrews 2010), which seems to be everywhere nowadays. Even Harvey advocates for a consideration of the local and the familial heritages that seem to go overlooked (2008). The consequences of this theoretical inflation are twofold. First, heritage must be acknowledged as diffuse. Second, researchers must acknowledge their role in the construction of heritage. Because the fiction that heritage is 'out there' waiting to be discovered cannot be sustained any longer: it always emerges entangled in assemblages of people and objects.

In places like Maragatería, where governmental forces are capillary and superficial, and modernity has arrived recently, heritage is a particularly slippery field. For most people, *patrimonio* refers to the first five senses compiled in the Spanish Academy's Dictionary of the Spanish Language, which broadly consider it a set of real estate assets and properties inherited and owned by someone. This is interesting for the researcher, that can look at processes of heritage (as a metacultural discourse of modernity) 'in the making', at the pre-heritage situation. At this point,

however, a tension arises between a transcendent ideal or universal idea of what is heritage, and a non-linear immanent notion of change and process where ‘heritage’ as such seems rather elusive (Healey 2006). There is a need for a theory that acknowledges such tensions. In face of this situation, the researcher has two options. First, to use ANT theory and ‘follow the actors’, analyzing how they construct heritage. Second, to think ‘on behalf’ of the people drawing on scholar theorizations and trying to discern where is heritage being constructed, or what do people consider heritage, equating ‘heritage’ with ‘what is deemed valuable’, whether past or present objects and practices. Normally, both strategies are entangled in research. However, this is rarely acknowledged and I think it would be necessary to do so.

In hindsight, my original project to create a cultural park was a scholarly-driven desire to *assemble* the entire bulk of *diffuse, non-constructed* heritage in Maragatería within a structure that could increase its value and provide an economic solution for the region. But things are not that easy and assembling heritage takes time. Thus, moving freely between the two ‘heritage research options’, I look at processes where heritage is being assembled by specific actors, but also to processes where what I (from my privileged epistemological position as a heritage scholar) think could be considered heritage is experiencing change, is being overlooked or deconstructed. Such empirical analyses have been considered as eventful encounters where new thoughts emerge in tune with a world of performative relations, events and encounters (McCormack 2002: 482-3).

These methodological nuances enable me to talk about ‘heritage subjectivities’ and ‘non-heritage subjectivities’, and to study processes where heritage ‘contaminates’ – in Tarde’s sense – other subjects and starts existing as a differential and separate category of reality. I look at how prehistoric carvings have undergone a long journey from being simple stones to be heritage in Maragatería. Mediations must occur between accumulated strata of knowledge and objects for heritage to be definitely assembled before energy dissipates. Heritage can also be utilized in many forms, crossing cultural, temporal and ideological boundaries. This is clearly so in the 2.200 meters high Teleno Mountain, a benchmark in the territory since at least Roman times. Since the 1950s, a real-gunfire military camp operates there. Not only ‘nature’ has been endangered. Shells fly over villages in an unparalleled situation in Europe. Furthermore, the Teleno happens to host the larger ancient Roman gold mining complex in Europe (Matías Rodríguez 2006).

Not surprisingly, the Teleno has become an a-signifying, non-representational ‘heritage event’, to which many different groups react in different forms and that has started to be claimed as heritage to gain legitimacy in political counter discourses. This situation mirrors Massumi’s definition of the event (2002). Fire alarms subsume a group of people under the same affective sphere. They can respond differently – disregard it as a test, think it is real – but nonetheless partake in the same event, which acts upon their virtual potential of becoming. Bombs and explosions “act on the nerves of the person” yet they “assert nothing” (Peirce, Charles, quoted in Massumi 2005)⁷. *Dingpolitics* is at work in the real-gunfire camp of Teleno: from being regarded as the goose that laid the golden eggs for the territory, it has become ‘a threat to our heritage’. Curiously enough, anti-military social claims based on heritage elicit more feedback from the Ministry of Defense than demands based on human safety – civilians have died as a direct or indirect consequence of the activity of the camp. Consequently, people ‘learn’ heritage and the new ways to ‘talk’ to the institutions. When a missile burns a forest it makes a difference to claim that the forest is ‘heritage’

⁷ Similarly, the noise of explosions acts directly on the nerves of the animals in Maragatería, killing many embryos.

for the local community. For if the forest was only a ‘natural resource’ its value could be calculated and compensated economically. Heritage wounds are deeper and thus better instruments to negotiate power – only if the other part recognizes that heritage, of course.

In Santiago Millas the Association of Friends of Santiago Millas a group of upper-middle class neo-rurals have set out a project to develop a *maragato* architectural paradise. Among other things, they restore old *maragato* houses or build new ones from the scratch, creating a whole new set of ‘heritage rules’ that prompts conflicts with the local people and city council. I had hard time trying to make sense of their project and, like Berardi in *The Soul at Work* (2009), was tempted to fall in the postmodern trap of detaching sign and signifier, content and form, because their libidinal and economic investments seemed to fully fall to the side of psychology, culture and meaning-making. The issue would surely give for a re-enactment of the byzantine debates between Bettelheim and Che Guevara around the primacy of infra or superstructure, material and moral incentives. I combine ethnography and a careful attention to the entanglements between the social and the material, with Deleuze’s critique of psychoanalysis to draw some fresh ideas to make sense of the ongoing process in Santiago Millas as an example of reterritorializing, fascistic heritage subjectivities.

A completely different situation takes place in Val de San Lorenzo. Here, local elites, allied with the local city council, re-invest their capitals generated in the decaying textile industry towards the new economic model based on the capture of heritage values through tourism and related industries. Simply put, this implied reconfiguring and appropriating the local memories and past to set out a campaign of heritage promotion that implied the creation of two museums devoted to textile crafts. Thus, while seeking difference at the territorial scale, the process entails the gradual obliteration of heterogeneity and turns difference into an abstract feature. Here we face a further case of the complex dynamics between processes of identification and differentiation that draw on heritage to underpin their claims. Adorno (1983) and orthodox Marxists would interpret the process negatively: it is oppressive because, as culture homogenizes difference, it shapes the organization of the social field. However, whereas the process is overall negative because it implies an all-encompassing subsumption under the axioms of capital, it can also open up processes of decoding of power structures. For Deleuze, this is related to the “capacity for culture to decode the integrative process of the market where the rationalization and reification of culture is interrupted” (Parr 2008: 171). Thus, what Marxism fails to see is that the generation of value, or a commoditization of what was formerly a pristine or ‘unmarketed’ object, is not bad *in itself*. What we need is to redirect ‘heritage as difference’ towards processes that acknowledge heritage as a common, thus recoding it positively and turning homogenization into a vitalist drive to connect and socially redistribute benefits instead of a negative ‘oppression’ and capitalistic accumulation.

Physically traversing Maragatería from side to side, the *Camino* de Santiago functions as a deterritorialized machine with its own rules. Forgotten for centuries, the E.U. cohesion policies found in it a good way of asserting the cultural identity of Europe in relation to Catholicism and cultural exchange. Normally, the story of the *Camino* is told as one of success. It has achieved World Heritage recognition and has been walked by millions of pilgrims from all over the world. Laws, discourses, institutions and a service economy have arisen in relation to the *Camino* and its fluctuating flows of pilgrims. For many, this has entailed the overcrowding, touristification and commoditization of the *Camino* (Sánchez-Carretero Forthcoming). For Maragatería, this has meant

the resurgence of some deserted villages and the recovery of others who were on track to follow suit. My ethnography looks at the dissident minor voices who oppose the way the *Camino* is being understood by institutions. I focus in the case study of Manjarín, a deserted village repopulated and rebuilt by a brand-new Order of Templar Knights. They consider themselves to be the heirs and to embody the original spirit of the *Camino*, based on care, freedom, spirituality and austerity. Accordingly, they provide free services for pilgrims. In doing so, they contravene every legislative regulation of the *Camino* and spatial planning guidelines. More importantly, they break the heritagized governmental ‘display of order’ (Herzfeld 2001) offered by the *Camino* that defines what is possible and what is not. They have become annoying for nearby owners of pilgrim’s shelters, who feel their status as spiritual *hospitaleros* threatened, being publicly exposed as greedy businesspersons. Consequently, they wield sanitary, moral and legislative arguments against the Templars and lobby different institutions to force their expulsion from the *Camino*. In this case, heritage as an heterogeneous form of intangible heritage somewhat connected with the past is opposed to a reterritorializing heritage machine which promotes homogeneity and rationality.

The deserted village of Prada de la Sierra has become a ‘virtual heritage’. Abandoned for more than 40 years, it is not the focus of attention of an association of descendants from the village – mostly urban people living in Madrid – who would like to revive it for different reasons. However, the village has not actually been completely abandoned: a farmer lives there with a hundred cows and some dogs. The owners from the Association New Prada de la Sierra consider the village as a form of heritage characterized by an essentialist memory and identity, and their right to establish Prada as a leisure village. In turn, the farmer argues that he actually lives there the whole year round, works the land, and that – contrary to the associates – has no claim to the benefits generated by the wind mills installed nearby the village. For him, space is not heritage but a means of production. As he complains, “they grew up among cow shit and now they want clean streets. C’mon man!” (Interview 31A).

In Matavenero, and today in many other villages as well, there are groups of eco-rurals. They embody a real desire for, and actual practice of, sustainable development. They establish complex networks throughout the territory, connecting with the *Camino* and people in the villages, and beyond into global networks: India, Morocco and southern Spain – especially Las Alpujarras in Granada –. They settle down and proliferate, creating novel connections and lines of flight profiting from the possibilities that the territory has to offer. For them, heritage is a word of little usage. A group of British people and some northern Europeans emphasize what they value in Maragatería: the pure soils and environment, the freedom provided by being able to walk straight for hours without facing buildings, people or fences. In Matavenero, material culture was used to create a symbolic and empirical link with the past: their first efforts were headed towards the reconstruction of the former common buildings of the deserted village, especially the school. These elements should remain common forever and become the soul of the project. A project based in constructing together – metaphorically and materially. I refer to these people generally as the ‘non-heritage’ or schizoid subjectivities, because not only they do not use the term, but also especially because they do not usually enter into heritage assemblages and let change and deterioration occur naturally. They invest desire; they affect and are affected trying to establish new positive connections constantly. In contrast, most ‘heritage subjectivities’ are paranoid and tend to slow down change and stabilize around fixed attractors: again, as Spinoza shows, when desire halts flowing and turns

upon itself, it stops connecting to start creating or reaffirming power networks, hierarchies and homogeneity. Both concepts represent abstract tendencies which are more powerful in some individuals than in others, but a also empirically verifiable that some people have stronger tendencies towards the creation/preservation of heritage than others.

This in an ontological question directly related with ways of life. By preserving, constructing, differing, connecting or slowing down, different political constituencies arise. Especially in times of change or crisis, these collective social forces come to cohere or collide. The social field must articulate and assemble different investments of desire and energy. In short, one of the central hypothesis of this dissertation is that heritage channels contradictory investments of desire which can be paranoid (fascistic) and open (schizoid). These are related to different forms of understanding change and becoming. Paranoid thought, whether operating through dialectics or essentialist thought, conceives change by presupposing identity and representation from the very beginning. They are exclusive, they separate bodies form what they are capable of doing (Bogard 1998). Paranoid investments are fuelled by lack and the search of social recognition, which always entails conflict, power struggles, and the reaffirmation of an identity. Accordingly, they conceive heritage as a dialectical system of social recognition (self versus other). On the contrary, schizoid thought affirms becoming and change without falling back into fixed representations and identities, thus remaining inclusive and enabling the new to emerge. Schizoids only turn to heritage to affirm difference instead of contradiction, while conceiving it as a common instrument to foster new connections.

Basing my claims on empirical research, I argue for a ‘machinism of heritage’, a view that acknowledges the unstable, non-linear and emergent realities that occur in heritage processes. This is opposed to an approach that focuses on identity as a discursive social construction because, as I will try to show, identity in Maragatería is only partially constructed through language. Also, a ‘machinism of heritage’ assumes a Deleuzo-Bergsonian view of time where it becomes irrelevant to discuss whether heritage has to do with the past or with the present. In reality, it has to do with both as much as it has to do with the future, as every heritage investment of desire is future-oriented, and a disjunctive synthesis of the three dimensions of time. As Freud, scholars in the field have focused too much on the past of the ‘heritage patient’ in order to understand it. With Jung (1968), I believe it is more wise to focus on what ‘heritage subjectivities’ are avoiding in the present that prevent them to desire change and becoming.

The heritage machine connects material objects and discourses, enabling heritage assemblages to emerge half way between the material and the unconsciously perceiving self. “The notion of the “machine” indicates that the social field exists only as long as the machine is working. A machine, in the reading of Deleuze and Guattari, is a unit of production of a number of flows that works according to the inter-communication of its parts. If there is no flow between the partial objects anymore, the machine disappears” (Mahler 2008). The heritage machine can work at many levels, distributing subjectivities and flows. It can resemble the ‘parasite’ of Serres (1982) or its evolved form of the ‘immaterial parasite’ of Pasquinelli (2009), which accounts precisely for the exploitation of biological production through the semiotic and technological domain: material energy and economic surplus are not absorbed and consumed by digital machines but simply allocated. The immaterial flow extracts surplus from the material flow and through continuous exchanges (energy-commodity-technology-knowledge-money). The immaterial parasite functions

first as a spectacular device: simulating a fictional world, building a collaborative environment or simply providing communication channels” (Pasquinelli 2010b: 3). Accordingly, the heritage machine operates by capturing, in an exclusivist fashion, flows of desire and money through heritage (hotels, restaurants, real estate, socio-cultural capital, etc.). These operations let neurotic subjectivities proliferate and their identities to emerge as by-products of the workings of the machine. It is true that “there is never an equal exchange of energy but always a parasite stealing energy and feeding on another organism” (Pasquinelli 2010b: 3), but the heritage machine can also operate as a mediator, a sorting device, that releases social desire through heritage in common grounds, fostering connections and inclusivity. How to achieve these common politics of heritage is another objective of this thesis.

To stick to a materialistic viewpoint that avoids the culture/economy dichotomy and the postmodern break between them that would grant culture and ‘meaning’ a total independence from economy, it is necessary to develop a political economy of heritage within the coordinates of contemporary capitalism. I draw on post-Workerist and non-representational theory to develop such a theory. In short, I argue with Negri and Hardt that under cognitive, affective or biopolitical forms of labor, “strategies of capitalist command develop intensively and extensively” (Hardt and Negri 2009: 144). As some of my cases of study reveal, intensive strategies divide and segment “the common field of productive cooperation, creating command outposts by which private and state agencies monitor and regulate social production processes through various technologies of discipline, surveillance and monitoring” (Idem: 144). The extensive strategies of finance and post-industrial forms of governance expropriate and privatize the common “embedded in the accumulated knowledge, codes, images, and biopolitical relationships that they produce. Capital appropriative processes thus stand opposed to the common that biopolitical labor creates” (Idem: 145). Heritage is thus a quintessentially element constitutive of post-industrialism: for it to be assembled it requires governmental institutions concerned with cultural identities, high-level networks of knowledge, and social leisure-time to sustain its value. Thinking heritage differently entails relocating it as a common that emerges in the interconnection between forms of life, objects from the past and many other elements present in the territory. It is necessary to assert the relevance of this theoretical point because most heritage processes tend to gradually erode the common, and whenever it is destroyed biopolitical production diminishes (Casarino and Negri 2008). After acknowledging the difficulties of governing the commons, Aristotle affirms in his *Politics* that all “which is common to the greatest number has the least care bestowed upon it. Everyone thinks chiefly of his own, hardly at all of the common interest; and only when he is himself concerned as an individual” (1997: 1261b34). Thus, my point is not utopian but pragmatic: by disintegrating the common values of Maragatería, largely considered as heritage, people profiting from them are eroding the grounds of their own businesses and ways of life. If the *Camino* becomes an overcrowded, cheap-tourism experience, it loses its supposed appeal as a spiritual route based in contact with nature, introspection and soul-searching. If restaurants and hotels create outstanding ‘heritagized’ traditional buildings but the landscape and surrounding buildings in villages lose their distinctive traits, then tourism and investments will not arrive. Thus, thinking heritage differently is not only a matter of eccentric academic experimentation, but a pragmatic question with consequences in real practices and processes.

3. The Heritage Concept.

The field of heritage studies has experienced an overwhelming growth in recent years. To map the different developments and strands of research has become an unfeasible task. This inflation of academic accounts of heritage parallels the dramatic increase of its use and proliferation among social actors and institutions (Atkinson and Everywhere 2008). Heritage has become nearly epidemic, everyone has to have one (Howard 2003: 6). And the same goes for scholarship: three comprehensive collective books have been produced in recent years on the specific topic of “Heritage and Identity”. The definitions of heritage have shifted intensely over time (Littler and Naidoo 2005). It is possible now to do both a history of heritage and the ‘history of the concept of heritage’. Thus, I do not intend here to perform a thoroughly review of the heritage concept and history that can be find easily elsewhere (Prats 1997; Smith 2006). My investigation engages with issues pertinent for both my ethnography and my theorization.

Nevertheless, despite the explosion of scholar accounts of heritage it remains largely undertheorized (Kurin 2004a) and bounded to traditional approaches. A survey of the main periodicals on the field clearly shows the attachment of scholars to relatively ‘safe’ and ‘stable’ contexts, where heritage is clearly fixed and can be analytically accounted for as a straightforward object of research. Despite we have moved from the theorization of heritagization processes to the study of concrete situations (Amougou 2004), there is a tendency to study formal settings such as museums, galleries, archaeological sites or UNESCO World Heritage sites (Davies 1999: 33). Similarly, scholars prefer to focus on contexts where contentious issues are skin-depth and critical, ethical and political stances are well defined. In the United States, research on Native American heritage clearly outweighs that tackling the heritage of African-American or Hispanic communities (Graham and Howard 2008a: 9). And the same goes for Scandinavian countries and their focus in the Sami communities. In general, this situation is related to a question of explanatory potential and agency. Social science is comfortable with clear ‘suspects’ to aim at, and to locate as the origin for causal explanations: the State (Herzfeld 2005), the elites and the State (García Canclini 1993), the ‘heritage experts’ (Smith and Waterton 2009), nationalism (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1992), or the workings of capital (Corner and Harvey 1991; Harvey 2001).

In Spain, research remains largely insular and narrow. Cultural-history and thing-centered approaches that praise heritage as a cultural legacy which is “good and necessary” (Anico 2009: 63) are prevailing, with few critical exceptions (Castillo Ruiz 2007; Hernández i Martí 2008; Ortiz García and Sánchez-Carretero 2008; Prats 2003). Despite the increasing heritage rhetoric influencing institutions and scholarship, it remains largely seen as a resource for economic development. In fact, in the ‘country without soul’ preached by Albert Camus (2012), the social investments of desire in heritage are relatively low if compared with countries like Britain, Italy or France. The value of heritage supposedly still needs to be ‘taught’ to the Spaniards (González Méndez 1999), and much scholarship is devoted to the task, in a clear example of ‘heritage-deficiency presupposition’ (Andrews 2010) that underlies much heritage research. Heritagization processes, minor and alternative heritages, have been scarcely studied (Sánchez Carretero and Ortiz 2008). Furthermore, there is a lack of accounts dealing with issues of multiculturalism and Otherness. The absence of this topic is striking in a country that deals with similar percentages of

immigrant population as France, Holland or the U.K. where these issues have long been tackled from institutional and academic stances.

The different histories of heritage suggest that the idea of heritage has always existed, whether as an allegory (Choay 2001), or as an instrument in the negotiation of power and ideology (Harvey 2008). Heritage, as Harvey argues, “has always been with us. In all ages people have used retrospective memories as resources of the past to convey a fabricated sense of destiny for the future” (2008: 22). Different uses of the past occurred throughout history, with the Romans trying to imitate the ancient Greeks (Lowenthal 1986), or the clear examples of the European renaissance and neoclassical periods (Choay 2001; Graham and Howard 2008a: 22). Holtorf (2001a: 6.6) has argued that even in prehistoric time symbolic capital from the past could be used as ‘prospective memories’ with present outcomes.

The modern conceptualization of heritage arose from the candent debate around the “heritage industry” in Britain during the 1970s-80s. Heritage was pervading the social space (Merriman 1991) and becoming fundamental for a British economy in decay (see Emery-Wallis 1979; Lickorish 1979). The relation between heritage and right-wing politics, Thatcher’s political views, and entrepreneurialism, was signalled by some scholars (Corner and Harvey 1991; Shanks and Tilley 1987). In fact, Samuel argued that heritage was “Thatcherism in period dress” (1994: 290). Hewison (1981: 87-91) was a fierce detractor of the heritage industry. He related heritage with a self-referential, insular, nostalgic, backward looking country trying to prevent social change, and conveying false and sanitized accounts of the past. He opposed ‘history’ as truth to ‘heritage’ that could be “anything you want” (Hewison 1987: 139). Wright (1985) pointed to the particularly elitist character of heritage. The agendas of these scholars were criticised by Samuel (1994), who argued that many heritage attractions underscored the significance of alternative and oppressed people, thus being “of the people” rather than “for the people”. Dicks (2007: 58) considers Hewison an extremist “who vociferously attacked heritage in the 1980s, and who in the process mistook the AHD [Authorised Heritage Discourse] for the process itself, defining their target in this narrow sense, and hence tarring all heritage with one brush”. Nonetheless, most authors in the field still regard with suspicion, or rather negatively, the commoditization and promotion of heritage, considering that it thwarts creativity and fosters reactive views of the present (see Debary 2004; Smith 1994; Urry 1995a; Walsh 2002). Therefore, uncritical authors assume the “goodness” and values of heritage, whilst the majority of critical scholars boast a clear *presupposition of the inherent negativity of heritage*.

The critiques of the entanglements between heritage and liberal-modern nationalism have been particularly harsh (Bennett 1995; Pearce and Smithsonian Institution 1992). This relation, dating back at least to the XIX century (Barthel-Bouchier 2001), has provided nationalism with material to build the quintessential material for the building of the nation (Handler 1985a; Handler 1985b) and has been thoroughly criticized (AlSayyad 2001; Boswell and Evans 1999; Diaz-Andreu and Mora 1995; Kohl et al. 2007; Meskell 2002b; Mitchell 2001; Peleggi 1996; Trigger 1989). García Canclini (1999), Herzfeld (2001; 2006) and Breglia (2006) have also provided detailed accounts of how state bureaucracies pervade the private lives of citizens. It is precisely from the grounds of nation-states that the Universalist project of UNESCO’s World Heritage emerged after World War II. I will not review the development of UNESCO’s heritage “language and grammar” (De Cesari 2010) which has been discussed to exhaustion (Black and Wall 2001; Frey and Pamini

2009). The UNESCO, in alliance with a scattered network of NGO's and institutions such as ICOMOS, propagates its concepts through a globalized heritage discourse that has been crafted by the central nation-states and then spread and implemented/challenged/adapted everywhere. These networks of institutions constitute "knowledge-based communities politically empowered through their command of authoritative knowledge and motivated by shared causal and principled beliefs" (Adler and Haas 1992: 14). UNESCO thus encourages the assumption of heritage as a public good that can be identified, preserved and promoted everywhere (Byrne 1991; Cleere 2001; Isar 2011). In allegedly construing and serving a common good that fulfils universal aims, World heritage seems a remnant of colonialism (Meskell 2005b: 128). After showing that World Heritage has moved in recent times from assimilationist policies to multiculturalism. De Cesari argues that "UNESCO's multicultural policies tend to reproduce Eurocentric patterns and hierarchies between reified heritages and cultures", adding that "the structural relationship between World Heritage and the nation-state, inscribed as it is in UNESCO's constitution and its documents, can often prevent broader democratic participation in the heritage process" (2010: 301).

World Heritage sites have become powerful attractors for global flows of tourism that generate macro-scale "political economies of heritage" (Winter 2011), at global, national or regional scales. Many international institutions officially promote heritage as a form of economic development, from the World Bank, to the United Nations Development Programme, the Inter-American, Asian, and African Development Banks, and the European Commission. In turn, this characterization of heritage as a resource for development has pervaded most national policies on sustainable development and spatial planning. These are also influenced by the traditional understanding of 'heritage' put forward by the UNESCO, which focuses on the authenticity and fabric of heritage rather than in other qualities (intangible properties, use, etc.). The 'thingification' of heritage (Byrne 2009: 229) entails a reification of culture and prevents the recognition of its intangible properties. This approach, in turn, reproduces the nationalistic approach to heritage as property: "we are a nation because we have a culture" (Handler 1985b: 210). This statement has generated a highly complex and elaborate legislative framework throughout the world (Cleere 1984; Cleere 1989). Therefore, heritage 'has' to be owned, which forcefully entails exclusion and the creation of boundaries (Carman 2005; Rowlands 2002b). In conclusion, UNESCO's viewpoint characterized by "binary thinking and a typological approach do not represent the best solution for resolving the conundrum of the universal in heritage" (De Cesari 2010: 317).

The practices of UNESCO have been challenged and criticized, both in Western and other countries. Different communities and social groups have emphasized the need of further community participation, "demanding that practitioners recognize not only locally geographically defined communities, but also communities bound together by common social, cultural, economic and/or political experiences." (Smith 2006: 28). Many postcolonial scholars have criticized the inherent neo-colonialist and oppressive character of World Heritage (Butler 2006a; Mitchell 2001). Many other authors have underscored the danger of Disneyfication that mass heritage tourism implies (Greenspan 2005; Urry 1995a; Waitt 2000). In relation to these critiques, many voices have raised that claim for a deeper focus in the analysis of heritage outside the usual sites of research. This entails a promotion of a plurality of viewpoints and the focus on alternative, subaltern and marginal heritages. Harvey refers to these "emerging new terrains of heritage" (Atkinson and Everywhere

2008) as the small heritages, where the local community and particular social groups have an essential role to play (Harvey 2008).

Nonetheless, accounts criticizing processes of Disneyfication and commoditization presuppose a previous 'authentic' heritage (Throsby 2008). Authenticity has been a fundamental concern in the West after the Venice Charter, probably as a response to the devastation inflicted to urban centers during WWII (Starn 2002). UNESCO's essentialism has pervaded discourse on heritage and promoted authenticity as an "unquestioning discourse concurrent with the idea of the 'nation' (Graham 2001: 62). Consequently, some characteristics of heritage are emphasized, such as the old, monumental, tangible and aesthetically appealing. This essentialist stance presupposes that heritage has intrinsic and stable valuable qualities. Accordingly, these qualities can only be 'cherished' and 'preserved', isolated and put in 'glass-cases' (Ames 1992; Herzfeld 1989). In this context, as Hall (2000) argues, heritage is defined by authenticity, and authenticity validated as heritage. However, the discourses and practices of preservation, restoration, re-creation, recuperation, revitalization and regeneration need to be seen against the reality that here is really "no there, there" prior to what somebody has to do to identify, evaluate, conserve and celebrate (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998). The material focus in heritage research has to do with an European bias towards art history, the historical artifact, and the categorization and selection of 'things', in museums or otherwise (Bennett 1995; Hooper-Greenhill 1989).

In any case, the idea that heritage is inherently linked with 'the past', whether through history or memory, is all-encompassing⁸. This is so even though authors in the field have already assumed the 'present-centeredness' of heritage (Graham and Howard 2008a), conceived of it as a 'process' (Holtorf 2005b; Lowenthal 1996; Merriman and Poovaya-Smith 1996), and labeled it as an 'Authorized Heritage Discourse' (Smith 2006) for a while. Harvey conceives the relation between past and heritage as "intrinsically reflective" (2008: 20). It is not surprising that Nietzsche's *Untimely meditations*, especially *On the use and abuse of history for life* (1983 [1874]) have been constantly brought up as a 'guidance' to deal with the issue of the uses of the past in the present, a task continued and expanded by Lowenthal (1986). He posits four characteristics of the past (and heritage) that can positively influence people. As Graham and Howard sum up, "First, its antiquity conveys the respect and status of antecedence, but, more important perhaps, underpins the idea of continuity and its essentially modernist ethos of progressive, evolutionary social development. Secondly, societies create emblematic landscapes – often urban- in which certain artifacts acquire economic status.... Third, the past provides a sense of termination... offers a sequence, allowing us to locate our lives in linear narratives that connect past, present and future... provides a point of validation or legitimation for the present in which actions and policies are justified by continuing references to representations and narratives of the past that are, at least in part, encapsulated through manifestations of tangible and intangible heritage" (2008a: 5-6). As Andrews affirms, "it is self-fulfilling that heritage is defined as 'the use of the past in the present' when this is the dominant way researchers and practitioners construct it" (Andrews 2010: 27). As Hall puts it, we are witnessing "not the so-called return to roots but a coming-to-terms with our 'routes'" (Hall 1996b: 4).

⁸ "Heritage diverges from history not in being biased but in its attitude toward bias. Neither enterprise is value-free. But while historians aim to reduce bias, heritage sanctions and strengthens it.... Bias is a vice that history struggles to excise; for heritage, bias is a nurturing virtue" Lowenthal, D. (1996). *Possessed by the past: the heritage crusade and the spoils of history*, New York: Free Press..

Memory.

The expanding field of Memory Studies in the social sciences has recently problematized the straightforward relation between heritage and the past (see Berliner 2005; Viejo-Rose 2011b). Despite a ‘commemorative fever’ has emerged since the 1980s (Misztal 2003a: 2), the heritage literature has largely overlooked it. Most research, however, embeds data from social processes in broad theoretical narratives without specifying which specific methodologies account in the field for the ontological relation between heritage and memory. The main questions in this field are related to whether power and ideology can shape collective and personal identities and how they do it (Abercrombie and Turner 1978). Research in this field emerged in relation to Anderson’s (2006) theory on ‘imagined communities’, which conceived nations as abstractions shared by large groups of individuals after the dissolution of the traditional world. Research has also focused on contentious issues. As Boyer argues, the “‘contested past’ matters precisely because it is contested. Shared narratives of the historical past are all the better when they are such that others, and especially identified others, could not possibly endorse them” (Boyer 2009: 13).

Many authors (Nora 1989; Samuel 1994) still maintain the dichotomical opposition between the subjective and unreliable memory, and the objective and authoritative history. However, new approaches conceive memory as a cultural process where remembering and forgetting co-constitutive elements (Connerton 1989; Connerton 2009). Urry has argued that linear time is a social construction, and that therefore “there is no past out there or back there. There is only the present, in the context of which the past is being continually re-created” (Urry 1996: 48). Wertchs and Billingsley (2011) conceive tangible and intangible heritage as mediators between the past and the present, which acts to construct and legitimate representations that shape collective remembering and thus influence people’s understandings of their group and individual identities. If memories are materialized in objects, they can be consequently promoted, preserved, collected or erased (Figlio 2003: 152). Wertchs (2008a; 2008b) has continued the works of Halbwachs (1992) on the distinction between collective memory and history, taking into account the warnings of Klein (2000) that collective memory can stand for essentialist and romantic ideas about the ‘soul’ or ‘spirit’ of a people. Memory is fundamental to connect heritage and identity, because “unlike professional historical narratives, it is personal and this collective memory has a particular emotive power” (Smith 2006: 60). The monumental work of Nora in *Lieux de memoire* (1989) and Hobsbawm in *The invention of tradition* (1992) provide multiple examples of the uses of material elements to represent and symbolize past events through memory. However, the ‘invention of tradition’ does not account for “why some traditions are privileged over others and enjoy social support, not does it necessarily account for oppositional accounts of the past” (Misztal 2003b: 60). Furthermore, as Atkinson (2007) points, the excessive focus on specific sites, landscapes and *lieux de memoire* has bounded research to these areas of concern, obscuring the wider production of social memory and heritage throughout society.

The control over memories is a power-laden issue that is chiefly played in moments of change and de-traditionalization (Samuel 1994). In fact, it is at this point when, according to Anderson (2006), the traditional worldview must be substituted by a new set of shared – usually national – abstractions. This entails re-articulating the past and recovering a sense of habitus in the community

(Brett 1996: 8-9). Many authors have considered the resilience of memory as a counter-power. Kundera argued in *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting* (1999) that “the struggle of man against power is the struggle of memory against forgetting”, which Connerton reworked to note that “the struggle of citizens against state power is the struggle of their memory against forced forgetting” (Connerton 1989: 15). However, memory is always social and is actively negotiated, it cannot be ‘used’ easily, whether by or against power. Therefore, memory practices must be analyzed in performances and practices to “get a more nuanced understanding of the emotional quality and power of the cultural process of heritage” (Smith 2006: 66).

Holtorf (2001a) offers a fresh stance on the issue, referring to ‘cultural memory’ as the collective understandings of the past the people hold at any given historical context. The cultural and material context of the past is embedded in a network of power and economic relations, that gradually ‘stratify’ in the social consciousness and work as a ‘retrospective memory’. This retrospective memory comes forward as ‘history culture’, that is, “the ways that the past is ‘presenced’ in everyday life, supporting, augmenting and guiding collective identities that reflect both a conscious and unconscious ‘will to remember’” (Harvey 2008: 21). In turn, the ‘will to remember’ is somehow a future oriented ‘prospective memory’, representing a sense of purpose of the people. Therefore, heritage items can function as “tokens that represent a desired future – reflecting both future pastas and past futures. The act of conferring the label ‘heritage’ onto something – whether physical or otherwise – provides a sense of purpose” (Ibid: 21).

Identity.

According to Anico and Peralta “it is common sense now that heritage has everything to do with identity. This is a rather straightforward relationship and there seems to be no question about it. The problem arises when trying to understand what identity is” (Peralta and Anico 2009: 1). Most heritage literature understands identity in a Hegelian fashion. Accordingly, identity and difference co-exist in a dialectic relationship whereby universal ideals and the will to preserve particularisms clash (Appadurai 1990). Identity always entails exclusion – the Other – and a connection with specific processes where similarity and difference are displayed in the cultural sphere. Normally, these processes are negotiated in the context of the community, where “recognition of Otherness will help reinforce self-identity, but may also lead to distrust, avoidance, exclusion and distancing from groups so-defined” (Douglas 1997: 151).

Fixed identities at every level need narrations to sustain them (Bhabha 1990), enabling individuals to locate their particular stories within broader frameworks (Ricoeur 1984). This is related to a human need for ‘ontological security’ (Giddens 1991), closely related to contemporary acceleration of the sense of time which are ‘liquid’, essentially “negotiable and revocable” (Bauman, 2004: 11). To be powerful, narratives need materiality and places, to ‘stand for’, ‘represent’ or ‘symbolize’ meanings and pasts, or to facilitate their performance. Despite processes of identification can work at the sub-national, regional or local level (Billig 1995), the majority of the analysis focus on the relation between identity and the nation (Diaz-Andreu and Champion 1996; Meskell 2002a).

Similarly to what happens with memory, aside from cases of nationalism it becomes a hard task to identify identity markers in heritage, their performance and their interactions with territories

and peoples. These markers can be sought in relation to issues of belonging (Feld and Basso 1996; Hayden 1997; Rose 1995) or beliefs and socially constructed ‘senses of place’ (Sumartojo 2004: 88). Heritage research has refined its focus to acknowledge the simplicity of commonplace assumptions held during the 1990s whereby “it was fashionable for theoreticians to argue that identities were becoming ‘disembedded’ from bounded localities and the traditional frameworks of national, ethnic, class and kinship identifications. At the core of such ideas lay the key assertion that global networks have diminished the importance of place and traditions, ruptured boundaries and created hybrid, in-between spaces.” (Graham and Howard 2008a: 7). In fact, the issue was usually framed with heritage stemming from a ‘break with the past’ (Craig 1989: 108; Saunders 1989: 153; Walsh 1992: 11). Duncan and Duncan (2004: 638) and Nash (2004) show how heritage and identity are intermingled in processes where globalization and nationalism are negotiated, challenged and hybridized with local customs and cultures. In fact, World Heritage can serve progressive emancipation purposes or support oppressive situations depending on the context.

According to their claim that heritage is the selective use of the past as a resource for the present (and future), Ashworth and Graham inherently relate identity with conflict through their widespread concept of ‘dissonant heritage’ (2005). Accordingly, heritage can be used to reject or contest received notions of identity, or to channel political claims in the realm of ‘identity politics’ in different areas, whether landscapes (Bender and Winer 2001), museums (Uzzell 1989), management (Carman 1995b), or community archaeology (Waterton 2005). Therefore, heritage can work as an instrument for the construction and legitimization of identities, providing temporal and material sanction to certain practices and discourses (Crouch and Parker 2003: 405).

Drawing on the critical realism of Bhaskar, Smith has connected heritage with Foucauldian issues of governmentality (2006). For her, heritage experts and institutions have developed an “authorized heritage discourse” that defines who the legitimate spokespersons are for the past and what is to be done with it. Experts “set the agendas or provide the epistemological frameworks that define debates about the meaning and nature of the past and its heritage”, having a “vested interest in maintaining the privileged position of their knowledge claims within both state apparatuses and wider social debates about the meaning of the past” (2006: 51). Simply put, Foucault’s governmentality thesis (2007) argues that modern liberal bureaucracies rely on scientific knowledge to impose control over populations and to ‘shape’ identities. According to Smith, heritage knowledge has become one of these instruments useful in defining populations (2006: 51). Therefore, it is essential to shift from questions of “who owns the past” to “who controls the meaning and value of heritage... for regulating and governing identity claims and making sense of the present” (Smith 2006)52). Thus, the AHD becomes an “authorized mentality”, which Smith couples with Urry’s ‘tourist gaze’ (2002), which conceives heritage as a way of seeing, a gaze. The AHD thus becomes a “master signifier”, and encourages researchers to pursue the theoretical task of making sense of the relation between heritage and identity, attending to the multiple ways identity is constructed or contested, whether within the AHD, in active opposition to it, or in unconscious situations outside it (2006: 53).

In accounting for archaeology as ‘popular culture’ and situating heritage as a non-renewable resource, Holtorf (2008) has made a theoretical step forward that has been harshly criticized (Kristiansen 2008). According to his views, archaeological authenticity and the straightforward relation of heritage with the past are undermined, and even the destruction of heritage is regarded as

a form of generating heritage (Viejo-Rose 2011a; Viejo-Rose 2011b). Buchli concurs with Holtorf, pointing towards the irony of preservation ethics: “in doing so, they help to create the very distance and disconnection to the present that archaeological narratives try so hard to close. We adopt these strategies because we fear their loss” (Lucas 2005: 130). Actor Network Theory (ANT) has only superficially influenced heritage studies, especially so through the ‘return to objects’ in material culture studies (Miller 1998; Tilley 1991). Both developments have provided a better grasp of the interactions between humans and non-humans, an essential task given that the new ‘heritage cult’ needs the tools of bureaucrats and techno science for its development. Moreover, ANT enables researchers to look at the discordant uses and ‘in-between’ aspects of heritage that have only been started to be discussed in the anthropological literature (Breglia 2006).

In sum, the majority of approaches to heritage remain bounded to safe analysis in traditional sites of research (Andrews 2010). Despite recent theoretical advances in the field, such as the AHD or ‘dissonant heritage’ and the acknowledgment of the power-laden character of heritage, those are far from being prevailing. Moreover, academic heritage scholars have drawn a clear line separating ‘heritage or cultural resource management’ from ‘heritage as a cultural process’. Thus, studies are clearly biased towards theoretical models that isolate the cultural from the economic, focusing on ‘meaning making’ and ‘discourse’, regarding heritage as a ‘representation’ a ‘sign’ in a language system. “The power of heritage is that it is about signification“ (Harrison 2009; see also Hodder 1992).

May be this situation is related to the roots of the discipline that conceived heritage as a belief, that is, part of the ideology or superstructure. As Andrews argues, “Lowenthal’s insight that authenticity is a *belief* versus a *truth* restores credibility to heritage and carves out a disciplinary space for heritage studies” (Andrews 2010: 31). In a neutral sense, ideology refers to abstract or symbolic meaning systems used to legitimize or explain socio-political and economic facts (Geertz 1964). In a negative sense it is considered as a distorted view of reality, or “false consciousness” (Jost 2006: 652). Scholarship has always straddled between both definitions, burdened by charges of inaccuracy and lack of authenticity. As could not be otherwise, Marxists have resorted to an opposite model whereby heritage is supposedly ‘commodified’, thus being part of processes of production and consumption (Goulding 2000; Throsby 2008). The infrastructure (economy/signifier) determines the superstructure (ideology/signified and meaning). Obviously, a harsh critique of ‘commoditization’ usually follows (Cole 2007; Skeates 2000). However, most scholars consider this system to be too simple and prefer to see it as a cultural process. Consequently, they ‘purify’ heritage from its economic charge, enabling it to stand as an object of research on its own, either as meaning or as discourse. Following the lineage of Barthes (1975), Geertz (1973b) and Hall (1996b), most heritage scholars – at least those who dare dealing with theoretical issues – have adopted the ‘social constructivist’ turn. Other scholars have relied on Habermasian communication theory (Dicks 2000) or phenomenology (Ingold 2000; Tilley 2006a). Smith lies somewhere between social constructivism and Bhaskar’s critical realism (1998). She draws on Critical Discourse Analysis to argue that heritage is discursively constructed (Smith 2006: 11) and inherently intertwined with social and political contexts and power: “discourse is constitutive and reflective of social practices” (Idem: 16).

Most approaches to heritage are clearly charged of transcendental notions presupposing an inherent relation with identity and memory, and a more or less fixed status for heritage that can be

'judged' as good or bad. Contentious issues arise in the realm of discourse and meaning, stemming from differences of interpretation that 'deviate from the norm', thus posing a pre-existent 'goodness of heritage'. As Turnbridge and Ashworth point out, "dissonance can and should be actively managed to promote a 'sustainable cultural heritage' for both 'socio-political stability and economic success' (1996: 268). Consequently, we are confined to a discursive struggle over representation and identity politics, where the search for recognition of minor voices in a multiculturalist fashion becomes the foremost task of the researcher (Landzelius 2003; Landzelius 2009).

4. Towards a Deleuzian Framework.

Social Constructivism and Critical Realism.

My study falls under heritage studies and aims to provide an ontology inspired by the philosophy of Gilles Deleuze and his followers. The problem with this endeavor is that, as Bonta complains, Deleuze always needs to be explained at length and cannot be just merely referred and taken for granted (2009). Although his work (alone and with Félix Guattari) is already well known in the English-speaking world, his insights have only tentatively started to be applied in the social sciences, and even less in disciplines involving fieldwork. This trend is gradually changing and some studies heavily draw on his philosophy. I think Deleuze can bring fresh air by providing some answers to some daunting questions in the field of heritage studies. Moreover, he provides a working framework to endeavors such as mine with a commitment with pragmatic aims outside the academic realm. Where and how causality acts in heritage? What is the ontological status of heritage? Is it about structures or agency? Is it 'out there' as in naïve materialist theories, or in our minds? Where lays the missing link between heritage as cultural process and as an entity subject to market and institutional forces?

The field of heritage studies has carved out some lines that have become epistemological hindrances. When considered as a resource, heritage has been considered a commodity in the sphere of economy, explained by the law of value and subordinated to naive realist ontologies considering it a 'valuable entity'. When considered a cultural process, it falls under the realm of understanding meanings, social constructions, discursive formations, identities and memories, and political representation. Neither approach can actually perform the twofold task of engaging in the ontological transformation of reality, to work politically, and "simultaneously update the core of the discipline. The question is whether it is possible to open up the definition of the discipline to the impact of market forces and technical advances as a drive to evolve its codes and simultaneously engage in practice while operating as a critical agent" (Zaera-Polo 2008: 17). Thus, is heritage a social construction or a 'real' tangible or intangible valuable entity? Is not heritage, as Zaera-Polo notes in the case of architecture, "the missing link between the community of humans and the community of *things* as political entities?" (Idem: 17).

Clearly, this situation in heritage studies is a reflection of a wider conceptual gap in the sciences between a supposedly objective world without meaning "upon which science reports and the 'meaningful' realms of human existence with which social theory or the humanities deal" (Halewood 2005). As a consequence, the social sciences and the humanities struggle to account for the physicality and actuality of subjectivity and subjects. As Halewood argues, "sociologists may

have succeeded in the important task of uncovering the political and ideological dimensions of gender but, as has been recently pointed out, this still seems to leave biological ‘sex’ firmly in the control of the ‘real’ sciences” (2005). We are witnessing a similar situation in the field of heritage studies, where scholars have uncovered most of the injustices, power relations, commoditization processes and abuses that heritage brings about without devising forms of pragmatic intervention in the actual state of things, dominated by the law of value and bureaucratic management.

Moreover, within the social sciences disputes are customary between some models that are imposed upon data as ‘frameworks’ which predetermine the outcomes of research (Law 2004a). The choice between these different positions is of scarce use. Marxist materialism poses a ‘material infrastructure’ that determines social relations. The ‘commoditization’ approach to heritage does not conceive emergent properties. The consequence of this approach is that heritage remains trapped within ‘egg and chicken’ paradoxes. For Groote and Haartsen for instance “if a commodity is to be consumed, it has first to be produced. So we may expect agents to spend time, money or other resources on the production or reproduction of such historical narratives, in order to have them consumed as heritage” (2008: 18). Is not consumption (superstructure) embedded in production (infrastructure) in contemporary postindustrial economy? Is not heritage then an emergent property rather than merely a product to be consumed?

In turn, Pierre Bourdieu’s and similar sociologies analyze social ties as mirrors reflecting social differences and distinctions (see Brett 1996), whereas for many others the social is still a backdrop where agents ‘perform’, like in Erving Goffman’s sociology. As Latour puts it, “none of those entries of objects in the collective are wrong, naturally, but they are only primitive ways of packaging the bundle of ties that make up the collective. None of them are sufficient to describe the many entanglements of humans and non-humans” (2005c: 84).

I think Deleuze can help us overcome dichotomies and binary though, connecting nature and culture, humans and objects, through a materialistic affirmation of the self-organizing, emerging and rhizomatic characteristics of the social world (Bonta 2005). My aim here is to take issue with social constructivism to pave the way for a Deleuzian understanding of heritage. In sum, contrary to positivism and realism, social constructivism argues that the meaning of social and even physical phenomena is not given once and for all, but depends on how they are perceived in society. Simple social constructivism analyzes the way different societies or cultures grant different meanings to certain given factors (e.g. Mead and Métraux 2000). Complex social constructivism poses that matter cannot be accessed without the existence of a signifying system or cultural intelligibility (Butler 1993). In its critical versions, social constructivism privileges the study of social groups over meanings of contentious phenomena around identities, race, nation, etc. For instance, Uzzell considers heritage “a physical reality that is more than just the fabrication in our minds that Lowenthal (1998) suggests. But it is clearly ‘in here’ as well, in the minds of the observer, it is a social construction, an empty box, waiting to be filled with our values, beliefs, desires... the meaning of the heritage will vary over time and for different groups of people” (Uzzell 2009: 326). In this framework, phenomena are understood fundamentally through their ideas, represented primarily in language and images. Despite acknowledging that representations have real effects, social constructivism does not normally provide an account of how these effects occur (for instance how do heritage discourses change the material management of a house or a territory in practice).

My heritage ethnography differs from social constructivism in that it focuses primarily in these real effects and how they occur, arguing that heritage is hardly ever a question of representation at large. In trying to conceive heritage as an event, I aim to show how it can be at the same time creative and constricting, constantly assembling and leaking in social contexts.

Deconstructing Social Constructivism.

Despite I take issue with social constructivism, I acknowledge that it has played a fundamental role in moving beyond the naive realism prevailing in the field of heritage, which considers heritage as ‘things’ whose value is inherent and apparent. I acknowledge that there are many types of social constructivism and thus I am not building here a ‘straw man’ to be deconstructed. Drawing on Anglo-American analytical philosophy, we can distinguish between the realist/anti-realist positions. Basically, the distinction relies on whether we can acknowledge the existence of a real world independent of our linguistic and mental conceptualizations. Realists can be classical materialists, who derive subjectivity from a material base; whereas positivism argues that a real and objective world exists and can be directly grasped by observable subjective experience. Critical realism is the position underlying Laurajane Smith’s theorization on Authorized Heritage Discourse (2006). It retains a notion of an independent external and objective world, but argues that unobservable entities are derivable from their impact on experience, thus rejecting the limitation of ontology to epistemology.

In turn, social constructivism has become a straw man comprising a number of idealisms focusing on the aspects of epistemological mediation (generally following Kant’s revolutionary turn: things are not ‘out there’ but rather categories in the mind). Social constructivism, influenced by hermeneutics in some cases, distances epistemology from the real world by focusing on the intersubjective and discursive construction of meaning on the basis of language-based models (language mediates our relation with reality).

The gap between both approaches to reality is reflected in the different stances concerning the status of the object of study in the sciences. Thus, whereas hard sciences focus on the analysis of empirical facts and objects, social science must normally account for actions and phenomena which comprise intentionality and meaning behind. Moreover, there are differing conceptions within social science concerning their ultimate objectives as a set of disciplines. For some, it is fundamental to ‘explain’ phenomena and to seek their underlying laws. Such a positioning derives from Hume’s theorization on causality. For him, only our experience of the repetition of some phenomena can enable us to ascribe causality and generalize, without ever understanding their necessary relation (Deleuze 1991b). However, as Deleuze points out, it is necessary to focus on explanation without posing causal laws and instead looking at *mechanisms* (Cull 2009). Therefore, critical and most realisms fail to provide a dynamic ontology by falling in causal essentialisms.

In turn, social constructivists that ascribe to the linguistic turn, consider the aim of social science as a task of ‘understanding’ meanings and intentions of social actors. Consequently, research focuses on language constructions, whereas social phenomena are related to linguistic games such as metaphors or metonymies. Thus, reality is mediated by language and the mind. Accordingly, social constructivism privileges subjective experience and the phenomenological-semiotic perception of reality. However, social constructivists such as Schutz, Berger or Luckmann

argue that the objective meaning context frames how intersubjectivity and commonsense are constructed (Berger and Luckmann 2011; Schütz 1970). Intersubjectivity includes communication with others in the social realm, but also with the people from the past through their products and memories left behind and the future prospects of society. Discourse and meaning are the structures from where specific discursive objects, identities, and meanings emerge. Epistemology prevails over ontology, questions about what we can know are privileged to the detriment of the search for the underlying foundations of phenomena. For our purposes, then, social constructivism fails in providing the transcendental explanation of what it takes for granted: language and subjectivity, which are not self-sufficient elements (Srnicek 2007: 28). Critical realism would consider social constructivism anthropocentric as it argues that it relies too much on epistemology and deploys a conception of reality that emerges from conscious experience (Idem: 29).

Bhaskar and critical realists, instead, privilege ontology over epistemology, employing transcendental arguments to seek the conditions for experience beyond the subjective experience of our minds and empirically scrutinizing their validity (Collier 1994). Bhaskar moves beyond the Humean search for the underlying causal relations between experienced phenomena to look at the transcendental mechanisms that produce events. Thus, theoretical models must be constructed to account for particular causal mechanisms by empirically observing phenomena. As in Deleuze's positioning, the range of theoretical stances is determined by the need to match conceptualizations with empirical data (DeLanda 2004). As Foucault (2002a) has shown, theories are historically conditioned, contingent entities in every given historical period. Dynamism is necessary to account for the changing conditions of reality, which is an open system with different mechanisms at work in constant interaction without any predetermined outcome (this, of course, outside controlled experiments). Science strives to arrest the flows of change to provide 'snapshots' of reality, whereas reality tends towards the proliferation of hybrids and chaotic phenomena (Brown 2009).

Without going in-depth into the discussion around critical realism, which falls beyond the reach of our thesis, it must be said that it still retains some degree of anthropocentrism by trying to explore the conditions for the 'possibility of knowledge' of the social (Srnicek 2007: 39). Critical realism is tied to the Kantian paradigm that Deleuze so strongly criticizes, fundamentally because it makes the epistemological methods rely on our knowledge. As Maimon points out, in focusing on the conditions of possibility of knowledge, the conditions of emergence of actual individuals is left aside (Quoted in Srnicek: 41). Again, disciplines strive to purify their theoretical and methodological approaches to heritage while heritage is broadly left unchanged in reality. If traditional heritage accounts based on empirical realism asked 'how we know heritage', Smith and others are asking now 'how and what objects are like so as to become legitimate objects of knowledge. Contrarily, for Deleuze it is necessary to look for the real conditions of an object without any subjective remnant or form of identity, by looking at the generative and individuating conditions of its emergence (DeLanda 2009). We can thus start this project while retaining the fundamental point of critical realism, namely, that reality (ontology) largely exceeds our experience and knowledge (epistemology) of it. This equals affirming that most real dynamics are independent of our thoughts or perceptions of them, which are also subjective and transitive phenomena.

A novel materialist stance must therefore avoid the trap both social constructivism and critical realism fail to overcome, namely, their attachment to anthropocentrism into being (Srnicek 2007: 50-51). Critical realism cannot get rid of the connections with the theory of knowledge and a de-

subjectified analysis of reality, whilst social constructivism is clung to the investigation of objectifications that are deemed the ontological basis of reality in close connection with language. Therefore, to study all identities as arising from processes of individuation and change it is necessary for materialism to “be capable of doing without subjects steering the process (or being steered by it), without substantive names designating ‘blocks’ in motion, and without points of origin or destination marking the allowed trajectory” (Idem: 55).

Deleuze’s Philosophy.

My research strongly draws on Deleuze’s philosophy. The complexity of his thought requires an detailed exposition. Deleuze has been explained and analyzed from many points of view, and especially scholars in the Anglo world have ‘built’ their own Deleuze. The major risk is to assume that he is a postmodern that puts forward a vitalist account of unrestrained flows and desires. Instead, Deleuze heavily draws on his knowledge of hard science mechanisms and provides a consistent materialist philosophy. In trying to provide a meaningful explanation I will follow a rather static and schematic, problem-oriented, presentation of his philosophy, where many issues will overlap. Then, I deploy a conceptual framework that will help the reader follow my analyses, to finally relate his thought with ANT and recent sociological literature. It must be clear from the beginning that I do not aim to create a ‘formal’ theory or a model of how others could apply Deleuze to heritage. In fact, I try to show that these fixed models or trends (as social constructivism) cannot be taken for granted and must be scrutinized and criticized. Rather, I conceive my research as a toolbox from which people can profit in one way or another, using some elements, discarding others.

An Entrance to Materialism, Empiricism and Immanence.

In my encounter with Maragatería I was stricken by the multiple different epistemologies at work in such a reduced and peripheral locale. I am now convinced that social sciences and the humanities largely fail to grasp the creativity of the material world (Saldanha 2007: 1). Real matter makes a difference which differs from the difference that consciousness makes of it, and this fact has been overlooked by social science. As we have seen, matter has to be mediated by culture, language and mind to be a legitimate object of research. However, Deleuze, and recently ANT scholars⁹, have argued that matter is problematic and cannot be taken for granted. The modern Cartesian division between matter and soul, which privileges the former to the latter, still pervades the sciences. This leads to the proliferation of useless divisions that, advocating a more in-depth scientific rigor, segment and segregate reality into more manageable pieces – think on UNESCO’s brand-new modern monster: intangible heritage (see Ahmad 2006; Kurin 2004b; Smith and

⁹ I acknowledge the differences between a Deleuzian framework and Actor Network Theory signalled by Harman in *The Prince of Networks* Harman, G. (2009). *Prince of networks: Bruno Latour and metaphysics*, Prahran, Vic.: Reppress.. However, I conceive ANT as a contemporary Deleuzian sociology. As Lynch pointed out, it might be called actant-rhizome ontology Latour, B. (1999). *Pandora's hope: essays on the reality of science studies*, Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press. ANT considers research as an empirical project focusing on the creative capacities of networks of actants and a Bergsonian, Tardian and Whiteheadian approach to reality conceived as unstable and multiple.

Akagawa 2009; UNESCO 2003). Along with the soul and matter division, the most well known ones are those of nature-culture and mind-body.

Deleuze, following the lineage of Spinoza, Hume, Leibniz, Nietzsche, Bergson and Whitehead, provides modern science with a dynamic materialist ontology. Manuel de Beistegui (2004) argues that he can be considered a ‘modern Kant’. While Kant provided a philosophy for Euclidean space, Aristotelian time, and Newtonian physics, so Deleuze grants a framework for fragmented spaces, twisted temporalities and non-linear, complex physics. The Western idea of matter poses it as some inert and passive entity that requires the imposition of an external form to exist. DeLanda, relying on Spinoza and Deleuze, argues that matter has immanent properties of self-organization, that it is capable of *morphogenesis* (2009). Matter is not seen as mass but rather as energy in flow, and the stable identities and objects of the real world are just ‘decelerations’ or ‘coagulations’ of these fluxes, or what Deleuze refers to as ‘desire’ (Marks 2006). As we will see later, this idea of matter conceives change as a constant process of ‘emergence’. If social constructivism was right to conceptualize heritage as a cultural process (Smith 2004), we need to move a step forward and account for the ontological status of this ‘process’ while getting rid of the cultural reductionism.

Deleuze’s stance advocates empiricism and immanence, in what has been called a ‘transcendent empiricism’. This requires researchers to seek the genesis of already constituted objects, which must be seen as processes in constant flux. Universal laws and regularities cannot determine the production of actual entities. Rather, empiricism affirms that “the abstract does not explain, but must itself be explained; and the aim is not to rediscover the eternal or the universal, but to find the conditions under which something new is produced” (Deleuze and Parnet 2007: vii). Thanks to the work of Foucault, it is well-known today that the search for laws and universals in the social sciences is related to the will to predict behavior and the development of methods of control and discipline (Foucault 2007). Furthermore, the positivist search for laws creates vast problems for the social sciences, as Harvey has shown in *Explanation in Geography* (1969), basically due to the reversibility of time’s arrow theory in physics that impedes the repetition of events in the social sphere for their analysis. Positivism, the dominant philosophy of science during the twentieth century, argues that the laws of psychology, chemistry, biology and physics can account for social phenomena. This implies a reduction of these phenomena to some general laws based on scientific explanation: “we make inductions from observations to form universal and exceptionless laws, which are treated as axioms. Hypotheses are then deduced (as ‘theorems’) from these laws for specific subfields of experience. Further experimental observations are then compared to the predictions garnered by hypothetical deduction from laws, and, if the observations match the predictions, then we have achieved scientific explanation” (Bonta and Protevi 2004: 13).

A further fundamental issue to take into account in moving away from positivism is that difference is previous to identity and that it is necessary to grasp the concrete before taking for granted identities, which are always representations (Boundas 2006). For instance, ‘heritage’ is a given representation that must be conceived, in its academic and bureaucratic understanding, as an emergent object that plays different roles in actual states of affairs. As ‘capitalism’ or the ‘State’, it is a by-product emerging in different concrete situations where it is enacted (Butler 1997). My initial approach to the project in Maragatería was thus flawed: with my academic understanding of heritage I was documenting heritage items in order to promote them through the creation of a

cultural park that would connect with international flows of tourism that share a more or less similar understanding of the ‘Universal idea of heritage’. When I acknowledged my initial error however, I started looking at the real conditions at work under actualizations of heritage, addressing the conceptual objects of knowledge as part of the empirical given. Thus institutional, cultural, political, geographical and technological conditions, among others, might influence the way heritage processes emerge in Maragatería. Therefore, it is an essential task to explain how the ‘Universal’ idea of heritage permeates local contexts and reaffirms itself, replacing material local situations by the ‘abstract’ and eternal Universal heritage identities. As Herzfeld argues, “we see globally generalized the notion that, much as culture is a possession of that collective individual known as the nation, so heritage is its realization as a collective property transfer between generations...This is the logic of monumentalization, and it is a logic often no more acceptable to local populations than are the productions of international companies that attempt to displace local foods and fashions. All these phenomena represent the growing efficiency of the global hierarchy of value” (2001: 78-79).

Immanence is a rather obscure concept, which in Deleuze goes together with monism, materialism and the affirmation of the Univocity of being. For Christian Kerslake, an immanent philosophy “does not appeal to anything outside the terms and relations constructed and accounted for by that philosophy. Ontologically, we might say that in a philosophy of immanence, thought is shown to be fully expressive of being; there is no moment of ‘transcendence’ of being to thought” (2002: 10). Despite immanence can be understood in many ways in Deleuze (de Beistegui 2005), we must retain that the basis of explanation cannot rely on transcendent out-worldly universals or laws. Immanence is the state that enables new properties to emerge and refers to the creativity inherent to the fundamental spontaneity of the living subjects. It is “unpredictable, with no necessary proportionality between cause and effect” (Urry 2003: 24), that is, chaotic and far from equilibrium, which implies that new properties can emerge without need of external intervention (Clarke 2005). Deleuze characterizes immanent behavior as ‘becoming’, a process by which entities and concepts are transformed – become different – while retaining a partial resemblance to their former self (Patton 2000: 78). This resonates with Whitehead’s affirmation that “experience involves a becoming, that becoming means that something becomes, and that what becomes involves repetition transformed into novel immediacy” (1979: 136-7).

Whenever the existence of an external veridical and static world is posed, whenever thought considers its object as an empirical given, we are betraying immanence and a priori ascribing a form of identity which presupposes homogeneity and permanence, a transcendence guaranteeing identity (Zourabichvili et al. 2004: 19). From here, two images of heritage (and of social science broadly) emerge. The first considers research as the outcome of applying concepts extrinsic to its object: “we know beforehand what social relations are, or cognition, kinship, religion, politics and so on, and our aim is to see how these entities take shape in this or that ethnographic context” (Viveiros de Castro 2003: 7-8). The other strategy is to follow what Latour has called symmetry, that is, an attitude in which the procedures driving the investigation are “*conceptually* of the same kind as those to be investigated” (Ibid, italics in original). A variation of Deleuzian-derived symmetrical approach that has taken grip especially in geography is non-representational theory, which assumes the immediately creative role of science. This approach considers that, as scientists, “we want to work on presenting the world, not on representing it, or explaining it. Our understanding of non-

representation theory is that it is characterized by a firm belief in the actuality of representations. It does not approach representations as masks, gazes, reflections, veils, dreams, ideologies, as anything that is laid over the ontic (life and its meanings). Non-representational theory takes representation seriously... not as a code to be broken or as illusion ... rather apprehended as performative in themselves, as doings” (Dewsbury et al. 2002: 437).

Symmetrical and non-representational epistemologies pose the question of what happens when research is undertaken in places where, as in Maragatería, many non-heritage subjectivities and agencies operate. If peasants do not conceive of heritage as a real entity, should I follow my symmetric commitment and leave them unstudied, or impose some transcendental categories on them to ‘analyze’ them? First, it is fundamental to keep in mind that Deleuzian causality affirms the ontological reality of concepts and ideas as ‘virtualities’ that thus operate as ‘quasi-causes’ in the social world. Therefore, heritage is operating in the social in many forms and it is therefore legitimate to investigate how its actualization and functioning influences and affects the non-heritage subjectivities. Second, when studying heritage as an emergent process, the most interesting aspect of research is to analyze ongoing processes of heritage morphogenesis, that is, how heritage emerges as a metacultural process in a previously non-heritagized sphere. Clearly, non-heritage subjectivities and heritage subjectivities are not totalities and must be conceived as heuristic abstractions or tendencies, like fractals in a gradient (Hernando Gonzalo and González Ruibal 2001). Individuals are situated, in a fractal manner, somewhere between both abstractions. The process by which a peasant acknowledges or reacts against the idea of heritage as a separate and differentiated object of reality is precisely what must be accounted for.

This simple idea is hardly widespread in the field of heritage studies. In fact, in most cases the researcher is situated as a transcendental subject who ‘discovers’ the heritage for the communities. Or, as Andrews puts it, there is “widespread incorrect and damaging presumption that communities, or the individuals constituting them, are heritage deficient” (2010: 19). However, she falls in the same transcendental trap of ‘external judgment’ by arguing that the overall premise of her research “is the abundance of heritage in any given community, with Bermuda being unexceptional in this regard” (Idem: 19). Again, the researcher plays the role of the judge, assuming an a priori identity and homogeneity of a heritage ‘out there’, whether as an excess or as something to be discovered (by the enlightened scholar, of course). Holtorf has introduced a further element of instability affirming the renewable status of heritage (2001b). However, I think this is just a form of sidestepping the problem, as the potential becomings of entities into heritage as metaculture in specific contexts is more or less conditioned and restricted. Try constructing some amazing prehistoric carvings as heritage in Filiel and Lucillo: people will still prefer to take care of the local church and shrines. In this regard the ‘discovery’ of heritage presents many similarities with Latour’s analysis of Pasteur microbes (1988) and Stengers’ analysis of the establishment of new scientific realms (2000). There is no reality ‘out there’, but neither ‘in-here’ in the mind of the researcher: scientists build networks of reciprocity among colleagues and the public that facilitate the emergence of new scientific assemblages comprising states of affairs, discourses, empirical realities, etc. In Maragatería, heritage is one of these assemblages in the making.

Processes must be accountable in themselves without affirming a priority of theory or empirical realities. Therefore, “the common presupposition that ‘all observation is laden with theory’ is only partly true. Our everyday experience is, in fact, partly determined by the conceptual

schemas we use to organize the world; but these conceptual schemas are themselves constructed as unifying forces from the immanent flux of becoming” (Srniczek 2007: 16). Strongly influenced by Leibniz and Spinoza, Deleuze’s monism fundamentally argues that thought and being (epistemology and ontology) are inherently connected. Only formal differentiations are allowed for clarifying states of affairs, but from this position it is useless to separate power from matter, discourse from ideas, society and nature: “Being is said in all manners” (Deleuze 1994). Instead of differentiating between a physical and a mental substance, Spinoza affirms the existence of a single substance that expresses itself in attributes and modes. Univocity goes back to the philosophy of Duns Scotus, who denied the existence of God separated from the real world, thus affirming immanence to the physical world (May 2005), poststructuralist philosophy of science). This implies that no ‘judgment’ can be made ‘from the outside’ or, in other words, the abandonment of transcendental positions of judgement that Nietzsche had already criticized (Deleuze 1983).

Thus, the heritage concepts I develop here are not abstract ideas but rather, concepts assembling empirical realities with many other entities. In this sense, Deleuze differentiates between the ‘plane of immanence’, the empirical states of affairs and meshworks of people, matter and discourse existing in the social field, and the ‘plane of reference or transcendence’ which science creates to account for that realities (Brown 2009). Thus, knowledge emerges not by moving from knowledge (epistemology) to reality (ontology), but rather in a permanent co-constitution of new assemblages in-between both.

Consequently, the transcendental subject must be decentered as the ultimate guarantor of an external position in relation to the outer world from which theory is built. There can be no all-encompassing structures or a methodological individualism celebrating individual agency. Our task as researchers is to create concepts, explain realities and try to stick to immanence as much as possible in our (scientific) plane of reference. Fitting objects into categories (for instance maritime, tangible-intangible, architectural, scientific heritages) becomes a useless task with the only aim of providing a false sense of scientific rigor. Fundamentally, this is in tune with developments in complexity theory applied to the hard sciences. As Isabelle Stengers and Ilya Prigogine note, “what is now emerging is an intermediate description that lies somewhere between the two alienating images of a deterministic world and an arbitrary world of pure chance. Physical laws lead to a new form of intelligibility as expressed by irreducible probabilistic representations. When associated with instability, whether on the microscopic or macroscopic level, the new laws of nature deal with the possibility of events, but do not reduce these events to deductible, predictable consequences” (1997: 189).

Deleuze: Ontology and Epistemology, Transcendence and Immanence.

Deleuze is part of a wave of post-war French philosophy that, according to Badiou (2005: 756, quoted in Hillier 2007: 16),

- Break with the separation between concepts and existence to understand concepts as dynamic events and processes.
- Bring philosophy from the academy into the quotidian.
- Affirming knowledge as a kind of practice and overcoming the separation between action and knowledge philosophies.

- Taking issue with psychoanalysis.
- Situating philosophy in a political context.

Deleuze goes further in breaking with phenomenology and previous philosophical traditions in France by breaking the opposition between epistemology and ontology. With Deleuze, the idea that researchers engage in the task of knowing objective reality by formulating, approaching and solving problems while the world exists out there cannot be sustained. “The fact that we cannot ever fully know reality is thus not a sign of the limitation of our knowledge but the sign that reality itself is incomplete, open, an actualization of the underlying virtual process of Becoming” (Žižek 2004: 56). The commonplace idea in social science that it is necessary to develop a theory of the subject to account for how people invest in the social field is thus rebutted. As we will see later, Deleuze offers a characterization of subjectivity as a form of ‘machinism’ which overcomes the agent/structure divide by focusing on emergence and a conception of identity as a series of synthesis and foldings (Brown 2009).

Therefore, for Martín Gallego, Deleuze’s epistemology is not pure praxis or theoresis, it is ‘poiesis’: a pure process of production in the interference between praxis and theoresis (2011). To think scientifically is not to seek correspondence between what is said and what is observed, nor to systematize and order ideas, but to problematize situations by linking a group of singularities through their differences. The outcomes of science must be problematic, rather than hypothetic (a group of true legitimate beliefs) nor nomologic, a system of universal or general laws (Gallego 2011). Following Charles Peirce, Deleuze argues that thought should not seek deduction (rendering explicit what is already known) or induction (generalization of the perceived), but rather abductive, that is, locally situated and partial (Toscano 2006).

In other words, the traditional postulate separating language and the world that prioritized the former and served to justify the creation of unequal binarisms such as myth – philosophy, magic – science, primitive – civilized, cannot be maintained any more (Viveiros de Castro 2010). We are entering a process of de-modernization, if we have ever been modern (Latour 1993). For Deleuze and Guattari then, to know is not to unify the multiplicity of the world under representation, to communicate or to reflect, but rather to create something new (Deleuze and Guattari 1994). The task becomes to multiply the number of agencies populating the world (Latour 2005b). Here, it is easy to see how Deleuze influenced the development of ANT in its focus on relations. Viveiros de Castro draws on the Deleuzian ‘strategy of the ...and...’ (in opposition to the ‘either...or’ of transcendent philosophies of the subject) to account for the ‘free variation’ of relations without any preconceived essence (2009).

It is fundamental for Deleuze to conceive relations as ontologically real and external to the terms that constitute them. At this point, ANT differs from Deleuze by not providing an ontological status to relations but only to actors (Harman 2009). The theory of the externality of relations implies that relations are independent from the terms of their effectuation and that the terms can have multiple relations at the same time, that is, they can participate from different systems and change some relations without changing them all. This enables Deleuze to escape ‘totalities’ and embrace pluralism and singularities that act as contingent processes without any underlying structure, function, representation or substance (Lazzarato 2006b). Therefore, each relation expresses only one aspect or characteristic of each particular entity. For Deleuze, when certain relations accomplish an operation a difference emerges. This is why he will affirm the existence of

‘operative essences’, which, devoid of any essence in the traditional understanding of it, produce *real differences in the world*. It must be clear, though, that traditional Marxism does not grant externality to relations in spite of being a theory of relations. Similarly to idealism and rationalism, relations are grasped in the differences between essence and phenomena. The real for Marx is not the individual *per se*, but the social individual, that is, the relations in which it is trapped. Social relations provide the essence from which the real derives (Lazzarato 1997).

In conceiving heritage objects as operative functions, scholars can account for the multiple *differences* that they bring about. Here the link with social constructivism could be achieved: instead of considering heritage as a ‘sign’ charged with meanings in an intersubjective grid, following complexity theory the ‘sign’ must be considered as a trigger of effects in the real world (Bonta and Protevi 2004)¹⁰. This positioning demands the researcher to seek what is connected with what in every framework of research, letting the actors deploy their own problems and build their own worlds (Jensen and Rödje 2010). The starting point of research must be to consider the field of research as an undifferentiated mass of actants, energies and forces whose connections, modes and attributes must be mapped. The consequence is that we are not out there interpreting and observing, striving for representational adequacy by building “complex representational chains” (Pickering 1995: 99), but rather we are relating with realities and influencing their transformation or maintenance.

I realized this was so while doing ethnography on the discovery of some noteworthy prehistoric carvings in Lucillo and Filiel. Many people were surprised by my interest, and asked me why we should preserve useless stones and waste money in it. The word ‘heritage’ – *patrimonio* – used to refer to some stones sounded odd for them. I had ‘contaminated’ them with the idea of heritage, making a real difference. In fact, it is this constant permeating of the idea of heritage that creates the *real state of affairs* enabling it to emerge as a *real object*. As Stengers (2000) has shown, this has nothing to do with a social construction or a truthful representation of reality, but with the different ‘knots’ and ‘links’ that science creates between scientific representations and reality (see Latour 1999 for a detailed account of the ways ‘science in the making’ achieves recognition and power). The paradox is that this is done, in my case, to gain a better grasp of how different subjectivities might be aligned through pragmatic efforts in ways that foster difference and respect diversity. That is, acknowledging that we are not operating in a situation of multiculturalism based on one common nature, but in a situation of multinaturalism (Viveiros de Castro 2009). The adequacy of scientific representations must be connected then, not with a truthful ‘resemblance’ with realities out there that can never be achieved, but with the experimental and pragmatic aims of

¹⁰ I cannot provide a detailed account of complexity theory here. In general, complexity theories enable researchers to analyze and think the capacities of self-organization and emergence of systems immanently, that is, without a need for external references. Complexity is a form of thinking reality and generating models to analyze it. Complexity theory analyzes the emergence of simple structures from complex exchanges among the parts of a system. In turn, chaos theory studies the development of unpredictable behaviors from simple rules in dynamic systems. Law, J. (2004b). "And if the global were small and noncoherent? Method, complexity, and the baroque." *Environment and Planning D*, 22(1), 13-26. y Kwa Kwa, C. (2002). "Romantic and baroque conceptions of complex wholes in the sciences", in J. Law, Mol, A., (ed.), *Complexities: social studies of knowledge practices*. Durham, NC.: Duke University Press, pp. 23-52. have tried to condensate different complexity theories in two ‘extremes’:

- Romantic complexity theories derive from cybernetics and computational sciences. They are characterised by holistic visions of the world where static natural laws enable us to account for the complexity of reality.
- Baroque or poststructural complexity (where Deleuze would fit) does not acknowledge a distinction between individuals and their environments. They emphasise non-linearity and the lack of coherence in the relations between different entities.

research within an expanded conception of interest (Stengers 2000: 160). Therefore, my project abandons the “fantasy of controlling the future while not abdicating the responsibility of preparing for a better future than the present” (Grosz 2001: 148-9). It cannot be otherwise in a world of movement and contingency rather than absolutes and essences, where entities always appear in interconnected wholes instead of as discrete and isolated systems to be systematically decomposed and investigated (Hillier 2007: 19).

Deleuze and Science.

“Philosophy does not consist in knowing and is not inspired by truth. Rather, it is categories like Interesting, Remarkable, or Important that determine its success or failure” (Deleuze and Guattari 1994: 82).

What is the relation between Deleuze and science? Is Deleuze seeking legitimacy for his philosophical endeavor by relying on scientific data? Is he using these data metaphorically, as Sokal and Bricmont (1999) argue? Or does he aim to provide an ontology for scientific endeavors? In sum, does he hold a position of conceptual similarity or evidentiary support?

The answer to these questions is complex and was developed in *What is philosophy?* by Deleuze and Guattari (1994). They distinguish between philosophy as an activity that generates concepts, and science, whose task is to create propositions which are constituted by concepts and philosophical problems that refer back to empirical entities in the world that are not comprised within the propositions themselves. These are the ‘objects of reference’ that are tackled from a situated ‘plane of reference’, which I described before. Philosophy, instead, generates self referential problems which connect with reality in a different plane and provide “virtual tools for engaging with practice” (Jensen and Rödje 2010: 10).

“The concept is defined by the inseparability of a finite number of heterogeneous components traversed by a point of absolute survey at infinite speed” (Deleuze and Guattari 1994: 21). Concepts bring together different elements from the ‘plane of immanence’ (the undifferentiated outer world of energies and flows) and enable us to think about the intensities and differences that compose it (May 2005). The plane of immanence allows connections between concepts to occur, and thought to discover new realities by bringing different elements together. Instead, scientific propositions refer to states of affairs and create functions that relate to these entanglements, objects or discourses (Deleuze and Guattari 1994: 138). Science does not simply describe reality, but rather enables thought to establish connections between virtual thoughts and states of affairs in the world. If philosophy works with concepts and planes of immanence, science creates functions and planes of reference (May 2005). A function “fixes the relationships among its variables rather than giving play to differentiated variations. It designates a specific relation or set of relationships that holds among its components a specific covariance that occurs among its variables” (May 2005: 253). To do so, science creates a plane of reference enabling it to separate itself from the chaotic and changing nature of the plane of immanence. From that position, science can slow down phenomena and organize science: “it is a fantastic slowing down” (Deleuze and Guattari 1994: 118). If science is not about interpretations and meanings but is rather concerned with the production of reality and

states of affairs, the distinction between social constructivism and realism is overcome (DeLanda 2004). As Latour would put it, “the more constructed, the more real” (2005c: 88).

Researchers are “points of view in things themselves that presuppose a calibration of horizons and a succession of framings on the basis of slowing-downs and accelerations” (Deleuze and Guattari 1994: 132). Therefore, they offer particular standpoints on states of affairs and deal with them from their plane of reference derived from a fixed scientific framework. This leads us back to the initial quotation. Scientific and philosophical endeavors cannot be measured by resemblance with reality or identity, but rather by a situated ethics of what is important and remarkable. This resonates with Deleuze and Guattari’s claim that there is no relativity of truth but there is truth only of what is relative (1994: 130). Science is not a source of truthful accounts but rather a provider of differences. In tune with the ‘strategy of the and’, some kinds of science have the potential to bring the new to the world and provide alternatives. These are the ‘minor sciences’ (or ‘problematics’ as opposed to ‘axiomatics’), creative endeavors which step aside from the prevailing scientific endeavor to strengthen and reproduce of existing states of affairs (Jensen and Rødje 2010: 11).

There is scientific truth because every scientific experimentation creates a certain plane of reference and brings together different states of affairs and concepts which are relevant for research. As Stengers argues, “the important point here is that there are many kinds of adventures, and each has its own truth and its own kind of loyalty, as it affirms its own diverging value” (2010: 48). Therefore, the relation between science and philosophy is not an issue of evidence or illustration, it is one of complementary lines of thought (Idem). As May notes, “science cannot provide evidence for philosophy, since philosophy is not a matter of truth; it does not seek evidence. Nor is science merely an illustration of philosophical concepts, because functions work in too different a realm from concepts to stand as examples of them. What I want to suggest here is that the incorporation of science into Deleuze’s work is an attempt to ‘speed up’ scientific viewpoints by offering them an ontological perspective that draws them ‘out of themselves’ and brings them into contact with pure difference, difference in itself” (2005: 254). As both fields are concerned with the exploration of the virtual plane of intensities, differences, their interests intersect at many points, and new thoughts arise that can help philosophers build new concepts and scientists create new functions to ‘slow down’ and analyze reality. In other words “philosophy gives consistency to the virtual, mapping the forces composing a system as pure potentials, what the system is capable of. Meanwhile, science gives it reference, determining the conditions by which systems behave the way they actually do” (Bonta and Protevi 2004: 29). To put it simply, my research in Maragatería is a creative dialogue between a chaotic plane of immanence (Maragatería), a plane of reference that provides a framework for developing functions drawing on the immanence of Maragatería (heritage studies and spatial planning), and a virtual plane (philosophy) that creates concepts relating with the other two and provides the ‘dignity of the event’ for the scientific endeavor (Stengers 2009). Viveiros de Castro reminds us that cultural and social anthropology has always been traversed by philosophical concepts and problems, from myth to culture. Thus, what is at stake is not whether anthropology should connect with philosophy or not, but rather with which one (2009).

I do not consider my work a philosophical experimentation, and neither have I followed some recent trends arguing that social science should be strictly practical or instrumental. With Thrift, I find myself somewhere in-between, conceiving the task of social scientists to map the world and “make sure that it can speak back just as much as they [philosophers] are there to produce wild

ideas – and then out of this interaction they [social scientists] may be able to produce something that is itself equally new” (2008: 18). In Deleuzian terms, my research falls within minor science in that it seeks to explore new possibilities and open up novel trajectories and ways of thinking the reality of Maragatería. Deleuze relates the difference between official, royal or major, and minor sciences to their scopes and aims: official science reterritorializes contexts, reproduces states of affairs and existing knowledge, whereas minor science deterritorializes established patterns and explores new pathways (Pickering 1995). “Major science has a perpetual need for the inspiration of the minor; but the minor would be nothing if it did not confront and conform to the highest scientific requirements” (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 486). Minor sciences “subordinate all their operations to the sensible conditions of intuition and construction – *following* the flow of matter, *drawing and linking up* smooth space” (Idem: 373 italics in original). Deleuze and Guattari (Idem: 364) use the example of the contrasting Archimedean and Euclidean geometries employed by the artisan hand-workers and architects building Gothic cathedrals: “Royal science continually appropriates the contents of vague or nomad science while nomad science continually cuts the contents of Royal science loose” (Idem: 367). Similar to the ‘eccentric science’ of Serres (2000), minor science is slippery and open, it looks at heterogeneity and the open becoming of the world. The object of minor science is not static nor a representation, but the changing realities and dynamic entities that populate the world.

Here it is necessary to introduce the conceptual couple of ‘smooth’ and ‘striated’ space. These spaces can be physical or mental, but they are not mutually exclusive and are always entangled in practice, despite one or the other might prevail (Osborne and Rose 2004: 210). Striated space is controlled space, regular, organized and enclosed: “one of the fundamental tasks of the State is to striate the space” (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 479). It can be conceived as an operative force working from a transcendental position similar to Haraway’s description of the God’s eye view (1989). Furthermore, its organization is set up through causal laws. Osborne and Rose note that practices of subjection, regulation and discipline occur in these spaces (2004: 218). On the contrary, Serres argues that smooth spaces are characterized by divisions, confluences, knots and bifurcations (2000: 50). They connect potentials for change as sets of relays and can be the consequence of deterritorialization processes of striated space, which are never totally controlled. Here we can recall Deleuze’s stance that, contrary to Foucault, sees society as “something that never stops slipping away... Society is something that leaks, financially, ideologically—there are points of leakage everywhere. Indeed, that problem for society is how to stop itself from leaking away” (Deleuze and Foucault 1986). This is not to say that smooth space is fundamentally ‘good’ and striated space is ‘bad’. In fact, contemporary capitalism is a machine that constantly smooths the striated spaces that States strive to construct (through taxation, control of financial or ideological movements for instance). Google is the quintessential smoothing machine. Google advocates a smooth internet space without property rights or any kind of control to its own benefit (Pasquinelli 2009). My argument is that heritage contributes to the striating efforts of institutions by defining and segmenting what is valuable from what is not, while at the same time smoothing international spaces by imposing global hierarchies of value that relate to forms of commoditization that go beyond national boundaries. The key question is how to reconcile the creation of smooth heritage spaces with an immanent theory of value relinquished from a utopian character to promote the proliferation of non-exclusive heritages.

Correa and Correa (2009) look at the history of minor sciences since the classical era. For them, the two sciences, “Official and eccentric, Statal and nomadic, Major and minor Institutional and alternative” (Idem: 20), are connected to two ways of conceiving science: either as a physics of routes and paths or of waves and flows. There is a physics reaffirming, measuring and representing nature, and there is a physics of the *continuum*, which analyzes internal rhythms and measures, the properties and capacities of singularities in context. The whole issue is related with different stances to address ‘reality’, an issue that has led in anthropology to the well-known division between emic and etic stances. As Rosanvallon and Preteseille (2009: 119) make clear, the choice between both positions is not epistemological but strictly ontological, and refers to a fundamental disjunction between the worldviews offered by physics and quantum mechanics (whose explanatory models indirectly determine those of the social sciences). Physics is based in the principle of (extensive) segregation of space and time drawn from the theory of relativity. Relativity enables us to neutralize local systems of reference and to absorb them through mediation into our frames of reference based on universally valid laws. This can be called exo-reference and be broadly related to ‘etic’ accounts. Contrarily, quantum mechanics is determined by the principle of (intensive) superposition of matter without the need of external references, in a similar vein to ‘emic’ stances. Also, this resonates with the differences between Euclidean and non-Euclidean geometries, and the possibility of accounting *immanently* for entities and processes without reference to external frameworks (Correa and Correa 2009). It is thus legitimate to ask whether it is legitimate for heritage scholars to address heritage as something ‘out there’, because they tend to impose their own exo-references into particular states of affairs. Is that a legitimate form of creating functions and inventing concepts to develop open becomings, or is it just a way of defining, categorizing and enclosing meanings and behaviors? What is heritage in Maragatería? What I think would be considered as valuable in the global hierarchy of heritage values, what institutions consider as heritage, or what the local people value most?

Deleuze and Guattari intuited this problem when emphasizing the necessity to look at fluctuations, rhythms and dynamics without metric, law-like measures. Minor sciences pave the way for official science’s monopoly over space, which demands relations with reality to be “thought as distinct, independent and external to the terms; but there is also more to ‘the relation’: space between the terms, between the bodies, must be thought as a relation between the terms or elements, external to them and the source of a sensory datum” (Correa and Correa 2009: 26). For Deleuze and Guattari, the ambivalence between minor and official sciences is a political problem inherent to science. Because when minor science is appropriated by the State it becomes a proto-science – e.g. atomism and alchemy being the ‘proto-sciences’ of chemistry. Foucault has also analyzed how different forms of *savoir* and socially marginalized practices become fundamental for the constitution of official *knowledge* during the XIX century (Foucault and Gordon 1980). Instead, when minor science stands aside the State, “independent and self-sufficient”, it is considered a ‘pseudoscience’, a ‘pre or para-science’. The development of post-processual archaeology in recent decades provides the perfect example. Postprocessualism has been constantly accused of not complying to the scientific method (e.g. Domínguez Rodrigo 2008) and has been marginalized not only discursively but also materially – excluded from academy, project funding, finding difficulties to publish and therefore being relinquished from the possibility of dismantling the reproduction of processualist archaeology. The legitimization of official science is secured “with the consensuses

engendered by technobureaucrats, ensconced in peerdom systems and a media-based popularization of science that guarantees instant recognition and engineered mass-support and capitalization” (Correa and Correa 2009: 20). Minor science, in sum is a resistance to forms of power that circumscribe what can be said and what can be studied, channeling scientific flows towards certain areas and not others – for instance heritage studies being focused towards identity, memory and the past rather than in materialist issues of inscription, capture of economic and libidinal flows and control of desires. Minor science affirms that there is a different way of treating problems, of posing problems, of doing science.

Thus, the strategy of a ‘minor heritage’ should be to ‘subjectify’ rather than ‘objectify’ heritage and to ‘differentiate’ rather than ‘identify’ it. This implies assuming heritage as a fragmented entity in constant change, as Mol’s ‘multiple objects’ whose agencies and capacities proliferate constantly (1999). Her outstanding analysis of how arteriosclerosis is conceived, diagnosed, understood and treated in so many different forms shows how subjectivity and agency are distributed throughout the social field rather than comprised in transcendental subjects (the doctor, the chemist). Reducing heritage to a representation that enables us to ‘communicate’ with a public in a Habermasian fashion, to a social construction charged of meanings in a Hegelian interplay of social recognition, or to a resource to be exploited, implies missing the creativity that heritage and its different constructions might bring about.

The Virtual and the Actual: Heritage Processes.

Official science supports the prevailing Western tradition that presupposes an ontology based on the static identity of Being: this is “State philosophy” or the “established order” (Massumi 1992: xi). For Deleuze, Being is *pure difference*, that which differs itself *in nature* via creativity. Among others, Castoriadis has highlighted this “logic of the Same”, which reinforces identity to exclude difference as a subordinate reality (1997). The identitary logic has pervaded social theory in its different forms: the dialectics of Hegel assumed by Marx, interactionism and methodological individualism (which assert the pre-existence of a subject with identity), and also phenomenological theory (which prioritizes subjective experience and subordinates reality to representation), and the different theories of exchange (Bogard 1998). Official science pursues the task of reaffirming identitarian logics by seeking constants and universals to reproduce knowledge-power from external points of view (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 372). Instead, minor sciences tracking smooth spaces do not reproduce but rather *follow* processes engaging in constant variation rather than in fixing phenomena (Jensen and Rödje 2010: 13). Therefore, minor sciences look for *singularities*, non reproducible phenomena that produce difference, and *multiplicities*, actual coexistences at a single moment (Law and Mol 2002: 8).

Multiplicities bring different elements together and can be also described as ‘multiple objects’ (Mol 1999). ANT has facilitated the widespread of this concept in the social sciences, as a network of interconnected human and non-human entities. When Deleuze talks of groups or ‘identities’ he always treats them as multiplicities following the strategy of the ‘...and...’. The One is always a multiplicity of others (Hillier 2007: 57), connected through relations of externality with other elements in different assemblages. Connections are fundamentally partial and incomplete (Wagner 1991), non-linear and with unpredictable feedbacks at different levels. In Maragatería, the Real-

gunfire military camp of the Teleno raises a multiplicity of voices that support or contradict each other in complex ways, and in doing so shape an idea and practice of heritage which interferes with the others. Interference, contamination of different points of view (Zourabichvili et al. 2004) is not pluralism, which “implies a series of separate, unrelated or parallel entities which happen to coexist” (Hillier 2007: 57).

Singularities, in turn, can be equated with ‘assemblages’, as we will see later. However, to understand the role played by individual singularities we need to turn towards Deleuze’s ontology of the virtual and the actual, which will provide a better ontological foundation for heritage processes as differential actualizations of virtual potentials. We must understand the theory of the actual – virtual as fundamental to provide an ontological grounding for ‘emergence’. Deleuze intends to replace the true – false and real – unreal oppositions by the distinction between the actual and the virtual. Broadly, the actual is the extensive space where representations and matter, concepts, language and discourse exist as stable, identifiable systems at present experience. The actual can be expressed by the stabilized systems of power and desire as found in classes, states or communities (Srniczek 2007). In the actual state elements always rely on identities which are clearly individuated. The virtual is the intensive field from which the actual possibilities arise, a plane of potentialities immanent in every situation. In contrast to the stable systems of the actual, the virtual is populated by far-from equilibrium systems. There is a constant productive reciprocity between both fields, without any of them determining or subordinating the other. In *Bergsonism*, Deleuze noted that ‘virtual’ is not opposed to ‘real’ but opposed to ‘actual’, whereas ‘real’ is opposed to ‘possible’ (1991a).

The actual is the sphere of reality where empirical, Hume-like causality prevails. Actual entities possess extensive qualities such as mass, length or weight. But they also possess intensive qualities that give rise to novelty and create new orders, such as temperature or pressure. In contrast with extensive qualities, intensive qualities cannot be divided or transformed without provoking a transformation in the nature of the whole system where they are integrated. Intensive properties cannot be changed beyond certain thresholds and have the capacity of creating novel networks of bodies and entities which preserve an emergent behavior (Bonta and Protevi 2004: 15). DeLanda uses different examples to explain intensities. For instance, when water reaches a certain temperature it shifts from equilibrium to a far-from equilibrium status where molecules enter a new organization with convection cells (DeLanda 2004: 25). Deleuze and Guattari extend the principle of non-linear systems to the understanding of both material and social fields (1994: 117). These systems, which can be called assemblages, engage in exchanges of energy and matter with other systems at different points. There are different levels and scales of operation that define the ways intensive properties frame the flows of energy that pervade the system. Deleuze uses the example of the embryogenesis of the egg, a process of assembly driven by the differences between rates of change in the bio-chemical components (Groves 2009). Processes like this emerge from their own specific extensive and intensive relations without any final cause or external imposition. Despite genetic codes might condition development different actual contexts (temperature, sun exposition, etc) can modify the outcome of the process: novelty can arise.

Nonetheless, if we limit our analysis to actual processes we will fall in the tautology of retroactively explaining the individual for what it is: “it is heritage because it has the properties of a, x and z”. Essences become explanatory devices that add nothing to the state of knowledge or to the

world. It is thus necessary to turn to the virtual potentialities beyond the actual, the intensive processes that give rise to actual entities. It is important here to note that the virtual/actual division cannot be equated to the tangible/intangible categorization of heritage. The latter is a product of the modern Cartesian segmentation between soul and matter that has been adopted by Official heritage studies. The concept of intangibility is probably the height of UNESCO's and Official heritage institutions' essentialism and unwillingness to tackle the complexity of real-world processes. Do not French cuisine and Flamenco dancers involve *tangible* assemblages of bodies, dresses and foods? However, we must look beyond this apparent criticism to grasp the fundamental move that intangible heritage implies. This is the construction of 'intangible heritage' as an abstract entity that can enter flows of political discourse, tourism and marketing. Intangible heritage is 'in tune' with the immanence of the market and nationalist aims. The declaration of the "Gastronomic meal of the French" as intangible World Heritage (2010) has been the most polemic and explicit case. The declaration served to set up a nationalist project that aimed at affirming the French identity within the European Union, at the expense of other culinary 'superpowers' such as Italy or Spain (Iverson 2010). A national gastronomy museum and a TV channel were established after the declaration. The potential, virtual uses of intangible heritage were actualized to reinforce French soft-power (Nye 1990) and to increase the symbolic capital of the French 'brand' (Anholt 2007). A materialist account of 'intangible heritage' unveils its earthly and empirical roots, and moves the debate from epistemology (is really French food worth a special recognition as heritage?) to ontology (what lies behind the declaration of French food as heritage?).

In contrast to the actual, the virtual field cannot be found in the empirical given, rather, "it provides the transcendental conditions for the empirical and, following upon our earlier arguments, it must therefore avoid placing an empirical instance as the transcendental principle. In other worlds, it must eschew any idea of founding itself upon an identity, whether it be an a priori principle, a universal law, or a self-identical being" (Srnicsek 2007: 46). Here it is necessary to introduce two further fundamental Deleuzian concepts that defy conventional schemes of scale: the molar and the molecular. Rather than equating the 'micro' and 'macro' scales, the molar and the molecular challenge the Hegelian-derived conception of matter as 'Being' and its contrary 'nothingness'. For Deleuze, matter exists simultaneously in both states. At the molar level, matter is the solid entity that we perceive empirically such as a castle or a prehistoric carving, but also socio-technical assemblages such as institutions or the family. Molar changes are extensive, in volume, ordering, mass, etc. In turn, the molecular comprises "exactly the same matter, but understood as changing (or rather, becoming) even if it does so in a manner that we do not necessarily perceive empirically" (Martin-Jones 2006: 24). When observing a castle our commonsense empirical perception is of unchanging and stable matter. However, we know that hundreds of imperceptible, intensive chemicophysical, biological and social processes are acting upon it that will inexorably lead to its collapse over time. Changes and behaviors are emergent, in temperature, internal composition and organization, speed, etc.

Criticism has arisen around the virtual/actual division. To counter Badiou's (2000) and Žižek's (2004) claims that the virtual would be a kind of Platonic transcendental field of ideas it is necessary to emphasize that the virtual and the actual are both real. This model also escapes Kant's distinction between the real and the possible. The real/possible model limits the potential for the new to emerge, because all the possibilities are given a priori, are *pre-existing* possibilities that can

be realized. In contrast, the actual is always individuated “by a unique set of conditions, and a *creation* because the product (individuals) in no way resembles the virtual (differential relations and singularities)” (Srnicek 2007: 48). Furthermore, Kant’s use of the transcendental argument is part of ‘State philosophy’ and is concerned with legislative and juridical aims: “to distinguish legitimate from illegitimate uses of reason” (Shaviro 2007: 14). Deleuze’s virtual is fundamentally productive and connected with actual experience (1983: 51-2). Deleuze turns round Kant transcendental idealism to a transcendental empiricism (Pardo 1992), moving “from the possible to the virtual, and from merely formal conditions of possibility to concrete conditions of actualization” (Shaviro 2009: 33). The possible is opposed to the real as it is an entity that could exist but happens not to exist. The virtual, in turn, offers potential for change, emergence and creation. It is a field of “energies that have not yet been expended, or a reservoir of potentialities that have not yet been tapped. It does not predetermine what will be actualized, it is rather the underlying force that “that allows each actual entity to appear (to manifest itself) as something new, something without precedence or resemblance, and something that has never existed in the universe in quite that way before” (Shaviro 2009: 34). If exploring the actual realm would provide only tautological analyses where identities are predetermined as possibilities (heritage is a, x and y), exploring the virtual requires the rejection of a transcendental position and an immanent plunge into reality where new actualizations occur. As Latour puts it in a imagined conversation where a scholar discusses the particulars of ANT with a student in *Reassembling the social*, “your question was: ‘What can I do with ANT?’ I answered it: no structuralist explanation. The two are completely incompatible. Either you have actors who realize potentialities and thus are not actors at all, or you describe actors who are rendering virtualities actual (this is Deleuze’s parlance by the way) and which require very specific texts” (2005c: 155).

Therefore, what is a heritage process? An actualization of heritage virtual potential, a move from the virtual to the actual. These movements always imply creativity and a complete imbrication between the subjective realm and matter. Deleuze provides a non-essentialist ontology where the actuality of the contemporary world and the virtual continuum are both real and depend on each other to exist. “Hence, matter, meaning, subjectivity and sense all happen at once. They are neither social nor material; nor are they ultimately reducible to either one or the other. The two sides are needed together. Hence social divisions are material divisions and vice versa” (Halewood 2005). As Bogard argues, for Deleuze “sociological concerns are directly connected to problems about bodies ... questions about sense, especially about the social construction of meaning and value, become questions about how bodies are marked or inscribed; and problems of social structure and power become matters of how flows of desire, down to the most molecular levels, are segmented, rechanneled, and reconnected” (1998: 54). Now we can tackle heritage without prejudices concerning its social construction or its inherent value as a cultural or economic resource. However, we still need to account for the underlying *causality* in heritage processes, to conceive them as processes of *emergence* enacting distributions of energy and power that condition the emergence of certain subjectivities and structures.

From Causality to Mechanisms of Emergence: Heritage Processes.

Moving away from hermeneutic or phenomenological descriptions, Deleuze provides an account for the emergence of new patterns of order within material systems per se, whereby virtual constraints operate within material systems to trigger different outcomes. Systems can tend towards homeostasis and stability (as when a heritage objects are sanctioned as such and become accepted) or towards metamorphosis and uncertainty (when heritage becomes contentious or is simply not acknowledged) (Groves 2009). My purpose is then to understand how heritage processes arise within the own material processes that produce them. This avoids final causality, one which seeks to show that the specification of a thing is the process from which it emerges, “whether the thing in question is a chemical element, an organism, a species, a social institution or a technology” (DeLanda 2004: 10).

The virtual is a field composed by multiplicities (Deleuze 1991a: 39), which are themselves defined by singularities, “features of the state space of a given actual system which map out its long-term tendencies” (Halewood 2005). The virtual is not a representation; it is rather a “modal status of the set of possible states of the system, along with the probabilities of attaining a particular sub-set of those states. In other words, the concept of the virtual is a way to understand the relation of any system to the patterns and thresholds of its intensive processes and actual behaviors” (Bonta and Protevi 2004: 17). In complexity theory, the singularities populating the virtual are also called attractors, real entities determining different trends in any specific system. They are not transcendental ideas, but rather products themselves of the own specific trajectories of the own system where they operate. Actual entities never reach the attractor, being however subject to its perturbations and fluctuations that destabilize them in new ways. When a new set of fluctuations become stabilized a new individual object or subject arises as a by-product, a new form of order and organization coalesces into a novel actual entity. Until the 1990s, the military camp of the Teleno was considered the hen laying the golden eggs in Maragatería. Despite things did not change substantially, when the novel attractors of ecology and heritage came into play, the whole system entered a new phase whereby many different heritage and ecological objects were created and new connections between people, objects and institutions were made. Attractors secure the stabilization of certain equilibrium points from which subjectivities and objects arise.

As we have seen, the actual field is defined by linear causality, which comprises relations among bodies that are normally traced by physical science. Physical causes determine phenomena in the world as a necessary condition, but they cannot explain whatever happens (Shaviro 2009). Again, linear causality can only account for possibilities, and not for the emergence of novel compositions and organization in the world. Therefore, it is necessary to turn to the virtual field, dominated by ‘quasi-causes’, as Deleuze defines them. Alongside actual causal relations there are also virtual relations of causality where effects are separated by causes, “effects or incorporeal events” (Deleuze 2004: 6). They are the generative conditions, meanings and reasons, for processes of physical production without totally determining, prefiguring or copying the real. Quasi-causes or attractors are always at work in every context. New attractors are better mapped in times of change and upheaval. The way heritage became a new ‘attractor’ for fluxes of energy and money in Val de San Lorenzo or Santiago Millas is an example of an intensive, far-from equilibrium transformation where the outcomes of the process are uncertain.

Drawing on the anthropological works of Pierre Clastres, Deleuze provides an example of a quasi-cause in discussing the issue of the emergence of central authority. Its emergence is difficult to explain because hunter-gatherer communities deploy different strategies to prevent the centralization of authority: “dissipating gradients of status or prestige to prevent leadership from becoming permanent, or dissipating gradients of energy (surplus agricultural products) by burning them or redistributing them to prevent the creation of a stock” (DeLanda 2011: 198). However, if all these strategies are necessary it is because ‘central authority’ exists as a quasi-cause, as a virtual attractor for the community (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 431). Therefore, without being actual, without having materialized, ‘central authority’ determines the social topology of the group. It is not a possibility, because no one can tell how ‘central authority’ might be exactly, it is rather a potential that forces individuals to physically act different to avoid it. This is why despite attempts by anthropologists to create ‘categories’ of chiefdoms, kingships, etc., what in fact prevails is a virtual attractor which actualizes differently in every social field according to the constraints that the actual poses to the virtual. Virtual and actual are always co-constituted, both emerge together. Similarly, when touching ground in real states of things, heritage discourses and expertise become just part of the virtual plane of the actual world of the people. They become a new potential way of ordering and negotiating the social and material fields, and to accelerate or slow down change. Where institutions and some scholars see fixed valuable objects and non-heritage subjectivities to be ‘enlightened’, educated, in the values of heritage, social actors in the field see potential new ways of channeling flows of energy, money and affect.

When changes in the prevailing attractors occur we are facing ‘bifurcation points’, where the system must deal with a choice between sets of singularities. If attractors are patterns of behavior, bifurcators are thresholds where behavior patterns change (Protevi 2006). Deleuze calls these generalized changes in systems towards new attractors ‘deterritorializations’. For Brown and Lunt, a territorialization involves “the creation of meaning in social space through the forging of coded connections and distinctions” (Brown and Lunt 2002: 17). A territorialization might lead to the construction of a consistent heritage object, bringing together concepts, discourses, symbols, laws and money. Different actants play a role in territorialization processes. However, the fundamental territorializing agent is normally the State, as Foucault has shown in his accounts of governmentality (2007). Every territorialization is a process of capture of flows, of imposing restraints and limits to change and becoming (Patton 2000). The opposite process is deterritorialization, the “destabilization and ultimate removal of codings that confer fixed meaning” (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 65), which is normally followed by ‘reterritorializations’ that impose new rules and orders. For Deleuze, society is constantly being deterritorialized in some way, is constantly leaking, capitalism being the deterritorializing machine *par excellence*, at least since the beginning of the ‘world-system’ (Wallerstein 1974). In complexity theory parlance, ‘triggers’ can be equated with ‘events’ that lead systems to behave differently. If the system moves to a previous pattern, more or less pre-established, Deleuze refers to it as a ‘relative deterritorialization’. If the system acquires a whole new set of patterns and laws governing its functioning, we are talking about an ‘absolute deterritorialization’ whereby a new a process of self-transformation leads to a novel reterritorialization (Bonta and Protevi 2004).

The initial conditions in every new territorialization of a system strongly determine its evolution. In Maragatería, the ‘fever’ raised by the discovery of the prehistoric carvings has led

many to look for them everywhere and defined their idea of what is heritage in a certain way. In Val de San Lorenzo, however, industrial heritage is *the heritage*, whereas in many other villages where neo-rurals abound, vernacular agricultural instruments and tools are the heritage *par excellence*. A further point to note is that once an attractor is abandoned, the system cannot return to it, and if it does it is always done with a different set of extensive and intensive properties (a 'reterritorialization'). Therefore, repetition always involves novelty and difference (Deleuze 1994). In Val de San Lorenzo, the city council and the E.U. funding group (and later on me as well, as the 'heritage manager') tried to implement a clear heritage agenda for the revitalization of the local economy. Textile industrials should abandon industry and go back to the artisan productive system to sell 'luxury' textile items. From a transcendental, external point of view based on linear and causal calculations, and a rational decision making framework, the shift was plausible and desirable. However, of course, this was not possible in reality for many reasons, ideological (modernity means industrialization for the entrepreneurs), social (working with the hands means poverty) and material (people saw machinery as investments but were also emotionally attached to them in some cases). Heritage became the new intensive attractor to channel flows of energy and money, becoming the 'new modernity' in tune with post-industrial economy: tertiary investments in renewable energy, real estate businesses along with restaurants and hostels.

In sum, change and novelty, the fundamental indeterminacy of the future, are produced by the ontological dynamic interaction between the virtual and the actual. The actual field is subject to unpredictable changes that are partially determined by the status of the virtual, whereby the virtual is always actualized differently in different actual contexts. We can map the virtual by finding a range of virtual singularities towards which a system tends and at which it undergoes a transformation (Srnicek 2007: 49). The question remains of how to accounting for heritage processes, or actualizations of the virtual in the field. The emic and etic approaches remain bounded to the linear causalities of the actual, in parallel to the two approaches to physical causality. Gastaldi (2010: 67-70) uses the example of movement to clarify the issue. The traditional approach derived from Aristotle, Hume and Kant poses only two possibilities for accounting for movement, a natural cause (a phenomenon such as a billiard ball hitting another), and the effect of a *free will* (life and subjectivity). These causalities provide the framework for the creation of the Newtonian set of external references to account for locating movement in space. However, movement can also be accounted for starting from the *intrinsic speed of displacement* of an object. As with the non-Euclidean geometries of Gauss and Riemann, local differential operations can account for the properties of an entity without necessary resorting to transcendental privileged systems of reference.



Image 2. A land of contrasts. Mercedes, solar and eolic renewable energies and brand new concrete streets, contrast with the depleted urban landscapes and preindustrial ruins: multiple presents, life rythms and ways of life co-exist in Maragatería. Source: Author.

Physical causality is the modality that has prevailed in the hard sciences and, by extension, has become the benchmark of good scientific practice in the social sciences. The minor forms of causality have been considered heretic and scarcely applied. However, both kinds of causality are bounded to the actual, the physical realm where new potentials cannot arise and change cannot occur. The prevalence of this model of causality – and therefore, of explanation – is also related to the belief of many philosophers and scientists that emergent phenomena cannot be accounted for. This is so because the novelty that emerged was not in the interacting entities acting as causes. That is, a phenomenon remains considered emergent as long as we cannot discover a law that accounts for its behavior (Nicolis et al. 1989: 12). This raises the paradox of Universalist, institutional and some academic accounts of heritage positing it as an inherent valuable entity. If everything is pre-given, how to explain then that ‘heritage’ was not objectified, taken care of, and promoted in other historical periods? What makes heritage, ‘heritage’? The law, power, the institutions? The experts and their transcendental Authorized Heritage Discourse sanctioning what is heritage anywhere from a God’s eye view? I propose that we should consider heritage as an *emergent phenomenon* and thus remain open to the wide variety of *mechanisms of emergence* constituting it.

This is not an epistemological issue of ‘how can we know heritage better’, but rather an ontological question in two senses. First, from the standpoint of the unconscious or unintended role of researchers, our theories and methodologies are always framing reality and thus are immediately ontological, that is, creators of reality (Law 2004a). Thus, stances overlooking hybrid entities and emergence and aiming at the fixation and categorization of ‘heritage’ as an object of research contribute to the striation of space and the closure of emergent and alternative potentials. Also, focusing in the social construction of heritage deviates attention from actual processes of material alienation that heritage might entail. Second, from an ‘active’ and ‘purposeful’ standpoint, it is fundamental to account for the variability of emergent heritage processes in order to avoid the ‘fascistic’ desire to control and manage them. Then, the fundamental aim of heritage and spatial planning becomes understanding and promoting the conditions that facilitate divergent forms of heritage emergence and alternative appropriations of them. This might enable us to break with transcendental models of heritage following a circular logic of categorization, enhancement, promotion of value, and the capture of material and immaterial rents and legitimacy by private (individual or public) agents. We are deviating from the rationalist lineage of modernity and engaging with other line of thought aside from the search for universals.

Change, Causality and Emergence: Heritage Events.

“For with Leibniz the question surges forth in philosophy that will continue to haunt Whitehead and Bergson: not how to attain eternity, but in what conditions does the objective world allow for a subjective production of novelty” (Deleuze 1993: 89).

The issue can be framed also from the troublesome question of ‘change’ in the social sciences. The static sociologies of Bourdieu or Giddens, for example, struggle to come to terms with the issue of change (Lazzarato 1997). The hypothesis is straightforward: if we assume Aristotelian physical causality (final and formal), and the pragmatist maxim that relations among actants are presupposed in their terms before they enter into relation, then we are forced to pose the existence of a founding, transcendental cause giving sense to reality. Because complexity cannot be tackled from physical causality (Prigogine and Stengers 1984), Deleuze denies transcendence and hylomorphism – the doctrine affirming that production is the result of the imposition of a transcendent form onto matter (Protevi 2001) -, to account for change immanently from efficient causality and relations external to terms. This enables us to propose ways out of some deadlocks present in social science such as the object/subject and structure/agency dichotomies.

In physics, DeLanda argues, collisions between objects only produce effects of addition, “there are no surprises, nothing is produced over and above what is already there” (2011: 1). However, in chemical causality properties arise that were not present in the component parts before the encounter: oxygen and hydrogen are gases while water is liquid at similar temperatures. Water extinguishes fire while oxygen and hydrogen fuel it. This is not to say that water is ‘new’ in that it never existed in the world, it is relatively new in relation to its composing parts where it was not present. The roots of classical positivism lie in the lack of novelty in physical interactions: effects could be predicted by reducing them to general laws. But emergent properties are *irreducible* to any

law. Thus, we need to account for the *mechanisms of emergence* and to explain them as effects of the causal interactions between its component parts (DeLanda 2011: 3).

Therefore, we must account for the different ontological status of properties, capacities and tendencies of assemblages in the field. DeLanda (2011: 4) illustrates them with the simple example of the knife. One of the main properties of the knife is sharpness. In order to be sharp, the emergent ordering of the atoms of the blade must be triangular. This confers knives the capacity to cut. Whereas the property of sharpness is always actual, the capacity to cut may never be actualized if it is never used, it may remain a virtual potential. Moreover, unlike properties – being sharp –, when capacities become actual they are never in a ‘state’ in equilibrium. They always come into play as *events* which are double: *to cut – to be cut*. Properties always involve other entities whose capacities can be affected by it, *to be ‘cuttable’*. Consequently, whilst properties can be accounted for in isolation, capacities need to be thought in contingent relation with other capacities to affect and be affected. Furthermore, capacities rely on properties: a knife must be sharp in order to cut. Properties, in turn, “emerge from interactions between its component parts, interactions in which the parts must exercise their own capacities: without metallic atoms exercising their capacity to bond with one another the knife’s sharpness would not exist” (DeLanda 2011: 4). That is, not only the virtual is actualized, but the actual also has an influence on the virtual (Hardt 1993: 19-21). It is fundamental to underscore the historical contingency of capacities. In *Territory – Authority – Rights* (2006), Saskia Sassen mapped how specific capacities developed in a certain period were crucial for the emergence of later social arrangements. For instance, he challenges the traditional reading assuming that modern nation states were born after a negation and a rupture of medieval politico-administrative schemes to affirm that, rather, changes and reorganizations of the properties and capacities of some social groups (namely the church and the German Empire) paved the way for the emergence of the modern nation-state.

This is a way of overcoming the thorny problem of the objectivity/subjectivity divide and explaining the processes whereby reality comes to being. In a similar vein, Whitehead proposed in *Process and Reality* (1979) the term ‘prehensions’ to account for the ways subjects both create and are created through the incorporation of previously disperse entities. According to Whitehead, Shaviro argues (2009: 17), prehensions consist of three elements. First, the prehending subject, the entity where a prehension exists actually. Second, the prehended datum. Third, the ‘subjective form’, how the subject prehends the datum. Halewood (2005), proposes the example of an event where music is being played in a CD device comprising:

- (a) the person listening to the music.
- (b) the music that is being listened to.
- (c) the manner in which the music is being listened to.

In this analysis there are no objects or subjects involved, but rather a process creating a novel entity. We do not have a subject listening to music but rather, the music being listened to its co-constitutive of that subject and vice-versa. Moreover, the reception of the music triggers different processes in the assemblage: a subject is becoming bored or excited. As Deleuze poses it, “the event is inseparably the objectification of one prehension and the subjectification of another; it is at once public and private, potential and real, participating in the becoming of another event and the subject of its own becoming (1993: 78).

A further element is necessary to complete the description: tendencies. The difference between tendencies and capacities is that whereas the latter are normally finite, the former need not be so. Thus, continues DeLanda, “a knife has the property of solidity, a property that is stable within a wide range of temperatures. Nevertheless, there are ... environments in which the temperature becomes so intense that the knife is forced to manifest the tendency to liquefy” (2011: 4). Tendencies and capacities may remain virtual. However it would be erroneous to consider them as ‘possibilities’. For “the concept of a possible event is philosophically suspect because it is almost indistinguishable from that of a real event, the only difference being the former’s lack of reality. Rather, what is needed is a way of specifying the *structure of the space of possibilities* that is defined by an entity’s tendencies and capacities (DeLanda 2011: 5 emphasis in original). Here, DeLanda resonates with complexity theory, which maps the ‘phase space’ of different environments to locate attractors, potential tendencies and fluctuations (Protevi 2001).

Deleuze’s non-representational philosophy accords a basic role to theory. It must commit to immanence and seek the real conditions for the emergence and functioning of assemblages. It is self-reflexive and critical, and acknowledges the situated historicity of the researcher. Instead of focusing in the quest to discover general laws to predict behavior, theory must explore the potential for novelty within specific states of affairs. Theory is thus oriented towards effecting change in the real world, and is therefore pragmatic and political. How does this non-essentialist and flat ontology come to bear upon heritage? First, there is a need to rethink our theorizations and methodologies in the field of heritage studies. This is so because, after Whitehead and Deleuze, we cannot take for granted anymore the founding assumption of modern science: that of a “split subject” (Lacan et al. 1977 [1973]). Or, as Foucault would put it, an “empirico-transcendental doublet”, that is, an observing self able to extricate himself from reality to provide neutral accounts of it (1970). Researcher and the observed subjects/objects are part of the same world, and the researcher cannot scrutinize the world differently from how she scrutinizes herself; the experimenter is connected with the experiment. Therefore, “there can be neither phenomenology nor positivism, and neither cognitivism nor behaviorism” (Shaviro 2009: 26). Methodologically, this implies considering heritage in the same ontological plane as the researcher and using qualitative approaches that try to ‘multiply agencies’ looking at the different trajectories of different actants and how differences arise among them. That is, we cannot look at heritage entities and classify them by their essential qualities, but rather by the processes which “produce *and* continually function to sustain them” (Srnicsek 2007: 28). This equals to acknowledging the existence of the two ontological levels of the molar and the molecular, which are undergoing constant processes of territorialization and deterritorialization by different actants. For the prehistoric carvings to be well-constructed (molar) heritage objects, many molecular processes must coalesce. The carvings must reject flows of hatred and capture positive desires from visitors and local people, and a distance has to be established with people for them to become a ‘public’, flows of money must be invested; rain must not coincide with frost to avoid enlarging cracks in the rock...

Second, it entails a fundamental shift in the ways research makes sense of heritage. The models we construct to analyze heritage, and in fact, every modeling or understanding, is a simplification of the complexity of reality. “The simpler the model, the more ‘knowledge in the sense of predictability you can potentially achieve” (Bonta and Protevi 2004:17). However, if too many simplifying assumptions about the object of study are made, the outcome is an illusory

'knowledge'. I try to overcome this methodological impasse by analyzing heritage events, more malleable and situated entities that balance simplification and complexity. Heritage does not work through laws, is not about language nor self-explanatory, it is not a simple property inherent to 'things', nor a perception or judgment of specific subjects facing it. Thus, sense in heritage contexts is not something "that lies "behind" phenomena, the "hidden meaning" the must be discovered through a psychological or social process of interpretation... it is not the "deep structure" of those phenomena. It is not a "function" of language, or ideology, or class position, culture, or religion. It is not a "property" of speaking, acting thinking" (Bogard 1998). In fact, sense can only be inferred indirectly¹¹. On the contrary, most social theory confines sense within linguistic schemes of significance (sign-signifier and the logic of propositions). Thus, when something lacks significance, it also lacks sense. In Deleuze we have to conceive sense outside meaning and signification in connection to events themselves, arising "from the mixture of intermingling of bodies and the self-organizing capacities of machines, prior to interpretation and the operation of the understanding, prior to social action and communication" (Bogard 1998: 53). Breaking the connection between sense and signification entails severing the connection with rationalist and universal views of society (Habermas 1981). Sense describes not the how subjects make sense of events, but rather how the world makes sense within events: sense arises from the complex interrelations between different singularities in the world.

A fundamental concept along 'heritage processes' is 'heritage event'. Whereas 'process' refers to a movement of actualization from the virtual potential (as when a local city council considers that enhancing a heritage site might bring positive outcomes and they do it), 'events' include situations where the state of the elements is not clear: to cut-to be cut, *to heritagize – to be heritagized*. In the heritage event many elements intervene in which new subjectivities and objects co-emerge without any essential or pre-given foundation: "The ingression of an object into an event is the way the character of the event shapes itself in virtue of the being of the object. Namely the event is what it is, because the object is what it is; and when I am thinking of this modification of the event by the object, I call the relation between the two 'the ingression of the object into the event.' It is equally true to say that objects are what they are because events are what they are" (Halewood 2005). Against the realist assumption in social sciences that objects are entities independent and prior to our actions, with clear boundaries and sharing a similar reality (Law 2004a), we must look at how objects are constantly being crafted and unmade in particular sites and moments. This is not an epistemological commitment pointing to the different perspectives on an object, but an ontological assumption of the inherent *different* assemblages and connections a heritage object, as a body multiple, can entertain (Collier and Lakoff 2005). These assemblages produced in specific events unfold in history, and history is entirely contingent. This stems from the fact "(a) that events are the intersections of independent series (encounters); (b) that events could

¹¹ "In fact we can only infer it indirectly" (Deleuze, 1990: 20). And it is this final statement which provides the best clue as to how an understanding of 'sense' can be furthered with reference to Whitehead. According to Whitehead, that which cannot be named, that which only exists insofar as it partakes of other things, that which is never encountered but must be inferred from the stubborn facts of experience, is an eternal object. It is not eternal objects as expressions of potentiality that are being alluded to here but eternal objects in their role as that which provides definiteness to the experience of becoming a subject. Deleuze's usage of the term 'sense' could be seen as a way of explaining what goes on in such occurrences. Indeed, it could be argued that Deleuze's notion of sense is a development of the notion of the term 'event' which Whitehead used in his early work but which he moved away from in *Process and Reality*" Halewood, M. (2005). "On Whitehead and Deleuze: the process of materiality." *Configurations*, 13(1), 57-76.

have happened differently, previously, or not at all; (c) events occur in flux, or chaotically, catastrophically, or without determinate conditions at all; (d) different events occur in incommensurable rhythms or temporal streams, and so do not have measurable causal efficacy on each other; (e) events depend on milieu conditions, which themselves depend on conditions, ad infinitum (contra (c)); (f) events depend on minority effects, not on the large-scale conditions that historical causality depends on; (g) events are irreducibly indeterminate or ambiguous, making it impossible to isolate their defining factors” (Lampert 2006: 120).

In Maragatería, the prehistoric carvings of Filiel have some properties which made them attractive for the local community. They have little holes that were traditionally used in ‘pee contests’ among shepherds. The one who fills more holes wins. Drawing on the popular knowledge of the stones, a plumber and antiquarian dilettante recognized them as something special and became an enthusiast seeker of new carvings and a committed protector of the ones firstly discovered. For him to ‘discover’ the carvings, a secondary education, which most people of older generations in Maragatería never had, was necessary. Among other things, it also required access to information online as publications on the topic are scarcely available. Many other people started seeking *Petroglifos* (carvings) all over. The discovery of a second set of carvings by an association was joyfully announced in press. When I checked the official archaeological map it turned out that they had been already ‘discovered’ in the 1980s (again, by archaeologists drawing on local knowledge). However, those carvings did not make it through to ‘become heritage’ and enter a larger process to fulfil their capacities of affection. Even the newly discovered carvings of Filiel prompted reactions against their new capacities as ‘heritage’ to attract energies and desires, and tried to destroy them with picks. New subjectivities emerged and still emerge in Maragatería, and new objects are found here and there and called carvings by people. But the ‘sense’, the construction of carvings, is a complex event. In fact, most vernacular people in the nearby villages dismiss them as ‘stones’ without value made by shepherds. For them, the carvings are a challenge to their ontological worldview that assumes a different living temporality. Others enter the virtuality of heritage and the heritage economy: what if I leave agriculture and open a restaurant for the visitors? Institutions (University and regional government) strive to construct an official heritage object, which, for them, means objectifying it and analyzing it with scientific rigor and (badly) planting some signposts. For me, the carvings provide a significant experimental terrain for research (and, in asking many people about them, I have contributed to their widespread). In addition, I see them as objects which, understood as common valuable entities, could partially contribute to a different socioeconomic and politic reorganization of the region. In sum, there is not something “which happens, but that which, in what happens, has become and will become” (Halewood 2005). Heritage events are not about the past or the future, they are encroachments of virtual connections whereby new entities appear without any essence or transcendental process conditioning the emergence. The social construction of meaning and value comes down to issues of inscription and marking of objects and bodies. Variations can be described without presupposing a common epistemological ground, whether linguistics, universal laws or a subjective phenomenology. Issues of “social structure and power become matters of how flows of desire, down to the most molecular levels, are segmented, rechanneled, and reconnected” (Bogard 1998: 54).



Image 3. The white quartz mystery. People in Maragatería have an especial relation with white quartz stones. This is reflected in material culture and confirmed through ethnography. Normally, the stones have a symbolic function in the construction of houses: they signal the end (a stone at the top of the house) or the beginning (stones in the foundations) of the construction. Also, having more white stones inserted in walls is considered a symbol of difference. This is so even if white stones have a negative function in the structure of the wall, as they are rounded and not easily worked and carved. White quartz is a sign of the potential presence of gold in an area, and therefore it could be a remnant of an ancient belief in some sort of magic relation between both materials. Or perhaps it is just considered to be showy and appealing. Source: Authors.

The Incompossible Worlds of Heritage. Multiplicities and Modernity.

Some empiricist readers might be asking at this point: and what about the stones and the carvings? To avoid essentialism and typological thought, they must be pinned down as ‘multiplicities’ traversing the wrenching dualisms of nature/culture and object/subject. To commit to immanence, they have to be conceived without resorting to the transcendental categories of similarity, opposition, analogy and pre-given identities (Deleuze 1994). A multiplicity is not a classificatory device but an entity arising from processes of actualization of the virtual plane – different subjects are heritagized in different ways by heritage subjectivities, and vice versa. Multiplicities deploy what Strathern (2004) has called partial connections, more than one, less than many. The exteriority of relations between the terms is therefore preserved. If, for Quine “there is no entity without identity” (1981: 102), then, Viveiros de Castro notes, multiplicities cannot be given that status (Viveiros de Castro 2010). They are better seen as rhizomes, reticular systems with multiple intensive and extensive relations with other multiplicities in state of change: it is a ‘difference engine’”. It can be also seen as an assemblage of different elements.

Multiplicities are formed through partial connections, they are never a stable conjunction of terms but a reality constructed through what Deleuze calls the synthesis of experience. These syntheses are modes of production of the Real: “*production of productions*, of actions and passions [connective synthesis]; *productions of recording processes*, of distributions and of co-ordinates that serve as points of reference [disjunctive synthesis]; *productions of consumptions*, of sensual pleasures, of anxieties, and of pain [conjunctive synthesis]” (Deleuze and Guattari 1983: 4). As we will see later, these synthesis of experience provide a foundation for a political economy of heritage which overcomes simplified models of ‘commoditization’ or ‘social constructions of heritage’. Exploring the conception of subjectivity in Gabriel Tarde’s sociology¹², Maurizio Lazzarato notes that “the modalities of inter-brain cooperation are not similar to the ‘productive cooperation’ within the factory. Inter-brain cooperation refers to the potential of conjunction (‘and’) and disjunction (the ‘or’ of both exclusive and disjunctive synthesis), which decompose and compose affective relations (fluxes of desires and sub-representative beliefs) circulating among brains. The latter function as sets of relays in a network of psychic forces that enable the circulation of flows (imitation) and their deviation (invention). However, fluxes of desire and belief overflow individual brains. Individual brains are not the source of the fluxes, but, on the contrary, rely upon their circulation, conjunction and disjunction. In the sociology of Tarde the terms ‘collective’ and ‘society’ do not refer to a totality of brains constituting them, but rather to the opposite situation, that is, the impossibility of

¹² Gabriel Tarde developed a ‘psychological sociology’ opposed to Durkheim’s sociology. The latter has pervaded the social sciences throughout the XX century. As Latour argues Latour, B. (2009). *The science of passionate interests: an introduction to gabriel tarde’s economic anthropology*, Chicago: Prickly Paradigm Press., if Tarde’s sociology had prevailed instead of Durkheim’s the social sciences would look really different. Whilst Durkheim takes for granted the existence of totalities such as ‘society’ or ‘individual’, Tarde notes that the existence of these totalities is precisely what sociology should explain, “namely, ‘the similarity of thousands of men [sic]’” Deleuze, G. (1994). *Difference and repetition*, New York: Columbia University Press.. Thus, for him subjectivity is distributed throughout society as a whole through the two basic processes of ‘imitation’ and ‘invention’. Tarde’s conception of society as a massive network of cooperative brains defies traditional histories of technology and conceives inventions, such as the telephone, as collective endeavors that coalesce into certain individuals as Graham Bell. Human agency is thus diluted into a common collective production. Later on I will further explore his insights to develop a political economy of heritage in relation to the post-operaista reading of Tarde’s sociology.

merging, abstracting or subsuming the singularities and the multiplicity of brains in a real entity that would exceed them” (Lazzarato 2002). Heritage not only spreads as discourse, but also through mimicry processes. The construction of heritage always involves many ‘brains in cooperation’.

This relational logic escapes the (Hegelian or Marxist) dialectics, which posit ‘identity’ as a pre-given that can only vary by reaching a new synthesis after contradictions are resolved. Relations are always positive, in the sense that they always involve an asymmetric and reciprocal implication of different terms (Viveiros de Castro 2011). In other words, differences always imply a contagion among heterogeneous terms, whenever there is a contradiction or agreement there has been a previous reciprocal communication of points of view. To connect is to communicate between the multiple points of view. Whenever a heritage multiplicity or hybrid ‘enters’ a state of affairs, a new plane of reality is deployed where new subjectivities can arise. Whether people cherish or reject it, use it or not, it creates a new ‘heritage event’, in which social desires are invested and negotiated and different planes of reality arise around the entity. This relates with the thorny issue of ‘authenticity’, which always implies the positing of an essence that must be acknowledged, uncovered or discovered. Most heritage research has been concerned with Plato’s quest to “select lineages: to distinguish pretenders; to distinguish the pure from the impure, the authentic from the inauthentic” (Deleuze 1990b: 292). For Plato, copies are legitimate because they refer back through resemblance to an identity. The simulacrum is instead a perversion, a deviation, a dissimilarity (Shaviro 2009).

What heritage institutions and experts strive to do is to draw on an Universal heritage virtual (whether UNESCO discourse or heritage laws) to set a stable status for heritage in tune with their agendas. However, as we saw with the prehistoric carvings, when heritage events occur there is a proliferation of subjectivities, of many different *compossible* or *impossible worlds* in relation to heritage. Heritage can arise in many forms, but some forms of compossibility tend to prevail because they have deployed sets of instruments to establish certain connections. Thus the prehistoric carvings, or the Maragato culture by the same token, tend to be extricated from the plane of immanence to become part of the plane of reference of science and institutions, the interplays of cultural capital, or the sphere of the market. This is why I argue that heritage works as an ‘operative function’ whereby society establishes new associations in order to continue to exist and to negotiate change towards a new post-industrial economy and society. Of course, “such a labor requires the recruitment, mobilization, enrollment, and translation of many others-possibly of the whole universe” (Latour 2005c: 218). Therefore, heritage authenticity ‘exists’ when it is constructed in heritage events through processes of purification and dismissal of the impure and hybrid, when it is given an identity. This process implies some form of violence, as processes of purification require the application of transcendent principles to discard hybridity and ambiguity (Pollán 2010, March 25). Understood from this standpoint, heritage linked to identity and authenticity works to reinforce modern binarisms attributing values through opposites and dichotomies, not through the implication of different actors in the process of heritage creation in an open-ended manner.

But, as multiplicities, heritage entities possess many other qualities apart from authenticity that enter different compositions. It is fundamental to give ontological status to these multiple potential – virtual – actualizations of heritage to provide a foundation for alternative uses of it and the composition of different realities in the world. That is, to pave the way for an ontological politics (Mol 1999) whereby scholars acknowledge and purposefully use heritage to build different

realities. Adhering to critical epistemological positions in the arena of identity politics leads anywhere if the essentialist and academic status is retained for heritage multiplicities. That is, we must withhold our antiquarian and fundamentally ‘modern’ impulses to protect and purify heritage entities.

Despite museums have been studied as fundamentally ‘modern’ devices (Brett 1996), the production of heritage throughout the social field has remained largely overlooked as a force of modernization. In Maragatería, heritage works as one among the many complex channels through which modernity comes into play (García Canclini 1989). For Latour, modernity entails a break in the regular perception of time and “designates a combat in which there are victors and vanquished” (1993: 16). In constructing the prehistoric carvings as a heritage object, vernacular conceptions of time are challenged and a disjunctive distribution of forces is enacted. Instead of a connective synthesis (the carvings are stones ‘and’ inscriptions made by shepherds ‘and’ prehistoric symbols ‘and’ a resource for tourism ‘and’...) heritagization processes normally implement a disjunction that imposes the modern scientific truth: “either you consider the carvings prehistoric and valuable, ‘or’ you are primitive”. The issue of modernity transversally crosses my dissertation at many points, and its aims could be framed in relation to it: I seek to provide ontological status to non-modern hybrid heritage practices to enable their proliferation (becoming) and use them as common resources for potential future territorial project of enhancement. For Latour, modernity can be characterized by two interrelated set of practices. The first, “by ‘translation’, creates mixtures between entirely new types of beings, hybrids of nature and culture. The second, by ‘purification’, creates two entirely distinct ontological zones: that of human beings on the one hand; that of nonhumans on the other” (Latour 1993: 10-11). The former would establish a relation between the prehistoric carvings, vernacular communities, tertiary sector entrepreneurs, the regional government, the University of León, the city council, discourses on modernity and tradition, on heritage and preservation, etc. The latter, in Deleuzian terms, would detach the carvings from the plane of immanence and create a division between an object of scientific research (prehistoric carvings) that has always been there, a plane of social opinions and interests, and a discourse about them which overlooks the complexities of reality.

Despite I broadly agree with Latour’s conclusion that “we are going to have to slow down, reorient and regulate the proliferation of monsters by representing their existence officially” (1993: 12), I adopt a more ambiguous position in relation to the links between the processes of hybrid proliferation and their ulterior purification. For him, the processes of purification render the proliferation of hybrids possible: “the more we forbid ourselves to conceive of hybrids, the more possible their interbreeding becomes – such is the paradox of the moderns” (12). On the contrary, “by devoting themselves to conceiving of hybrids, the other cultures have excluded their proliferation. It is this disparity that would explain the Great Divide between Them – all the other cultures – and Us – the westerners – and would make it possible finally to solve the insoluble problem of relativism” (12). For me, this holds true at the epistemological level, but not at the ontological one. Epistemologically, the more scholars distance themselves from society and elaborate more sophisticated heritage and archaeological discourses, the more ‘non-academic’ hybrid discourses proliferate and bring together different elements to construct narratives about heritage objects and about the past. Unsurprisingly, the *Petroglifos* have spawned a wave of new age or pseudo scientific literature that largely exceeds the academic one. However, at the

ontological level, the works of purification gradually impose their ontological categories without letting hybrids proliferate. The carvings become heritage objects where signposts must be planted, entering macro spatial planning guidelines and strategies where they appear as individual points in GIS maps or data sheets in databases. Moreover, they must be contemplated rather than lived. The ‘distance’ between object and subject that Walter Benjamin deemed necessary for the existence of any ritual practice that confers an ‘aura’ to the distanced elements. Unsurprisingly, my different visits with local *paisanos* to the carvings during the recording of a documentary confirmed that their feelings at the place were of estrangement, it was no longer a ‘place of theirs’. This estrangement (which is not the same than Weberian modern ‘disenchantment’) renders master plans and ‘heritage’ foreign entities, partially explaining the failure of most spatial enhancement projects to take real grip on the territory.

Emergence Traversing Structure and Agency: Identities and Heritage Subjectivities.

We are now in a position to analyze some thorny issues haunting the social sciences from a Deleuzian standpoint, in particular the structure/agency dilemma, ‘power’, and the conceptualization of subjectivity that arises from this. The aim of this account is to provide a framework where a discussion of what I call ‘heritage subjectivities’ can arise. Moreover, I intend to overcome the simplistic reductionism of asking whether heritage is created by ‘individual’ agencies or ‘structures’ such as UNESCO. The best account of the structure/agency debate hitherto is provided by Bonta and Protevi (2004). For them, social scientists have been historically attracted by structures because those provide a sense of stability and enable the formulation of laws and rules that determine behavior. In response to the all-encompassing role of structures in prevailing social theories during the 1960s and 1970s such as Marxism (infrastructure determines superstructure) or Structuralism (linguistic structures and categories condition infrastructure), many scholars turned towards “agency” thinking. The latter became a sort of a ‘resistant’ position of the individual against society that rejected the idea that social structures determine human behavior. In other words, they deny “emergence above the level of the subject: Social phenomena are mere aggregates of individual actions” (Bonta and Protevi 2004: 5). This position was consciously or unconsciously assumed by most cognitive behaviorists, methodological individualists and positivists.

The sociologies of Pierre Bourdieu and Anthony Giddens are well known for trying to make sense of the wrenching divide between structure and agency. However, their models still presuppose structures and individuals as fundamental identities which impact upon each other as sets of relays. Bonta and Protevi differentiate different kinds of structures: “(1a) a functionalist/naturalist variant of General Systems Theory (Parsons); or (1b) its successor ‘autopoietic theory’ (Luhmann); or (2a) a structuralism of the Lévi-Strauss school; or (2b) one of its ‘postmodernist’ variants” (Bonta and Protevi 2004: 3). To sum up, Deleuze and Guattari are functionalists and naturalists that acknowledge structures only as entities in constant change (Rosanvallon and Preteseille 2009). They also break with Lévi-Strauss and all forms of postmodernisms, which have trapped many social scientists in endless discussions around complex chains of signs and signifiers conveying meaning. As we have seen, Deleuze breaks with the prevalence of language as the only purveyor of ‘sense’, dislocating meaning from signifying chains and reference from the relations among signifiers. Drawing on complexity theory, Deleuze shows

how many biological, sociological and physical systems ‘sense’ environmental change and start processes of self-organization. Accordingly, *signs become triggers of material processes*: “signs are no longer limited to linguistic entities that must somehow make contact with the natural world, and sense or meaning need no longer be seen as the natural world, and sense or meaning need no longer be seen as the reference of signifiers to each other. Rather, the ‘meaning’ of a sign is a measure of the probability of triggering a particular material process” (Bonta and Protevi 2004: 4).

The politically informed complexity theory deployed by Deleuze emphasizes the natural creativity of open systems. This enables him to “outflank hermeneutic humanism at the same time as its thematization of signs as triggers of material processes enables them to escape from the anti-humanist linguistic structuralism of postmodernism, their thematizing of the subject as an emergent functional structure embedded in a series of structures enables them to escape from methodological individualism” (Bonta and Protevi 2004: 5). I argue that, via complexity theory, Deleuze can provide a way out from the daunting opposition arisen between processual and postprocessual archaeology. The same applies for heritage studies, where a fruitful way out exists for different scholars and practitioners. Those pursuing traditional and positivist analysis can add complexity to their studies by acknowledging and looking at the molecular, intensive processes of change in heritage conceived as a socio-technical machine rather than as an object. The followers of cultural studies and postmodern theory have not only emphasized discourse and meaning at the cost of physicality or/and celebrated flux and hybridity, but have mostly dismissed the explanation of material divisions derived from heritage processes. Thus, those discontents with postmodernist accounts and the ‘prison of language’ (Jameson 1983) can find in Deleuze a solid scientific basis without losing touch with complex philosophical issues. For social constructivists, the challenge is to allow signifiers and meanings to connect with material processes of change and becoming in the real world, rather than endlessly connecting discourses of identity and memory with meaning and value. Marxist materialists, in turn, must surrender the division between infra and super structures to assume the collapse of the libidinal and political economies, along with the abandonment of the totalities of the individual and society, that is, the impossibility of clearly disentangling culture from economy. Both Deleuze and Marxists underscore the importance of material production, it is just a matter of “agreeing on the source and organization of what is produced” (Bonta and Protevi 2004: 41). The Marxian tradition reifies social relations and change by economic reductionism, teleology, dialectical logics, class essentialism and the separation of the human from the natural (Saldanha 2007). Thus, instead of assuming that change happens to class, we should think on how change produces classes. The rejection of the ‘signifying regime’ as the master semiotic system to account for reality is surely less oppressive when dealing with other cultures where language and signifying systems are not so pervasive as in Western societies. Even in the latter, ‘mixed’ semiotics prevail: the market is an a-signifying system, as is Google’s algorithm for instance.

Probably, the major challenge that Deleuze poses for most is the commitment to immanence and the conception of subjectivity above the subject and below structures. Most heritage accounts are based on transcendental notions, whether derived from Habermasian communicative rationality (Ashley 2006), on Zizek-Lacanian inspired accounts dealing with the Real and the *l’objet petit a* (Meskell 2001), sometimes with recourse to Homi Bhabha’s or Stuart Hall’s accounts on identities and discourse (Hall 2000; Mezey 2007), or the variant proposed by Castoriadis to think society as imaginary (Tucker 2005). Surprisingly, the large amount of Foucauldian approaches to heritage has

not lead to an approximation to Deleuze. This might be so because power and governmentality (and Foucault) have become accepted topics in Academia, whereas Deleuze continues to go largely dismissed as a ‘postmodern’ thinker of flows and desire (Bonta 2009).

Both my research on the construction of heritage objects and cultural parks showed how most accounts of power and communication end up positing a transcendental entity providing meaning to the whole system, critique being directed normally towards such entity. The State, Capital, the experts, the elites, all are powerful entities constituting a Real beyond the grasp of subjects that use power to create heritage discourses and practices. Heritage is normally framed as an issue of ‘controlling the past’ or prioritizing certain identities over other minor, subordinate ones who were *lacking recognition* (Butler 2006b)— the Platonic-Hegelian struggle for recognition of the ‘slaves’. Moreover, most communities are seen as *lacking heritage*, what Andrews defines as the heritage deficiency presumption (Andrews 2010). A good deal of scholarship in the field of heritage studies is charged with Lacan-derived conceptions of individual subjectivity and, by extension, society and heritage. This Lacanian obsession to build a theory of the subject is widespread in the social sciences, and is deemed fundamental, as “anthropology needs a theory of the subject... in order to understand the relationship between the individual and society, psyche and culture” (Moore 2007: 23). Once we have a well-defined and stable subject, we can start relating it with other ‘things’ such as culture, ritual, kinship, heritage or whatever: “When we talk about the relationship between individuals and their cultures, we face two tricky question: what is it that culture determines and how does it determine it?” (2007: 23). Deleuze offers an alternative understanding of the subject that does not presuppose a separation between an external and internal world, objects and subjects. I will extend further on the issue to both explain the critique Deleuze and Guattari raise against Lacanianism and move into the issue of subjectivity and identity. When Deleuze and Guattari published *Anti-Oedipus* in 1972, it immediately became a best seller in France. Fundamentally, the *Anti-Oedipus* took issue with psychoanalysis and orthodox Marxism as repressive ideologies at the molecular and molar levels respectively. However, rather than a direct attack against Lacan, they considered their endeavor as the logical extension of Lacan’s insights.

Deleuze and Guattari agree with Lacan in the decentering of the subject, the assumption of an absence of an internal, authentic and personal subjectivity. The subject arises through the partial internalization of external symbols and desires in discourses and actions of people (Watson 2009). The symbolic, the imaginary and culture are steps in the process of constitution of a subject whereby it becomes increasingly segmented and segregated from the Real (non-being, or the pre-subjective field). Freud and Lacan see the unconscious as symbolic, semiotic and fantasy laden, and pervaded by lack. Subjective desire is geared towards the satisfaction or regaining of completeness impossible to achieve. The need to satisfy this impulse is exceeded by the unconscious demand to have the lack recognized and represented (Caldwell 2010). Thus, “desire is the desire of the Other” (Lacan et al. 1977 [1973]: 235), the object that can never be attained, which is in reality the cause of desire rather than that towards which desire tends. Deleuze and Guattari find this characterization of desire that poses lost objects at the centre of desire as idealistic and dialectical. For them, psychoanalysis was complicit in society’s oppression by underscoring that the roots of neurosis and the source of its cure were to be found in the symbolic rather than in the material causes of

inequality and domination (Fox and Ward 2008)¹³. Thus, they elaborate a theory that reverses Lacan's theory by locating the productive subjective desire as a primordial vitalist source of energy (Caldwell 2010), the impulse of life which continuously creates new fluxes of desire and material change akin to Nietzsche's will-to-power (Bogue 1989: 23-4; Massumi 1992: 174). Only by exercising this positive desire could humans be creative rather than reactive, to meet their (real, not symbolic) needs and become free from capitalist oppression (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 254). These flows are continually interrupted, channeled and broken by 'machines' that relentlessly produce reality.

As capacities in every system, machines are coupled with other machines *ad infinitum*. Furthermore, whereas machines involve repetition with difference, structures consist in the repetition of the same (Watson 2009). Consequently, identities only arise as by-products in the process without ever coalescing completely into fixed entities. Identities are "produced as a residuum alongside the machine, as an appendix, or as a spare part adjacent to the machine" and subjects are, following Lacan, "not at the center...but on the periphery, with no fixed identity, forever decentered, defined by the states that they pass through" (Deleuze and Guattari 1983: 20). In radicalizing Lacan's theory, Deleuze and Guattari collapse the realms of the symbolic and the imaginary into material production: desire produces disregarding cultural or material fields. In other words, the difference between the libidinal and the political economy falls apart, "the latter being merely a more complex machine that emerges from the former and feeds back to shape flows of desire in specific ways" (1983: 345). This bears upon the key concept of 'ideology', both for Lacan-Zizek's theories and for Marxism. Ideology can be conceived generally as a system of beliefs (Geertz 1964). For Marxists ideology is part of the superstructure and has the negative connotation of a 'fake representation' of reality, what has been called 'false consciousness'. Consequently, the aim of Marxism is to 'unveil' false consciousness and reveal the hidden real inequalities at the basis of the capitalist economic infrastructure to the proletariat – a work of consciousness rising (Thoburn 2003). Lacan and Zizek base their understanding of ideology on their accounts of subjects as lacking completeness. Subjects need to have an ideology to cover a lack, creating an imaginary that satisfies them and with which to identify: "Thus the subject tries to compensate lack with that symbolic order, or fantasy, by a world created as worthy and meaningful, by a fantasy of reality which is none other than ideology. Ideology as an illusion which structures our effective, real social relations and thereby masks some insupportable real impossible kernel" (Moore 2007: 52-55). What the subject desires is therefore to be desired by the other, a missing object. For Deleuze and Guattari, the concept of ideology is flawed because it presupposes a 'real' objective and unchanging reality distorted by subjects: "What matters is not ideology, not even the 'economic-ideological' distinction or opposition, but the 'organization of power'. Because organization of power- that is, the manner in which desire is already in the economic, in which libido invests the economic - haunts the economic and nourishes political forms of repression" (Guattari 1995b: 135). They consider that capitalism 'hides nothing', on the contrary, it openly expresses its functioning.

¹³ This mirrors the different approaches to neurosis between Freud and Jung. To Freud neuroses had to do with deviations linked to past repressions, whilst Jung considered them exaggerations of the self. Freud tried to cure neuroses by focusing on the subject's past, whereas Jung considered that focusing on past wrongs derived in the creation of a sense of self pity rather than in the desire to effect change (see Natasha Sims, "Neurotic Personality: Is There Hope for Change?", accessed on 30 May 2010, <http://voices.yahoo.com/neurotic-personality-there-hope-change-2124.html>)

Moreover, they reject the split between infra and superstructure and the conception of ideology as an external symbolic order or a ‘false consciousness’: “One puts the infrastructure on one side-- the economic, the serious-- and on the other, the superstructure, of which ideology is a part, thus rejecting the phenomena of desire in ideology. It's a perfect way to ignore how desire works within the infrastructure, how it invests in it, how it takes part in it, how, in this respect, it organizes power and the repressive system. We do not say: ideology is a *trompe l'oeil* (or a concept that refers to certain illusions) We say: there is no ideology, it is an illusion.” (Deleuze and Guattari 1995).

We must then focus on processes of territorialization and deterritorialization constantly channelling the fluxes of *desiring production*: the unconscious is not a theatre but a factory (Toscano 2006). There are not, in principle, clearly defined subjects or objects, ‘things’. This is not to say that there are ‘no things’, but rather “a refusal to present them in any ontological or epistemological primacy. If the world is at base a primary flux of matter without form or constant, then things are always a temporary product of a channeling of this flux in what Deleuze and Guattari call ‘assemblages’ or ‘arrangements’ (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 503). Although Thrift (2005) argues that he aims to move forward by considering that postindustrial society is neither a factory nor a theatre but a merger of both, I think this is precisely what Deleuze and Guattari meant in *Anti-Oedipus*. They oppose the figure of the psychotic subject undergoing psychoanalytical treatment to control its unconscious impulses to secure a stable subjectivity, to an ideal of schizophrenia as a force that breaks through the “codifications of the social field and resists being trapped in any singular identity” (Caldwell 2010: 25). Deleuze and Guattari thus provide an ontology for the unconscious as a factory directed towards social revolution that is constantly being captured and repressed (reterritorialized) into different identities that in turn reinstate repressive or liberating forms.

Desire, Lack, Social Machines: Heritage Subjectivities.

“Lack is created, planned, and organized in and through social production....Desire does not lack anything; it does not lack its object. It is, rather, the subject that is missing in desire, or desire that lacks a fixed subject; there is no fixed subject unless there is repression...” (Caldwell 2010: 33).

This passage paves the way for an initial discussion of heritage subjectivities and a reconsideration of the role of the subject. At the source of this issue is my curiosity and astonishment facing heritage processes in Maragatería: why would people *do that*? Why would they *preserve that*? How do people and objects become active heritage ‘things’ and subjectivities? To illustrate the discussion I will rely on a simplified account drawn from my ethnography. From their conception of reality as machinic, and specifically from the works of Lewis Mumford (1984), Deleuze and Guattari retain the idea that there is no enabling without constraint (creativity-through-restriction) or, in Foucauldian terms, that power is not negative but productive¹⁴. Thus, every process of heritagization, every event through which a heritage ‘thing’ is constructed, entails the repression of some forces and the liberation of others. Fundamentally, what is repressed is the

¹⁴ Creativity-through-restriction functions in the arts as well: it is much easier to create (a film, a book, a painting) when some boundaries and limits have been established. Everyone who has faced an empty canvas or paper sheet knows this well.

immanent becoming of the world where objects and subjects are in constant change and rather undifferentiated. In heritage events, some entities are slowed down, differentiated, separated, and their tendencies to refrain from changing and to preserve their actual state are fostered. Objects and subjects are mixed in the process whereby a heritage subjectivity emerges and becomes fixed and stabilized in a 'heritage assemblage'. Many people in Maragatería have stopped building modern 'brick & concrete' houses to restore old houses, thus arresting the flow of modernity and heterogeneization brought about by the globalization of materials, architectural designs and engineering techniques. The zenith of the heritage fever culminated in Santiago Millas, where foreigners started to build huge Maragato-like houses from the scratch and to monumentalize the village as a whole. Despite the issue is far more complex, those are processes where the flows of modernity are outstripped by supermodern ideologies and behaviors (Augé 2008). The system bifurcates and falls into the reach of new attractors by repressing previously dominant attractors and flows of desire and money. This repression entails the emergence of subjectivities, which can be called 'post' or 'super' modern. Are subjects 'lacking' recognition of their Maragato identity from some transcendental entity that would grant it, whether the State or the global hierarchy of value via tourism? Are they creating a new symbolic order with which to make sense of the world?

For Hewison, the British heritage industry during the 1980s was creating a false ideology whose discourses could be used for whatever purpose. What was the heritage industry concealing? A fundamental lack, a nostalgia for the loss of the British Empire and the glory of the World Wars. Although from a different standpoint, Lowenthal (1986) also conceptualizes heritage as a belief, an idea that has attained good response among scholars (Andrews 2010). Once heritage is allocated in the ideological superstructure – what are Maragatos lacking that leads them enter the realm of heritage? – the questions that arise forcefully fall within the range of psychoanalysis and Hegelian dialectics. Signifiers refer to other signifiers ad infinitum and meaning is socially constructed and projected into heritage objects. This explains the boom in studies related with memory and identity in the field of heritage studies. What heritage provokes are struggles for recognition, identity conflicts, and attempts to master past narratives and shape individual memories, or the widespread of experts' power, the State and nationalism.

At the intersection of the molar and molecular scales is where the conundrum of contemporary capitalism is played. It is important here to note that I am not advocating an anti-heritage ethics (e.g. Landzelius 2003; Landzelius 2009). What is essential is to understand is how heritage works immanently. Thus capitalism must enter the picture as it is an immanent process of change. Žižek (2004) has accused Deleuze's philosophy of mirroring that of capitalism: of course, if one commits to immanence 'capitalism' cannot be conceived as a somewhat 'external entity'. Rather, it is entangled in every process of change and becoming, including heritage. As Thrift notes, "such a Latourian-cum-Deleuzan notion of political economy as composed of a series of modulations is not without its ironies, of course. For it increasingly resembles capitalism's description of itself... there are clear homologies between the current anglo-Saxon ideologies of capitalism and the writings of Derrida, Deleuze and Serres... capitalists and anti-capitalists alike often share many of the same tropes, of speed, flow, networks, and so on. They both want to dance change and create community (2005: 4).

Therefore, it is a fundamental task of this dissertation to explore the specific ways heritage subjectivities work to produce communities, modulate change, and capture flows of value, and how this might be transformed. If some people in Maragatería would not have started arresting the flow of modernity, modern materials and aesthetics would have prevailed and the region would become materially homogeneous to other regions of Spain. In other words, its ‘identity’ at the molar scale as an empirical representation would blur in the face of other areas. As Bonomi and Rullani argue, “today we are experiencing a re-personalization of the economy and therefore also of physical space, which is centered once again on the meanings elaborated and assigned to places by people (2005). In these networks, places are not characterized by structural density but by bonds of meaning which define their difference and therefore give the measure of their identity with respect to other places, to other identities, co-present in the network of meanings that all of us experience in our daily lives” (Rullani 2009a: 243).

In other words, at the molar level the global hierarchy of value forces territories in transition towards post-productivist economies to be *differentiated* and have a clear identity, heritage being a fundamental element in the endeavor. At the molecular level, repression and slowing down of flows of change in heritage processes and events construct heritage objects by imposing a single view of what it is, and establishing new power and agency distributions, along with economic relations among people alongside the process. This can be equated with what Latour called practices of ‘purification’ through which modern subjects endeavor to construct solid objects and discard hybrids. The monumentalized village of Santiago Millas provides a huge ‘symbolic capital’ (Bourdieu 1984) for Maragatería at the molar level, where territories compete for the capture of flows of tourism, investments and new dwellers. However, at the molecular level, the heritagization of the village to a well-known process for heritage scholars: the extrication of local culture from its roots and its representation as ‘formal culture’ in museums and exhibitions (Bann 1990). Becoming of people in Santiago Millas is captured by the investments of money and desire of neo-rurals, who determine what culture and modernity are, and how the village should look and be managed. One of the outcomes of this process is that the identity of the village becomes fixed and stable at the molar level, despite being constantly changed and challenged at the molecular level: the city council tries to regain some agency; local people do not participate in heritage events, and so on. In any case, heritage has become the new ‘attractor’ that brings about a completely new ‘regime of signs’ determining meanings, objects and subjects. Libidinal and economic investments bifurcate from previous states of affairs: the land does not provide symbolic capital anymore, but rather having a certain kind of Maragato house.

Whereas the flows of capitalism constantly smooth and homogenize space, some subjectivities restrain this process by striating space in new ways, creating a novel territorialization of it that generates value at the molar scale and new power relations. Deleuze largely shares Foucault conception of power as a diffuse and distributed performative mechanism devised in the multiplicity of micropractices of everyday life, rather than something that institutions or ‘the powerful’ do (Biehl and Locke 2010). Deleuze conceives power as a relation that constitutes identities differentially, through processes of dominance and command in parallel with processes of resistance (Deleuze 1988). However, for Deleuze desire comes before power. As Brown notes, “it is desire – the productive onwards drive to connect – which animates an assemblage... Power arises secondarily, as Spinoza once described it, as the form taken by desire when it turns around on its

own connections and elaborates and re-entrenches them” (2009: 109). Desire invents escape ways and constantly undoes and opens up new territories and forms of subjectivity. It is a relation of inequality in flux (Widder 2006). Deleuze is interested in the actualization of processes of emergence, on the new territorializations leading to the creation of novel subjectivities, objects and powers. In Santiago Millas the power of the Association of neo-rurals came to bear upon the villagers when their project of restoring and building houses was nearly finished. During the emergent phase of the heritage process, they were seen rather positively by the locals: they felt that people loved their village and wanted to live there. It is important to note that there are no hylomorphic schemes at work whereby transcendent forces articulate a chaotic matter through ‘power’. Emergent structures must relate to the actual conditions of the environment where they emerge, while at the same time having “real effects via a systemic enabling, achieved through a top-down constraint of the probabilities of a system; in other words, the emergent structure forms a new virtual field for the population of components” (Bonta and Protevi 2004: 35). In turn, emergent structures are only produced as metastable entities when intensive flows “reach certain thresholds that activate self-ordering patterns inherent in the material interactions of the components” (Idem 2004: 36). Thus, identities are secondary to desire, but also power articulations.

Neo-rurals in Santiago Millas embody what I call a ‘heritage subjectivity’, a social machine that draws on heritage discourses and practices to increase its power, reproducing those same discourses and practices and transforming them (actualizing them in differential forms). As Tarde would put it, heritage subjectivities spread the mechanisms of imitation and reproduction of heritage while at the same time inventing something different. This is the Deleuzian *difference* through *repetition*, whereby intensive differences trigger processes of self-organization that enable the emergence of novelty, the change of a set of singularities by other and the production of new identities as by-products of the new ‘phase state’ of the system. The outcome of these intensive processes that construct heritage objects are ‘heritage assemblages’, which comprise materials, discourses, practices of exhibition, clothes, and many other things and words. Processes of heritagization, then, mirror the workings of contemporary capitalism. They generate scarcity through repression/restriction while at the same time remaining fundamentally creative: in Santiago Millas a new heritage world has been created, real estate value has increased along with tourism; it has become a monumentalized and aesthetically pleasing site for tourists. The connective synthesis (the strategy of the ‘and’) passionately assembles flows of materials (stones, old tiles and wood instead of bricks, plastic and concrete) ‘and’ money ‘and’ architectural / engineering knowledge ‘and’ heritage discourses ‘and’... Then, the disjunctive synthesis (‘either... or’) generates identities by repression and segmentation: “Either your house is heritagized or... you are poor, you are primitive, you are rural...” Heritage provides a metastable and coherent identity for the group of neo-rurals and for the village as a whole, which activates social forces that actualize new investments of desire into the construction of further heritage objects.



Image 4. Tradition and modernity in Maragatería. The straight lines of urban planning and modern architecture are disrupted by pre-industrial remnants that ‘break’ the attempt to homogenize the villages. On the right, a stone house completely covered with concrete and with brand new metal windows. Source: Author.

Epistemological issues concerning what heritage is or how to isolate and ‘know it’ should move to the background. From a Deleuzian standpoint, the fundamental question is the pragmatic, and in many ways political, what does heritage do? The thesis I offer here intends to discern in what cases heritage legitimates and supports paranoid or fascistic investments of desire that stabilize identities around some fixed signifiers, and when does it sustain open-ended (schizoid) social investments that affirm change and becoming without repressing it. A paranoid social investment reterritorializes identities and creates new heritage assemblages via exclusion through the disjunctive synthesis. It fixes identities (purifies and discards hybrid forms) around stable signifiers and codes, striating space in ways that fuel struggles for recognition and the creation of competitive symbolic environments where ‘scarcity’, the basic law of value in market terms, becomes a fundamental operative function in the assemblage. Paranoid heritage subjectivities imply temporal foreclosure because they situate themselves in a messianic dimension of time whereby past, present and future fall within their representation. Not everybody can afford to build a Maragato house from the scratch in Santiago Millas and decorate it with all the necessary ‘heritage elements’ that the heritage event neo-rurals have triggered requires. The molecular symbolic struggle for recognition whereby the Maragato heritage and culture are displayed and negotiated is limited to just a few. To sum up, paranoid or major processes defend “a constant or a standard that acts as a norm and a basis of judgment. As such, major relations are relations that are fixed and denumerable ... where a particular people seeks to determine a coherent consciousness, history, and trajectory bolstered against the becoming of the world... premised on the fetishization of an already present-identity” (Thoburn 2003: 44).

The reason I also refer to these heritage subjectivities as post or super modern is that I consider them the fulfillment of modernity in their appropriation of past and/or exotic elements. Accordingly, they incorporate pre-modern 'leftovers' to the global hierarchy of value via heritage construction. Those leftovers "are no longer experienced as obstacles to be overcome by progress towards a fully secularized modernization, but as something to be unproblematically incorporated into the multicultural global universe — all traditions survive, but in a mediated "de-naturalized" form, that is, no longer as authentic _ways of life, but as freely chosen "life-styles." (Žižek 2010). For Deleuze and Guattari this is related to capitalism's "marked taste for all codes foreign and exotic...this taste is destructive and morbid. While decoding doubtless means understanding and translating a code, it also means destroying the code as such, assigning it an archaic, folkloric, or residual function" (Deleuze and Guattari 1983: 245). Heritage processes where the past and its codes are appropriated entail the collapse of the opposition between ritual and spectacle, which coalesce into novel 'displays of order' (Herzfeld 2001) where the plane of immanence of reality enters a new configuration, not only social but also temporal (Mahler 2008). In fact, moderns, and much more so postmoderns, impose their temporalities upon social regimes with different rhythms and temporalities. Nietzsche had already diagnosed the illness of historicism and the excessive uses of the past during the XIX century (1983). It is worth quoting Latour extensively on the issue of moderns and the past:

"They want to keep everything, date everything, because they think they have definitively broken with their past. The more they accumulate revolutions, the more they save; the more they capitalize, the more they put on display in museums. Maniacal destruction is counterbalanced by an equally maniacal conservation ... but are we as far removed from our past as we want to think we are? No, because modern temporality does not have much effect on the passage of time. The past remains therefore, and then returns. Now this resurgence is incomprehensible to the moderns. Thus they treat it as the return of the repressed. They view it as an archaism. "if we aren't careful", they think" we're going to return to the past; we're going to fall back into the Dark Ages". Historical reconstitution and archaism are two symptoms of the moderns' incapacity to eliminate what they nevertheless have to eliminate in order to retain the impression that time passes" (Latour 1993: 69).

Therefore, paranoid heritage investments of desire involve not only the becoming-fetish of heritage objects, but also their marking as harbingers of progress by a negative dialectic logic identification and repression: "If we aren't careful, we might *really* live like *them* in the past". In fact, the 'aura' of heritage and art objects comes about in parallel with the creation of a distance, which is achieved metaphorically by the marking of some objects and people as signifiers of 'something past' (Grossberg 2003). The problem comes when the 'something past' is still a living people and their objects as happens to be in Santiago Millas or Val de San Lorenzo.

Contrary to modern and paranoid investments of desire, schizoids can acknowledge and construct heritage as an object, or not, but they promote the affective and connective aspects of it to foster future-oriented social investments. They follow minor processes challenging fixed identities, engaging in new creations and compositions across different practices and identities, deviating from major axioms and standards. Being minor does not imply to be a 'minority' group, but a "movement of groups, in their variations, mutations, and differences and hence has no membership, coherence, identity, or constituency in itself" (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 106). The multiple and

diverse community of eco-rurals smoothes space and connects it to past local ways of live and future-oriented open projects. They affirm change and, as in the line of flight that Matavenero represents, foster the proliferation of differences without entering symbolic struggles for recognition or exclusivist practices. This is not to say that they are devoid of conflicts and exclusions as we will see later. Paranoid and fascist investments do occur in hippie communities. However, they leave the future open and thus continue ‘living’ and smoothing space without practices of repression or the fixing of stable identities. When people from the ‘Rainbow’ movement decided to reconstruct the deserted village of Matavenero their first project was to rebuild the old school (which used to be communal) as a common space to remind themselves of their roots in the future. Rather than creating a fetishist distance to attain a symbolic status of heritage to provide *grandeur*, the school remained a ‘would-be’ heritage object, a virtual quasi cause for the development of the community, a (non-metaphorical) bodily and material construction of commonality that triggers the emergence of certain kinds of subjectivities. For paranoid heritage subjectivities, heritage is heritage ‘per se’, for schizoid, open subjectivities; heritage is always ‘heritage for something’. Both extremes must be understood as immanent ‘virtual attractors’ and not at specific states that can be ever completely actualized. Neither the neo-rurals nor eco-rurals are ‘essential’ identities but rather designations of multiplicities sharing similar expressive capacities in the social field. As ‘regimes of signs’, subjectivities are always operating in assemblages and cannot be grasped in isolation, there are always ‘mixed heritage subjectivities’. Finally, it is fundamental to refer to the non-heritage subjectivities (rather than ‘pre-heritage’, a teleological notion), those for whom the term makes no sense as an entity detached from the plane of immanence of life. Most *paisanos* within local communities consider heritage a property inherited from the parents and their attitude towards heritagization processes is largely of passivity.

Therefore, I aim to shift analytic focus from an emphasis on heritage as a text producing meaning to heritage as the effect of virtual potentials, investments of libidinal energies and affects resulting in the emergence of new subjectivities and realities. It is not so much a matter of judging upon the inherent goodness of some practices over others, but to analyze what ‘worlds’, what realities emerge from each specific heritage subjectivity and practice. Some consequences arise from this approach to heritage:

1. A materialistic, non-essentialist approach to heritage refuses casting social desire as a belief or ideology within the superstructure. Heritage produces meanings and regimes of signs, but those elements do not only enter into chains of meaning and signification but rather go on to trigger processes that are inherently productive working within the infrastructure, organizing power regimes, repressive or connective systems. This is not to curtail the possibility of exploring issues of psychology, memory or identity in the realm of heritage. It is rather to note that in the infinite chains of meanings we can never fully explain the causal laws behind heritage processes, nor understand them as isolated entities without falling in the epistemological trap of trying to define heritage in essentialist terms, that is, by its properties. What are the neo-rurals in Santiago Millas ‘lacking’ to do what they do? What is the relation between the Maragato houses, their memories and identities, and community building? Those questions will remain unanswered in my dissertation. Rather, the possibility of making universal claims about heritage will be challenged. For instance, Holtorf claim that heritage is a renewable resource (2001b) is an essentialist claim: if there were no schizoid, open subjectivities carrying ways of life that do not objectify heritage as

something external and that therefore are inherently productive of novelty (novel heritages) heritage would not be renewable. Then, if we are to believe that heritage is renewable, what matters is to ask for what? When? How? Different scholars affirm that heritage reinforces the identity of local communities that share common characteristics. As Deleuze and Tarde would note, this presupposes precisely what should be explained: the identity of local communities. We should turn the question round: who creates heritage and for what? Is it an identity at the molar or at the molecular level? Memory has been considered a metaphor of a physical location bounded with efforts to construct territory and place (Wright and Falconer 1998). Then, how does memory 'construct' a territory and for what?

2. Different social groups can create similar discourses around heritage and define it similarly – neo and eco-rurals emphasize their will to 'preserve' and 'keep' the good from the past – while at the same time generating different assemblages comprising materials and discourses that result in different affective environments and ways of life in which heritage plays one role or another. We must account, then, for the immanent mechanisms that sustain the construction and maintenance of certain heritage objects and their different usages, collapsing libidinal and political economy, super and infrastructure. It goes without saying that the theory of 'heritage commoditization' must be discarded, along with the idea that heritage must be produced to be consumed (Michelson and Paadam 2010). Production and consumption are two sides of the same coin, two relays that emerge at the same time without any possible differentiation between a pristine cultural 'heritage object' and a subordinated economic 'heritage commodity'. "There is no such thing as relatively independent spheres or circuits: production is immediately consumption and recording, without any sort of mediation, and recording and consumption directly determine production, though they do so within the production process itself" (Deleuze and Guattari 1983: 4).

3. Power, whether in its neo-Marxist Gramscian or Foucauldian conceptions, cannot be conceived a transcendent entity that works as an explanatory device in heritage processes. It must be considered a by-product of social investments coalescing into specific material and discursive assemblages and segmenting space in specific ways. By focusing in power as an essentialist category linked with the institutional and discursive construction of heritage, Smith's Authorized Heritage Discourse (2006) fails to recognize the role capital plays in heritagization processes (Winter 2011). The affirmation of emergence enables us to avoid chicken and egg absurdities from the outset. For instance, affirming that "without power, there is no heritage" (Prats 1997: 35) becomes an unsolvable aporia. What was before, heritage or power? In some cases new power configurations arise from new social distributions that heritagization processes enact, in others, established powers (metastable identities and slowed down desires) construct new heritages. Power and heritage are mutually constitutive, emergent processes. Similarly, 'Capitalism' must also be conceived in materialistic terms as a performative system that works in specific times and spaces immanently, striving to create markets and smoothing and opening up the territories of anti-markets (Manuel 1996).

4. Territorial projects of enhancement such as cultural parks cannot create all-encompassing representations of territories. Planners and heritage managers must acknowledge the existence of heritage multiplicities or hybrids, and the different workings of entities at the molar and molecular levels. At the molecular level, heritage events that slow down becoming to create heritage objects generate inequalities and asymmetries. However, at a molar scale the presence of

heritage objects is deemed essential to the creation of territorial identity and value. Could a different management of value at a molar scale solve the inequalities that arise in molecular heritage processes? My overall argument, which I will expand later, is that it is necessary for planners and scholars to devise forms of management that combine the promotion of open heritage subjectivities conceiving heritage as a common at the molecular level, with the generation of a value that can be redistributed at a molar scale. This entails shifting focus from issues of identity politics to material questions of who and how captures the flows of value that heritage generates at the territorial level, and how the organization of bodies and things might be changed to reach a more fair redistribution of that value. Thus, the aim is not to ‘preserve’ a heritage existing out there but to understand what assemblages of heritage might enable people to live in different ways and to invest energy in a common project towards the future rather than over struggles for recognition or over past narratives.

The main traits of what I call ‘heritage subjectivities’ have been broadly sketched. The remnant of this section will extend on the issue of subjectivity and go back to the structure/agency dilemma: how should subjectivity be grasped and accounted for? What degree of freedom and agency do these subjects have and how are subject positions negotiated in structures? Despite the Freudian decentering of the relationship between the subject and the world, Derrida has shown how subjects continue to be the very at the very center of thought, that we are firmly anchored in ‘logocentrism’ and the ‘metaphysics of presence’ (Derrida 1973). Deleuze can provide an alternative logic to think subjectivity and to counter the prevailing dialectical-Hegelian thought pervading social theory (Hardt 1993). Think on class contradictions in Marx, individual vs. Society in Durkheim, frontstage and backstage in Goffman, structuration theory in Giddens, ideal vs. Substantive types in Weber and forms and content of interaction in Simmel, among others. The logic of ‘thesis – antithesis – synthesis’ favors the resolution of the dualisms it creates (subject-object, individual-society, self-other, structure-agency) by presupposing identity and universality over difference and multiplicity. “Self and other are resolved in ‘intersubjectivity’ or ‘reflexivity’, subject and object in ‘community’ individual and society in Society (the ‘collective representation’) itself). For Deleuze, however, such resolutions merely divert us from attending to multiplicity” (Bogard 1998: 66). That is, subjects are always multiple because they have heterogeneous compositions in relations external to their terms, they share a part of their reality in different assemblages. This is why the attempt to isolate ‘heritage processes’ as cultural processes or as originating from a transcendental source of agency is misleading: heritage has to resonate in different subjectivities to exist.

In Durkheim’s sociology, Society was the cause of itself, social facts being the causes of other social facts *ad infinitum*. This account of society can be seen as an extension of Freud’s insights into the constitution of the subject (Moore 2007). It leads to a transcendental original causality at the source of society, the individual, and heritage. Constructivist and functionalist sociologies also posit subjects as causes and effects of themselves without providing any account of the material construction of subjects. Only language – the speaking subject – provide agency to individual, free subjects. The different strands of structuralism put forward an exchange view of human behavior whereby values circulate according to certain values (Godelier 2004; Lingis 1994b). The circulation of women was fundamental for Lévi-Strauss, commodities for Marx, gifts for Mauss, power for Parsons, rewards and punishments for Homans (Bogard 1998). From this standpoint, relations of

exchange already presuppose formed subjects (Jensen and Rödje 2010: 15-18). But, how are subjects constructed? For Deleuze, society is a *socius of inscription* that codifies and marks libidinal investments, and desires to connect: “the essential thing is to mark and be marked” (Deleuze and Guattari 1983). Marking can occur through different regimes of signs: meaning and language, the body, etc. It is not a ‘function’ of society, but rather is what constitutes society, just as “marking bodies, whether by mutilating or adorning them, does not just enact social ritual but is its very condition” (Bogard 1998: 158).

Thus, it is fundamental to look at how bodies are ‘cut up’ to form a social order, conceived as social machines which transfer, amplify and dissipate energies invested in the social field (Bogard 1998: 26). Subjectivity does not emerge from the ideological superstructure nor from the material infrastructure but is rather, as Mikhail Bathkin would put it, a ‘polyphonic’ composition of connections, energies, codes and segments that exists in many planes (Gardiner 1992). Subjects do not exist before their instantiation and marking within a wider environment. Deleuze conceives them as ‘folds’ of external elements. The fold is social, “in that it incorporates elements of the public into a singular entity; physical in that it is an actual rendering of elements of the universe; historical in that its formation arises from the prior and particular arrangement of previous folds, and problems within which it is situated” (Halewood 2005). There is no difference between the internal and the external, no subjects and objects, cultural and natural, social and material: the “foldings which comprise subjectivity are temporary renderings of an outside. They are the public made private only insofar as this privacy will become public again” (Halewood 2005). Therefore, heritage subjectivities always emerge at intermediate levels, caught up between the capacities and unpredictability of human subjects and the higher institutional arrangements constraining the spectrum of possibilities for action. This is not to say that heritage determines the lives of certain individuals, it is just a sphere of their social investments in which us, as researchers, explicitly focus. For neo-rurals in Santiago Millas the heritagization of their houses is an individual investment connected with the collective will to heritagize the village as a whole. However, this is just part of the story, as they only spend time in these houses during some periods of the year. What they do in Santiago Millas might relate with other aspects of their lives that connect other states of affairs and virtual potentials. Heritage events are always partial, incomplete and connected with many other assemblages at different levels. We must still commit to the analysis of how these events unfold and account for change in territories and populations. What conditions enable or force human populations to change behavior patterns and adapt or invest in the creation of new circumstances rather than predictably adapting to their social position and predetermined expectations? What is the role of heritage as a mediator in these changes? How are levels of freedom related to different engagements in heritage events?

These issues are better tackled in addressing emergence and change above and below the subject. This is not to deny that there are no practical, effective subjects, but rather to argue that the ontological composition of them is always hybrid and partial. Subjects are always connected to networks of ‘things’ at smaller and bigger levels than them, it is a relay appertaining to an intermediate level of organization. This also facilitates the overcoming of problems of scale in social theory, that is, the causal mechanisms that “account for the emergence of wholes from the interaction between parts” (Escobar and Osterweil 2010: 191-2). Furthermore, as Alicia Juarrero notes in *Dynamics in Action* (2000), the unpredictability of human behavior is irreducible due to the

constant potential for rule-breaking in it. “Human beings are rule-followers as well as free agents; in fact, many free agents break rules but in so doing form new patterns that can become rules for others” (Bonta and Protevi 2004: 34). When in Val de San Lorenzo, in the rush of the heritagization process of the village, the traditional stone benches standing in the front of the houses were forbidden and required to be removed, an individual ‘broke the law’ and refused to do it. Hosting the banner of Leonese tradition he rejected the measure, and many followed him. This stance paved the way for his election as mayor later on. To a view of heritage as aesthetics he opposed a more spiritual and deep idea of heritage as an immaterial ‘volksgeist’ of the community. However, this rarely occurs: his social context granted him a high degree of freedom to break heritage rules. For Bonta and Protevi, we are more free “(1) the greater the constraints the subject level can exercise over ‘autonomic’ sub-systems (for example, yogic experimentation with physiological processes); (2) the more one’s ‘subject position’ allows one to negotiate social constraints embedded in institutions and free-floating or ‘peer pressure’ systems (for example, gender and race constraints); and (3) the more money one has (in some places gender and race constraints are being replaced by economic constraints), because then, to complete the system, you can buy somatic training and/or move to places where economic power mitigates race and gender constraints, etc.” (Bonta and Protevi 2004: 35). Also, it is fundamental to consider what Massey has called ‘power-geometries’ (1994), the systems of relationalities that condition what certain bodies can or cannot do. This furthers Bourdieu’s picture of bodies accumulating cultural and economic capital, to show how specific locations determine how the bodies are constituted physically and virtually without relying on discourse only. Coming from Madrid or Barcelona in Maragatería involves not only the possession of more cultural and symbolic capital, but also of ways of moving and performing in the social which shape affective environments and challenge established states of affairs.

Clearly, the fact that people with higher ‘degrees of freedom’ can set up social investments in heritage processes that coalesce in positions of power has led to the arousal of many conflicts around identity politics (gender, race, etc.). Counter claims of minority groups are normally based on what Foucault originally conceived as ‘politics of resistance’, whereby politics is a resistance to power. Deleuze criticized this posture and the own Foucault ended up overcoming this position that seemed rather self-defeating and an almost reactive phenomenon (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 188). This is so because politics (and scholarship) addresses only secondary configurations (identities and power in relation to heritage) and not the sources of the production of certain subjectivities. The field of heritage studies should move beyond the passive critical stance to engage here in a double task of finely analyzing particular heritage processes (heritage *per se*) while at the same time imagining alternative scenarios (heritage *for*). What *material* heritage configurations lead to the creation of specific subjectivities? How could heritage contribute to the construction of different subjectivities?

Some critical heritage literature adopts a neutral transcendental position concerning contentious heritage issues that reinforces Universalist conceptions of it. For instance, Gregory Ashworth and John Turnbridge consider identity politics to be the fundamental sphere where heritage conflicts arise in multicultural societies. Thus, to manage conflict from a neutral and epistemological outwardly stance means to choose between the ‘inclusivist’ and ‘minimalist’ positions. However, there is no prescription of which one “might be deemed wisest”, although most free societies “will find themselves in an ‘inclusivist’ mode” (Turnbridge and Ashworth 1996: 271).

The problem with inclusivism is that “everyone’s heritage is ultimately personal and the attempt to be comprehensive could in the extreme become anarchic” (Idem 1996: 219). This kind of liberal multiculturalism has almost become ‘dogma’ both in academia and institutions (Žižek 2010). The underlying argument is of methodological individualism as it presupposes the existence of already formed subjectivities that relate with heritage objects with determined proprietors. Individuals own heritage and own identity, and politics is ‘out there’ to neutrally solve conflicts between different kinds of interpretations (different meanings in different objects) socially constructed by different groups with various claims over it. Liberal multiculturalism, “from a kind of empty global position, treats *each* local culture as the coloniser treats colonised people – as ‘natives’, whose *mores* are to be carefully studied and ‘respected’ ... it ‘respects’ the other’s identity, conceiving the Other as a self-enclosed ‘authentic’ community towards which the multiculturalist maintains a distance made possible by his(her privileged position ... from which one is able to appreciate (and depreciate) other particular cultures properly – multiculturalist respect of the Other’s specificity is the very form of asserting one’s own superiority” (Žižek 2000: 216).

Why should scholars engage these identity struggles for recognition within the social arena? As Marion asks, “does not such affirmation of group identity itself express an ideal of community, and is it not subject to exclusionary impulses?” (Young 1990: 236). As Landzelius argues, “there is nothing which guarantees that, for example, particular claims based upon multiculturalism or identity politics are constructed on democratic values or have such effects” (2003: 207). Despite I broadly agree with these criticisms, I do not align with the solutions they propose (if any). For instance, Landzelius advocates the creation of ‘disinheritance assemblages’ (Idem), collective mnemonic assemblages of memory-knowledge-politics that would counter mainstream identity politics. Despite his claims to perform a materialistic ‘actual’ and ‘spatial’ counter politics, Landzelius remains at the level of social meaning and signification: “In suggesting the erasure of heritage, I propose that objects of the past, on all spatial scales, should be mobilized as disinheritance for critical and subversive purposes in order to make the past implode into the present in ways that unsettle fundamental social imaginary significations” (2003: 195).

Despite the spectacular and radical stance of his argument, everything is already given in it, prepared and catalogued for evaluation for the critical theorist: the past, heritage objects, subjectivities and identities to be ‘countered’ and ‘overturned’... This kind of critical stance, which prevails in academia, is rather *impuissant*, disempowering, because it remains at the level of heritage discourses and meanings and their deconstruction. Instead of acknowledging multiplicity, it only provides a different ‘sublation’ or ‘synthesis’ of the conflict in a Hegelian fashion, leading us back to the meaningless ‘who’s right scenarios’. Therefore, it does not account for the emergent properties of heritage and the subjectivities that *materially* arise in specific states of affairs. As psychoanalysis, it leads us to consider problems of subjectivity and oppression as part of the symbolic realm (identities, meanings) rather than based in material causes. Why one would, as Landzelius, invest energy in *erasing heritage*, in going *against heritage*? That would be what Nietzsche calls nihilistic impulses charged with resentment (Deleuze 1983), a posture that represses connective capacities and adds nothing to the world. As Deleuze puts it, “books against structuralism are strictly without importance; they cannot prevent structuralism from exerting a productivity which is that of our era. No book against anything ever has any importance; all that counts are books for something, and that know how to produce it” (2003: 192).

We must acknowledge not a multiculturalism but a multinaturalism, that is, the existence of one culture and multiple natures – one epistemology and multiple ontologies (Viveiros de Castro 2011). Then, what is at stake is Leibniz’s question of how and when are worlds, and heritage in them, *compossible or uncompossible*. If our methods and theories are direct producers of reality (Law 2004a), we should always ask not the epistemological ‘how to know heritage’ but ‘why to study heritage’, or, in other words, ‘heritage *for what?*’ It is fundamental here to outline the scope of Deleuze’s politics, whose motto can be summarized as *la politique avant l’Être*, ‘politics before Being’ (Gastaldi 2010). I see Mol’s ‘ontological politics’ (1999) as the logical extension of the Deleuzian frame. For Deleuze does not consider politics a somewhat separate realm from ontology, the direct production of reality: there is politics in philosophy, in science, in art, in life. But there is no politics of politics, just an analysis of the new forms of capitalism (Badiou 2010: 17). In other worlds, politics is not an isolated ontological region among others. Not because politics is previous to the actual states of affairs we encounter in reality, but because it is co-constitutive of reality, emerges with it. “For politics precedes being. Practice does not come after the emplacement of the terms and their relations, but actively participates in the drawing of the lines” (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 203).

Analyze heritage assemblages, create new heritage assemblages. This is a call for a politics half-way between the Deleuzian empowering of *minor* processes and potential and the Latourian *Politics of Nature* (2004a), where he calls for attention to specific *matters of concern*. Despite I share Deleuze’s rejection towards enduring institutions working for the ‘common good’ and major processes, I think Latour’s call to incorporate actors within established networks working around pragmatic ‘matters of concern’ is a legitimate aim to follow. In fact, a *materialist account of heritage* might provide the missing link between planning guidelines and representations at the molar level and the ongoing complexity of social processes in the field. Here, the request for practitioners to define an overt political position as Schadla Hall claims (Smith 2006: 38) loses its sense. Heritage is as much a material as a social and political construct, and considering it just as political representation would equal naïve empiricist claims about the inherent value of heritage objects. It is necessary to conceive the discipline not as a transcendent machine ‘discovering’ and isolating new forms and categories of heritage, nor a form of political activism, but as a problematization of reality that creates matters of concern between humans and things (Zaera-Polo 2008). Heritage studies can become an effective device to produce change, especially by attending in an anthropological fashion to minor voices (Hamilton and Placas 2011) and making them resonate into wider frameworks of political and economic action.

5. A Political Economy for the Heritage Commons.

“The logic of immanence in the "Commons" scholium is this: the power of private property is transcendent, not immanent, because it alienates the owner from the object, setting the owner apart from and above the object as well as above the other subjects excluded from access to the object. That is, property law relies on a "transitive" version of causality that treats a producer as external to the product and then transfers that externality to the owner/object relationship. Transcendence of this sort operates consistently in Empire as false consciousness or a kind of dialectical bad faith; behind or before such mistaken separations of

producer and product, one has the "discovery" of "the immanent relation between the public and the common" (Irr 2005).

This section provides an account of the connections between heritage and recent developments in capitalism and the cultural industries. The aim is to build a non-essentialist and situated theory of value that enables us to inscribe heritage in broader processes of change in the post-industrial economy. I draw on Deleuze and post-workerist theory to argue that the spheres of production-consumption, culture-economy, leisure-culture-work have collapsed in the central capitalist economies and therefore heritage cannot be reduced either into a ‘cultural’ sphere related with identity and meaning or into an ‘economic’ process of economic valorization. The underlying premise is that the reduction of contentious issues in the field of heritage to identity politics or the ‘commoditization’ of an otherwise pristine cultural object are just ways to avoid facing multiplicity and complexity. Finally, I will develop an ontological conception of heritage as a virtual common that is then actualized in events and processes where it is appropriated and segmented in different forms.

The contemporary emphasis in the social sciences and heritage studies on meaning and identity politics at the expense of issues of production and materialism does not derive from an aseptic, Kuhnian-like, change of paradigm. Rather, it is the consequence of a certain political and historical background. In particular, it derives from the frontal attack to Marxist thought during the 1970s and its deconstruction by postmodern philosophy. Jean Baudrillard’s harsh critique of Marxism and its entire political and metaphysical apparatus based on the centrality of production, labor and the appropriation of surplus value led him to declare ‘the end of production’ (1975). For him, “labor is no longer a force. It has become a sign among other signs, produced and consumed like all the rest ... The process of labor itself has become interchangeable: a mobile, polyvalent, intermittent system of job placement, indifferent to every objective, and even to labor in the classical sense of the term” (1999: 100-104). In this passage from production to seduction, the “sign form has seized upon labor and emptied it of all its historical and libidinal signification, absorbing it in the process of its own reproduction’ (Idem 1999: 101). Political subjectivity, value and work become abstracted from the infrastructure and thus the Marxist categories of analysis do not apply anymore, in a world of incorporeal networks of floating signs and events. This move paved the way for the birth of the field of cultural studies and a whole wave of theories and methodologies for the analysis of meanings, cultural constructs and identities (sensu Hall 1997). Many Anglo-Saxon scholars included Foucault in this ‘postmodern’ wave and misused his work to analyze ‘discourse’, which has led some to differentiate ‘two’ Foucauldian methodologies for the social sciences (e.g. Denzin and Lincoln 2005). Probably with the exception of Marxist scholar David Harvey, most heritage authors, from Hewison’s heritage as ‘false-consciousness’ to Smith’s AHT, are engaged in the analysis of heritage as a ‘cultural’ process or discourse. In doing so, they *construct* heritage as a discursive object and reproduce it as such.

Deleuze and Guattari, and the Italian post-workerists influenced by their thought, rethink the affective and aesthetic characteristics of contemporary ‘cognitive’ capitalism and ‘immaterial’ labor to move away from the categories of orthodox Marxism without “plunging into the domain of derealized seduction and the sleek empire of self-replicating signs” (Toscano 2007: 79). As already stated, Deleuze’s vitalism acknowledges the importance of signifying regimes and events. However,

these are not considered floating signifiers but rather triggers of material processes entangled in the production of subjectivities, affective environments and complex material networks – ‘desiring production’ (Deleuze and Guattari 1983). Production is not only about economy, it is first and foremost affective, and therefore desire (libido) is constantly being invested into economic assemblages. From this standpoint, “what Marxism relegated to the superstructure must be reintroduced into the domain of the economy” (Toscano 2007: 79). The Marxist concept of ‘general intellect’ does not suffice to explain a new situation in which “what is coordinated in this new general brain, as it were, is not just abstract labor, but beliefs, desires and affects” (Toscano 2007: 79). What we need then is a novel theory of heritage value consistent with a model of production that does not only ‘invent commodities’, but rather captures, creates and configures new affective environments, memories, habits, perceptions and beliefs where the commodities are inserted and ‘made meaningful’. As in Santiago Millas, what is created is not only new ‘heritage objects’, but a whole world where they become meaningful (and valuable). This goes against most theories of heritage value which try to locate it inherently in heritage objects, in the intersubjective evaluations of society, or in Universalist and essentialist claims that underscore the relation of heritage with empty master signifiers such as sustainable development, quality of life or the ‘rights’ of future generations.

The Capitalist Machine.

Deleuze and Guattari do not provide a thoroughly negative account of capitalism. They see it as a creative machine that liberates fluxes of desire that do not only generate oppression but also freedom, joy and pleasure (Thrift 2005). Fundamentally, capitalism is a continuous process of mobilization of flows of money and labor, producing constantly. Therefore, it relentlessly overcomes and sets new limits, creating new ‘lines of flight’ and deterritorializations. Scientists, artists, philosophers and capitalists, all them open up new territories (mental, symbolic, physical) for exploitation and production. These breakings of codes and territories are the processes that determine the whole system of production. Thus, politics is not an “assertion of a class or minority identity, but is a process of engagement with these ‘objective’ lines of flight” (Thoburn 2001). They focus on the modes of operation of capitalism, defining “social formations by machinic processes and not by modes of production (these on the contrary depend on the processes)” (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 435). Contrary to previous social systems, capitalism does not base its workings on sets of beliefs and identities. Whereas previous social formations worked by codes of material flows (the feudal serf, the slave, the tithe, landed and merchant wealth, etc.), capitalism works ‘on codes’, by deterritorializing and decoding processes to free them. The real ‘tragedy of the commons’ occurred in the British rural areas liberated many workers from agricultural tasks that could from then onwards sell their labor to capital. The prehistoric carvings in Filiel are not shepherd’s carvings anymore but rather deterritorialized heritage objects at play in the global hierarchy of value. Through decoding, capitalism liberates and fosters creativity, smoothes spaces and paves the way for novel lines of flight that trigger new processes of production. However, capitalist forces of recoding aim at creating parallel segmentations and stratifications of society that striate space and consolidate certain forms of power. Creativity-through-restraint, liberation through repression, are processes enabling the conversion of social life into surplus value more effectively (Caldwell 2010).

The system lacks ideology or a clear objective, it is an impulse without goals (Thrift 2006), there is no ‘bourgeois master plan’, “no particular structural regime, authority, or configuration of life to maintain, but a single objective of ‘production for production’s sake’ (Kowalik 1990). However, it is not a transcendental entity, it can be empirically accounted for as it is performative (Collier et al. 2004). It is an operative function fostering particular forms of conduct on human life through “distributing in space, laying out and serializing in time, composing in space-time, and so on ... almost blind and mute, even though it makes others see and speak (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 35). Contrary to bureaucratic systems, for capitalism the difficulties and limits that arise in the generation of value are the conditions of its own production (Deleuze and Guattari 1994: 66-67). Capitalism performs a disjunctive synthesis that distributes and coordinates, that creates relations and redistributions of desires and values. Contrary to what neoclassical economics held, it is a far-from-equilibrium system, an structure that dissipates flows of energy and money (Prigogine and Stengers 1984), rather than a stable entity. Capitalism needs constant investments in the system before succumbing to entropy: this is where the connective synthesis of production, of actions and passions invested in it, comes into play. This is the side of consumption, where sensual pleasures, pain and anxiety reproduce the whole system (Shaviro 1993). Capital is then a process and an emergent set of relations between producers that relentlessly generate reality. However, there is no primacy between production over consumption, both come together: “there is no such thing as relatively independent spheres or circuits: production is immediately consumption and recording, without any sort of mediation, and recording and consumption directly determine production, though they do so within the production process itself” (Deleuze and Guattari 1983: 4).

Subjectivity arises as a by-product, an emergent property of these constant reinventions of the system. Two fundamental operations are simultaneously at work according to Guattari (1995a). The process of ‘machinic enslavement’ produces ‘dividuals’, subjects traversed by different energies that fulfill a role in different machinic processes of production where one is just a piece in the engine either in the factory, in the corporation or the school. In turn, ‘social subjection’ separates subjects from social machines of production and creates ‘higher unities’ or ‘individuals’ around some specific traits that coalesce into identities such as the ‘worker’, the ‘consumer’, the ‘expert’, etc. Identity politics and heritage studies normally focus on the second process: subjectivation. However, at each moment one simultaneously experiences subjection and enslavement (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 458). Identities, then, are products of specific capitalist ‘codifications’, which are not fixed but contingent and changing due to the constant processes of de/recoding and de/reterritorialization that capitalism implies. ‘Internalized’ codes (the serf, the slave) are replaced by “a plethora of immanent (more ‘surface’) abstract relations and resonances which traverse the socius, but which have no essence, rules, or meaning beyond their immediate relation, and what is functional to them” (Idem 1987: 454). As Deleuze and Guattari put it ‘the axiomatic deals directly with purely functional elements and relations whose nature is not specified, and which are immediately realized in highly varied domains simultaneously’ (Idem 1987: 454).

Money, rather than ideology, provides the general equivalent that renders the system coherent. There is no need for an all-encompassing belief system because “the capitalist socius is strictly amoral (Deleuze and Holland 1999: 21, 80). The workings of capitalism are not hidden, everyone knows how they work, “nothing is secret, at least in principle and according to the code (this is why capitalism is “democratic” and can “publicize” itself, even in a juridical sense)’ (Deleuze in

Guattari 1995a: 55). There is not an ideological superstructure tricking people and conveying a false ideology that convinces them to invest their energies in the system (Thoburn 2003). Clearly, this is not a denial of the mystifying workings of capitalism in hiding some ‘messy’ issues about exploitation, governance and inequality (Deleuze 1994a: 208). However, the fundamental capitalist process is about marking and inscription, how the people is ordered, inscribed, composed and axiomatized in the system through machinic mechanisms. This implies getting rid of some transcendental Marxist categories. What does it mean, outside a Marxist framework, to say that there has been a “commoditization of previously non-commoditized social relations” or that “wage labor” is a form of surplus extraction? As DeLanda argues, the “workers at coal mines in England who unionized early on, did not believe that. They thought there was such a thing as a “fair wage” and they just needed to have the bargaining power needed to reach this fair outcome in negotiation” (DeLanda et al. 2005). Surely, when the ‘discoverer’ of the prehistoric carvings started to promote it through the internet he was not thinking that he was ‘commoditizing’ them. But neither had them the same value for him than for a scholar or a local *paisano*. He was emotionally engaged in the affective atmosphere whereby heritage was being constructed. In Santiago Millas, the city council tried to build a set of Maragato houses from the scratch, a rather different form of constructing heritage. Where is production and consumption in both cases? What is being commoditized or socially constructed? Were the discoverer – called Juan Carlos – and the city major led by their ‘belief’ in heritage as a cultural construct that fosters identity and memory? Or were they just part of a larger assemblage of values, virtualities and situated states of affairs were doing what they did *made sense*? It is true that heritage acquires values because of, and through, our desires (Waterton 2005)?. What is at stake is how these desires become entrenched in complex networks of desiring production that enable the emergence of stable heritage objects.

Cognitive Capitalism, Immaterial Labor.

In summary, what Deleuze and Guattari offer us is a departure from classical and neoclassical political economy and Marxism. These theories separate the production of economic value from the production of moral and cultural values, relegating the latter to the superstructure in the case of Marxism. This conception hinders our understanding of contemporary capitalism, which can only be grasped if we consider both the libidinal and the political economy as a whole in a Deleuzian fashion.

However, how does this rather abstract account of capitalism take grip in the contemporary context? Fundamentally, the transition in the central capitalist economies towards a prominent role of financial and post-industrial economy has brought about many changes that affect the conceptualization of heritage. This reinvention of capitalism has been defined as ‘cognitive’ or ‘biopolitical’ (Fumagalli 2007; Rullani 2004; Vercellone 2006). It is based in the development of an economy based on the production and diffusion of knowledge, which becomes the fundamental vector of capital valorization. Most workers are employed in tertiary sectors where immaterial and intellectual, knowledge-intensive work environments prevail such as science, informatics, programming, health, education, etc. Intelligence, knowledge and immaterial cognitive qualities activated throughout productive processes become central, at the expense of products and services. Value becomes embedded in human life and experience, it is co-created in-between production and

consumption (Prahalad and Ramaswamy 2004). The market is not anymore external to the value chain but rather pervades the entire system, blending leisure and culture, work and leisure, economy and culture (Thrift 2006). In other words, human life and creativity are put to work (Thrift 2006: 41-42). Unsurprisingly, intangible heritage is quite consistent with this new re-invention of capitalism as a provider of immaterial values.

This is what Marazzi has called an anthropogenic model or biopolitical turn in the economy (2008), whereby the human being is located at the centre of the productive sphere as fixed capital. Different authors emphasize the significance of a shift in production towards models close to culture and art management: today the production of ‘things’ is secondary to the creation ‘forms of life’ or ‘worlds’ where the commodities can be inserted (McCullough 2005: 150-151). These immaterial productions involve an appeal to the passions, enthusiasms and affects of consumers, who are incited to create malleable environments for products. What is being created is thus ‘subjectivity’, more intensively than ever. As Marazzi points out “the object of production is really a subject, defined by a social relationship or a form of life” (2000). Affective and economic investments are thus geared towards the access to a relation, rather than to the acquisition and exclusive possession of it. Thus, what is crucial today is the property over the rights of an invention (patents) and the rights over the reproduction of an invention (copyright) (Lazzarato 2009). Traditional divisions between productive and reproductive labor, work time and leisure time fall apart as the productive power of labor is being transformed into a power to generate social life” (Marazzi 2008). This is hardly something original. George Simmel (2004) had already pointed to the need of introducing cultural modes of socialization into economy. One century ago, Gabriel Tarde argued that intellectual production tends to take the leading role in the production of wealth, emerging in parallel with the increasing ‘need to know’ and the ‘worship of the aesthetic and the superb’ (Lazzarato 2002).

Counter politics aiming at the contention of the market economy in its own ambit, or opposing the defense of culture and tradition as Karl Polanyi defends (Polanyi and MacIver 1957), cannot be sustained within the dynamics of contemporary capitalism. Similarly, Pierre Lévy’s postulated that the basis of economy rests on a scarcity generated by private property and exclusion, whereas consumption was considered a destructive activity (Lazzarato 2004b). Contrarily, today’s economy is based on excess, consumption of knowledge is not destructive and scarcity and the appropriation of value must be rethought in terms of capture of flows rather than, as Marxists conceive it, an appropriation of a ‘surplus value’ from labor (Micelli and Finotto 2005; Rullani 2004)¹⁵.

Fundamental to the understanding of the new capitalist developments and the role of heritage within them is the idea of ‘immaterial labor’. This kind of labor provides the “informational and cultural content of the commodity” (Lazzarato 1996: 133), as is basically performed in a way that fosters “cooperation, in all of its affective, communicational and informational sense, for the sake of intensified productivity” (Lazzarato 1996: 134). Immaterial production absorbs a large part of the value paid by the end consumer (Micelli and Finotto 2005). This process entails a separation between knowledge and information and their material support. Immaterial goods can be

¹⁵ Clearly, this picture applies to the central economies and does not overlook the fact that most people in the world still live in pre or industrialised societies. However, the world-wide socioeconomic trends are consistent with my description here.

collectively enjoyed, are fundamentally beyond the limits of exclusive property and, contrary to material goods, are not perishable in principle. In this framework of immaterial abundance, consumption becomes part of the relays of capitalist production in a model that more and more resembles artistic production. Facing this picture, Negri underscores the potential autonomy of knowledge workers from the capitalist organization of production (2004). However, cognitive capitalism implies a more dense, complex and even affective engagement with the system (Pasquinelli 2010a). The increase in the rate of invention through the acceleration of time and space to increase connections renders knowledge a direct agent in the technical-artistic eventful transformation of life: knowledge and life become inextricable (Virno 2002). Knowledge then becomes a virtuality, an abstract machine for the actualization of innovations, competences and risk. This biopolitical economy predatorily appropriates values that have been created outside the productive system (of the corporation, of work time, etc.). In other words, for a corporation to work and for complex cultural economies to perform well high educational standards, research centers, health systems and other public services must be available. This is why “economists are recognizing the increasing importance of factors external to capital because capital is increasingly external to the productive process and the generation of wealth” (Marazzi 2008).

These changes point to a radical rethinking of the capital relation, as immaterial workers become direct producers of subjectivity. The fundamental task of production today is directly the production of a social relation, and then the ‘raw material’ of immaterial labor is subjectivity and the ‘ideological’ environment in which subjectivity lives and reproduces. The production of subjectivity ceases to be only an instrument of social control (for the production of mercantile relationships) and becomes directly productive, because the goal of our post-industrial society is to construct the consumer/communicator - and to construct it as ‘active’ (Lazzarato 1997). To bring heritage into the discussion and illustrate some of these points, we must think on the passion with which many social scientists, especially archaeologists and heritage scholars, embark in the task of preserving and promoting heritage sites. It seems as if their ‘social’ role was just that, to ‘preserve’ objects for society and a public that should then ‘participate’ in their projects. Political correctness demands archaeologists, for instance, to foster participation in their projects rather than addressing social problems or facilitate change. This situation generates new demands from the people where the projects take place, along with new sets of values and social relations. What is being created is a ‘world’ where certain things make sense, can become valuable, and can in a future start being profitable. Of course, the implementation of knowledge economies is easier in knowledge intense, central areas than in peripheral marginal regions such as Maragatería. When the ‘Plan-E’ set up by Rodriguez Zapatero’s government to reinvigorate the economy flooded city councils with fresh cash, no one in Maragatería thought on restoring monuments or enhancing sites: money went to the (re) asphaltting of streets. Not enough ‘heritage subjectivities’ have been captured; there is no ‘world’ out there where heritage can make sense in most Maragato villages. But, how does sense relates to value? What role heritage plays in the creation, appropriation and distribution of that value? To answer these questions I will start from a brief account of the most significant theories of heritage value developed hitherto.

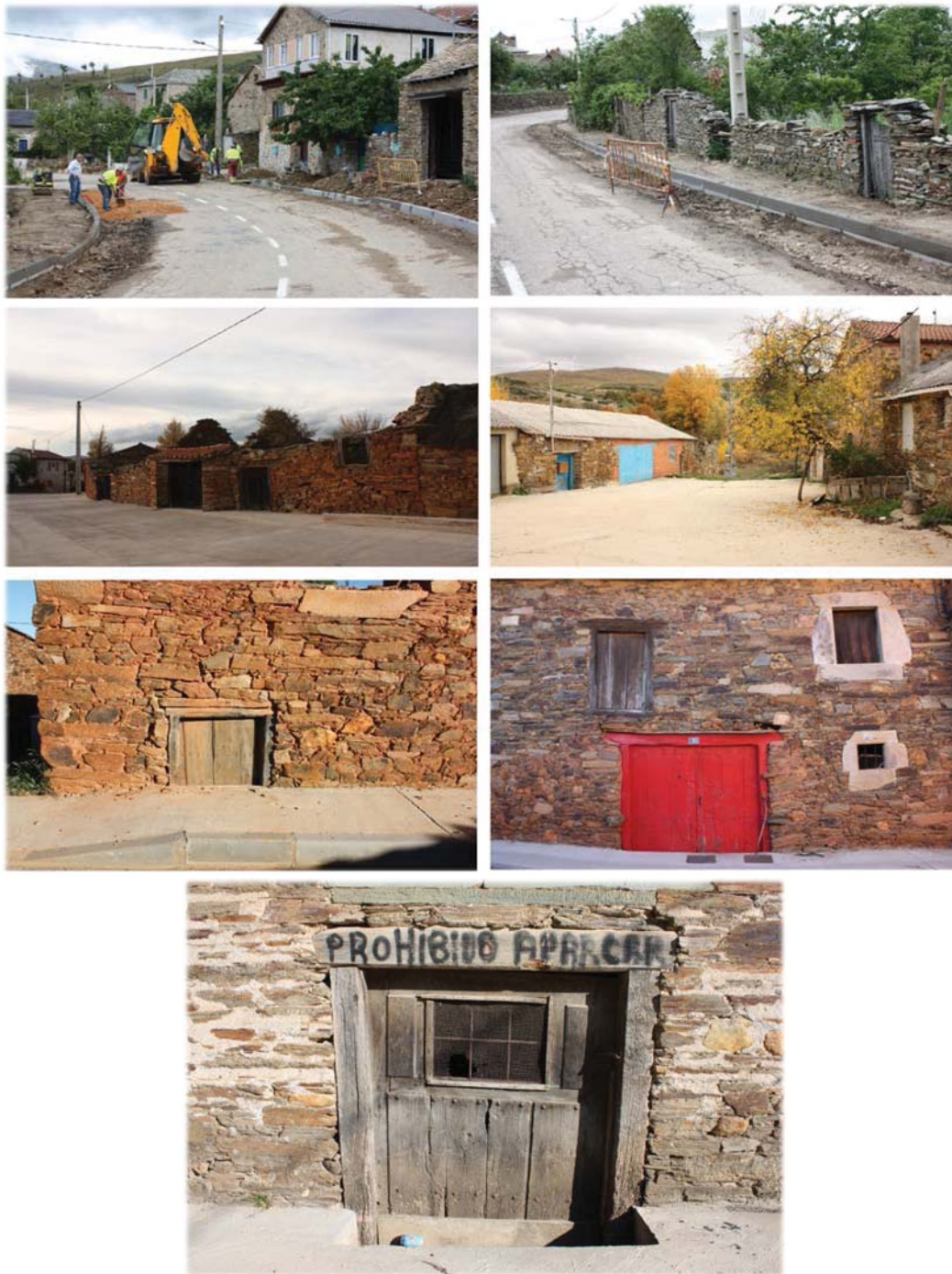


Image 5. The material culture of the Spanish *Plan E*. The plan to boost the economy launched by the government of the PSOE in 2009 to counter the effects of the crisis resulted in a national wide implementation of infrastructural works, most of them unnecessary. Many doors have been rendered useless in Maragatería, and many complain about the dramatic aesthetic look of the asphalted villages now. Source: Author.

The Values of Heritage.

Works assessing heritage values emerged as a response to the increasing significance of cultural resource management (U.S.) and heritage management (U.K.), and the consequent need to provide a framework and a set of criteria to assess the significance of sites and objects and take

decisions concerning their protection. From the pioneering studies of Lipe (1984) or Cleere (1993), scholars have struggled with the issue of value. The concept is “difficult to manage because it refers to abstractions and categories that fall within philosophical concerns” (Ballart i Hernández et al. 1996). Most works share a view of heritage as a non-renewable entity that provides or increases the quality of life (González Méndez 1997: 218), and posit a clear separation between heritage which is in ‘the market’ or is considered as ‘State property’. It seems as if a heritage item catalogued and managed by the State has nothing to do with economy. The underlying idea is that economy and culture are ‘incompossible’ fields, the former being about concretization and quantification, the latter about abstraction and qualification (Gudeman 1986). If we cannot quantify the values of something then it must be social/cultural. This mirrors the debate between archaeologists considering heritage as material and quantifiable entities, whereas others consider them intangibles and thus unquantifiable (Carman 1995b: 233). Economists have tried to account for these unquantifiable goods by using the concept of ‘merit goods’, which supposedly satisfy some ‘superior’ necessities of human beings and provide quality of life. They have also referred to ‘externalities’ (Fumagalli and Mezzadra 2010), all those elements that contribute to an economy without being easily accounted for (language or heritage for instance). Neither account is valid if we are to commit to immanence and anti-essentialism, because they take for granted what should be explained: why are entities considered as valuable items? Why are we discussing whether they should be treated according to the ‘law of the market’ or the ‘law of the State’? Who has ever demonstrated that heritage improves the quality of our lives? Most authors prefer to leave these questions unanswered and turn to familiar territory, thus accounting for value within the social sphere. Despite in practice most official heritage agents and experts are empirical positivist considering that heritage is inherently valuable, scholars normally hold on to a social constructivist position and start directly referring to ‘social values’ (Darvill 1995). Accordingly, heritage value is an “added quality that individuals endow to some objects that render them worthy of esteem” (Ballart i Hernández et al. 1996: 215). For Darvill, social value is something implicitly or explicitly desirable that distinguishes a group and influences social action (Darvill 1995: 40). Values vary according to historical, psychological, social and cultural environments, a fact that, according to Lipe (1984) should not lead us to disdain the intrinsic qualities of a good and its authenticity as a cultural product.

For Lipe, heritage can have economic value (1984). A utilitarian value like a building for different uses, an exchange value by entering the antiquity market, or a public value as it is expensive to maintain and to study. Furthermore, it has a symbolic value as it links us to the past through a tactile and visual experience. Heritage can also provide information about the past and thus have an ‘informative value’, and can be aesthetically and formally significant, therefore having an ‘aesthetic value’. UNESCO guidelines and different official guidelines such as the Burra charter follow these patterns, along with other authors such as Pearce and Turner (1990), Ballart (2001), Ashworth and Turnbridge (2000), Saunders (1989), Merriman (2004), or Stanley Price (2002). The ‘informational value’ is usually collapsed with ‘academic’ or ‘scientific’ value, whereas ‘aesthetic values’ are related to leisure and tourism. Values are always considered ‘relative’ as they depend on different social views of it. The large field experience of Darvill enabled him to add complexity to the picture by referring to ‘systems of values’ (Darvill et al. 1993). For him, there is a social substance from which value is thought: the social attitudes and milieu (Darvill 1995: 41). Then,

there are specific interests in relation to heritage. Each use of heritage is related with different sets of values. Accordingly, 'use' value relates to contemporary uses of heritage considering heritage as a 'resource' for tourism, research, leisure, education or art. The 'option' value relates with the preservation of heritage for future generations because heritage can foster a sense of stability while providing 'mystery' and curiosity about the past. Finally, the 'existence' value relates with the preservation of the object, a fundamental issue as it provides cultural identity and a basis where resistance to change and legitimacy for action can be based. This is related to heritage as a provider of 'ontological security' (Giddens 1991) and, ultimately, with Nietzsche's and Lowenthal's insights about the uses and misuses of the past. Ultimately, Darvill's approach is tied to strictly instrumentalist notions, whereby heritage 'value' derives from 'use'. A different approach is provided from scholars drawing on Baudrillard (1994) and Groys' (2005) that extend the principles of economy to account for culture, a 'cultural economy' *à la* Bourdieu (1972). Montenegro (2010) follows Kopytoff (1986) to argue that heritage is valuable because it works as a benchmark 'outside the market', a non-exchangeable entity that 'sanctions' the values of exchangeable commodities. In a similar vein to Montenegro, Davallon (2006) draws on Godelier (2004) to follow a similar argumentation, considering heritage as a symbolic entity that cannot be reduced to economic or social values.

There are some underlying flaws in these approaches, basically a confusion between 'value' and the potential 'uses' that heritage can undergo, and a total identification between heritage objects and 'the past'. Are items valuable because they are about the past, or because of their inherent characteristics? Ultimately, these approaches face the impossibility of solving the problem of relativity in their task to develop criteria to assess the value of heritage. Post-processualist archaeologists argued that it would be impossible to assess and create overall hierarchies in heritage sites (Shanks and Tilley 1992). From an immanent and non-essentialist point of view, the problem of these approaches is that they try to create an Universal plane of reference from which to 'judge' heritage. This standpoint does not take into account the complexity of actual states of things, the different scales of evaluation, power and agency articulations and, ultimately, that they are presupposing what they should explain: why heritage objects are constructed in some way and not in other. In other words, they use the actually existing and commonsense values attributed to heritage to retroactively explain them: 'heritage is valuable *because* it has the properties of being informative, aesthetic and used for this and for that'. Conversely, if heritage 'sanctions' the value of the other commodities circulating in the social sphere by being left out of the market sphere, how does it do so? How has been heritage endowed with the agency to 'sanction' other things? Rather, it seems that the contemporary situation tends towards 'putting to work' every single element amenable to valorization – even human beings as 'intangible heritage' (Castillo Ruiz 2007) – rather than using them to externally 'sanction' value. Properties and capacities of heritage are taken for granted, rather than explained, and thus the emergent potential of heritage is denied. Using the concepts of cultural economy (Bourdieu 1984; Lash and Urry 1994) does help, but still cultural and economic processes must be accounted for without establishing an a priori subordination of one realm to the other. Thus, we should move from the actual to the virtual to account for the heritage processes – the passage from the virtual to the actual – that through complex mediations in heritage events generate specific values that resonate in different contexts, beyond subjects and objects, economy and culture. Again, heritage is not 'out there', it must be constructed, and its values and

identities must be accounted for as emergent by-products. Methods and theories are self-fulfilling though: the more institutions create standardized heritage procedures - cataloguing, planting posts, etc. -, the more 'heritage values' come to be related with official international discourses in which they are based. However, these virtual discourses are actualized in many variable states of affairs and result in different outcomes: heritage events both reproduce and invent new articulations of reality.

Can we develop a theory of value consistent with recent developments in capitalism where invention and diffusion seem to be more relevant categories than Universalist insights about aesthetics and scientific value? To do so, we need to look at situated contexts where multiplicities and heterogeneous heritage practices where sets of values arise that do not reproduce the Official, major ones. If we look at heritage sites 'in the making' such as the prehistoric carvings of Filiel, we see how all these criteria do not apply mostly. The carvings only start to resonate with Official heritage practices when posts are planted and studies are made, they enter the 'attractor' of science and institutions that provides them, a posteriori, with all the 'values' that they should have: aesthetic, informative, scientific, and so on. We recognize here the workings of Official, major politics and science that create a 'teleology' of heritage whereby what is controlled is not the past, but rather the future social trends and vectors of development. From this standpoint, a 'judgment' is passed over 'actually existing heritage' from a transcendental God-eye view. Instead of a minor heritage practice that thinks how heritage could be 'used for'; this view aims at fixing heritage property, uses, values and future developments. Heritage illustrates well Latour's point about modern practices of mediation and purification (Latour 1993). A heritage event actualizes, brings forth many uses, meanings, values, investments and emotions, in a situation where hybrids arise constantly, straddling culture and economy, society and nature. Then, a process of purification sets what is the heritage object, defines it as cultural, and stipulates what subjects should think and how to behave in relation to the object.

This is the heritage machine at work, an a-signifying 'meaningless' mechanism, which enacts segmentations, orderings and markings of bodies and visibilities. Moreover, we should not forget that to 'choose' the path of heritagization that many scholars eagerly defend as a Universalist 'good principle' means that other possibilities of becoming are curtailed. It is no coincidence that in Maragatería new eco rurals and people aiming at alternative lifestyles choose the less 'heritagized' villages to life. This has nothing to do with some kind of transcendental plan, rather, it 'happens' through a-signifying processes: heritagized villages as Santiago Millas, Castrillo de los Polvazares or Val de San Lorenzo are striated spaces where urban laws apply, real estate costs are high and certain elites deploy a more intense control over social and economic life. Instead, Lucillo, Requejo or San Martín del Agostedo are villages where land and houses are cheap (even free), space is smooth in mental and physical terms: there is no competition for lands to grow for instance. Some eco-rurals also showed aesthetic predilection for ruins than for monuments. Both social investments, minor and major, are productive. However, the latter promotes stability and fixed identities, with purified aesthetic cultural forms, and thus resonates with other assemblages that recognize it as legitimate and support its development through E.U. funding, rural development subsidies, private and public investments, and so on. The former set out hybrid practices that embody what sustainable and rural development guidelines allegedly promote: sustainable agriculture and farming, arts and crafts, a multiplicity of income sources form different eco-friendly

activities, etc. However, they are not ‘modern’, they are not embodying a purified separation between culture and economy, and challenge commonsense assumptions about ‘progress’: investments and subsidies must go towards modern sectors of economy which ‘use’ an aesthetic image of a purified ‘heritage world and culture’ to generate value. Supporting the ‘real’ practices that sustainable guidelines refer to in discourse would be to move backwards towards a ‘primitive’ state. As Deleuze and Guattari would have it, the system is not a transcendental entity designing plans and fulfilling them. Rather, it works through ‘lines of flight’ that create resonances between different sets of materials, practices, discourses and meanings, and in doing so enact specific orderings of bodies and discourses, visibilities and sayabilities. The heritage machine is one of these lines of flight, creating assemblages, dissipating others, bringing together pieces in the gear, inventing and diffusing values, reshuffling local economies, and producing social subjects as by-products of a new set of differentiations and segmentations that emerge around a novel social object at play: the hippie Other, the *paisano*, the heritage entrepreneur, and so on.

Relativity of Truth, Appropriation of Values.

Ultimately, assessments of heritage face a deadlock due to the relativity of heritage assessments in the social field. This is so because they embrace a Platonic conception of truth as something ideal, ‘out there’, that sustains scientific assertions and values. To escape this theoretical impasse and move forward towards a working theory of heritage value, it might be useful to bring up Nietzsche’s genealogic conception of truth as a value that is only respected and ‘believed’ when related to empirical evaluations, acts of desire and will (Ackermann 1993; Mahon 1992: 83). Deleuze notes that “values appear or are given as principles: and evaluation presupposes values on the basis of which phenomena are appraised. But, on the other hand and more profoundly, it is values which presuppose evaluations, ‘perspectives of appraisal’, from which their own value is derived” (Deleuze 1983: 1-2). In other words, evaluations “are not values but ways of being, modes of existence of those who judge and evaluate, serving as principles for the values on the basis of which they judge. This is why we always have the beliefs, feelings and thoughts that we deserve given our way of being or our style of life. There are things that can only be said, felt or conceived, values which can only be adhered to, on condition of ‘base’ evaluation, ‘base’ living and thinking (Deleuze 1983: 2). Values must be determined not from the Aristotelian paradigm that accounts for values by “increasing abstraction from properties, but by being “engaged in an increasing density of relations and series. Moreover, values are dependent upon variables, laws, sets and series that can become values of further variables, laws, sets and series, i.e., they are open to being reflexively *transvalued*” (Caffentzis 2011: 93). What does this mean? That heritage values cannot lie in the assessments of scholars but in the will of different actants ‘expressing’ their values empirically in the world through the affirmation of a will (Mahon 1992: 83). To coin a slogan, truth does not stem from values, but is rather a production derived from wills and desires (Citton and Lordon 2008). This is ‘desiring production’ in its most pure form.

Where should we look for heritage values then? In heritage events, where the unfolding of relations shows how values are invented, reproduced and diffused. Values cannot exist beyond relations and things, they are not ‘socially brought’ to them, nor can be abstracted from them (Fraser 2008: 67). Entities are sources of values for other entities in complex networks of elements

affecting and *being affected* by others (Rose 2002). In the *Politics of Nature* (2004a), Latour offers another framework to make sense of the issue in terms of ontology and epistemology, facts and values. For him, it is impossible to extricate the construction of things and facts (ontology) from the attribution of certain values to them (epistemology). Lipe provides an example of this practice when he asserts that heritage objects are ‘there’ and have some inherent positive properties, but then ‘afterwards’ society ascribes different values to them according to specific historical or psychological coordinates (1984). As Fraser puts it, if Latour’s life work can be characterized as an exploration of the lengthily and complex ways in which facts are made, created, fabricated and invented, of the ways in which they are *not* given in the common world, then the idea that ethical questions are to be raised only *after* the facts have been established is bound to be a matter for critique” (Fraser 2008: 68). Thus Latour proposes to shift from “foundations to the details of the deployment of matters of concern” (2004a: 118). There is no point in archaeological and social scientists’ voluntarist efforts to inflate the Universal values and uses of heritage, create more detailed and compartmented categories and finely define them. We should jettison our belief in a possible all-encompassing epistemological representation of heritage covering World Heritage French cuisine, the prehistoric carvings of Filiel and the would-be project to build Maragato houses in Santiago Millas. Nonetheless, I do not advocate a neutral research stance or the ANT advice to limit ourselves to ‘follow the actors’. As already mentioned, I think we need to acknowledge that our theories and methodologies are direct producers of reality. But this does not mean that we should just lay back and follow the actors, rather, we must assume our political positioning and act consequently. Political in the Deleuzian sense, that is, not as ‘representation’ but as a direct production of scientific reality and values that could be linked to specific states of affairs. For instance, Maragato dances, houses and religious parades are recognized as heritage in the area. Instead, the hybrid ‘meshwork’ linking vernacular parties with Maragato drum players and political forms of democratic local government dating back to Medieval times, is not considered ‘heritage’ and its disappearance does not pose a problem for any powerful actor in the area. By underscoring the existence of this elements and grounding them in empirical facts we can recover an agency, participate in the construction of heritage and at the same time engage in real-world social problems. Following linguist Bathkin, we do not need to create totalizing abstractions from actual states of things, but rather ask who and how produces new values that oppose or deviate from the existing ones.

Drawing on the previous explanation of the concept, it can be affirmed that heritage falls within the realm of immaterial production, a process of self-valorization whereby knowledge produces new values by creating new sets of relations and subjectivities where heritage makes sense in complex assemblages. In Val de San Lorenzo building ‘traditional houses’ from the scratch makes sense within a network of relations between museums, city council and regional policies, restaurants, hotels and discourses about development and heritage that provide value to the house. Why would one in normal conditions build modern brick houses and cover them with an expensive layer of stone if not for that? What is sold in rural hotels is not a single product – a night in a hotel – but a set of relations where tourist consumption makes sense: with a textile and gastronomic tradition, with an affective and physical environment, with an architectural style, and so on. The production of these affective environments that provide value and meaning to heritage and other social processes derives from a social cooperation – inter-brain cooperation in Tarde’s words – that

is in many ways unintended: what is valuable is the human life and its environment, a ‘common’ product of history. Corporations use similar strategies. First, they capture the common attention and affective investments of the people through different strategies (e.g. the logo), and only then they will get involved in the *material* production and reproduction of commodities. Thus, the previous immaterial work of ‘capture’ is immanently productive (Marazzi 2010). World Heritage and UNESCO function similarly in some cases, as virtual quasi-causes that trigger material processes: everyone wants the ‘logo’ of UNESCO’s World Heritage to capture flows of tourism and investment. This entails changes in the material conditions of the sites after the declaration, or even before it, when the virtual possibility of becoming World Heritage triggers changes to ‘abide’ to UNESCO’s requirements to gain World Heritage status. This is why many New Left and post-workerist thinkers speak of a ‘capture’ of the common values for the revalorization and reinvention of capitalist relations. Heritage processes are one of the most active vectors of self-valorization, an issue closely related to the problem of invention and innovation in capitalism. As Toscano notes, the “conundrum of contemporary capitalism is how to capture the invention of a difference and insert it into the cycles of production and reproduction. Whence the focus on forms of life, feeling and behavior as indispensable categories for the analysis of today’s ‘psychological economy’” (2007: 80). The problem here is that most social theory, including Marxism, does not account for invention but rather presuppose it. My proposal is that we should conceive heritage as a virtuality that is a common product of social – inter-brain – cooperation. This common virtuality is ‘invented’, actualized, through specific heritage processes with certain outcomes that resonate with particular states of affairs, desires and power balances. In fact, heritage can be aligned with a series of conflicts that traverse the contemporary social field that share the same problematic. This is the privatization of ‘knowledge’ which is not only common, but has been made possible by common investments: private research patents on seeds, plants or animal substances, copyrights by editing houses over publications resulting from publicly funded research projects, the education systems that render research possible, and so on.

Deleuze and Latour draw heavily in the psycho-sociology of Gabriel Tarde. However, it has been Lazzarato who provides the most in-depth account of Tarde’s theory of value based on the twofold process of invention/imitation (2002). For Tarde, the formation of values relies on two fundamental vectors: invention, or the expression of a virtuality, and imitation, the social and material actualization of it. Both dimensions are reciprocally co-constituted in specific events. Invention and imitation are not deterministic but unpredictable processes, inventions might occur that do not take grip in the social and are not imitated (2002: 43-45). Think on the prehistoric carvings discovered in the 1980s in Maragatería and ‘rediscovered’ in 2010: they did not achieve any real value or recognition until recently; the specific relations that produce value did not arise and they were not inserted in the correct channels to ‘resonate’. To invent implies a rupture with previously established values and habits, it is a process of hybridization whereby many virtualities are brought together and drawn into actual states of affairs. However, we cannot assume that inventions are immediately constituted in operative values. We cannot move from the micro to the macro, the local to the global, through a process of totalization or abstraction. Rather, we must look at the processes that in any specific event create networks, patchworks, assemblages that bring and maintain elements together (James and Castell 1948), or, as Tarde would put it, the “capacities to create aggregates of fluxes of desires and beliefs” (Lazzarato 2002: 47). Tarde acknowledges that as

societies become more complex and advanced, emotions, sensations and aesthetics become the fundamental sources of inventions and collective investments determining the needs and aims of society, and thus economic valorization.

Thrift sums up the main traits of a Tardian sociology in *Non-representational theory* (2008: 229):

1. His work prefigures contemporary capitalism in its commitment to epidemiological models of imitation and invention.
2. He questions the idea of 'Society' to account for ranges of entities existing in association.
3. He is concerned with the creation and transmission of passions through semiconscious processes of mimesis that condition behavior.
4. He provides a materialist ontology where emotional relations form networks of properties, meanings and discourses that shape the construction of subjectivities.
5. Space becomes a sphere of inter-relation rather than a phenomenological subjective construction or an objective ground for social interactions.

Tarde considers invention and imitation as modalities of memory, the first creating and the other conserving. Both are mostly undifferentiated processes in practice as there are always tiny inventions and imitations because, as Deleuze would put it, repetition always implies difference (1994). Imitation is a psychological action, largely unconscious, that diffuses an invention (a difference) and preserves it. Imitation imitates inventions but also itself, which explains the unconscious preservation of habits and customs: this is how collectives create resonances that become 'group identities', whether national or other. Thus, the unconscious repetition permeates the conscious to generate values, tastes, knowledge, passions, opinions and prejudices. For Tarde, the emancipation from the prejudices of social traditions does not mean that we are free from inter-psychological relations and influences, rather, the more freedom there is the more relations and values are created (Lazzarato 2002). Through 'imitation-custom', we copy according to the norms of tradition and its models. Through 'imitation-mode' we imitate according to the open-ending field of novel inventions and constant change, where public opinion, class, gender and nationalistic prejudices, or even friend's opinions, are constantly shaping our unconscious perception of the world.

Thus, Tarde puts forward a model that can be equated with Deleuze's virtual and actual fields. There is a virtual 'inter-consciousness' that provides the basis, and functions as the quasi-cause, from which inventions can become actual in singular consciousness or individuals. A simple example: the invention of the telephone is the result of a unconnected multiplicity of little inventions and social changes that then coalesce in a single inventor that brings all the elements together *ex abrupto* (Lazzarato 2009). Invention is always an event where different imitative fluxes converge and are assembled into an actual entity: perceptions, sensations, intuitions, habits, ideas and behaviors. The propagation of inventions through imitation relates to different social assemblages that are in turn affected by the invention, triggering (or not) further processes of invention and imitation. Each invention requires a diffusion to become valuable. The telephone must be inserted in social life, modifying it and becoming a bodily habit (Lazzarato 2002). This implies that new inventions produce new stratifications of reality, new forms of perceiving, seeing, feeling and relating to the world, new bodily practices, technologies and ways of performing: a

complete novel ‘regime of living’ (Collier and Lakoff 2005). The reception and integration of inventions in social uses and life is also a creative act that is involved itself in the invention as such. This is how heritage becomes gradually part of our quotidian life, demanding from us a different behavior with objects, a different actualization of our bodily practices, investments of desire and energy. Of course, inventions can ‘make sense’ and be meaningful within certain networks and not in others, irrespectively of spatio-temporal coordinates.

For instance, the invention of a heritage economy in Val de San Lorenzo involves just a few subjects (in the city council, museum, restaurants and hotels) that make it work and connect it with flows of tourism. In a great example of a post-industrial economy, the museum works as the backbone that provides knowledge and ‘makes sense’ of the whole heritage economy, by rendering meaningful objects, behaviors and situations. This produces value and extends the horizons of capitalist reinvention (a deterritorialization of the local culture reterritorialized within a new socioeconomic framework). Nonetheless, at the molecular, affective level, most inhabitants are passive or even critical witnesses of this assemblage. However, despite they do not ‘imitate’ it, they are ‘affected’ by it in a twofold manner. First, heritage has become the novel ‘line of flight’ that defines the ‘collective identity’ of the village at the molar level, and indicates the direction towards which economic and social investments of money and energy should be directed. Second, it is ‘the people’ and ‘their lives’ (past and present) that are being ‘captured’ as an ‘immaterial value’ by the heritage assemblage to make money: Val de San Lorenzo derives its reputation from the textile industrial and artisan tradition that people in the village embody. A social constructivist approach would probably direct its critique to the ‘discursive oppression’ that entails the exclusion of the actual people from the village (workers, artisans, etc.) from the official heritage discourse deployed in the museum and the heritagescape of Val de San Lorenzo. That is, a critique falling within identity politics and what Deleuze and Guattari would call ‘social subjection’ (1987). Without denying the relevance of this critique, I consider more oppressive another situation in which the common immaterial value (the lives of the people, their ways of life, traditions, houses, landscapes, etc.) is being redirected and captured by few people at the expense of a majority group that is excluded. This critique is aimed at the process of ‘machinic enslavement’, a level in which subjectivities are split into ‘dividuals’, as Guattari puts it, rather than being considered as groups or as individuals with clearly defined identities ‘to be recognized’ or ‘involved’ in a certain discourse. Val de San Lorenzo is a good example of the workings of the knowledge economy that relies in processes of appropriation of cultural capital where heritage plays a crucial role. Within this novel framework, places “are no longer givens, but are – or at least can be – produced by the people who inhabit them, if they give meaning to their co-habitation, establishing a hierarchy of distances between what is – physically or culturally – close and, on the other hand, what is, and remains, distant, faraway. Unrelated. The construction of places, being a construction of meaning, is a big intellectual commitment that calls all of us – producers, consumers, citizens – to join in the work. And it can be a source of economic value and competitive advantages destined to endure because they are recognized and appreciated by our interlocutors around the world... In other words, it is an exercise of differentiation, rather an exercise in identification pure and simple, as it used to be” (Rullani 2009a: 243-244).

However, my position is not that of cultural economists. I do consider that, despite most forms of production tend to be evaluated by the master-reference of money, knowledge and

immaterial production at work in heritage process tend to move away from the traditional basis of economy grounded on scarcity, sacrifice and necessity (Lazzarato 2004c). In fact, the knowledge economy does not only involve the production, socialization and appropriation of knowledge-values¹⁶. There are some qualities that must be fulfilled for a strong development of knowledge economies to be achieved: free production, collective property, and free circulation of knowledge. This is so because knowledge consumption is not destructive but, on the contrary, creative of new knowledge. When we buy a book, we own the paper, but we do not own the ideas it contains. These ideas intermingle with our own and become part of our virtual, inter-brain potential. It is from our reading, from the relation, that the value of the book arises, the book is not valuable *per se*, similarly to an invention which is not imitated. To exist, the book must engage with a public, present or future, and positively or negatively interfere with the thoughts and emotions of the public. Whereas the value of the paper needs a market to be assessed, knowledge values require an ethics (Lazzarato 2004c). Similarly, heritage values arise in *the relations*, in the networks of different perspectives that are affected or affect it. And because relations are external to their terms, many partial relations can be made and many values can arise. From this perspective, meanings become unstable and to trace the links between ‘identities’ and ‘heritage’ turns problematic. If heritage cannot be split and purified to separate economy from culture, how can we make sense of it? Only in heritage events, processes where the virtual capacities of heritage are actualized and take grip in real states of things, where people invent a metacultural discourse on heritage value and others start imitating and following that discourse.

I consider the model quite productive especially in places like Maragatería, where the activities of cultural dilettanti or pseudo-scientists produce many accounts of archaeological objects and heritage sites. To stick to a well-known example, think on the prehistoric carvings. To begin with, some of them were already known before but did not become a ‘public issue’. Secondly, many virtualities came together to enable Juan Carlos to ‘discover’ them: his objectification of vernacular culture as something ‘different’ from which knowledge could be obtained, his own formation thanks to a public education system, his work as a plumber enabling him to move from village to village, and so on. Moreover, not only local people knew the *Petroglifos*. After their public ‘divulgation’ I came to know that at least one more person knew what they were and where they were, but refused to make them public. Now I know that similar situations occur in, to my knowledge, two more sites (whose location I cannot reveal to respect the will of the informants). What enabled the construction of the carvings as a heritage object was their coupling with the ‘correct’ machinic assemblage, where they resonate and generate new relations that can become valuable. In a way, Juan Carlos ‘invented’ the *Petroglifos*, but his subjectivity was only the outcome of a complex network of brains connected in a specific way – of a common knowledge –, a diffuse ‘heritage subjectivity’ distributed across a broad field of relations, partial connections and multiple

¹⁶ Lazzarato considers that the couple invention/imitation can provide a way out from the deadlocks of Marxism and classical economists: “*L’économie politique classique, les néoclassiques et le marxisme, en séparant de façon radicale la production de la valeur économique de la production des valeurs morales, réduisent ces dernières à un simple phénomène culturel ou idéologique. Ce dédoublement entre l’être et le conscient que l’économie politique et le marxisme, de façon différente, présupposent, est une impasse théorique. L’invention et l’imitation au contraire nous permettent de comprendre que la formation des valeurs économiques par le marché, sans l’action des forces psychologiques et leurs dispositifs de constitution (l’opinion publique et les médias) est inexplicable*” Lazzarato, M. (2002). *Puissances de l’invention: la psychologie économique de Gabriel Tarde contre l’économie politique*, Paris: Empêcheurs de penser en rond..

objects. Some have imitated Juan Carlos and have become ‘petroglifo-seekers’ themselves. Many others have been affected by the presence of the carvings, thus being unconsciously faced with the existence of new sets of values that differ from the previously existing ones.

Machines, the Immaterial Parasite and the Becoming Rent of Profit.

I have argued that contemporary capitalism performs a dual oppression in terms of ‘machinic enslavement’ and ‘social subjection’, and that both processes work at two levels: the pre-individual, molecular level where value is created and captured, and the subjective, molar level, where identities are defined. In this section I will outline a theory of heritage value consistent with recent developments in cognitive capitalism. Beforehand, it must be said that to commit with an immanent approach and with my aim to analyze emergence in heritage events, most insights are inspired and can be better applied in dynamic scenarios or ‘heritagization processes’ rather than to static contexts with stable, well constructed, sites. But why do we need a new theory of value and its capture? Why do we need to overcome traditional Marxism and the postmodern split between culture and economy? The fundamental reason is that the three kinds of action that were clearly separated until recently – Labor, Politics and Intellect – are now integrated into one single attitude and productive process (Virno 2003). The Deleuzian concept of ‘desiring production’ designs this machinic state of production, whereby the network of collective intelligence – inter-brain cooperation for Tarde – relentlessly connects material and immaterial devices with the economy and people’s desires (Mahler 2008).

Basically, the concept of ‘machinism’ arises from the matching of Guattari’s critique and differential understanding of the unconscious, and his political conceptual framework, with Deleuze’s ontological categories that aimed to break with Hegelian dialectics and ‘representational’ thought. The machine is an event that connects the most diverse material objects from the environment. The notion of ‘social machine’ indicates that the social field exists only as long as the machine works, it is an “unit of production of a number of flows that works according to the inter-communication of its part. If there is no flow between the partial objects anymore, the machine disappears... the machine is something between the material given and the unconsciously perceiving self” (Mahler 2008: 59). Machines are multiple, heterogeneous and emergent entities, constantly creating new elements and laws¹⁷. The heritage machine connects tourists, experts in Paris, laws written in Madrid, and someone in Maragatería to make a statement about an object and then it fades away. Social machines always overlap and have to be studied on multiple interacting

¹⁷ In *A thousand plateaus*, Deleuze and Guattari refer to ‘machinic assemblages’: “taking the feudal assemblage as an example, we would have to consider the interminglings of bodies defining feudalism: the body of the earth and the social body; the body of the overlord, the vassal, the serf; the body of the knight and the horse and their new relation to the stirrup; the weapons and tools assuring a symbiosis of bodies—a whole machinic assemblage. We would also have to consider statements, expressions, the juridical regime of heraldry, all of the incorporeal transformations, in particular, oaths and their variables (the oath of obedience, but also the oath of love, etc.): the collective assemblage of enunciation. On the other axis, we would have to consider the feudal territorialities and reterritorializations, and at the same time the line of deterritorialization that carries away both the knight and his mount, statements and acts. We would have to consider how all this combines in the Crusades... in all things, there are lines of articulation or segmentarity, strata and territories; but also lines of flight, movements of deterritorialization and destratification. Comparative rates of flow on these lines produce phenomena of relative slowness and viscosity, or, on the contrary, of acceleration and rupture. All this, lines and measurable speeds, constitutes an *assemblage*” Deleuze, G., and Guattari, F. (1987). *A thousand plateaus: Capitalism and schizophrenia*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press..

scales – the family is a social machine just as the city, the state, and the firm are (Saldanha 2007). Machinic thought disallows essentialist and representational thought, spanning the “physical, the biological, the affective, the symbolic, the social, and the institutional producing specific enunciative effects that are reproducible but are not themselves representational” (Sha 2011; Smoak 2011). This point paves the way for analysis of technologies of enunciation, performance and expression that do not rely specifically on technologies of representation (Rajchman 2000).

Through processes of machinic enslavement, the individual is today becoming “increasingly machinic itself, as the means of production are increasingly integrated into the minds and bodies of the multitude. In this context reappropriation means having free access to and control over knowledge, information, communication, and affects because these are some of the primary means of biopolitical production. Just because these productive machines have been integrated into the multitude does not mean that the multitude has control over them. Rather, it makes more vicious and injurious their alienation. The right to reappropriation is really the multitude’s right to self-control and autonomous self-production’ (Hardt and Negri 2000: 424). How can heritage then become a device for the empowerment of local communities? To answer this question we must leave aside the self-defeating strategies put forward by identity politics or post-politics (González-Ruibal 2010; Žižek 2000), and jettison the simple Marxist question of the ‘reappropriation of the means of production’. Why this is so? Because despite today the means of labor of workers can be immediately reappropriated (their creativity), the networks of control and exploitation have also become diffuse, immaterial, networked and cognitive, not addressing and confronting subjects, but rather traversing them, capturing their value and leaving their subjective identities as residual by-products. Then, we need to look at how heritage participates in this machinic production, by becoming itself machinic and inserting itself in mechanisms of creation, reproduction and capture of values and knowledge.

However, what is cultural work, immaterial labor, where are ‘immaterial machines’ at work? Pasquinelli argues that we should start from material machines. A cigarette machine, for example, embodies scientific knowledge, hardware and software, generations of engineering compacted into a single element that manages fluxes of money and commodities, represents ‘vice’ and the power of tobacco companies for many, and substitutes a human seller while defending private property (Pasquinelli 2006). When heritage objects are constructed, whether as tangible or intangible heritage, they become ‘immaterial machines’. However, due to the multiplicity of forms that heritage can assume it would be essentialist to equate it with the different machines mentioned before, such as a ‘book’, a ‘cigarette machine’, a ‘patent’ or a ‘copyright’. Again, think on the prehistoric carvings. As in book, there is a substance (paper or stone), and a value arising from the relations that these stones establish with other individuals, whether affective or scientific. After some posts are planted a new ‘regime of signs’ emerges and a new set of singularities arises. The carvings start ‘delivering’ academic knowledge about the prehistory that debunks the local cultural imaginary and the shepherd’s stories. Then, they become deterritorialized from the local community, that is, most local people de-identifies with the stones at the molecular level, whereas the village as a molar compound becomes ‘identified’ with the stones: ‘the *petroglifos* of Filiel’. Finally they are connected with networks of researchers and tourists staying in hotels in Maragatería and fall under the ‘protection/property’ of the regional government of *Castilla y León*, among other things. There are also degrees of intensity in the networks that heritage creates. The carvings are

involved in a diffuse network of values whereas Val de San Lorenzo is a more intense heritage assemblage.

However, we must be careful not to fall prey to the cognitive or immaterial enthusiasm. Despite the abundance of digital technologies, media, and different forms of producing knowledge through heritage, the material aspect remains crucial. A book and a CD are physically produced and use materials, and time is needed for them to be consumed (Pasquinelli 2009). Knowledge exits only through material vectors, the immaterial generates value when it grants meaning to material processes (Rullani 2006). The heritage economy in Val de San Lorenzo is an emergent process that reorganizes material production, demanding not only a different perception and understanding of value, objects and economy, but also higher-level skills from plumbers, electricians, hand workers, entrepreneurs, etc. New businesses arise, old tiles and objects, certain kinds of stones, or wooden doors become valuable. Different people and materials are involved in the same event, and the discourse stating that ‘Val de San Lorenzo is the textile village’ works for those involved. The extent to which this affirmation of identity is interested or profound cannot be easily assessed however, and is in itself a bad posed question: are identities not related with investments in economic projects? How can we assess ‘interest’ and ‘unconscious identification’? What matters is to map the heritage assemblage without dissociating materiality and meaning, economy and culture, as if that were possible. Paper and knowledge, stones and value, are inherently entangled. In fact, the conundrum of the production of value at this level lies in the friction produced between the free reproducibility of knowledge and the non-reproducibility of the material (Pasquinelli 2009). The issue of authenticity in heritage studies must be then jettisoned: what counts are the floating balances established between the virtual potentiality of heritage and its actualization in specific states of affairs. French cuisine as intangible heritage is virtually infinite, unquantifiable and reproducible, but the *material* experience of French cuisine can only be undergone in France and with specific chefs. When a project to build new Maragato houses from the scratch was set out in Santiago Millas, the matter of concern was not their authenticity, but rather how to keep them being a scarce resource. This implied finding a balance between the previously existing real houses (some authentic, others not), and the new ones, and whether the village would continue to be granted special heritage status by the regional government (to guarantee the value of the investment). It was thought that to keep up the levels of symbolic value and the heritage machine at work, an infusion of immaterial knowledge would be necessary: the museum of Maragato culture fulfils this task. The emergence of heritage as a new attractor in the village thus conditions meanings and material processes, in a constant interplay between immaterial knowledge and control over material scarcity.

I have argued that contemporary capitalism needs to re-invent itself to create new vectors of value through a constant deterritorialization and reterritorialization of spaces. In doing so, it creates machinic assemblages comprising objects and people that generate a value that is captured somehow. But how does this happen? Pasquinelli draws on Serres’ figure of the ‘parasite’ (1982) to extend it to the immaterial sphere. For him, the ‘immaterial parasite’ illustrates well the “exploitation of the biological production through the semiotic and technological domain: material energy and economic surplus are not absorbed and consumed by digital machines but simply allocated. The immaterial flow extracts surplus from the material flow and through continuous exchanges (energy-commodity-technology-knowledge- money). The immaterial parasite functions first as a spectacular device: simulating a fictional world, building a collaborative environment or

simply providing communication channels” (Pasquinelli 2010b: 287). The fundamental idea is that contemporary forms of value extraction are *parasitic* because they appropriate people’s creativity and other common elements. In other words, what is parasitic is the extraction of a rent from a common value.

This is closely related with the return to an economy based on rents in contemporary capitalism (Harvey 2002). For Negri and Vercellone (2007), rent is at the centre of contemporary processes of valorization. Since its initiation during the enclosure process, capitalist rent has been the essential feature of the reproduction of capital over time and space, the other face of the common. In classical economic theory and Marxism, ‘profit’ is theoretically a productive process characteristic of industrial capitalism that refers to the power of capital to generate and extract surplus value from commodities and workforce (Pasquinelli 2009). Instead, ‘rent’ is “the revenue that the owner of certain goods receives as a consequence of the fact that these goods are, or become, available in scarce quantities’ (Napoleoni 1956). Rent is related to the creation of artificial scarcities of a resource, normally through monopolies or power positions that can enforce the generation of scarcity. In their view, rent has become the new profit in contemporary capitalism because “the law of value-labor time is in crisis and the cooperation of labor appears to become increasingly autonomous from the managerial functions of capital, the very frontiers between rent and profit begin to disintegrate... as a result of the crisis of real subsumption, profit and rent tend to manifest themselves merely as a relation of distribution that is mostly dissociated from any positive function within the organization of production and wealth generation” (Vercellone 2008). Thus, the new turn in capitalism is reminiscent of pre-industrial mercantilist and financial strategies, and is in tune with the contemporary economic context: disempowering and lack of credit of the productive industries and prevalence of the financial logic based on rents: public debt, real estate operations, and so on (Fumagalli and Mezzadra 2010). The existence of social incomes has freed up time for most people that has become immediately productive of knowledge and other common capacities. This has been paralleled by the strengthening of Intellectual Property Rights that construct artificial scarcity and use rent as a key dispositive to capture value from the circulation of knowledge. This strategy curtails the generation of wealth and knowledge because it maintains an artificial scarcity that goes against the productive and free abundance that characterizes contemporary society. In conclusion, rent is not only “a mode of collecting the wealth generated by labor, but also constitutes a mechanism of de-socialization of the common and of political, spatial and socio-economic segmentations of labor power inextricably” (Vercellone 2008).

Think on the internet economy where users in charge of content production and web management do not share profit, or in Google, who draws on the attention economy and captures value through Ad sense and Ad words (Pasquinelli 2009). There has been an abuse of Foucauldian explanations of Google as a powerful God-like transcendental being without accounting for the business model and technological arrangements that enable Google to sustain that position. Following Deleuze’s caveat that power comes after of desire, Paolo Virno argues that it is necessary to start our analysis from the potentiality of living bodies and their creativity and consider biopolitical structures as apparatus of capture of that virtual potential that arise afterwards (Hardt and Negri 2004). Consequently, the idea of the “Panopticon must be reversed: Google is not simply an apparatus of dataveillance from above but an apparatus of value production from below” (Pasquinelli 2009). Through the PageRank algorithm Google renders collective knowledge into a

scale of values, and this, in turn, enables Google to accumulate value without *producing content*. This is why accounts such as Benkler's 'social production' (Benkler 2006), Lessig's 'free culture' (Lessig 1996), or the post-Workerist reinvigoration of the Marxist 'general intellect' (Vercellone 2007), cannot account for the contemporary processes of value capture. In celebrating a network-based, free production between a collective of peers, they overlook the crucial fact that Google is an anti-scarcity machine, supporter of free content, free software produced by free labor of free peers online: more indexing means more profit. This is why "the political focus on intellectual property must shift finally to the issue of *cognitive rent* to understand how surplus is extracted and accumulated" (Pasquinelli 2009). The political economy of Google starts from a political economy of PageRank (Idem 2009)). Recently, however, Google has acknowledged the common nature of its value and has started to redistribute some profit among users of its applications (Youtube, Blogger, etc.).

Could this model be valid in heritage contexts? Could we move from a focus on property and its related conceptual framework of identity and memory, to a framework that analyzes the generation of cognitive rents? The answer cannot be totalizing: it depends on scale. But I think the fundamentals work: heritage is not about 'expert' or 'State' power but rather about the libidopolitical economies that capture values. Again, it is necessary to avoid the temptation to split 'value' into either economy or culture: both must be kept together. Academics generate and capture heritage value in the form of scientific or instrumental projects, symbolic capital for careers, and so on. By collecting World Heritage sites, nations gain 'brand' symbolic capital and 'soft power', whereas UNESCO is the playground where geopolitics, cultural policies, national disputes and many other issues influence and channel flows of value within a global hierarchy (De Cesari 2010). The common heritage values of Val de San Lorenzo are captured by some private entrepreneurs, and at a larger scale a similar process can be seen in Maragatería as in many other regions. This ignores the common character of heritage and thus leads to a long-term destruction of these common values: people do not see why they should keep their houses in certain ways, preserve the landscape, traditions and crafts, and so on, if this is benefiting only few of them. This is an ontological process, a 'constructing heritage'; *heritage is not out there, but in here*, triggering material processes, distributing benefits. Similarly to the empty master signifiers of sustainability and development (Gunder 2006), 'heritage' risks becoming in certain contexts a signifier of a set of oppressive practices that are far from materially enacting what discourse sustains: preserving the past, bounding communities, strengthening identities and memories, and so on. Thus, a libidopolitical economy of Heritage requires a libidopolitical economy of these *heritages*, situated practices where words with capital letters – Capital, Nation, State, Heritage – are performed and enacted. Could we envisage a model similar to Google for heritage, one that acknowledges that production is collective and should therefore be redistributed?

Before answering this question, it is necessary to extend our 'taxonomy' of kinds of rents that has remained too shallow hitherto. Speculation is directed towards the creation of scarcities at many levels into goods and entities that can paradoxically be reproduced mostly for free. However, as Pasquinelli notes, there are different machinic assemblages and regimes of accumulation, not simply one typology (2010b). Unsurprisingly, the categories employed by most contemporary theorists on cognitive capitalism and intellectual property coincide with those of Tarde: value is produced by keeping the monopoly of a secret (patent - invention) and on the multiplication of the

uses of an invention (copyright – imitation). The latter strategy works for cultural products like music for instance, that need to be spread quickly as the value of knowledge commodities is fragile and tends to decline fast, especially in today's emotional market that constantly tries to sell unique and novel experiences (Bonomi and Rullani 2005). Intangible heritage has carved a niche in-between both strategies. As the example of French cuisine and the conflicts between South American aboriginal communities and corporations show, heritage has become a source of legitimacy for patent and copyright claims. In the case of French gastronomy it is a 'soft' claim without any legal recognition, although it has had an impact in the way renowned cooks perform (creating exclusive quality labels and authenticity markers that generate scarcity, for instance), and in the overall symbolic capital of the country's gastronomy that becomes 'unique' and 'inimitable'. Again, it is pointless to relate French gastronomy with intellectual property rights as we would enter endless 'who's right' discussions leading nowhere. As Deleuze would put it, do not ask what, but how. Instead of 'what is the relation between intangible heritage and intellectual property rights', we should be looking at how actants use heritage to generate value or to capture cognitive rents that might grant them profit, power and other positive outcomes.

In other cases, intangible heritage is involved in real power struggles where property, economy and heritage become messily entangled. S Greene (2006) studied the negotiation processes between the Aguaruná aboriginals in Perú and the International Cooperative Biodiversity Group which, after trying to create a patent over some botanic uses of the Aguaruná, finally bought the 'rights' of exploitation and research on them. The Aguaruná had to learn the language and workings of heritage as a double-edged sword. While heritage served to fight the market, being 'contaminated' by heritage parlance and functioning meant being 'contaminated' by market procedures (Greene 2006: 179). Thus, heritage was a common, but a common for the Aguaruná who aimed at keeping the property of the botanic uses. The issue that has troubled authors (e.g. Montenegro 2010) is the problematic uses that the collapse of 'common membership and belonging' to a community and the 'property' over the knowledge developed by that community. Thus, the Aguaruná are criticized for putting forward and exaggerate in their ascription of a 'sacred value' to their botanic practices in order to gain legitimization in the negotiations and make more money (Chaves et al. 2010). Of course, there is no intrinsic relation between 'belonging' and 'property', neither between the Aguaruná and their botanic practices nor between the Maragato textile workers in Val de San Lorenzo and their traditions, houses and crafts. This, however, must not lead us to a postmodern separation between sign and signifier, economy and culture, *à la Baudrillard*, and to think that heritage has become a truth, an essence or a secret that "attains a privileged position and becomes the universal comparative benchmark with other entities" (Groys 2005: 93). Rather, heritage becomes a secret that enables a company to capture cognitive rents in a parasitic fashion. What the Aguaruná are facing is an imposition of an external ontology and epistemology via heritage that they must confront in the *terms of the other*, and this leads to the emergence of new sets of singularities: common – private, nature – culture, economy – culture, etc. The same occurs in Val de San Lorenzo: if a certain value had not been captured by a heritage machine constructed *ad hoc*, there would be no necessity of speaking about the common as a separate concept. Again, to make sense of contemporary capitalism we must move from static and essentialist concepts of authenticity, legitimacy and identity to account for intensive emergent processes in which frictions between the material and the immaterial trigger other processes and

meanings, the molar and molecular scales intersect, and machines arise and fade to construct new objects and capture values.

Despite the heuristic validity of Tarde's invention/imitation model, it is necessary to provide a more complex account that accounts for the 'mixed strategies' by which cognitive values, knowledge and products (brands, information, artworks, and heritage) expand their value¹⁸. Rullani develops a theory comprising three factors that construct the value of cognitive entities. As Pasquinelli sums up, first, "the value of its performance and application (v); the number of its multiplications and replica (n); the sharing rate of the value among the people involved in the process (p). Knowledge is successful when it becomes self-propulsive and pushes all the three drivers: 1) maximising the value, 2) multiplying effectively; 3) sharing the value that is produced. Of course in a dynamic scenario a compromise between the three forces is necessary, as they are alternative and competitive to each other. If one driver improves, the others get worse. Rullani's model is fascinating precisely because intellectual property has no central role in extracting surplus. In other words the rent is applied strategically and dynamically along the three drivers" (Pasquinelli 2010b). Of course, heritage is far from functioning as a cognitive entity in these terms. Curiously enough, Rullani's model works better outside academic and institutional heritage frameworks. It can account for the proliferation of networks of pseudo-archaeological heritage narratives outside academia, and also for heritagization processes in Val de San Lorenzo or Santiago Millas. The workings of actants in these processes are consistent with contemporary capitalism. In turn, academic and institutional frameworks normally aim at the establishment of pre-determined sets of values and to construct heritage objects according to certain theoretical and methodological principles. In fact, it is institutions in many occasions curtailing the cognitive values and capacities of heritage.

A situation that illustrates this point occurred in 2009 when the E.U. funding group *Montañas del Teleno* decided to 'teach' people in Maragatería about their heritage. To do so, a 'heritage expert' from Granada (750 km away from Maragatería) was hired to give talks in different villages, ignoring local heritage experts and people with a good knowledge of the region. I save the details about financial costs, for good. In Lagunas de Somoza, a little village with impressive Maragato architecture, the tower of one of the few windmills in northern Spain is a scenic landmark with which local people feel attached to in different ways. Luckily for the windmill - but unluckily for the heritage expert - it had been listed in the 1968 inventory of military architecture as a defensive tower (España 1968). The items in the list automatically became *Bienes de Interés Cultural* (Goods of Cultural Interest) in the more recent national and regional Heritage laws. I said unluckily because the expert decided to center her talk on the issue of military architecture and the representativeness of the tower of Lagunas de Somoza. Of course, after exchanging a few, half-surprised, half-annoyed glances, people started to disrupt the talk letting her know that the tower was actually a windmill. Things would have been fine in case she had accepted to establish a debate around the issue and let

¹⁸ Another reason why the intellectual property rights debate remains partial is because it accounts for the appropriation of invention but less for the processes that enable imitation to occur. Monsanto can create patents over many genetically modified seeds, but to impose its will many other drives must be pushed forward: lobbying national institutions, marketing campaigns, debunking of local varieties, and so on, in a process that involves not only 'immaterial' but actually real, material effects on bodies. Similar process occur in World Heritage sites whose declaration involve the expulsion of inhabitants is those are not deemed to be the 'legitimate' dwellers of the culture to be represented, as the case of Petra shows Daher, R. F. (1999). "Gentrification and the politics of power, capital and culture in an emerging Jordanian heritage industry." *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review*, 10, 33-46..

them talk. However, she stuck to her discourse affirming that it was listed as a tower and thus *it was a tower*. Things got heated, some people left, and she burst into tears. A *melodramatic* heritage event, for sure. In summary, the *Montañas del Teleno* group considers heritage something ‘to be thought’ and thus something people ‘can learn about’; that anyone can teach about heritage anywhere (because it is universal), and that by teaching heritage to people they are fostering rural development and sustainability (which is their task supposedly). The expert thought that institutions and lists contain the ‘truth’ and that people have no say in heritage issues (a possibility that would threaten her expert position). She also must have thought that people in Lagunas de Somoza are rude and thus an equal communicative environment could not be established. This is a clear example of how social scientists perceive their object of study as a subordinate entity: we study people to teach them, rather than to learn from them. As Latour puts it, “If you were studying ants, instead of ANT, would you expect ants to learn something from your study? of course not. They are the teachers, you learn from them. You explain what they do to you for your own benefit, or for that of other entomologists, not for them, who don’t care one bit. What makes you think that a study is always supposed to teach things to the people being studied? ... most of what social scientists call reflexivity is just a way of asking totally irrelevant questions to people who ask other questions for which the analyst does not have the slightest answer!” (2005c: 151).

This event, and many others, constructed heritage *negatively* for locals. Thus, the institutional consideration of the windmill as a tower obstructs the development of *value*, by not letting people establish relations of any kind with it. When I worked for the city council of Val de San Lorenzo (of which Lagunas de Somoza depends) as a heritage manager and tried to push forward some projects related with the windmill (creating an astronomic observatory or selling a license for the creation of a restaurant), everything was vain: it was heritage and could not be touched. Scholars and ‘local savants’ contributed to the state of affairs by saying that it was valuable in itself and should be thus left as it is and preserved via a ‘signpost + panel’ strategy. In the end, there is no one to be blamed, it is the whole assemblage that is constructed badly. Heritage has been constructed as an inherently valuable object, institutions responsible for development do not understand heritage as knowledge, but as an object that is necessary for development somehow (and thus show a feeble understanding of the cognitive economy), whereas local people consider ‘heritage’ to be a problem.

Now we can move beyond the exploitation of intellectual property to account for the exploitation of cultural capital. Cognitive capitalism has had an impact and even updated the concept of land rent. Harvey has shown how the relation between artists and ‘creative classes’ in general and gentrification is closely connected to the ‘collective symbolic capital’ that these groups provide to an area (2002). Heritage has become a fundamental asset in processes of gentrification, by reconfiguring aesthetic perceptions of beauty and aesthetics, as in industrial quarters of Barcelona (Tironi 2009) or in Berlin (Bernt and Holm 2009). Heritage and historic capital thus provide a basis for the intensive exploitation of real estate speculation. But also artificial symbolic capital created through master plans and urban planning strategies, as the celebrated studies and practices of Richard Florida reveal (2004). As already mentioned, the nodal point of contemporary capitalism is the ‘creation of worlds’ where commodities can be inserted. Heritage values are thus created via an accumulation of social desire and knowledge. In a somewhat similar fashion, Bourdieu referred to cultural capital, Harvey to collective symbolic capital or general intellect in Marxist terms. Of course, attention value is not immediately cultural or economic, but it can be

transformed into money through rent in different ways. In fact, attention economy is a biopolitical device. As Patrick Le Lay, former managing director of TF1 in France, noted, “basically, the job of TF1 is, e. g. to help Coca Cola sell its product...For an advertising message to be perceived the brain of the viewer must be at our disposal. The job of our programmes is to make it available, that is to say, to distract it, to relax it and get it ready between two messages. It is disposable human brain time that we sell to Coca Cola” (A.F.P. 09-07-2004). This is somewhat reminiscent to the avidity with which many scholars justify their own academic niches, promoting ‘participation’ of local communities for legitimization and fund raising. This is quite common in heritage as we saw in the voluntarism of most definitions of heritage value. Most accounts did not refer back to states of affairs but rather tried to show how good heritage is or can be: “We can move now to the issue that really interests us, value as a positive quality possessed by the [heritage] goods” (González Méndez 1999: 218).

The ‘attention economy’ clearly resembles what Tarde considered fundamental for invention/imitation to succeed in the construction of social objects through invention and repetition: the capture of desires, the condensation of attention through public opinion, media and marketing, which includes not only the Internet and commercial brands, but also academic publications (Serres 1982). The parasite thus works half way between the immaterial and physical vectors, using commodities in the case of cognitive and attention rents, media infrastructure in technological rents (as in Google’s case), real estate in the speculation over symbolic capital, and so on (Pasquinelli 2009). Of course, these ‘machinic parasites’ work better when they are pushed through different drives as Rullani showed. Thus a museum increases real estate prices in Santiago Millas, but also attracts tourists, provides the city major (also the local entrepreneur in the construction sector) with enough confidence to build new Maragato houses from the scratch, while at the same time producing heritage discourses. In my opinion, what renders heritage contentious is not the discourses and meanings that it produces. Rather, it is a failure to comply with Rullani’s point number three on value proliferation: “3) sharing the value that is produced” (2006). And this also undermines the construction of a sustainable heritage object in the long run.

Conclusion: Heritage as a Commons.

This affirmation is not a Universalist claim arguing that ‘all heritages’ everywhere are common. Rather, it is a situated concept created in relation to a specific problem in Maragatería that might be useful for other contexts. "A concept lacks meaning to the extent that it is not connected to other concepts and is not linked to a problem that it resolves or helps to resolve" (Deleuze and Guattari 1994: 79). The concept of the common links in Maragatería to problems related to the creation, management and distribution of value. Moreover, these issues are connected to specific subjectivities that support a logic of identity/exclusion that undermines both the values of heritage, sustainability and equality.

The commons, or that which is being enclosed by capitalist entrepreneurs, were historically assumed to be doomed to disappearance. However, after Hardin’s work on the tragedy of the commons (1968), they reappeared in the academic and institutional forefront. Today, “a commons is understood as any natural or manmade resource that is or could be held and used in common” (Berger and van Laerhoven 2011: 161). The main body of literature on the commons, stemming

from Ostrom's work (1990), is concerned with answering two questions. First, why are natural resources over-exploited? Second, under what conditions are resource users and communities able to generate effective rules to manage them? (Acheson 2011). Consequently, most works are devoted to the study and improvement of the management of natural eco-social systems and common-pool resources such as fisheries or forests (see Berkes et al. 1989). This position is represented by the *International Association for the Study of the Commons*, devoted to "bringing together interdisciplinary researchers, practitioners, and policymakers for the purpose of fostering better understandings, improvements, and sustainable solutions for environmental, electronic, and any other type of shared resource that is a commons or a commons-pool resource" (IASC). However, when we move away from the field of natural resource management the lack of scholarship on the commons is daunting, and various authors complain about the almost absence of research from this standpoint in their respective fields (e.g. Agrawal 2007; Stronza 2009). A similar situation occurs in the field of heritage studies, where the few accounts exploring the relation between heritage and community do not tackle the issue (e.g. Crooke 2010; Waterton and Smith 2010).

For Berge and Laerhoven, the core problem of the commons is related to "the governance of individual rational action in a context where outcomes are dependent on the actions of all other resource users. This is in essence '*the*' problem of collective action. It is the core problem for all kinds of government and has been a topic for discussion at least since Hobbes (1651) introduced 'Leviathan' as its solution" (2011: 161). Indeed, according to Locke and Hobbes the privatization of open fields through the enclosure process established the rightful proprietary relations over the previously chaotic and barbaric realm of the commons (Hardt and Negri 2000: 301). For Ostrom, common-pool resources shared by groups of people are defined by 'subtractability' (i.e. that one person's use of the resource subtracts from the amount available to others) and by the difficulty of excluding others from using the resource (1994).

But what happens in post-scarcity environments where subtractability does not apply and resources are not been harvested but preserved and enhanced? What about immaterial knowledge and aesthetic values which, as Lazzarato (1997) argues, increase and expand the more they are shared and utilized? Answering these questions requires a consideration of heritage as a non-scarce and renewable resource (Holtorf 2005b). Moreover, it is necessary to account for the artificial enclosures created around heritage resources and the dispositives that capture the common values associated with them, such as institutional documentation and sanctioning through official declarations, privatization of heritage sites, promotion of real estate accumulation through gentrification processes, or the capture of the heritage values of a community by tourism enterprises. To account for heritage as a commons it is thus necessary to explore how immaterial value is produced and captured within post-industrial economies.



Image 6. A common know-how. Different wall building techniques in Maragatería. Source: Author.

To do so, post-workerist thinkers have set out a novel conceptualization of the commons as the collective potential embodied in what Marx defined as the living labor and general intellect. For them, the parasitic character of capital increases in post-industrial or cognitive capitalism, as it becomes ever more dependent on the immaterial, communicative and creative potential of the people (Marazzi 2008). There is a clear convergence between the post-industrial and the heritage regimes of value, as today the production of things is secondary to the creation of forms of life or worlds where the commodities can be inserted (Thrift 2006). These immaterial productions involve an appeal to the passions, enthusiasms and affects of consumers, who are incited to create malleable environments for products. What is being created is thus subjectivity: the object of production is really a subject, defined by a social relationship or a form of life (Marazzi 2000). In other words, the social fabric becomes bio-political because it is the expressions of life and the immaterial production of knowledge that are being valorized and put to work (Virno 2003). Heritage, as a representation of forms of life that embody immaterial value, plays a fundamental role in this process in which communities and nation states are trying to feed into a global political economy of prestige (Isar 2011) that seeks to extract foreign exchange value by converting cultural commons into commodities (Armitage 2007). Especially in countries rapidly transitioning towards post-industrial economies, governments respond to cultural globalization by intensifying their investments into their domestic heritage sectors (Winter 2011). Governments, heritage academics and experts, architects, urban planners and service sector entrepreneurs have channeled huge investments in the restoration and shaping of heritage sites and urban centers as cities become ever more reliant on service sector economies related to tourism and leisure. Drawing on the case of Shanghai's Expo, Winter (2012) notes how heritage achieves the two-fold task of rearranging the

political economy of the city to suit the needs of a tertiary economy and to carry on with the task of nation-building construction as the country projects itself onto the international stage.

Thus, from the post-workerist standpoint, the concept of the commons emerges as a response to the constant appropriations of the common values created through the co-operation of social forces. The commons can be conceived as both a productive force and the form in which wealth is produced: “commons suggest alternative, non-commoditized means to fulfill social needs, e.g. to obtain social wealth and to organize social production. Commons are necessarily created and sustained by communities, i.e. by social networks of mutual aid, solidarity, and practices of human exchange that are not reduced to the market form” (De Angelis 2003: 1). The commons must be conceived as a separate realm from the private and the public. Private property draws on the capture of the commons in seek of profit (whether through control of land and real estate, or through the new rents of copyright and patents), whereas the public sphere creates the “institutional arrangements that attempt to regulate access to it” (Hardt and Negri 2009: 151). Contrary to the standard liberal narrative considering private property as the locus of freedom and productivity as opposed to the public, Hardt and Negri argue that today the commons is the locus of freedom and innovation, whereas its privatization and regulation curtails the open-ended productivity of social life (2009).

Heritage as a Commons?

Similar to the peasant lands a few centuries ago, heritage is today a commons. In order for capital to be able to exploit a commons, it must be enclosed in the framework of a post-scarcity environment. Ostrom’s (1999) account of social-ecological systems of common resources focuses on users, harvests and productions. However, the implications of common property management in contexts of cultural preservation and sharing are not considered. In fact, “realizing income from these sources requires deep involvement in multi-scale governance for the owners of the conserved resource to realize any monetary benefit from the ‘products’” (Bray et al. 2012). Agrawal (2001) identifies four relevant variables to the successful governance of the commons: the character of the resource system (different kinds of heritage entities), the user group (communities, tourists, experts and entrepreneurs), the institutional arrangements (UNESCO, national and regional frameworks) and the external environment (macropolitics, social and market functioning, etc.). An in-depth account of these variables falls beyond the scope of this paper. In addition, these variables must be considered as a whole as heritage can serve multiple purposes at the same time: heritage processes are always intertwined. For instance, institutional heritage management is not only the product of the characteristics of the heritage resource and the user system, but also generates new preferences that shape user groups and construct new heritage.

In fact, the construction of heritage entities is in tune with the cognitive or post-industrial economy described above. Thus it is simplistic to argue that heritage entities are being commoditized (Goulding 2000): these are enmeshed in complex processes of emergence that create the affective environments in which heritage makes sense in a constant interplay between past and present, global values and local contexts, discourses and materiality. As metacultural products and immaterial values flowing in the global hierarchy of value (Herzfeld 2004), heritage commons are not tangible, appropriable, consumable or exchangeable resources. In Lessig’s terminology, heritage

commons are ‘non-rivalrous resources’ to which the logic of scarcity does not or need not apply (1996). Science, language, art, knowledge or heritage values grow when they are socialized and diffused. As Rullani argues, to “extract value from knowledge, it is necessary to accelerate its uses through its diffusion ... and as barriers limiting access to it break down, it becomes common heritage for all the potential users” (2004: 103). In fact, the value of heritage only arises in the open-ended interplay with other commons: an educated and sensitive population, interested tourists, informed institutions or solid academic networks. Accordingly, much more value can be extracted from the Oxford castle (U.K.) than from the Coca castle (Spain). Although the latter is better preserved and more impressive, it is located in a non capital-intense area and thus it is not possible to generate value from it through the establishment of enclosures.

A fundamental question about heritage commons is the kinds of property, rules and ways societies arrange to solve the problem of its preservation and enhancement. The usual solution proposed to avoid the tragedy of the commons (i.e. the excessive exploitation and destruction of common resources) is to convert them into either private or public goods. According to Ostrom (1990), there are two fundamental ways for managing commons.

The first is through external coercion from the state, that establishes heritage legislation, monitors behavior and enforces compliance. However, “this requires policymakers to accurately assess the situation, and develop sufficient monitoring and effective but not excessive enforcement capacities at reasonable administrative cost” (Anthony and Campbell 2011). Young has coined the concept ‘tragedy of the public’ to argue that public decision and policymaking is susceptible to claims and demands of powerful interests and to corruption, which undermines the “good governance of resources under public management” (2011: 74). Also, public management leads to the “entrenchment of defenders of the status quo in legal settings, and the ossification of bureaucracies responsible for the implementation of policies” (Young 2011: 76). Different heritage scholars have pointed to the utilization of heritage by public institutions for the purposes of strengthening governmentality, nation-building processes and the reproduction of social and economic inequalities and segmentations (see Isar 2011).

A second way for managing the commons is to assign private property rights to assure that self-interested owners will preserve heritage. Contrary to scarce goods like natural resources, property issues concerning heritage are complex matters. Thus heritage commons can be held by private owners and be publicly managed, like most palaces and castles. Also, and especially in states undergoing economic crises, institutions can delegate the management of heritage elements to private entrepreneurs, such as the Colosseum in Rome and many other assets of Italian Cultural Heritage (Eunjung Cha 15/07/2012). However, the private appropriation of heritage values can be – and normally is – independent from property rights, for instance when a hotel owner profits from the common heritage values of a village or an archaeological site without reinvesting the income in the community or the asset. Young (2011) argues that the ‘tragedy of the private’ involves the utilization of goods for the interest of the owner and the favoring of specific uses over the common interest. For instance, shaping heritage for tourism consumption rather than to community revitalization) and the emergence of negative externalities (e.g., overuse and indirect or unintended destruction of heritage elements, lost of the ‘appeal’ of a heritage good due to its extrication from a meaningful social context). In this way, both private and public management of the heritage commons usually lead to situations of segmentation and alienation (Hafstein 2005). This is so

because the capture of the common value that heritage generates by the logic of private property alienates the possessing subject from the object, and sets him or her apart and above the object as well as above other subjects excluded from the relationship to the heritage entity (Hardt and Negri 2000: 301). Spinozian-inspired anthropologies are clear at signaling the priority of this fundamental inequality that renders futile ulterior attempts to negotiate the ‘rights over the object’ at the level of identity politics (Lordon 2006).

Similarly, it is necessary to deconstruct the idea that conceives heritage as a common heritage of Humanity in universal terms. Conceived as a Western metacultural creation, heritage is in itself an alien concept for most non-modern, non-western subjectivities. Thus, we must counter imperialist traditions of thought and practice that conceive heritage as global endeavor to protect humanity’s outmost achievements (Bernbeck and Pollock 2004). This position is embodied by UNESCO, for instance in its condemnation of the destruction of the Bamiyan Buddhas by the Taliban in Afghanistan, considered “as crimes against the common heritage of humanity” (Manhart 2001: 388). This universalist understanding of the common implies a Western rationality that Castro-Gómez defines as the ‘point-zero’ perspective (2007). That is, the God’s-eye view representing itself as being without a point of view.

This position disregards the complex power imbalances over the geo-body politics of heritage, knowledge production and management (Grosfoguel 2007). Similarly, in attempting to produce ever more radical and alternative heritage knowledge, many scholars reproduce these epistemic schemas whereby studies *about* the subaltern are carried out rather than studies *with* and *from* the subaltern. Of course, this predominance of particular forms of heritage expertise “occurs precisely because they are both privileged by capital *and* at the same time enable the reproduction of capital, a process, which, by implication, allows certain forms of heritage, memory and identity to prevail” (Winter 2011: 76). Accordingly, positivist and uncritical forms of knowledge are privileged in heritage projects (e.g. processual over post-processual archaeological knowledge) to serve the financial interests of those involved in gentrification processes or the management of heritage sites, from planners and tourism entrepreneurs to public bureaucrats and private investors. Clearly, these transcendental operations and metacultural selections estrange communities from their heritages and feed directly into the cultural tourism-development assemblage fostered by the state (Shepherd 2006). Would the common management of heritage solve the problems entailed by commoditization? Would the devolution of heritage to the realm of the commons be an alternative to its privatization in cases of public financial or managerial incapability to manage it?

Commons and Communities between the Local and the Global.

The etymological root of community (*cum-munus*) relates to the idea of sharing a gift (Esposito 2009). However, differently from other meanings of “the word that have to do with individual reciprocity or donation, ‘munus’ implies a ‘gift’ that exists only in the public sphere and for collective access” (Barchiesi 2003: 5). Therefore, it relates to an idea of the commons which is not opposed to ‘individual’ (who participates in the act of sharing) but to property, “as abdication/alienation from what is common as in the case of market exchange” (Barchiesi 2003: 5). The nature of what is shared characterizes the specific nature of a community. Today tradition and its valuable metacultural conversion into heritage within post-industrial economies, is the gift that

many communities share. Similar to academic, neighborhood, network or mining communities, we can then speak of heritage communities. However, we must avoid idealizing communities either as repositories of authenticity and identity or as sites of struggle against globalization. Communities are not automatically wise or democratic, and exist inside as well as outside and against capital (De Marcellus 2003). Not even Ostrom believed that local-level management was appropriate in all contexts. For her there are no single solutions for the correct management of common resources: these must be tailored to complex and varied situations on the ground (2007). However, heritage commons are and have been necessarily created and sustained by communities, which are just the “basic bricks of society and close enough to control, to be responsible for and critical of” (De Marcellus 2003: 2). In this manner, communities are half-way between processes aimed at disciplining, segmenting and positioning them in the market, and alternative forces pushing towards a governing through community (Rose 1999) and towards the identification and re-appropriation of collective values from below (Barchiesi 2003: 3-4).

A friction and a creative tension arise when we juxtapose two ontological conceptions of community. Phenomenological accounts of community emphasize the radical embodiment of the individual in the community, a being-in-common that highlights the pre-existence of community to our coming into being. Here, community is not a ‘something’ – an essence – but rather “something that happens to us” (Nancy 1991a: 2). This is the realm of the given, in which being is lived in common, and, consequently, always shared and relational (Nancy 1991a: 2). In this realm we can find the given commons, pre-existing realities which have been co-created by unspecified subjectivities during history and can be subject to heritagization processes, such as traditions, the past, material objects or buildings. This loosely defined group of entities constitutes the collective potentiality from which value can be created in post-industrial economies. On the other hand, the productivist ontology of Deleuze assumed by Hardt and Negri emphasizes the ongoing processes of construction/deconstruction of the commons, of what is shared, whether material or intangible, necessary to sustain or shatter communities (Hardt and Negri 2009). What matters here is how the heritage givens are put to work through novel assemblages of value creation paralleled by novel discourses about past identities. Which heritage processes foster and which prevent the creation of the commons? How does the appropriation of common heritage values affect communities?

Research on the commons shows that the “effective management of common pool resources through collective action is dependent upon the efforts of the resources users to establish an identity that is held collectively” (Mosimane et al. 2012: 344). The bounded and immanent link between heritage, identity and community is fundamental because the more strongly a group of people identifies with a resource and commits “to act collectively, the stronger the collective action”. Consequently “achieving sustainable use of common pool resources is thus determined by the interplay between collective identity and collective action” (Mosimane *et al.*, 2012: 344). Would the management of heritage as a commons avoid its commoditization and therefore provide communities with positive feedback circuits that reinforce identification and collective efforts towards the preservation and enhancement of heritage? This question can only be advanced as a rhetoric hypothesis, as further theoretical and empirical research is needed to ascertain the implications of such management framework in reality.

The complexities and potentials involved and the tensions that arise between commons and community management are augmented by the fact that the local has been increasingly packaged as

heritage in the global market. The ethnographic case study on *Commons management and ecotourism* in the Peruvian Amazon provided by Stronza (2009) demonstrates that community management of the commons has advantages as well as hindrances. While her case study does not focus primarily on heritage concerns and Amazonian communities do not deploy complex discursive heritage constructions, she elaborates on issues that touch upon our study, namely the linkages between ecotourism and community. Stronza explores the connections between property and economic performance, asking whether ecotourism is more likely to emerge and be more profitable in places where resources are owned communally, privately or publicly. She analyzed a situation in which local residents had gone into partnership with a private tourism company since 1996 to build and co-manage an ecotourism lodge. Her research found three outcomes in favor of commons management that included “direct economic returns that act as conservation incentives, strengthened organization resulting from participatory management of ecotourism, and expanded networks of support from outside actors” (2009: 56). Equally, she pointed to three challenges for collective action: “direct economic returns that enable expanded individual production and extraction, a new spirit of individual entrepreneurship that threatens to debilitate traditional social relations and institutions, and a conservation ethic that fosters dualistic thinking about people and nature and the zoning of places where resources are used vs. where they are preserved” (2009: 56). In conclusion, the ecotourism initiative both supported and undermined the community management of common resources. It provided a more effective management framework and increased revenues, but at the same time disrupted social cohesion and “thus the potential for long-term, collective stewardship of the commons” (2009: 58). Stronza’s nuanced approach shows that, without being a panacea, community management of heritage commons can pave the way for the exploration of novel forms of heritage preservation and enhancement.

The new forms of value creation and extraction within post-industrial economies are fundamental for understanding how heritage commons are being appropriated. As Toscano notes: the “conundrum of contemporary capitalism is how to capture the invention of a difference and insert it into the cycles of production and reproduction. Whence the focus on forms of life, feeling and behavior as indispensable categories for the analysis of today’s psychological economy” (2007: 30). Presently, several Italian and French economists (see Marazzi 2010; Vercellone 2008), argue that “just as in an earlier period there was a tendential movement from rent to profit as the dominant mode of capitalist expropriation, today there is a reverse movement from profit to rent” (Hardt 2010b: 350). Profit is characteristic of the industrial era and refers to the power of capital to generate and extract surplus value from commodities and workforce (Pasquinelli 2010b: 28). Instead, rent is the revenue that the owner of certain goods receives because these goods are, or become, available in scarce quantities. The prominence of rents does not imply a return to the past, as the rents over lands or real estate cannot be equated with new forms of value extraction from immaterial commons. For example, the logics of heritage sanctioning and commoditization are converging with those of patents and copyrights, which generate rent “in the sense that they guarantee an income based on the ownership of material or immaterial property” (Hardt 2010b: 351). Rent is related to the creation of artificial scarcities (enclosures) of a resource through monopolies or power that becomes not only “a mode of collecting the wealth generated by labor, but also constitutes a mechanism of de-socialization of the common and of political, spatial and socio-economic segmentations of labor power” (Vercellone 2008), According to Hardt, “whereas in

the case of industrial capital and its generation of profit, the capitalist plays a role internal to the production process ... in designating the means of cooperation and imposing the modes of discipline, in the production of the common the capitalist must remain relatively external. Every intervention of the capitalist in the processes of the production of the common, just as every time the common is made property, reduces productivity” (Hardt 2010b: 351). In other words, the more capital permeates the heritage logics and squeezes its resources, attempting to measure heritage value to impose it further, the more it undermines the relationship between the commons and the communities that sustain them. Institutional strategies of cataloguing and sanctioning that aim at objectively measuring the value of heritage elements, transform them into publicly-owned goods and position them in the market as valuable resources for tourism consumption and act as a corrupting influence on the generation and preservation of a lively (non-reified and non-commoditized) common heritage.

Pasquinelli notes the existence of a wide variety of rents and regimes of accumulation (2010b). The ‘old’ rents – land and real estate – have been described by Harvey in *The Art of Rent* (2002). These are related to the creation of capital-intense areas through gentrification processes normally related to the rejuvenation of urban centers and heritage enhancement. The formation of profitable regimes of rent can rely on the valuation of different sorts of historical heritage, as in Barcelona (Tironi 2009) or Berlin (Bernt and Holm 2009), or in the creation of novel assemblages of heritage restoration and museums as in the ‘creative cities’ such as Bilbao. In a somewhat similar fashion, Bourdieu (1986) referred to accumulation of cultural capital, Harvey to collective symbolic capital, while Marxists talk about the appropriation of the general intellect. Furthermore, during the 1970s, and especially after the 1990s, a growing number of territorial projects of enhancement have been set up in Western countries that rely on the territorial values of each area (Magnaghi 2005b). Heritage is generally at the centre of these initiatives, whether cultural parks in Europe or National Heritage Areas in the United States. Normally they are implemented in economically decaying or peripheral areas where the industrial economic model is coming to an end or never had a strong presence (Benito del Pozo and Alonso González 2012).

Broadly, these areas rely on common territorial and heritage values, whether natural or cultural, to generate new economies and cultural identities that provide territorial rents in the form of real estate value, tourism and service sector businesses. These processes are tightly related to the re-personalization of the economy and physical space, centered on the connection between the meanings elaborated and assigned to places by people and global flows of investment and value; that is, in the profitable tension between the local and the global (Bonomi and Rullani 2005). This implies that territories must compete in the global hierarchy of (market) value (Herzfeld 2004), in a relational interplay of identifications and differentiations which define their position in relation to other places.

Most of these projects tend to privatize the benefits obtained from the common heritage values of a territory. I have studied the outcomes of two territorial projects of enhancement in Maragatería and Asturias (Spain), in which neoliberal management models apply. Basically, public institutions are responsible for the expenditure that heritage preservation and enhancement entails, while private owners accumulate the profits. Moreover, European and national public funds are channeled to private entrepreneurs to develop tourism and service sector businesses. Those feed into the flows of tourism that arrive in the territory attracted by its common heritage without reinvesting

in, or promoting, these same heritage values that guarantee their revenue. After more than two decades of large investments in both Asturias and Maragatería, the deterioration of these territories shows that the projects have failed.

Projects in which the profits made from heritage commons are reinvested into the community or in the same heritage commons are scarce. One of these places is the Historian's Office (OHCH) of La Habana (Cuba), where I have carried out ethnographic research since 2009. The OHCH is a semi-autonomous institution that owns most heritage sites, museums and buildings in Old Havana's World Heritage site. Contrary to most historic centre rejuvenation projects, the growing revenues from tourism, land estate rents and service sector economies are not privatized but rather reinvested in the heritage and museum sector. Moreover, huge investments are geared to the local community in the form of schooling and housing improvement programs, among others. Value is captured from tourism to serve the local community, whose livelihood is deemed fundamental for the reproduction of the heritage commons and consequently for guaranteeing the long-term continuation of tourism revenue.

Therefore, heritage is fundamental because what is being globally valorized is the "*lived experience* of people and their *identities*, individual and collective" and "*life* in its various aspects" (Rullani 2009a: 243). There is no commoditization of heritage, but rather heritage participates in processes aiming at the creation of affective environments where the commodities are inserted and make sense. This becomes clear in the case of the World Heritage Trail of the Way of Saint James situated in Europe, whose political economy I explored during my ethnography in Maragatería as it traverses the entire region from east to west. In brief, the Way has undergone a process of tourism promotion that undermines its original spiritual character (Sánchez-Carretero 2012). We can consider the Way as a commons sustained by the 'Way's community', which comprises pilgrims together with religious and secular associations of all kinds. Traditionally, these social actors organize pilgrim's shelters that function on a free or on donation basis. However, a dispositif of capture of the Way's values has been deployed by institutions and tourism entrepreneurs. The Way has started to be promoted and marketed as an alternative and cheap holiday choice in tourism fairs and managed as such by institutions. Similarly, a network of private pilgrim's hostels has been created that captures the common values of the Way, charging higher prices to pilgrims – considered as tourists/consumers now – while at the same time employing volunteer *hospitaleros* – pilgrim shelter's workers. Clearly the advent of market logics associated with these practices is shattering the 'Way's community' that sustained the Way's heritage commons – i.e. the affective environment that provides value, including the solidarity practices, volunteer work, and the overall spiritual character. Also, it threatens the permanence of the Way as a tourism resource because of the dissatisfaction of pilgrims, who perceive the lack of authenticity and feel deceived by market practices in a supposedly religious and spiritual trail.

Therefore, as the creation and circulation of knowledge and wealth tend increasingly to concur, many questions arise which have a direct impact on heritage issues the response to which, however, falls beyond the scope of this paper. How can we account for the wealth produced by the heritage commons? Does the non-measurability of the common goods pave the way for their open appropriation? On what basis can we establish the share of a wealth whose production relies on a wide multiplicity of producers and consumers?

Cognitive Economies and the New Rents on the Commons.

The issue gains complexity if we look at the new rents imposing regimes of property over the new commons: immaterial production of knowledge, information and meaning. All those values are embodied by heritage: it contains knowledge, people can learn from heritage, while it also conveys meanings and has aesthetic values. Intellectual property rights are at the same time a juridical dispositive to control the creation and circulation of knowledge and a mode of regulating the sharing of profits generated by the creation and diffusion of an invention or of any valuable entity (Lazzarato 2006b: 131). The strategies concerning heritage sanctioning and documentation employed by national and regional institutions in the global competition for prestige (Isar 2011) tend to mirror these practices. Moreover, the categories employed by most contemporary theorists on cognitive capitalism and intellectual property coincide with those employed by Tarde to describe social co-operation a century earlier: value can be obtained by keeping the monopoly of a secret (patent – invention – sanctioning of heritage sites by institutions) and on the multiplication of the uses of an invention (copyright – imitation – positioning heritage in the market for tourist consumption) (see Lazzarato 2002). Whereas the former strategy works fundamentally for scientific and artistic creations, the latter is designed for cultural products like music.

The strategies employed to enclose and privatize the heritage commons can be situated halfway between the patent and the copyright. This can be illustrated by thinking UNESCO's recently created (2003) category of intangible heritage in terms of immaterial rents and the commons. Not so much because 'intangible' can be equated with 'immaterial', but rather because this heritage connects with the broader framework of post-industrial capitalism. In fact, the distinction between tangible and intangible heritage is flawed: it reproduces the Western modern dualism of soul/matter and disregards the fact that heritage is always both a tangible and intangible process (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2004). The declaration of the 'Gastronomic meal of the French' as intangible World Heritage in 2010 illustrates this point. Again, the Western ideal of a universalistic commons underlies the whole process. Thus, according to official material authored by the French government, "we have realised the value that certain culinary traditions and cultures hold for all of Humanity" (Oltolini 2010: 23). The declaration raised controversy immediately in countries such as Italy or Spain that considered their gastronomy equally remarkable, and that had promoted the more inclusive declaration of the 'Mediterranean Diet' as intangible World Heritage. Many questions arose concerning the limits of intangible heritage, its increasingly random character and absurdity, and its tight relation with political issues. For instance, the declaration was linked with the creation of a French national culinary television channel, a national culinary museum and primary school culinary programs. Moreover, French senator Catherine Dumas considered that the World Heritage status would "help us fight certain European regulations that don't conform with our tradition" (Iverson, 2010). This strategy highlights the importance of intangible heritage for nation-building processes and the gathering of Soft Power: the power of a state does not rely exclusively on coercion capabilities but also on intangible values of prestige, reputation or cultural attractiveness (Nye 1990).

However, from another point of view, the declaration can be conceived as a macro process halfway between the strategy of the copyright and the patent, aimed at the capture of rents from a common heritage. Here immaterial value is generated from the friction between the reproducibility

of common knowledge and customs – the gastronomic meal of the French is not bounded geographically or by time – and the irreproducibility of material vectors – the *real* experience can only be lived in France. Accordingly, the declaration serves to brand France as a whole, but also specific material products which can be consumed only in France, the way French people do, and even better with some specific chefs and using quality labeled products. Thus, a commons embodied in knowledge and tradition becomes a dispositive for the reinforcement of national cultural identities and memories and for positioning those in the market. Evidently, heritage contributes to the control of the value that arises “not from what is but from what is not yet but can potentially become, that is from the pull of the future, and from the new distributions of the sensible that can arise from that change” (Thrift 2006: 7).

Therefore, common goods, “unlike the tangible, appropriable, exchangeable, consumable products of the capital-labor relationship, are intelligible, inappropriable, inexchangeable, inconsumable” (Lazzarato 2004a: 191). They result from the free co-realization and co-creation by unspecified subjectivities, and thus knowledge, language, art, science and so on, should not become ‘exclusive property’ of anyone precisely because they proliferate by being shared. There cannot be ‘exchange’ of common goods but only transmission, the one transmitting common knowledge does not lose them: rather, as we saw with Tarde, socialization increases their value. The consumption of common goods can lead to the production of a new common good. Production and consumption collapse into a constant flow, a ‘circulation’ of commons, an abundance or ‘excess’ of value that defies the basics of economy rooted on scarcity. On the contrary, capital-labor relations produce objects that are subject to exclusion and appropriation, their consumption destroys and render them intransmissible: the nature of the object becomes exclusionary; it is either yours or mine. Therefore, we must not create further dualisms through the identitary logic that we have been trying to deconstruct with Deleuze: heritage is not ‘common’ or ‘private (either/or), but is constantly being constructed in different forms (...and...). Whether these forms of construction reinforce heritage subjectivities and identitary logics of exclusion, or a common sharing of value and a proliferation of a common heritage, is what we should be looking at.

The common is non-measurable or quantifiable. When economists recognize the common they cast it outside production by referring to externalities (Fumagalli 2007)¹⁹. Externalities are those elements that cannot be clearly accounted for and quantified, normally referred to as missing market opportunities or “missing commons”. Instead, Hardt and Negri argue that biopolitical production assimilates the common and turn it into the center of economic life. Thus the common refers to a productive force and to the form in which wealth is produced. We should not think on the common as some entity halfway between the public and the private. Rather, it exists on a different plane. We have already referred to the basic conflicts between the private and the common, that is, the appropriation of rents through different mechanisms: patents and copyrights fundamentally. The public is an institutional arrangement that endeavors to manage and control access to the common and thus stands aside from it.

¹⁹ “The great Western metaphysical tradition has always abhorred the immeasurable” and deployed a “deep hatred that metaphysics has for the immeasurable because if there is no measure ... there is no cosmos; and if there is no cosmos, there is no state ... Throughout modernity, the immeasurable was the object of an absolute ban, an epistemological prohibition” Hardt, M., and Negri, A. (2000). *Empire*, Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press..

The common can accumulate value by fostering the development of new social powers. This is not about the accumulation of ideas, images or cultural capital, but fundamentally to attain new capacities in a Spinozian sense, furthering what people's bodies can do (Lordon 2006): to think, to see, to relate and connect, understand, to feel, etc. The common proliferates and grows without strict regimes of property that try to measure, deviate and slow down flows of desire that produce the common (think on strict copyright regimes in scientific journals that impede access to knowledge to independent researchers, scholars and the public, who normally finances the costs of that research through public institutions). Thus, the common should escape the rules of the classical political economy based on scarcity and control to because capitalist production is basically social and private appropriation and curtailing of the common blocks productivity and creativity. How can we measure the values of the common if its production refers back to other common goods such as education, health, science and art, etc? Why should the social common productive forces, which are creative and autonomous, be captured by unproductive private individuals who restraint production and the common good? All these issues matter for heritage, sometimes directly (without a good public education system there would be no curious people in search for prehistoric carvings in Maragatería), sometimes indirectly (to perform a transition towards a post-industrial economy based on heritage many people with higher education levels have to be able to appreciate the values of heritage to generate heuristic networks of value creation: a public is necessary for heritage economies to function and not only hyper-specialized heritage experts).

There are different circumstances in which heritage might appear as a common. Again, it is commonly instantiated in specific machines, not in general terms. To affirm that the endogenous heritage resources existing in territories are valuable, as Alberto Magnaghi sometimes does (2005b), leads us to an essentialism in which value is taken for granted. Rather, the common is always instantiated and assembled in heritage machines, it is put to work for something or it is destructed and unmade. Cultural heritage (and archaeology) intervenes in the deterritorialization of local resources and their codification into new regimes of signs (knowledge, memory, tradition, etc.) in tune with the global hierarchy of value. This reterritorialization gradually imposes external sets of criteria and values promoting the local in the global through development projects in different sectors, mainly tourism. Normally, this situation implies a destruction of the commons.

Of course, to affirm that some commons can be destroyed is not an essentialist claim because commons cannot be presupposed and must be accounted for. In my research I put forward a concept of commons which differentiates but is consistent with the 'different' traditional commons (over pastures, forests, hunting and mushroom reserves, land, real estate, etc.) and the contemporary commons that imply a complex understanding of the workings of property and surplus capture. In fact, the value captured by hotels and restaurants largely exceeds the value that villages make from their common properties. However, hotels and restaurants are parasitic because they draw on a common heritage without acknowledging the source of their income: the past and a common tradition, the aesthetics and landscapes co-constituted by the interactions between humans and nature, and so on. I argue that the heritage machine tends to undermine the 'old commons' by enacting a deterritorialization of vernacular cultures, and also undermines its own long-term sustenance by not acknowledging that it is precisely the common livelihood of places they are drawing in. That is, the biopolitical nature of the appropriation/destruction of the common through heritage goes largely ignored and thus can lead the system to collapse. Could different forms of

heritage promotion act upon these practices to establish heritage as a common that can then freely proliferate and provide common value for the whole of the community?

This raises some paradoxes at the intersection between the molar and molecular scales of common value. Similarly, it would be naive to consider that the ‘old commons’ created a utopian situation devoid of conflicts. There were many conflicts among different villages, institutions (the church, monasteries, and regional governments) and within the communities between individuals. Today, a territory that uses heritage for common purposes and shares the common value has to face the contradiction previously signaled between the molar and molecular levels. If profitable activities (hotels, restaurants, etc.) profiting from heritage become common and start to provide financial feedback to the non-profitable activities (heritage promotion and preservation, museum maintenance, etc.) as in Val di Cornia Cultural Park (Italy) or the Historian’s Office of Havana (Cuba), a process of territorialization begins that creates a more dense identity of that territory in contrast with the surrounding ones. In other words, promoting a molecular open policy *internally* in a region means that market strategies have to be employed *externally* in the global competition for flows of tourism and investments (Chang 1999; Silberberg 1995). This is why I consider my endeavor halfway between a Latourian establishment of matters of concern and Deleuzo-Guattarian minor politics and cautionary and pragmatic ethics. What I want to remain from the common is that the constitution of specific molecular assemblages can challenge the way heritage is conceived and constructed today, and enact change in specific contexts. There is no class struggle or a call for rebellion, but rather a pragmatic molecular revolution that aims at enacting minor changes that show that other ways of doing things are possible (Guattari 1995a). Giving ontological status to the commons and to the hybrid character of the many minor heritage practices generating open subjectivities and identities paves the way to shaking the foundations of reified social categories whose unconscious reproduction could be challenged and transformed collectively and gradually. But it is also necessary to acknowledge that aiming at progressive social change cannot mean assuming an scholarly outwardly utopian position: in reality, molar politics and practices must deal and be embedded with the laws of the market and institutions in one way or another. Thus, “staying stratified—organized, signified, subjected—is not the worst that can happen; the worst that can happen is if you throw the strata into demented or suicidal collapse, which brings them back down on us heavier than ever. This is how it should be done: Lodge yourself on a stratum, experiment with the opportunities it offers, find an advantageous place on it, find potential movements of deterritorialization, possible lines of flight, experience them, produce flow conjunctions here and there, try out continuums of intensities segment by segment, have small plots of new land at all times” (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 178).

In conclusion, considering heritage as a common in situated contexts can shed light on how heritage operates in specific processes of ‘machinic enslavement’ that generate value and extract rents from people’s lives and creations, and processes of social subjection that produce specific identities. What the concept of the common sets out is not an epistemological alternative between universalism and communitarianism, but rather an ontological choice between two different ways of understanding and implementing the idea of the ‘for everyone’. The major Sciences, along with the State, the parties and trade unions, the media and cultural industries, and heritage experts, they all consider access ‘for everyone’ (to education, communication, knowledge, heritage, social rent, etc.) as dispositives to assign identities. Identitary logics are oppressive because they create major

aggregates and essentializes them ('you have right to this heritage because you are this or that'). The dialectic of inclusion/exclusion is thus constantly reproduced because in relation with a majority one can only be integrated or excluded. The common provides a non-binary logic that overcomes the identitarian logic by affirming the rights 'for everyone' without affirming a clearly defined identity, but rather fostering the dissolution the identities by the multiplication of differences and the affirmation of change. This enables us to escape the dialectical deadlock of actual identifications aiming at representation and the struggles for recognition, to assume a virtual stance where potentiality is directed towards creativity rather than to opposition/recognition. It is not anymore a 'we have right to this because we are that', but rather 'we have right to this to become that' (Lazzarato 2006a). The common implies that heritage must be heritage 'for something', a way of mapping and creating dispositives, practices and discourses at the intersection between the molar and the molecular.

6. Methods and Fieldwork.

"Groups are made, agencies are explored, and objects play a role. Such are the three first sources of uncertainty we rely on if we want to follow the social fluid through h its ever-changing and provisional shapes" (Latour 2005c: 87).

The Problem of the Research Problem.

I do not consider theory and methodology to be two separated realms but rather sets of relays that influence each other (Deleuze 1988). Therefore, my previous theoretical accounts already point to the underpinning of my methodology. Basically, I try to develop a heritage methodology that commits with the non-essentialist principles of Deleuze's philosophy, while at the same time integrating developments from heritage and material culture studies. I attempt to integrate these approaches with an ANT-inspired sociology and an anthropological approach to ethnography. Assuming that asymmetries between theory and empirical research are unavoidable, and that analysis and 'knowledge' are produced in-between both (Luhmann 1990). I try to provide accounts of cases of study half-way between Geertz's 'thick description' and abstract philosophical 'case study abstractions' (Protevi 2009). However, taking notice of Borne and Hammoudi's advice, I will not use my ethnographic narration to illustrate philosophical concepts (2009). Rather, I will further develop the concepts presented hitherto (heritage process, event and subjectivity, heritage properties and capacities, and so on) to extend my understanding of ongoing material processes in the field, integrating raw data with concepts, but also arranging concepts into a logical, systematic, explanatory scheme (Goulding 2005). My methodology is clearly conceived, adapted and formulated as a consequence of my previously framed research problems and questions at the theoretical and practical level. From my standpoint, it is a fundamental 'fair' practice to reveal our underlying research agendas, that is, to tackle the 'problem of the research problem' (Castañeda 2009). For this reason I extended my theoretical argumentation and put it in relation with real-world social and political contexts. This renders methods (a set of procedures by which to approach an issue) not an 'independent' sphere that must be 'done well' to accomplish research objectives, but rather a further ontological social practice that adds a further layer of complexity to research.

Methods have a double social life: they are both shaped by the social world, and contribute to shape the world, to construct reality (Law 2004a). Therefore, methods are performative and must be open and kept up with current changes in the world. If they contribute to produce the realities they describe, “then this may be, but is not necessarily, obnoxious” (Law 2004a: 5). Thus, methods must be weighed politically and ethically. Especially in the field of heritage studies, there is a tendency to locate heritage ‘out there’, leading to a feeble self-reflection on the distinction between what the researcher ‘finds in’ the field or ‘adds to’ the world. In principle, everything can potentially become heritage, from pigs to stones to people. Therefore, it is important to keep in check our social constructivist impulses to see heritage everywhere and categorize it as tangible, intangible, official-unofficial, and so on. It is more important to see whether it is well constructed or not, who did it and what are the consequences (Mol 2008). That is, to see how heritage works among “people as they actually are, rather than to an idealized projection of how they should be” (O’Neill 2006: 45). Substituting essentialist categories for operative functions like ‘minor’ and ‘major’, which are immediately political concepts, results in a more active engagement with the data and the social field. There is no point in referring to the practices of open, non-heritage subjectivities in Maragatería as ‘unofficial heritage’, which already presupposes an ‘official’ major heritage that should sanction the minor, and that the actants are ignoring a heritage ‘which is out there’. To argue that ‘unofficial’ or ‘private’ heritage practices are more unaltered, organic or ‘authentic’ would be essentialist and simplistic, but “this is not to say that the private versions are at odds with the official representations or that they provide a bottom-up alternative representation. There are many voices that can be heard privately. Some of them find resonance with the public sphere. Others do not” (Peralta 2009: 113). This is not a question of bottom-up (in direct contact with actants in the field) or top down approaches (that evaluate the relation between heritage and the molar entities as the state, capital or the nation) (Chang et al. 1996). In actual practices, there are neither bottoms or tops, just entangled practices and connections. What is fundamental is to look at what performances produce what effects. Thus ‘minor’ or ‘major’ heritages are politically charged terms that directly refer to the kinds of realities (heritage assemblages) which are being produced in heritage processes and events.

In some cases, I will commit to the ANT strategy of following the agency of actants (Hardie and MacKenzie 2007), to study how they build heritage objects (the prehistoric carvings, for instance), whereas in other cases the qualification of heritage will be ultimately part of my agency as heritage scholar (like the drummers-local government-party meshworks as heritage that goes unrecognized)²⁰. In every case, I will be constructing heritage ‘for something’ and stating it, affirming the agency and power of the heritage researcher as a constructor of ontological realities. Deciding what the acceptable list of entities to make up the social world is will be then a co-construction that arises from the interactions between actants and my research (Suddaby 2006: 635). This multiplies the number of agencies and actants able to deploy their own metaphysics and worldviews to a certain extent (Latour 2005c: 50). My challenge has been then to develop an approach that avoids imposing an explanatory framework over messy fieldwork data (Merriman and

²⁰ “What of agency? An actor-network economic sociology does not itself attribute agency, but instead follows the way in which such attributions are shaped and channelled by factors including the composition and configuration of agencements. Agency is of course commonly attributed to individual human beings such as the trader, but is also often attributed to higher-level entities” Hardie, I., and MacKenzie, D. (2007). "Assembling an economic actor: the agencement of a Hedge Fund." *The Sociological Review*, 55(1), 57-80..

Poovaya-Smith 1996). Moreover, my analysis halfway between the conceptual meta-language I develop and the language used by actors. However, I do not ‘embed’ the language of actants into my narratives thus considering that I am granted with the explanatory repertoire and can thus ‘understand’ the hidden meaning (Latour 2005c). My approach thus challenges a traditional separation between ontology, epistemology, methodology and politics. For Deleuze, politics comes before being (ontology), and the strategies we use to ‘know’, along with issues of ‘how we know’, are all comprised in the events that construct reality. Thus, contrary to most heritage scholars, I do not consider heritage as a ‘knowable reality’ (Knell 2007: 1) but rather a ‘constructible reality’, always slippery, fluid and political. Therefore, my approach to the issue is existential and empirical, materialist and anti-essentialist, archaeological and anthropological, “ a practical middle ground between a theory-laden view of the world and an unfettered empiricism” (Suddaby 2006: 635).

This stance is therefore a situated inquiry that acknowledges the fluidity, messiness and imprecision of the world (Haraway 1988), and the limited capacities of our methods to provide all-encompassing accounts: we always leave behind more than what we include. Especially, our methods are “badly adapted to the study of the ephemeral, the indefinite and the irregular” (Law 2004a: 4). This might be so because the “‘research methods’ passed down to us after a century of social science tend to work on the assumption that the world is properly to be understood as *a set of fairly specific, determinate, and more or less identifiable processes*” (Law 2004a: 5 emphasis in original). To say that research methods are conditioned by the historical context is a tautology as everything is *conditioned*. It is deceiving to think that following a strict set of rules provides a more general validity for the outcomes of research. Of course, the more defined and strict the methodologies are, the more defined and *territorialized* will be the objects constructed by research. Nevertheless, that does not mean that it is better suited to describe the real world or is more useful in it. Developing theoretical-methodological frameworks that account for complexity do not imply reducing or simplifying it, but rather acknowledging that reality necessarily exceeds our capacity to know it (Law 2004a: 6). My stance does not advocate relativism nor a jettisoning of traditional methods, but rather an unmaking of some methodological habits of the social sciences, such as their ‘replicatory tendencies’ (Strathern and Stewart 2011) and their “‘desire for certainty; the expectation that we can usually arrive at more or less stable conclusions about the way things really are; the belief that as social scientists we have special insights that allow us to see further than others into certain parts of social reality; and the expectations of generality that are wrapped up in what is often called ‘universalism’. But, first of all we need to unmake our desire and expectation for security” (Law 2004a: 9).

Although attempts have been made to create a set of established methodologies in the burgeoning field of heritage studies (Sørensen 2009b), it remains mostly undertheorized (Merriman 2004) and immersed in a methodological multiplicity of approaches from different disciplines converging in the ‘global object’ (Collier and Lakoff 2005) that heritage has become. Interdisciplinary and multi-methodological approaches are probably the best formula to account for heritage complexity. Some heritage scholars have employed the rhetorical figure of the Lèvi-Straussian *bricolage* to define what they do (Viejo-Rose 2011c). Combining multiple methodological practices, empirical materials and perspectives is “a strategy that adds rigor, breadth, complexity, richness and depth to any inquiry” research (Denzin and Lincoln 2005: 5). The *bricoleur* performs a wide range of qualitative research tasks, from interviewing to material culture

analysis, moving between different perspectives while preserving a core conceptual and philosophical ground to generate sense. This does not mean that ‘everything works’, rather, being interdisciplinary “requires engaging with a field in a way that is discursively defensible. An interdisciplinary researcher is cognizant of the practices of multiple fields and can confidently employ certain tools, strategies, and approaches on the grounds that they are best suited to their subject matter or because they might provide a way in which to extend or challenge the normalized boundaries of the discipline with which the researcher primarily identifies and to which they seek to contribute (Message 2009: 125).

Methods and Disciplines.

Today, there is a vast range of social science methodologies available. However, my theoretical stance clearly disavows some of them to favor others. In brief, methodologies derive fundamentally from Marxist materialist accounts, social constructivist stances, and Foucauldian analysis of discourse and power. Most social science methods have lately focused in discourse and meaning and thus tend to draw on social constructivism. Herzfeld establishes a difference between language based and language derived models. Language based systems reduce every semiotic regime to text and grammar. Authors as different as Geertz and Strauss fall within this category. In particular, Geertz’s ‘thick description’ approach (1973b) has been extremely influential in framing anthropology and other social science as the analysis of culture and meaning. Despite his position has been widely simplified, the fundamental idea of Geertz is that detailed ethnographic description accompanied by in depth narrations and explorations can provide the necessary analytic force to capture the workings of the cultural sphere. The concept falls short to account for my heritage ethnography, as ethnography is not only about thick description, but also about the creation of realities in fieldwork and in writing, it is a genre and an activity in itself (Herzfeld 2001: 25). His insights have been extended in many spheres of social science, such as visual methodologies (Rose 2001) or the broad field of cultural studies (Hall 1997). From this standpoint, culture becomes a set of shared meanings, and “language is the privileged medium in which we make sense of things, in which meaning is produced and exchanged. Meaning can only be shared through our common access to language. So language is central to meaning and culture and has always been regarded as the key repository of cultural values and meanings” (Hall 1997: 1). From this standpoint, ideology and science become two opposing representations, ideology being knowledge constructed to legitimate unequal social relations and science as knowledge that reveals these inequalities. This position is the source of most critical stances in the social sciences.

The second set of methods are language-derived. Those are reflexive and use language to talk about language without collapsing every meaning into a textual metaphor. This enables researchers to “explore both commonalities and differences among a range of codes – architecture, music, cuisine, sports, and, indeed, language. Sometimes we confront issues that cut across these various categories: the tension between convention and invention is, to varying degree, applicable in all of them, and permits the application for what I have called a “social poetics”; tensions between official and intimate norms may similarly undergird a whole range of semiotic domains” (Herzfeld 2001: 54). For Herzfeld, anthropology must occupy a middle ground position between the search for laws and the search of cultural meanings and understandings (Idem 2001). For him, the role of

anthropology would be to study ‘common sense’ in different societies (Idem 2001: 1). However, we must nuance this position because, as Viveiros de Castro points out, the existence of anthropology is precisely justified because what Herzfeld defines as ‘common sense’ is not common (2011). Following de Castro, my methodology looks at different understandings of reality which are not “ways of ‘seeing the world’ but rather real worlds that are been seen...because there are no points of view *onto* things, things and beings are the points of view *themselves*” (2011). We need to start to realize that we live in different worlds and epistemes, where multiplicity is about coexistences at specific moments. Differences in the way a heritage object is enacted in different places and times is not to be understood then epistemologically, as different perspectives on the object, but rather ontologically, acknowledging the different realities at work (Law and Mol 2002). Methodologically, this implies mapping the intensive differences in every system, that is, the sources of change and unevenness, “force fields, differentials, or charges constituted by the asymmetry between the capacities of the various components or regions” (Saldanha 2007). Thinking through intensive difference implies studying how tension and heterogeneity move things into process. Another way to make sense of multiplicities is to perform a cartography of the social field to discover how it works and how to change it (Law and Mol 2002). This is not about meaning and critique, but about how material real-world processes can be changed without forcefully assuming a ‘critical’ position that claims a universal truth for science and dismisses other knowledge as ‘ideologies’.

Many social scientists make a further step and use discursive analysis based on a specific reading of Foucault. Whereas the semiotic approach analyzes how representation and language produce meaning, discourse analysis focuses on the effects and consequences of representation: not the poetics of power but its politics. “It examines not only how language and representation produce meaning, but how the knowledge which a particular discourse produces connects with power, regulates conduct, makes up or constructs identities and subjectivities, and defines the way certain things are represented, through about, practiced and studied” (Hall 1997: 6). Foucault and Deleuze move beyond language based and language derived models in their development of a post-Saussurian account of language. In complexity theory terms, their position considers language to be a trigger of material processes, this is why their linguistics could be more exactly considered as ‘pragmatics’ (Grisham 1991). Drawing on the Danish linguist Hjelmslev, Deleuze and Guattari avoid asking ‘what is language?’ to question ‘in what cases, where and when, how...’ does language function. Thus, they define language “in terms of statements, implicit presuppositions, incorporeal transformations, and order-words” in order to connect them to “social social processes (collective assemblages of enunciation and machinic assemblages of bodies) with their respective aspect of de- and reterritorialization, and to the agencies (abstract machines) that interpret and select them” (Grisham 1991: 44). This materialistic approach to language has attracted many anthropologists willing to escape from the prison of language while retaining a fundamental commitment with the ‘minor voices’ and the productiveness of people’s practical knowledge (Hirschman 1971). Thrift aptly sums up this shift: “anthropologists interested in cultural performance have moved increasingly away from studying them as systems of representation (symbolic transformations, cultural texts) to looking at them as processes of practice and performance. In part this reflects a growing dissatisfaction with purely symbolic approaches to understanding material like rituals, which seem to be curiously robbed of life and power when distanced in discussions concerned largely with meaning. Performance deals with actions more than

text: with habits of the body more than structures of symbols, with illocutionary rather than propositional force, with the social construction of reality rather than its representation” (Thrift 2008: 125).

I join forces with Latour’s quest to bring sociology closer to anthropology, in which actors have been always more free than in sociology (1993). The works of Canclini (1989; 1993; 1999) are also consistent with my approach in their commitment to materiality, his accounts of modernity and tradition, and his free straddling of the boundaries between sociology and anthropology. For him, sociology concentrates in modernity and anthropology in tradition: “sociology studies the production of social inequalities through the segmentation of the labor market where differences in jobs, pay, and status devolve to distinct groups based on such factors as class, gender, and race. This perspective argues that transnational market forces and the mass media have reorganized the cultural sphere and it thus questions anthropological analyses that treat culture as if it were autonomous. Anthropology, on the other hand, emphasizes differences, diversity, and plurality (García Canclini 1989: xii-xiii). Culture cannot be limited to a discursive dimension as “the signifying system through which necessarily a social order is communicated, reproduced, experienced and explored” (Williams 1976: 79-80). Rather, for Canclini, methodologies must account for culture as embedded in material structures that reproduce or transform the cultural sphere. For him, production always occurs within material structures, and social practices are always considered simultaneously economic and symbolic (García Canclini 1982). This is consistent with Tarde’s approach to the social: not as a special domain of the real but a principle of connections (Latour 2005c: 13). Similarly, Whitehead opposes Durkheim’s and Weber’s views on society to consider it a set of bundles of composite entities that endure in time and space (Idem 2005c: 218). Then ‘the social’ should not be separated from other realms, biological and material, or even from metaphysics. “Classical distinctions of kind between culture and nature now become translated into interacting layers of biocultural complexity. For it is not only in human culture that perception, interpretation, unpredictability and history occur. They occur, to varying degrees of complexity and on different scales of duration, in several nonhuman processes as well” (Connolly 2007: 61). As mentioned before, this entails a reshuffling of how objectivity and subjectivity are conceived: different bodies, assemblages, objects, institutions have subjectivities. “Subjectivity is not a property of human souls but of the gathering itself-provided it lasts of course. If we could retain this vastly expanded meaning of society, then we could against understand what Tarde meant when he said that everything is a society and that all things are society” (Latour 2005c: 218). Thus, we must look at how different subjectivities are making and unmaking objects, which are not ‘socially constructed’ but rather enacted into being “in networks of bodies, materialities, technologies, objects, natures and humans (Farias and Bender 2010: 13).

This principle must be extended to develop a methodology that accounts for heritage as a constructed whole. That is, we cannot start from heritage as an essential entity, but rather end with heritage, tracing the many links it leaves via the associations it creates between different elements that are not in themselves ‘heritage’. Instead of presupposing the existence of heritage we should let actors make their job and follow then, intervening when we consider it necessary. My methodology has similarities with Latour and Woolgar’s ‘method assemblage (Law 2004a: 42), which aims to craft a hinterland of relations that distinguishes between: A) in here, statements, data or depictions of reality where heritage is mentioned, is being constructed or seems to have a role. B) the out there

realities reflected in those in here statements (heritage events, processes, and so on). C) “An endless ramification of processes and contexts out there that are both necessary to what is in-here and invisible to it. These might range from things that everyone in question knows through mundanities that no one notices until they stop happening (electricity) to matters or processes actively suppressed in order to produce the representations that are taken to report directly on realities” (Law 2004a: 42). That is, “we need to look at how assemblages touch ground, how they take on institutional grip and individual, human valence, it is not enough to simply observe that assemblages exist, we must attend to the ways these configurations are constantly constructed, undone and redone by the desires and becomings of actual people” (Biehl and Locke 2010: 337). My methodology is in tune with the ‘minor research’ carried out in *Complexities* (Law and Mol 2002). I do not offer a grand diagnose about the spread of the global hierarchy of value, State performance, or nationalism, but rather look at a peripheral and ‘low intensity’ territory. Here, I frame specific trajectories of change, ‘little lines of mutation’ that tell minor histories about how the ‘large assemblages’ take grip in the social in a limited manner (Law and Mol 2002). This implies an anthropological ‘staying close’ to specific problems and practices (complexities) and avoiding thinking through ideal types. Instead, I account for ‘global forms’ (Frohmann 2008) or ‘boundary objects’ (Star and Griesemer 1989), elements whose operations cannot be reduced to the effects of a definite stable cause (capital, the state, etc.). Heritage is better conceived as a set of virtual templates that “organize, in specific situations, values, norms, morals, modes of self formation and ethical reasoning about how one should live” (Frohmann 2008: 3). These templates territorialize and code heterogeneous contexts in similar fashions, establishing forms of control and valuation in local situations, along with novel value regimes, specific administrative and technical apparatuses and dispositives.

This materialist stance is underscored by my emphasis on material culture. Fundamentally, I draw on my post-processualist archaeological background to establish a theoretical-methodological dialogue with the field of material culture studies, and in particular with the works of Miller (1998) and Tilley (2006a). Ultimately, the aim in this sphere of work is to build a methodology to analyze materiality consistent with my libido-political economy and Deleuzian approach to heritage. This implies overcoming the post-processual ‘linguistic turn’ and Hodder’s concern with meaning and text (Hodder 2000). I will argue, with González-Ruibal (2007), that the recent ‘symmetric turn’ in Archaeology (Witmore 2007) does not entail a paradigmatic shift in the discipline. Moreover, it does not provide a materialistic approach consistent with Deleuzian theory because it is fundamentally concerned with epistemological questions of knowledge and identity politics. My methodology will draw on Meskell’s anthropo-archaeological works (Meskell 2005a) and González-Ruibal’s contemporary ethnoarchaeology (2003b).

Fieldwork in Maragatería.

My fieldwork was a craft of place (Geertz 1983: 167), a context-specific account of Maragatería as my community and territory of interest. I only crossed the (ill-defined) boundaries of the *comarca* to analyze the village of Matavenero, the eco-rural village that appertains to the region of El Bierzo but is only two kilometers away from the limits of Maragatería. Contrary to most heritage analyses that identify cases of study according to their theoretical relevance, my study is

custom-fit to Maragatería. To carry out successful ethnography I had to circumscribe my analysis to a workable scale and data sample (VanWynsberghe and Khan 2008). Thus, I do not carry out transnational comparison with similar regions or a multilocal approach (Marcus 1995: 99). My heritage aims to show the complexities emerging in a peripheral region where modernity, power, globalization and institutional apparatuses all have capillary effects that produce paradoxical outcomes and entanglements. I do not account for ‘large processes’, but rather minor changes and mutations, lines of flight and low-intensity political economies in a highly depopulated and economically depressed area. My in-depth knowledge of all aspects of Maragatería and its people derives from my life-long personal engagement with it. I am a sort of a ‘native anthropologist’ (Jones 1970), a researcher with local knowledge and experience (Colic-Peisker 2004) for whom it is necessary to apply self-reflexivity in local contexts. Despite I live in Astorga and not in the tiny villages of Maragatería, and have tried to perform an analytical detachment from the field, I do not claim myself to be in an objective, non-involved position (Colic-Peisker 2004). As Clifford states, “no one can be an insider to all sectors of a community. How the shifting locations are managed, how affiliation, discretion, and critical perspective are sustained, have been and will remain matters of tactical improvisation as much as of formal methodology” (1997b: 87). I spent some time working as a ‘heritage manager’ in Val de San Lorenzo and organized a conference on cultural heritage in the village.

In addition, I created a blog (<http://parqueculturalmaragateria.blogspot.com.es/>), was active in the local media and cultural publications, and avidly followed the debates generated around different issues in the local online forums of each village. In any case, this profound knowledge of the region turned out problematic when trying to frame the breadth of my dissertation. I was tempted to follow the manifold paths of archaeological, anthropological and sociological problems, and also the engaging thread of folkloric ethnography (vernacular architecture, objects, customs, etc.) and oral history about many different issues, the Franco period among others. This work still remains to be done, and informants who lived the ‘traditional world’ are disappearing quickly. However, heritage is not history, and I thought that an engagement with ongoing heritage processes could provide a more vivid account of the present state of affairs and enable me to document a socioeconomic transition ‘in the making’. I could then grasp the different layers, rhythms and speeds that articulate different worlds in Maragatería, worlds connected in amazing ways in some cases and totally detached in others, a surprising fact in such a small territory. Actually, I came to think that the voice and agency of the “‘motivated, interested, located, strategizing’ local heritage research and practitioner” whose voice is “seldom heard” (Shanks 2007) embodies what a Deleuzian territorial project of spatial planning and heritage management calls for: an engagement with the territory, acting here and there, not only from large urban, large, public institutions and infrastructures detached from the field. That is, a position of “epistemological ethic of disciplined affect” (Jeganathan 2005: 151), a situated voice that makes minor voices resonate while arbitrating problems and reinforcing minor networks that strengthen the binding tissue of the territory.

My fieldwork casts a broad net in Maragatería, covering a wide range of topics, feeling messy, sprawling and sometimes incomplete. Other times I felt I was gathering an excess of data. Probably, this is an endemic problem of heritage ethnographies due to the diffuse character of heritage objects. I preferred to follow a scattershot approach to the field that recognized the actual messiness of my object of study, or what Candea calls the ‘arbitrary location’ (2007). This is “the

actually existing instance, whose messiness, contingency, and lack of an overarching coherence or meaning serve as a 'control' for a broader abstract object of study. It is 'arbitrary' insofar as it bears no *necessary* relation to the wider object of study... the arbitrary location allows one to rethink conceptual entities, to challenge their coherence and their totalizing aspirations... the arbitrary location is space which cuts through meaning... the decision to bound off a site for the study of 'something else', with all the blind spots and limitations which this implies, is a productive form of methodological asceticism (Idem 2007: 180). Like Clifford's routes (1997b), my fieldwork crossed domains following different processes, objects, debates, ideas and stories in a rhizomatic fashion. Doing a documentary film during two consecutive summers (2009, 2010) accompanied by a German anthropologist and an Italian filmmaker changed my approach to the field. Their views made me realize how 'Other' the local *paisanos* seemed to them, and how their worldviews deserved a more detailed and symmetrical anthropological investigation that has not been carried out hitherto (although there are some exceptions: González Alvarez 2007; González Méndez 1997).

The experimental methodology used to create the documentary was consistently Deleuzian: we would pick the car and drive or walk around villages, talking to people, establishing networks, tracing stories, attending certain key events and being open to potential new events to follow, new lines of flight. We could trace surprising links and connections, especially between the 'hippie' and vernacular local communities, and the *Camino* de Santiago and people related to it. Ours was a "network with no centre" (Young 2002), a set of singularities working as anchors in a fluid and intricate cultural logic that defied closure and had to be "perceived kinaesthetically" (Ingold 2008). The methodology worked perfectly and we came up with a rather in-depth visual account of the region with more than 70 hours of footage. Not only had my 'way of going about' the issue changed, making me more aware of the need to pursue ever more new "chains, paths, threads, conjunctions, or juxtapositions of locations" (Marcus 1998: 90), but also my perception of many issues. The presence of the video camera confirmed my intuitions about interviewing and anthropological research in general: whatever framework to carry out research is employed, outcomes are determined by the investigator's position and the different 'body technologies' that situate him (I am from Astorga, perceived by local people as an educated urban dweller, and so on). The video camera acted as a mediator that rarefied reality: same questions to the same people resulted in different answers, bodily movements and expressions, and ways of relating with me and with others. There are no 'pure heritage data' out there, but only different "heritage sites as unique social spaces" (Garden 2006: 397) that construct tiny bits of different multilayered, multisited realities that we compress into "manageable units" (Nakanishi et al. 2003). Thus, talking about heritagescapes as if there was something like that 'out there', seems to be a rather bold assertion. This is so because not only ethnographic perception, but also the different machines at work in the social field of Maragatería, are only partially connected and working in different worlds, a "body multiple" (Mol 2002). Decentering the object of heritage studies implies considering structural variation among different types of heritage constructions giving up any essential basis for comparison or a 'model heritage processes'. The Deleuzian distinction between properties and capacities, elaborated by DeLanda (2011) enables us to examine these different socio-technical arrangements that constitute different heritage objects.

My dissertation is therefore not an all-encompassing view of Maragatería, I am not producing a 'schema' of the heritage in the area. What is presented here is the result of boiling down, like in a

distillation process, the fundamental networks, threads and connections that somehow constructed heritage objects or seemed relevant to me as heritage objects. For many people in Maragatería, my account would be hardly 'news', but probably it will lay bare commonsensical assumptions about how heritage, and the region as a whole, works, changes, and how different it could be if a few changes were made. Analysis, as a process for the generation, development and verification of concepts that is built over time, took place at different stages without any clear rationality: some times in the field, in conversations, performing material culture analysis, during periods away from Maragatería, writing thoughts in my laptop after coming from the field, and so on. However, the larger bunch of analysis took place during writing. Writing heritage ethnography clearly assumes the 'ethnographic genre' (Herzfeld 1989), although I tried as much as possible to follow Merriman's call (1996) to carry out more analysis and less description in heritage research. I avoided 'the pitfall of reifying coding as analysis' (Bong 2002: 1), although I utilized some categorizations and GIS software to gather my data, especially concerning material culture. However, my fundamental tools, apart from video, audio and photography, were handwritten annotations in the field, during or after every conversation and event.

In any case I never felt 'forced' to seek heritage objects. Framing conversations and interviews in terms of heritage would be unethical and oppressive, bringing my cultural capital to light along with my own interests. Moreover, describing what I was doing in terms of heritage or anthropology led the informants to try to get their knowledge 'right' and to constantly assert that 'they know nothing', because they are 'ignorant or uneducated'. But, of course, my strategies were adapted to situated contexts "to understand the complex behavior of members of society without imposing any a priori categorization that may limit the field of inquiry" (Fontana and Frey 1994: 366). There is a burgeoning literature on interviewing methods in general, and in the field of heritage studies in particular (see Hodges and Watson 2000; Sørensen 2009a). I have drawn on this literature and critically adapted it to my objectives, attempting to commit to a Deleuzian approach that recognizes identities as a function of (that nonetheless cannot be reduced to) the assemblages that configure specific physical, psychological, affective and conceptual relations. Interviews and qualitative methodology offer two paths to approach the subject. First, "they supply a means to gather the relations and affects (those things that affect an individual)" (Fox and Ward 2008). Second, they provide an space for the subjects to express themselves and unfold their own potential for change, the moments that lead to the moment of "So that's what it's all about" (Deleuze and Guattari 1983: 19-20).

Creating interview guides seemed to me a flawed endeavor since the beginning: it presupposes the stable identities of the subjects to interview. A strict division between structured, semi-structured and non-structured interviews seemed also useless as the boundaries between these categories are culturally variable. From time to time, certain conversations created interesting moments when informants revealed "themselves to themselves" (Tilley 2006b: 17), especially when talking about past issues that everybody assumed as been similarly understood by all members of a community that ethnography showed to have multiple meanings. Most informants were tracked by word of mouth, press, blogs and social networks, or met in social events. It would be deceiving to affirm that the entire agency was mine. As with the 'dissolution of the author' in Deleuze and Guattari, (1986: 16-18), I deem fundamental to provide an ontological status to the 'collective subject of enunciation' that my networks of friends constituted during research, introducing me to

crucial informants, informing me about novel heritage sites, traditions, pathways and trekking routes, events, and so on. My agency multiplied exponentially as this network grew extensively and intensively. In Tarde's words, this inter-brain collective of knowledge, affect and relations has coalesced in me and is presented in the form of a written text here (and in a visual form in my documentary).



Image 7. Documentary shooting in Lucillo. Here, a British community has created a donkey farm, among many other eco-friendly and sustainable projects. Source: Verónica Verdejo.

In the end, unstructured interviews and a good deal of empathy are the only resources the ethnographer is left with in complex sites as Maragatería. It goes without saying that it is not possible to formulate a similar set of questions to a *paisano*, a hippie, a millionaire from Madrid or a Bulgarian shepherd. And even within local communities, an artisan, a hand worker, a city major, and the priest, cannot be approached and interviewed in the same manner. There are situated interviewing strategies that emerged according to situated contexts. For instance, the best way to interview elder, retired *paisanos* is to walk around the streets when the weather is warm (April to October more or less) and join the little groups they form in specific corners and sites of villages, or just in front of their houses. These groups have their own habitus, with organic and imprecise, but well-known shared timetables, 'criteria of admission' according to familiar or friendship bonds, customs and locations that depend on the position of the sun or the direction of the winds, and a characteristic stone bench to sit in. I would join the groups and talk for some time (from minutes to hours, depending on the interest of the conversation) opening up new discussions and themes that seemed interesting to me. I did not only focus in heritage, but also in creating a solid amount of perspectives to locate different actants in Maragatería. I would ask hippies about the *paisanos*, the *paisanos* about their own local community's hierarchies and differences, neo-rurals from Madrid

were asked about their opinions on the *Camino* de Santiago or the local people, and so on. This strategy enabled me to construct a ‘perspectival ontology’ of Maragatería’s social field that complemented the understanding of identities as by-products of specific socio-economic and political assemblages. When I considered some individual worth of a specific interview to focus on key themes (such as the Templar Knight called Tomás in the *Camino* de Santiago), I aimed at following a three-stage focused interview (Seidman 2006). In the first and second phases, interviewees unfold their own live stories, worldviews and expectations, being allowed to talk freely. In the third stage, they are encouraged to reflect on the issues I have set as key matters, and incited to extend freely in the topic. I did not disregard affective and non-verbal aspects of the interviews (Fox and Ward 2008), the ‘how it is said’ that enabled me to trace signs of anger, contempt, discomfort, and so on. These elements provided crucial data to understand the feelings about some issues. Repeatedly, talking about the Franco era in public raises discomfort, especially among *paisanos*. Talking about the museum in Val de San Lorenzo provoked scorn and disdain, although it tried to be hidden by ‘sanitized’ accounts of its historical development.

My fieldwork was not limited to interviews however. I practiced material culture analysis, participative and contemplative observation. All this was complemented by the study of secondary sources. The literature about Maragatería is rather scarce and concentrates on the history of the social group of the *maragatos* during their apogee in the XIX century. I was unsure about mixing external data (journal articles in particular) with ethnographic data. However, I took the few journal articles on Maragatería appearing in the two regional newspapers – the *Diario de León* and *La Crónica de León* – as ethnographic material. As I know the reporters in charge of the Maragatería area (who cover many other areas as well), I understand the workings of journalism in the region and can thus connect news, statements and declarations made in the journals with ongoing socioeconomic processes. Journals can shape many perceptions that become assumed ‘truths’ about different issues and places, such as the ‘hippie’ village of Matavenero, of which many accounts have been made that contribute to a construction of ‘otherness’ and to think about it as an experiment and not as a real political option for the region. The propensity of heritage to be expressed through a wide variety of sources renders this amalgam of data a fundamental source to keep a better track of the ethnographic objects of study.

Populating the Social: a Deleuzian Methodology.

Up to now I have provided an outline of the concept of heritage, the basics of Deleuzian philosophy and post-Workerist social theory, and a methodological account that describes the details of my ethnography. However, I do not want to leave all these pieces disconnected. The objective of this section is to tailor a methodology and conceptual framework to the realities of the social world with a special focus in heritage. To do so I will situate at the center the concept of ‘assemblages’, which DeLanda situates at the roots of his ‘assemblage theory’ (2009). This is necessary to explain how a Deleuzian methodology enables us to overcome the wrenching divides of the social sciences, such as nature/culture, agency/structure, object/subject, and at the same time the semio-linguistic turn and its preferred focus upon the social construction of meaning. I engage in this task to counter the tendency present in many social sciences to draw inspiration from the latest wave of Continental philosophy and theoretically discuss their potential positive implications

for the field without actually ‘putting them to work’, until they are finally discarded in search for further novelty. Nonetheless, this situation describes only a reduced niche of academic departments, mostly dominated by pre and anti poststructuralist paradigms. The challenge is therefore not to ‘convince’ others that Deleuze and Guattari can improve the field in some way, but to show that they can work in the field and shed light on issues that would otherwise remain ignored. Some insights of Deleuze and Guattari have made it through to become ‘must-be-quoted’ metaphors in the social sciences, such as the concept of the ‘rhizome’, ‘terri- and deterritorialization’, or their ideas about ‘nomadology’ and ‘flux’. I intend to go beyond this view to argue, with Protevi and Bonta, that their ‘geophilosophy’, read as a politically informed complexity theory, “can indeed provide substantial ontological scaffolding for the social sciences ... via an emphasis on the creative, self-organizing, and rhizomatic characteristics of the social world” (Bonta 2009). Despite there is a growing literature in Deleuzian studies, there is still a lack of clear methodologies of analysis. I hope my contribution can facilitate that, at some point, Deleuze can ‘become imperceptible’, “a veritable Descartes, but a better coordinate system for the social” (Bonta 2009: 142).

To begin with, it is necessary to take into account that assemblages are always inseparable from different domains and are embedded in multi-level dimensions of reality. To study any heritage assemblage one might need to analyze climatological, geological, organic, financial and cultural assemblages that are, in turn, symbiotically articulated from elements from every other domain. All of them constantly interact to generate our world. Moreover, the term ‘assemblage’ is a translation from the French word *agencement*, with no direct translation in English. In French, ‘assemblage’ or ‘arrangement’ conveys the idea of a set of elements that have been gathered together, thus pointing to some kind of agency behind (some subject putting objects together). To avoid this, Deleuze and Guattari used the term *agencement*: “*agencements* are arrangements endowed with the capacity of acting in different ways depending on their configuration. This means that there is nothing left outside *agencements*.” (Palmås 2007: 2 emphasis in original). Furthermore, Palmås has noted that ANT scholars use the first definition of ‘assemblages’ and not the Deleuzian definition. This leads many scholars to collapse both definitions and use the term arbitrarily. ANT scholars consider assemblages as “loose descriptors of heterogeneous structures, consisting of human as well as non-human elements” (Palmås 2007: 2). Hence, it is “like an episteme with technologies added ... connoting active and evolving practices rather than a passive and static structure” (Watson-Verran and Turnbull 1995: 117). To avoid confusion, I will refer to these ‘heterogeneous structures’ as ‘meshworks’. For instance, I will speak about a meshwork when referring to the practices that keep alive Maragato ‘fiestas’ by interconnecting Maragato drummers, dancers, and local councils.

For Deleuze, the “idea of assemblage can replace the idea of behavior [i.e. patterns of behavior], and thus with respect to the idea of assemblage, the nature-culture distinction no longer matters” (Deleuze and Lapoujade 2006: 179). Assemblages must account for the production of objects, subjectivities and larger scale social systems by the intermingling of elements from semiotics, desire or power (Srniczek 2007: 54). To connect with our previous theoretical exposition, it must be emphasized that assemblages arise from the symbiotic interrelation between the sphere of the intensive virtual potential and the extensive actual states of affairs. Thus, heritage assemblages arise from heritage events, are constructed in them and endowed with variable degrees of stability and endurance. Assemblages must be both irreducible and decomposable for explanation, synthesis

and analysis to be possible (DeLanda 2011: 184). This is so because assemblages are always contingent, machinic, constantly relying on the actual exercise of the capacities of its constituting parts to such an extent that “removing one of them may indeed destroy the whole’s identity, but the part itself need not lose its own identity: pulling a live animal’s heart out will surely kill it but the heart itself can be implanted into another animal And resume its regular function” (Idem: 184). The same would occur in Val de San Lorenzo’s assemblage where only the whole makes sense: removing the museum, the hotels and restaurants, or the stones covering the heritagized houses would lead the system to a collapse.

The identity of an assemblage always derives from a process of emergence that entail a new articulation of the social field, that is, assemblages are products of historical processes that gathered their components together. Similarly, they are also product of the processes that keep their integrity thanks to a regular and stable interaction among the parts (Idem: 185). Both processes are not necessarily similar. Therefore, assemblages are always contingent and their identity is not guaranteed by underlying unchanging properties, but rather from sets of capacities constantly at work to sustain stability. In other words, assemblages are individuals in the Whiteheadian sense (i.e., without equating individual to person). Thus, assemblages do not fit strict categories as they have always individual stories, although many of these ‘individual singularities’ might have had analogous histories and belong to a similar population of more or less similar assemblages. This is so because virtual potentials are always actualized in contingent states of affairs with variable outcomes. Consequently, a fundamental methodological commitment is that “knowledge about an assemblage does not derive from a “botanical” classification that takes properties for granted but from an account of the origin and endurance of those properties” (Idem: 195). What is the point in creating more and more detailed compartmentalization of heritage as ‘maritime’, ‘intangible’, ‘industrial’, and so on, when these divisions do not provide any significant contribution to knowledge? Instead of looking at essential properties that classify an object, we should be asking who is ‘creating’ and ‘sustaining’ heritage assemblages and for what.

Thus, rather than looking at properties we should consider the tendencies and capacities of assemblages, which can make its properties and identities change, “as when an ice sculpture characterized by its solidity and its shape manifests its tendency to melt at a certain temperature” (Idem: 185). On the other hand, capacities can make aspects of the assemblage arise that were previously hidden. As assemblages have manifold capacities and tendencies, we can affirm that there is a ‘structure of possibility space’ in complexity theory terms, where the assemblage can proliferate and extend, acting as a virtual quasi-cause or triggering different effects in other assemblages. The Roman mining area of El Teleno Mountain can be destroyed by the shoots of cannons and tanks. However, it can also assemble many capacities of different actors to oppose its destruction, to defend certain ecological, cultural and political claims which, in turn, construct it as a consistent heritage object. The properties of the Roman mining area constantly vary and thus its identity cannot be only accounted for as an ‘archaeological site’ with clear boundaries, but also in terms of the relations it establishes.

Therefore, assemblages “consist of heterogeneous elements and their symbiotic relations through which previous disparate elements are gathered into a co-functioning system (Srnicek 2007: 56). In them, “matter, meaning, subjectivity and sense all happen at once. They are neither social nor material; nor are they ultimately reducible to either one or the other” (Halewood 2005). Neither

can assemblages be reduced to a single logic, because emergence always involves new shifting forms in constant transformation. It is worth quoting Zaera-Polo at length on the issue. For him, assemblages are “non-essentialist, historically contingent actual entities (not instances of ideal forms) and non-totalizing (not seamless totalities but collections of heterogeneous components). In these emerging social assemblages, individuals, groups and other possible *actants* are primarily defined by relations of exteriority and need to engage with different assemblages without losing their identity. The relationship between an assemblage and its components is complex and non-linear: assemblages are formed and affected by heterogeneous populations of lower-level assemblages, but may also act back upon these components, imposing restraints or adaptations in them” (2008: 35). Now we must analyze the four fundamental dimensions of assemblages. First, the *roles* played by components within the assemblages, which can be material or expressive. Here, we must take into account that components of an assemblage can be assemblages in themselves in other contexts: a person is an assemblage of other micro-scale assemblages and participates in macro-assemblages at the same time. Second, the processes that components and assemblages undergo that stabilize (territorialize) or change (deterritorialize) their identity. Third, the *codes* that the expressive (semiotic) medium can impose upon territorialized identities. Finally, the molar and molecular aspects of assemblages and the ways of analyzing them will be set out.

The first dimension comprises the division between material content and expression. It must be clear that this distinction remains abstract because in reality the different components of assemblages blur. It is tailored for the facilitation of a methodological analysis. The material aspects of heritage assemblages can include stones, bricks, people, textiles, etc., and also technologies of recording and exhibition such as signposts, panels, architectural techniques, along with specific geological and geographical conditions. The expressive aspects can be written and spoken language, heritage legislation, scholarly heritage accounts or professional heritage guidelines and charts. At the individual level, people can express also gestures and can perform certain rituals or practices. Expression cannot be then reducible to linguistics (transmitting information) or to representation (Srnicsek 2007: 58). Expression is located in the world and has real effects on its environment, it is not only ‘meaning’: “Meanings are created and reinforced by material production processes, or at most they co-determine these processes; meaning is primarily a result of the construction of assemblages, rather than vice versa” (Bonta 2005). Expression and material content are two co-constitutive elements framed in a symbiotic relation: “for two reasons: the statement [i.e. expression] has its own correlative object and is not a proposition designating a state of things or a visible object, as logic would have it; but neither is the visible [i.e. the material] a mute meaning, a signified of power to be realized in language, as phenomenology would have it” (Deleuze 1988: 64). This is so because the material is not just ‘chaotic matter’ waiting to be given a form by the signifier. Rather, the material (but also the expression) contains a ‘substance’ and a ‘form’. There is ‘material form’, ‘material substance’, and also ‘expression form’ and ‘expression substance’. This move enables Deleuze and Guattari to escape the Saussurian binaries of signifier-signified, and consequently the Marxist opposition between infra and superstructure, or the Situationist and postmodern opposition between real and representation (Lazzarato 2004b)²¹.

²¹ However, the material of every specific assemblage can be taken from the material substance of other assemblages. Thus, the familial assemblage composed by a milieu of different elements comprising traditions, genetic factors, socioeconomic constraints and cultural habits, can provide the bodies that different institutions discipline, from schools to factories and prisons. Similarly, heritage is always a composition of different scale meso-assemblages: national

This is not a random choice but rather stems from the application to the social sciences of the linguistic model developed by Hjelmslev (1969). For him, the Saussurian scheme based on the signifier relation was too simple and ignored many fundamental traits of linguistic systems (Meyer 2005). Fundamentally, Saussure took for granted the form and substance in languages (their pre-existence in time). Instead, for Hjelmslev those terms cannot be considered independently of each other, and “stand in arbitrary relation to each other (that is, in reciprocal presupposition)” (Grisham 1991). Deleuze and Guattari use this model of linguistics to show that every signifying model is always involved in socioeconomic processes of emergence. Therefore, signifying regimes are always emergent and cannot be taken as the basis of meaning and the social world: “An ‘age’ does not pre-exist the statements which express it, nor the visibilities which fill it” (Deleuze 1988: 48).

In his book on Foucault, Deleuze sums up his analysis of the prison as an exemplary study of an assemblage. Thus, “the concrete disciplinary assemblage contains, in one actualization, the prison and penal law. On the one hand, in the prison there is both a certain ‘substance of material’ (the bodies of singular prisoners with their own properties and capacities, along with the physical material required for the prison) and a particular ‘form of material’ (the architecture of the prison, the distribution of light and darkness in the Panopticon principle, the practices of regimentation). On the other hand, the penal law system has its own ‘form of expression’ (the set of statements pertaining to delinquency, the history of legal precedents, the organization of legal arguments, etc.) which creates its own substance of expression’ (the discursive objects produced by the various definitions of ‘delinquency’)” (Srnicek 2007: 60). However, we must take into account that the emergence of both the material and the expressive aspects of the disciplinary system were independent. “Material and expression can interact and establish positive feedback loops (prison produces prisoners suitable for penal reform, penal law produces delinquents suitable for prison, and so on), they nevertheless never establish a common form that would overcome the disjunction between the material and the expressive” (Srnicek 2007: 61). Every assemblage is “both machine assemblage of effectuation and collective assemblage of enunciation” (Deleuze and Parnet 2007: 71).

Among many other things, this conceptualization avoids chicken and egg absurdities in relation to legislation in heritage studies. McGimsey (1972) argues that laws are fundamental to create a public interest, and not to regulate what already has a public interest, whereas Carman argues that laws follow public interests and sanction them to guarantee their value (1995a: 22). Laws can create heritage objects suitable for public heritage consumption, but that does not mean that they are going to be consumed. And vice versa, the public consumes and produces huge amounts of heritage(s) that remain out of academic and institutional scope. This is so because the kinds of analysis trying to apply Foucault’s disciplinary model to heritage areas have been limited to stable entities and bounded locations such as museums, where the model seems to fit or is fitted well into the data. However, more changing and open environments defy this methodology, fundamentally because the laws of Humean causality and Durkhemian sociology do not apply so well in open environments: when there is an institution at the source of a transcendent causality, explanation becomes easier²². For instance, I can easily apply this model to the study of the Textile

ministries of tourism deterritorialise different heritage sites to sell a package to foreigners, different sites, performances and objects constitute the molar identity of the Maragatería as a ‘cultural region’, and so on.

²² In fact, many cultural and heritage ethnographies trace the workings of the State as the source of all power. However, many power relations must be at work to constantly sustain the workings of the state: “If the State-form, in our

Museum in Val de San Lorenzo, but not to the prehistoric carvings or the *Camino de Santiago*. In the museum, different materials (looms, textile instruments, old photographs) were bought and arranged (material substance). These were organized in a lineal form from older and traditional to modern, conveying an idea of progress, whereas the building was restored according to the commonsensical laws of heritagization in the region (material form). The ‘form of expression’ of the museum sets out statements about tradition, the objects in display, the past in the village that convey a ‘preferred meaning’ (Hall 1997) to the visitor. The discursive construction of ‘heritage’ in the museum provides the substance of expression: a discourse consistent with Universalist notions of heritage (yes, UNESCO and international charts must also be constructed from the bottom-up to exist), and one that provides a value to the arts and crafts produced in the village. Of course, this is a superficial analysis that purports a static view of it. Instead, assemblages are always formed in unpredictable events and processes²³.

How do assemblages come to cohere though? How can we measure the relative homogeneity or heterogeneity of the components of an assemblage? In some assemblages there is a wide variety of components with different characteristics and performances. Bonta refers to those assemblages as ‘rhizomatic’, flat and open ended assemblages producing smooth spaces (2005). Other assemblages are more coherent, striated and their components present a better-defined identity. A higher degree of territorialization implies a more homogeneous state of the assemblage. This cohesion provides a measure of the consistency of its ‘boundaries’ as well. These boundaries can be the protected area of a heritage site, the limits of a local common property, the skin of a human or a mental boundary impeding the assumption of new ideas. “The more homogeneous the internal composition of an assemblage and the better defined its outer boundaries the more territorialized its identity may be said to be” (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 187). Territorializations can encompass vast numbers of processes that the material components of the assemblage undergo. In complexity theory terminology, territorializations involve that certain systems become more or less stable around

historical formations, has captured so many power relations, this is not because they are derived from it; on the contrary, it is because an operation of ‘continual state control’, which depending on the case in point can vary greatly, was produced in the pedagogical, juridical, economic, familial and sexual domains which encouraged global integration. At all events, far from being the source of power relations, the State already implies them. Deleuze, G. (1988). *Foucault*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press..

²³ In “Foodscapes”, Dolphijn draws in Deleuze to provide an account of how an ‘assemblage of memory’ becomes actualised using as an example the well-known passage of Proust and a madeleine in “In Search of Lost Time”: “Only then in the encounter, in the confrontation, is the relation created as something that overcodes both Proust and the madeleine. This is what we call the EVENT: “the immanent event is actualized in a state of things and of the lived that make it happen” a revolution takes place, and there is the creation of the double articulation we call content and expression. Instead of doing as Saussure, start with the entities: Proust and “madelein”, Hjelmslev begins with the encounter, with the between: the madeleine becomes the expression; the story is expressed through the cake as this is created by its content. The taste and the smell for the madeleine take up the role that language occupies in Hjelmslev linguistic system since it is through the taste and the smell of the cake that the message is transferred. The cake itself is not the message: the cake becomes a means of conveying a message; connecting Proust to the memories of his childhood...This expression has a substance and a form: the form of the expression is the madeleine, and the substance is the specific material that this cake is composed of. Also, the content has both form and substance; the form here is what he remembers as an important episode of his childhood; the substance is the multiplicity of brainwaves that conveys this message....since form and substance are subordinated to content(expression, and since they are most often infinitely close to one another, we will refer to them as form-substance. Hjelmslev model of describing what happens in the event should be seen as the starting point of our analysis since it is from the creation of content/expression, form-substance that an event unfolds, that the matter becomes defined from within immanence. It is through the taste and the smell that memory becomes immanent to Proust” Dolphijn, R. (2004). *Foodscapes: towards a Deleuzian ethics of consumption*, Delft, UK: Eburon..

certain more or less predictable conditions. From the coalescence of social classes, to segregations such as the gentrification processes triggered by the heritagization of villages and cities, or cultural impositions that ‘rarefy’ certain areas that people tend avoid, as in Santiago Millas. Prehistoric carvings can be territorialized through signposts that define the mood of the place, attracting some people and keeping others away. Even highly unpredictable assemblages like the *Camino de Santiago* can be territorialized by defining more clear pathways and augmenting the certainty of the route and its stages. Processes of deterritorialization open up boundaries and limits, gathering more heterogeneous elements to the material side of the assemblage. In Matavenero, for instance, new ‘settlements’ are randomly created disregarding urban laws. This is the case of ‘Matabueno’, a new village somewhere between Matavenero and Poibueno. As in complexity theory, deterritorializations can be ‘relative’, thus going back to previously existing or more or less similar behavior, or ‘absolute’, which imply a novel ordering of patterns and behaviors in the whole system.

The expressive elements can also undergo processes that render them more or less heterogeneous and unpredictable, or stable and predictable. Those are processes of coding and decoding. A genetic code that completely determines the outcomes a living being provides a high coding value (DeLanda 2011: 188). Language is a fundamental coding device that categorizes entities crucial for the existence of human beings. But gesture, dress, and materiality can also work as expressive materials in a certain assemblage. That is, codes have effects in the material organization of assemblages as much as the material influences the codes: they are both reciprocally determined . (Srnicek, 2007: 64). New codings entail new regimes of signs that can have crucial consequences. For instance the arrival of digital cartography of land property that could be freely accessed online rendered obsolete many entities of the rural landscape, such as stone benchmarks and walls, but also demanded new spatial and temporal perceptions of their landscapes from the users. Similarly, the degree to which heritage is coded depends on many issues. The fundamental coding device is normally the state and institutions. However, the region of Maragatería is more diffusely coded than, say, Madrid, because the social pressure over objects is lesser. There are also cultural, historical, gender and class conditionings for coding processes: whereas military architecture has been coded since the 1960s, there are still many legal gaps to account for intangible or industrial heritage, the heritage of women or of the working classes. The coding of a new category of heritage implies a new set of territorializations: signposts must be planted and catalogues of new heritages must be made, the bodies of women, immigrants, peasants or hand workers must be represented, and so on. This is the sphere of identity politics to a large extent. Thus, codings cannot be considered as ideal categories but rather as fractals in a gradient: it is not worth asking whether something ‘is or is not’ coded, but rather to which extent it is so. But other actants are working to establish their own codes, such as dilettanti cultured people in village or new age communities (Chippindale 1986). In Maragatería, academic production is largely exceeded by non-professional accounts of heritage, traditions and archaeological sites that freely mix Celtic myths, Roman gods and Scandinavian folk tales, and archaeological methods with dowsing, pendulum divination or astronomy. These coding processes strongly influence the public, their views of heritage and the past, as can be seen in historical enactments and recreations such as the *Fiesta de Astures y Romanos* in Astorga.

The constant action and effect of territorializations and codings upon assemblages lead to the constant emergence of properties that qualify assemblages as individual singularities, with different capacities and tendencies defining the potential spaces for change and variation. These possible lines of variation are what Foucault and Deleuze defined as the ‘diagram’ or ‘abstract machine’ governing assemblages (Deleuze 1988)²⁴. Diagrams comprise all the quasi-causes that can operate in an assemblage and that render it unpredictable to a certain extent: the Latourian actant that does not ‘realize’ potentialities but ‘actualizes’ them – actualization is invention and not imitation (Saldanha 2007). This is so because assemblages do not “function according to a strict cause and effect model” but “according to local circumstance not because they are an overarching structure adapting its rules to the particular situation but because these manifestations are what the assemblage consists of” (Thrift 2005: 94). Quasi-causal situations mix different semiotics together (Mackenzie 2005), the material and the expressive, generating an openness to unexpected changes in a system’s behavior (Massumi 2002: 224-5). In fact, “once one allows for a world that is disunified, incongruous, composed of multiple divergent paths, one can think in terms of abstract virtualities that, in contrast to such abstract possibilities, are quite real, even though they are not actualized... their effectuation would go off in too many directions of “senses “at once ... thus the virtual may be said to be “abstract” in a different sense... unlike abstract “mechanisms”, abstract machines are said to be “real although not concrete, actual although not effectuated”, comprising a sort of “real virtuality” in things” (Rajchman 1998: 65).

To analyze the ‘phase space’ or diagram of a system it is necessary to take empirical observations to determine the number of significant ways in which a system can change. The more a virtual machine tends towards the stabilization of assemblages through coding and territorialization, the more striated space and molar entities will arise. Most social theory is devoted to the study of molar entities such as gender, class, and the state or enclosed cultural or ethnic groups that normally defy these categorizations in specific states of things. Molar entities are considered to be linear and to enact change from central nodes that transcendently impose order upon the parts. However, every molar entity ‘leaks’ and is traversed by many molecular forces and lines of change that comprise rhizomatic assemblages. Those are “self-organized, far-from-equilibrium systems of complexity theory. Molecular bodies interact and interweave to create acentered systems not subject to centralized control, but capable of concerted action” (Bonta 2005: 100). Thus, in every heritage event we will always find ‘mixed semiotics’ affected by smoothing and striating forces and different components ‘becoming-other’. Even if the mayor and construction entrepreneur of Santiago Millas did not like the arrival of the neo-rurals and their intention to heritagize the village in a certain fashion, he also gradually joined the ‘heritage game’ and started his project to build new Maragato houses from the scratch. He formed a rhizome with previous processes of heritagization whereby heuristic and profitable relations could be established consistent with his private interests in the village. Accordingly, he started to ‘suggest’ local dwellers to get rid of the concrete and bricks covering the stone of their houses: new criteria of what is ugly

²⁴ The abstract machine or diagram “is not universal, or even general, but singular; it is not actual, but virtual real; it has, not invariable or obligatory rules, but optional rules that ceaselessly vary with the variation itself, as in a game in which every move changes the rules. ... The abstract machine is like the diagram of an assemblage. ... We should not conclude from this that the assemblage brings only a certain resistance or inertia to bear against the abstract machine; for even “constants” are essential to the determination of the virtualities through which the variation passes, they are themselves optionally chosen” Saldanha, A. (2007). *Psychedelic white: Goa trance and the viscosity of race*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press..

and fashionable began to apply. New codings, new territorializations, and new roles for the components form the molar compound of Santiago Millas as a heritagized village. ‘Meaning’ cannot be extracted by presupposing people’s identities and their will to ‘become heritage’ themselves, but must be inscribed in structures of desire-power and complex relations of value. Of course, this does not imply causal or structural determinism: I met an individual *getting rid of the stone that covered his brick house* just because the mayor had insisted so much in covering everything with old stones and tiles. Heritage becomes an attractor constraining component parts of assemblages and smaller assemblages towards new recurrent patterns of interaction that produce molar aggregates. Attractors function as ontologically emergent structures with causal efficacy over components, without imposing an all-encompassing determinism: there are always degrees of uncertainty and unpredictability.

These molecular processes are the sites where social change occurs. Micropolitical innovations at these levels can be then abstracted and spread throughout a society, like the dispositives of discipline described by Foucault that made factories, hospitals, prisons and schools resemble each other. Similar processes occur with heritagization processes that work as ‘abstract machines’ governing the potential becomings of many cities and sites: more and more cities resemble each other *in the way they use heritage precisely to differentiate themselves from others and avoid modern homogenization*. However, the abstract machines governing these processes can largely differ: from nationalist policies as in Warsaw after WWII (Cameron 2008), to gentrification processes in Barcelona (Tironi 2009) or Bangkok (Herzfeld 2010), or touristic interests that generate models of ‘officially supported informality’ like in Berlin (Shaw 2005).

A further methodological commitment in relation to the molar and molecular processes is to analyze relations between components as ‘external to their terms’. Social theories as divergent as Wallersntein world systems theory, Luhmann’s social systems theory, Hegelian conceptions of the State and social constructivists conceiving language as a total system, fall within the *organismic metaphor*. This means that for all them an ontologically privileged holistic system exists under which individuals make sense and ascribe meaning to their world and actions (Farías 2008). Positivism, in turn, takes the opposite stance by privileging the ontological existence of clearly defined, independent objects, and denigrating the relations between them as inessential. This is the famous stance of Margaret Thatcher stating that “there is no such thing as society. There are individual men and women, and there are families”. There are also heritage institutions along with their recording methods and procedures that only afford ontological status to objects or sites with clear boundaries. Against the ‘organismic metaphor’ considering that “component parts are constituted by the very relations they have to other parts in the whole” (DeLanda 2009: 8), we must analyze assemblages in terms of their elements’ external relations. These constitute wholes as the simple aggregate of parts that can retain their properties from assemblage to assemblage. What actually changes are the capacities of every entity depending on the relations it enters to, and “inasmuch as capacities refer to another entity, they can neither be derived from the existing properties, nor entirely predicted in advance” (Srniczek 2007: 70). Heritage assemblages are always entangled in heterogeneous and multiple subsystems connection disparate elements into emergent wholes, similarly to the modern socio-political system which is “a global whole, unified and unifying, but it is so because it implies a constellation of juxtaposed, imbricated, ordered subsystems” (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 210).

What entanglements between theory and methodology arise from here? An anti-essentialist, non-representational and immanent perspective that seeks the conditions of real assemblages without resorting to transcendent orderings in actual states of things. It is critical and self-reflective as it acknowledges the situated condition of the researcher while at the same time examining the virtual potentials for change existing in the field under study. This means that the researcher aims at finding the immanent conditions that sustain certain assemblages and multiplicities gathered and functioning together or, in other words, to map the ‘diagram’ of an assemblage. Instead of seeking to extrapolate universal laws to make the system predictable and malleable, or to simply ‘understand’ its functioning, the focus is placed on “developing the potential for novelty *within* an immanent situation” (Srnicek 2007: 81). Thus, it is fundamentally pragmatic and political. It is also an empiricism that starts not from fixed and pre-established identities and contradictions, but from processes of individuation arising from intensive differences, “much smaller and much larger than those between human individuals, which tend to constrain them into collectivities” (Saldanha 2007: 188). This stance enables our methodologies to better tackle the structure/agency tension, as individuals are always part of structures and processes and their results. Furthermore, essentialist thinking that assigns well-defined and unchanging properties to heritage entities disregarding the process of formation of these objects can be avoided. Methodologically, this implies that we must look at the processes that produce and constantly function to sustain them. This is so because some capacities and tendencies might arise in individuals during processes of emergence that were not necessarily embodied in the properties of the individual. Similarly, the outcomes of processes of individuation cannot be used to retrospectively account for our object of analysis. Val de San Lorenzo is not a textile heritage village but a place where many assemblages are at work to sustain its process of heritagization. Finally, this methodology opposes positivism because “concrete individuals are never ontologically isolatable from their environment” (Srnicek 2007: 28). Individuals are always situated in assemblages and engaged in different processes of which they are both agents and results and it would be an abstraction from the real situation to deny this fact. Of course, these insights are guiding principles and operative functions rather than ‘guidelines’ to follow strictly in actual states of affairs: “every situation is unique and requires a specially tailored repertory of concepts. The concepts were formulated to help meet the challenge of thinking the unique. That is, to meet the challenge of thinking – for there is nothing in this world *but* uniqueness” (Massumi 1992: 24).

7. Maragatería: a Context.

The area of study is located in North West Iberia, under the regional administration of the Junta de Castilla y León and secondarily under the province of León. I have more or less stuck to the contemporary administrative division of the six *maragato* municipalities, covering 713 Km²: Luyego, Lucillo, Val de San Lorenzo, Santiago Millas, Brazuelo and Santa Colomba de Somoza. Whether Astorga is part of the Maragatería or not is an issue of dispute. In any case, it is clear that Astorga is the reference town in the area and has partly assumed the *maragato* identity. In addition, the city council of Astorga administrates some villages that are considered emblematic representatives of the Maragato culture. Castrillo de los Polvazares stands out among them, having being elected as one of the most beautiful villages of Spain in different occasions. The total number

of villages under consideration thus varies depending on cultural and administrative criteria between 55 and 60. Some villages studied are not formally part of Maragatería but are closely related to it in some form, either physically or culturally, like the ‘hippie village’ of Matavenero. It has to be said that ‘Maragatería’ is a cultural designation without any political or administrative validity. Although it is possible in Castilla y León to create *comarcas* or counties with some administrative autonomy, it has not been done yet –in fact there is only one in the whole region: ‘El Bierzo’. (See Annex 4: Maps of Maragatería).

The area averages 1.100 meters of altitude, which partly explains its hard climatologic continental conditions. To this we must add the poor quality of soils, averaging between 30 and 50 centimeters of sediment over the bedrock (Aguado-Jolis 1973). Both defining traits have limited the agricultural and farming potential of the area to subsistence economies until some decades ago. The area is presided symbolically and physically by the Teleno peak (2100 meters). ‘Maragatería’ is a relatively novel name for the area that started to be used around the XVI-XVIII centuries. Before that, the region was known as the ‘Somoza’, which derives from Latin ‘sub montia’, literally ‘the area under the mountains’ (Quintana Prieto 1978). Some of the villages still preserve that etymology in their contemporary names such as Santa Colomba de Somoza. The region can be divided in what has been called ‘High’ and ‘Low’ Maragatería, the former fundamentally organized along the Duerna river and the latter following the Turienzo river. Both areas present some cultural variations, although *maragato* traditions provide a binding tissue for both. Their architectural forms and heritage elements are also different. While *maragato* architecture and heritage prevails in the lower area, the higher area is adapted to harsher weather conditions. Furthermore, impressive Roman mining complexes and hillfort settlements prevail in the upper territory.

The history of the region is still to be written in its most part. Fundamentally, the *maragato* culture has attracted most research, followed by the Roman mining activities. Also, it has to be said that most studies – with different degrees of rigor – have been carried out by nonprofessional researchers, amateur publishing clearly outweighing academic works. Knowledge about Stone Age sites is quite reduced (Neira Campos 1991). Until recently, the most well known item from the region was the ‘Idol of Tabuyo’ (approx. 1800 b.C.). However, the discovery a few years ago of a set of stones with carvings and wholes whose first interpretations point to a chronology of around the fourth millennium b.C. has unleashed a succession of similar discoveries throughout the region (Campos 2011). Knowledge about the first and second Iron Age periods has been conditioned by the focus in the Roman past, whose impact in the region has attracted most attention (Orejas Saco del Valle and Sánchez-Palencia Ramos 1994; Perea and Sánchez-Palencia 1995).



Image 8. Archaeological diggings in the hillfort of *La Mesa*, Castrillo de los Polvazares. Source: Author.

In brief, the most well-known settlement pattern of the Iron Age in north western Iberia is the hillfort. This led historic-cultural archaeologists and historians to ascribe the wide variety of existing cultures in the area under the all-encompassing term of *cultura castreña* or ‘hillfort culture’. The area was conquered by the Romans in the last phase of the conquest of the Iberian peninsula during the ‘Cantabrian wars’ (29 – 19 b.C.), which was described among others by Strabo. The Roman sources considered the conquered peoples as uncivilized and barbaric, referring to them as *astures* in this area. The Romans established a novel territorial organization with centre in *Asturica Augusta* (contemporary Astorga) and soon started the exploitation of the Roman resources present in the region.



Image 9. Hillfort of Pedredo. Source: www.rutadeloro.com

The area comprising the Teleno mountain, Duerna river and Las Médulas World Heritage Site became the largest mining complex of the whole Roman Empire ever, providing huge amounts of gold to the central treasury in Rome: twenty thousand kilos according to Sánchez-Palencia

(Sánchez-Palencia Ramos and Fernández-Posse 1992), although recent investigations point to larger amounts (Matías Rodríguez 2006). Large engineering works were carried out, from hydraulic channels and artificial lakes to a great diversity of mining techniques with high territorial impact and their attached gold-cleansing areas. New hillforts were created, densely scattered along the Duerna's basin where gold concentration was higher and to a lesser extent along the Turienzo's riverside.

The remnants of these elements remain as outstanding benchmarks in the contemporary landscape, especially in the 'High' Maragatería area. For Ugidos (1994), the cultural and ecological impact of the process was huge and this probably explains the deforestation of the region, which is still patent today (Llamas García 1984). Around thirty Roman sites and two Roman roads – the XX and the 'Nova' – are documented in the area. Supposedly, the Way of Saint James established during medieval times followed the XX Roman road as described by the Itinerary of Antonino. The creation of novel hillforts in the area during the Roman period raises some problematic questions. First, the difficulty of the chronological and cultural adscription of hillforts. Drawing on spatial analysis and some excavations, Orejas (1996) attempted to establish typologies of hillforts according to their primary economic activity – mining or agriculture basically. However, the possibility of having 'mining-only' hillforts has been challenged (González-Ruibal 2006; Marín Suárez 2005) and only more rigorous excavations can push research forward, such as the unpublished but promising ones in the Castro de La Mesa (Castrillo de los Polvazares). Thus, historical questions still clearly outweigh the answers in the area. Even after the excavations of Domergue (1978), only some hillforts such as the ones in Lucillo and Pedredo can be ascribed to the Iron Age period (Esparza Arroyo and Instituto de Estudios Zamoranos "Florián de Ocampo" 1987; Mañanes 1983). A second question arises around the level of acculturation of the indigenous population of the area who were drawn to carry out the mining tasks. Why was Rome designing new settlements according to previous models? Did indigenous and Roman populations share habitat areas? These questions remain unanswered.

Seemingly, the exploitation of the mines in the area declined after the II century a.C. What happened after that period remains a mystery. Orejas' study concludes precisely in that period. Written sources do not provide any data about the region until the XIth century. Therefore, only archaeology can bring to light new data in the future. The impact of the end of mining works and, later on of the Roman Empire in the fifth century are matters of controversy. The 'Duero's desert' traditional thesis put forward by Sánchez Albornoz (1966) argues that vast areas North of the Duero river remained depopulated after the fragmentation of the Empire. These territories would only be repopulated with the expansion of the Northern Kingdoms of Asturias and León in their struggle against the Islamic Caliphate of Córdoba in the South. Drawing on a different reading of the written sources and on archaeological data, novel approaches to the issue depict a far more complex panorama (Aparicio Martínez 2011; Escalona 2009; Fernández Mier 1999; Quirós Castillo and Vigil-Escalera Guirado 2006). They suggest that the fragmentation of the Roman networks of power might have derived in the existence of peasant communities scattered throughout the territory. These groups gradually fell under control of different powers (civic or religious), with special intensity after the 'Revolution of the year one thousand' (Wickham 2005).

During this period, the settlement grid lasting until our days was laid out. However, our knowledge about the process in Maragatería and in north western Iberia remains obscure. Only

archaeology can advance in the investigation here by shedding light in the phenomenon of the deserted villages. Broadly, between 1100 and 1350, and from 1570 to 1700 many villages disappeared for different reasons. Drawing on written and ethnographic data, Raúl Blanco has located thirty-four of them in Maragatería.

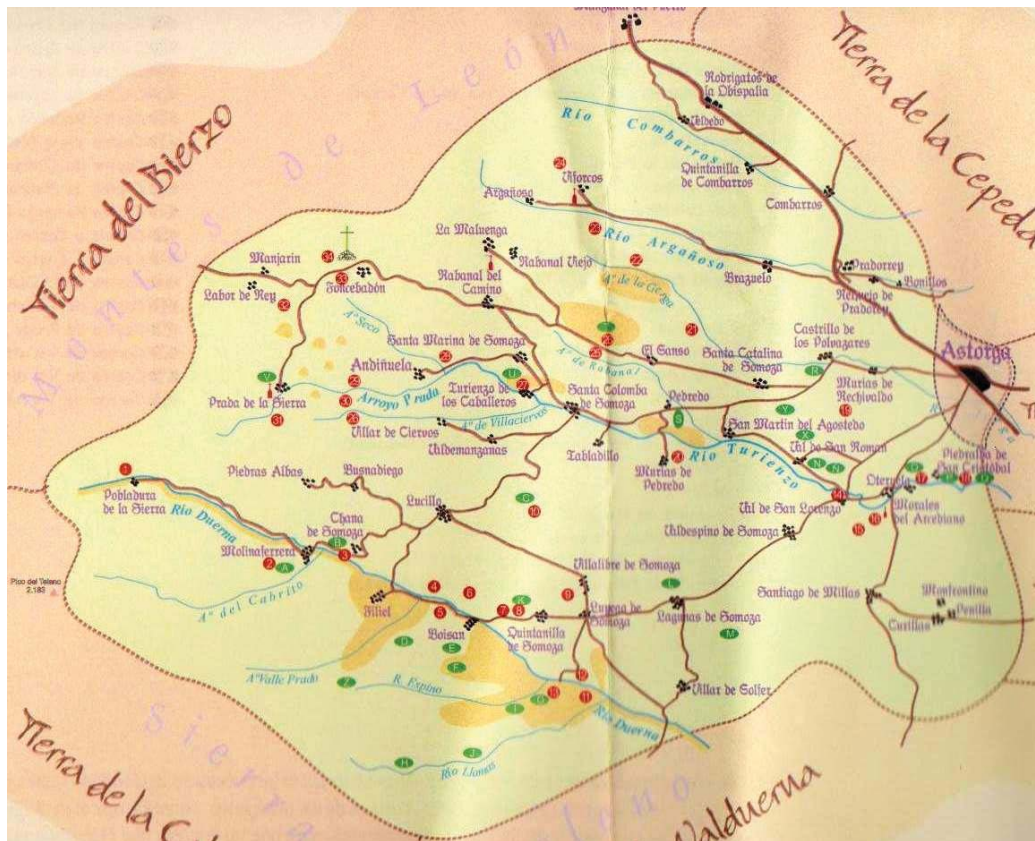


Image 10. The past of Maragatería. Map showing the archaeological sites of relevance in the Maragatería according to Raúl Blanco. He is one of the many local intellectuals whose interests focus in the culture, history and archaeology of the Maragatería area. Source: Raúl Blanco.

Cabero Domínguez (1995) studied the issue in the area of Astorga and Maragatería from the written sources. For her, the novel spatial organization of the region derives from a gradual process of hierarchization. She explains the appearance of new ‘barrios’ or little villages mentioned in the written sources during the XII century as an illustration of the demographic increase in the area. This is a problematic affirmation as at the same time other villages were being depopulated and abandoned. Could these ‘barrios’ be the remnants of the Early Medieval period settlement pattern being shattered by the ongoing hierarchization of the territory after the X century? Only archaeology can tell.

The belonging of the region to the Kingdom of León, and especially the *Fuero de León* (1017) regulations and the ‘Cortes de León’ (1188) parliamentary meeting, highly conditioned the nature of life in the local communities until recent times. These regulations guaranteed a certain degree of freedom to villages, which owned most goods commonly and organized life accordingly. The *Juntas Vecinales* present in most Leonese and Maragato villages today, disregarding the existence of a municipality or city council in them, are a remainder of that collective system of

organization. In fact, contemporary Maragatería can only be understood if we take into account that villages were organized according to common law and subsistence economies. The collective organization of society, property and the territory was controlled by the *concejo*, the local organ of common decision-making. This broadly sketched framework was disrupted by the intervention of other territorial actors, fundamentally the Church and the *maragato* social elite that attempted and managed to appropriate some of the common properties throughout the XIX century.

Although my investigation does not focus primarily on the Maragato heritage, it is necessary to understand the fundamental traits of the Maragato culture to account for the present situation in the area. Their social success and the origin of their myth lie on their fundamental economic activity, mule driving. This activity led them to gradually adopt differential modes and forms of social action. For most authors, the poverty of agricultural production in the Maragatería area explains why part of the population began to pursue other activities such as textile production in the Val de San Lorenzo area and mule driving in many villages. References to mule driving in the area are common since medieval times. However, specific reference to the *maragatos* start appearing only in the XVII century (Rubio Pérez 2003: 12). Mule drivers normally carried goods from the Galician harbors to Madrid and back, being renowned for their reliability. Nonetheless, mule driving was always combined with agriculture production in one way or another even when the *maragatos* became an elite class in their area. It is important to note here that the *maragatos* did not comprise the whole population of the area. Rather, they were a differential group *within the area*, and shared villages and space with other people without however engaging with them in familial, social or economic terms.

As mule drivers were absent most part of the year, women were normally in charge of the agricultural tasks and of the financial management of the household in general. This fact did not go unnoticed by folklorists, writers and travelers, who considered this fact a remnant of pre-Roman indigenous traditions: “there are strong indications pointing to the fact that they are an old *Astur* [pre-Roman] social unit with highly conservative tendencies” (Caro Baroja 2003: 102-104). Their differential character was emphasized by the practice of a close system of endogamy among *maragato* families²⁵ and by the practice of the *covada*, a characteristic custom of matriarchal societies whereby the mother leaves her place in bed to the father during or immediately after the birth of a child (Rodríguez Pérez 2008). One of the many travelers caught by the character of the *maragatos* was George Borrow (1869). In *The Bible in Spain*, he devotes a chapter to them describing some of their defining traits:

“The land is ungrateful and barren, and niggardly repays the toil of the cultivator, being for the most part rocky, with a slight sprinkling of red brick earth. The Maragatos are perhaps the most singular caste to be found amongst the chequered population of Spain. They have their own peculiar customs and dress, and never intermarry with the Spaniards. Their name is a clue to their origin, as it signifies, ‘Moorish Goths’, and at the present day their garb differs but little from that of the Moors of Barbary, as it consists of a long tight jacket, secured at the waist by a broad girdle, loose short trousers which terminate at the knee, and boots and gaiters” (Borrow 1869: chapter 23).

The Russian Vasili Petrovich Botkin noted that “the originality of the maragato’s dress is surprising, an independent tribe with its own customs, uses and character. They live in the

²⁵ A telling *maragato* saying goes: “*quien lejos va a casar; va engañado o va a engañar*”, literally “those who go far to get married, go deceived or go to cheat”.

Mountains of León, close to Astorga. It is magnificent that their particularities do not stem from religious grounds: they simply live in close community at the margins of whatever which is not *maragato*" (2012). Many similar accounts can be found among other travellers (Casado 1983; Casado and Carreira Vérez 1985; Escudero and García-Prieto 1984). However, the *maragato* myth started with the liberal writers of the XVIII century. As early as 1768 Fray Sarmiento wrote an essay discussing the potential origins of the *maragatos*(1787). He noted that people at the time generally thought that they had a Moorish origin²⁶, and he proposed several other theses which have been and still are accepted and debated to some extent today. He linked them with the Goths invading the Iberian Peninsula, with some *Asturian* medieval character called *Mauregato*, Carthaginian tribes – *mauri* – reaching the area during Roman times, and so on. Sarmiento also contributed to the creation of the ‘myth of the damned peoples of Spain’, which of course included the *maragatos* along with the gypsies the *pasiegos* or the *vaqueiros de alzada*, among others. One of the most renowned thinkers of the Spanish Enlightenment, Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, had a prominent role in the creation of the ‘damned peoples’ myth, describing the *maragatos* in detail in his *Cartas de Asturias* (1981 [1782]). It goes beyond my scope here to list all the different suggested origins for the *maragatos*. It suffices to say that each researcher tackling the issue seems to be compelled to propose his/her own theory: *maragota*, *mericator*, *mauri capti*, *mauri gothi*, *mercatus*, *mas-bracata* or *marc'hekaat* among others (Alonso Luengo 1992; Galindo 1956; Peña Sanz 2001).

Even the most rigorous accounts such as Rubio’s (2003) develop their own theories. For instance, he proposes that the term could derive from their own specific activity, i.e., carrying goods from Galicia (‘Mar’ – ‘Sea’) to Madrid, (whose inhabitants were called the *gatos* – ‘cats’). That is, they moved from the “mar-a-los-gatos (mar-a-gatos)” (Idem: 31). The issue has become a non-sense and come to a deadlock, as even mitochondrial DNA characterizations carried out on *maragato* samples do not enable researchers to reach definitive conclusions (Larruga et al. 2001). In his Dictionary of the mid-XIX century, Pascual Madoz defined the *maragatos* as a “people with peculiar and greatly ingrained folkloric tradition, gastronomy and dress” (1991 [1845-1850]). However, the most significant remnant of the *maragato* culture for our purposes is without doubt their house. It has become today a symbol of a powerful architecture that is imitated and reproduced in many villages. The archetypical *maragato* house dates from the XVIII century, the period of outmost economic and social success of the group. The foremost examples can today be found in Santiago Millas, Santa Colomba de Somoza and Castrillo de los Polvazares.

The houses resemble little fortresses. Those are monumental structures organized around a central patio, with two floors, few windows and a big main door suited for the access of mules, goods and carriages. Their character derives then from functional needs but also for a clear search of intimacy and symbolic and physical segregation from the rest of the community: there is usually a space between a *maragato* house and any other house (López-Sastre 2009). They also sought security to protect their goods and money: most windows used to have and still have locks and bars. Their building materials differed from the rest in that they were crafted by artisans: stones are squared, the corners of the houses are neat and the pavements are made of inlaid stone.

²⁶ “It is said, and people believe, that the Maragatos are descendants of a group of Moorish, that the Christians enslaved in a victory, and the King relocated to the Mountains of the Maragatería, so as they settled down and cultivate the land there” Sarmiento, F. M. (1787). "Discurso crítico sobre el origen de los maragatos ", in B. Román, (ed.), *Semanario erudito*. Madrid, pp. 175-214..



Image 11. Castrillo de los Polvazares. The best example of *maragato* architecture. Also, the most radically heritagized village of Maragatería, and heart of the *cocido maragato* – maragato stew – tradition. Source: Johan Scharfe.

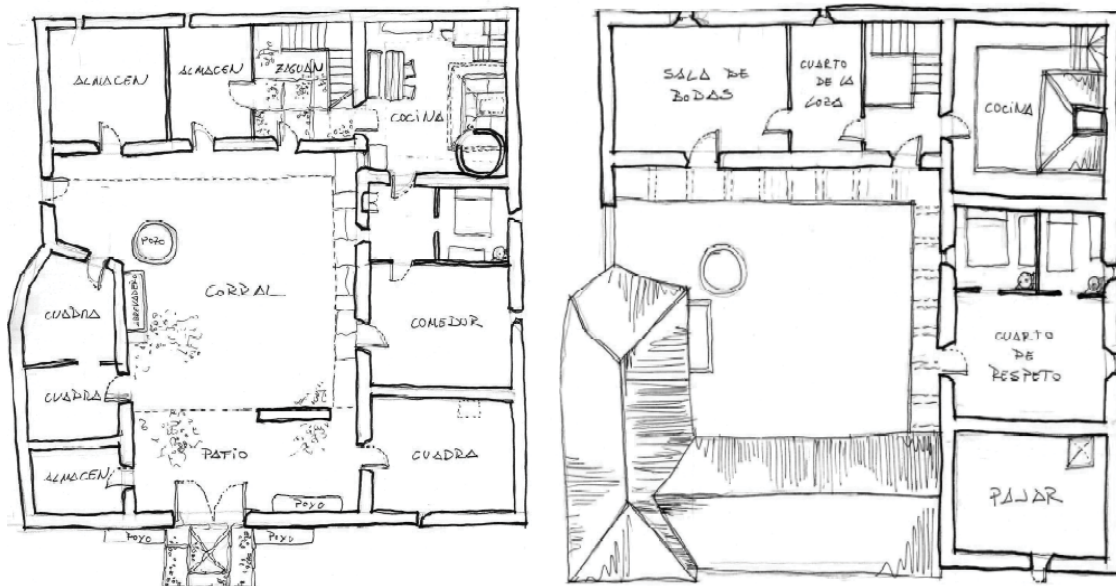


Image 12. Ideal reconstruction of an *arriero maragato* house. Ground floor on the left and first floor on the right. Source: Javier López Sastre (2009)

In brief, *maragato* houses fulfill the needs of nuclear families seeking intimacy and safety, realizing also expressive and symbolic roles in the face of the external community and a functional role related to their commercial activity (Alonso González 2009a).

During the XIX century the *maragatos* started a gradual economic decline. During the *desamortizaciones* – ‘confiscations’ – of Mendizábal, which expropriated part of the common properties of the municipalities and the properties of the church, they bought as much land as they could in a last attempt to shift to an economy based on rents. This fact exacerbated the conflicts between local communities governed by common law and the *maragatos*, who constantly attempted to take over common properties of the villages (Rubio Pérez 2003: 35-6). The inauguration of the railway line connecting Madrid and Galicia in 1883 (Avellaneda 2008) gave the final blow to the ailing *maragato* economy. The fragmentation of the *maragato* economy and the relentless process of modernization and demographic growth gave way to emigration. The first to emigrate were the *maragatos*. As early as the eighteenth century, several elite families had already taken root at various points in the Spanish territory where they created new businesses. In particular, they specialized in fish markets and sectors such as traffic control and marketing of these goods all the way between the Galician coast and the great market of Madrid (Rubio Pérez 1995a: 156-157; Sutil Pérez 2000: 97-98). When the mule driving economy declines and finally collapses, these *maragatos* present in the Spanish capital, La Coruña and other towns in Galicia, Leon and Castile set off the migration chains, taking family and neighbors to work with them or helping them travelling to South America, especially Cuba, Mexico and Argentina (see Da Orden 2000: 397-418; Marquiegui 1992). At this point, emigration became a phenomenon of the whole Maragatería area, and broadly of the Northwest of the Iberian Peninsula, with the regions of Galicia and Asturias at the front.

Emigration from this area had already started in the XVIII, when Carlos III delivered a series of legal texts to promote the settlement of Spaniards in some areas of the Río de la Plata. The Royal Decree of February 24, 1778 states that:

“In order to prevent the British or their insurgent colonists to settle in San Julian’s Bay or in the coast to fish whales in those waters, activity to which they have devoted much effort, the King has solved, in agreement with the viceroy of those provinces, that the formal setting of population in the Bay of San Julián has to be projected and carried out as soon as possible” (Apolant 1968: 63).

Although the number of *maragatos* who travelled to Argentina and Uruguay during the XVIII and XIX is unknown, they had a clear influence in certain areas where they settled down which such as Carmen de Patagones (Argentina) or San José de Mayo (Uruguay), whose inhabitants are called *maragatos*. Moreover, they took active part in the confrontations between nation-states in the area during the XIX century. The *Dicionário histórico-biográfico brasileiro* has an entry for the term *maragato*:

“denomination given in Rio Grande to the revolutionary soldiers of 1893-1895, which became extensive to the followers of C.G. Da Silva, chief of the Federalist Party. Its origin is this: there is in Spain, in the province of León, a locality called Maragatería whose inhabitants led inappropriate lives, assaulting and stealing travelers. The city of San José in Uruguay was colonized by Spaniards from that region... At the beginning it was a pejorative term ... shifting to constitute their standard definition and even an

honor for the revolutionaries, who incorporated their legitimate traditions” (de Abreu 2001: “Maragato”)²⁷.

However, the huge demographic drain in Maragatería occurred during the first decades of the XXth century, especially if compared with other counties of the province of León. Emigrates from Val de San Lorenzo were so numerous in Buenos Aires that they decided to create a parallel association to that of the Province of León and started the publication of their own journal. In 1929 a member of the society in Buenos Aires recalls the origins of emigration:

“One of the first to leave the village has been Don Santos, as he is affectionately called in the village, back in 1866, a young lad, bright-eyed, and with a lot of Don Quixote, announced to the astonishment of all, that he was leaving to American lands, (...) the young Santos embarked at Coruña (sic), bound for America, having landed after several months in the port of Montevideo, a few months later the first (sic) news of the emigrant were received, news that traveled around the village, in which he announced he had arrived with health and was quite happy, leading this many parents to make every effort to send their children to South America rather than Cuba as they had formerly thought” (Anonymous 1929).

Máximo Palacio was an inhabitant of Val de San Lorenzo who stayed in the village. He wrote the following poem during the 1960s:

*"People lived badly.
But they would eat peas, potatoes and cabbage,
And garlic soup.
They slept without sheets!
They wore wooden shoes and galoshes.
And corduroy suits.
And when this little was not enough [to survive]
Migration started!" (Palacio 1989)²⁸.*

²⁷ “Maragato: denominacion dada no Rio Grande do soldaos revolucionarios de 1893-1895 e tornado depois extensiva a os partidarios do C.G. Da Silva, chefe do partido federalista. A origen çe a seguinte: haia na Espanha, provincia de León, ua localidade chamada Maragatería cuyos habitanyes levavan vida pouco recomendable, assaltando e roubando os viajantes. A cidade de San José na repulbica oriental do Uruguay fora colonizada por espanhóis procedentes daquela regioao... a principio pejorativo... passou o termo a constituir a denominacao normal e até un orgulho dos revolucionarios, incorporado a suas legítimas tradicoes”.

²⁸ “La gente malvivía.

Pero comían garbanzos, patatas con berzas,
Y sopas de ajo
¡Dormían sin ´sábanas!
Calzaban zuecos y galochas.
Y vestían traje de pana.
Y cuando para este poco, no llegaba
¡Comenzó la emigración!”

Demographic evolution of the municipalities of the province of León (1900-1930)

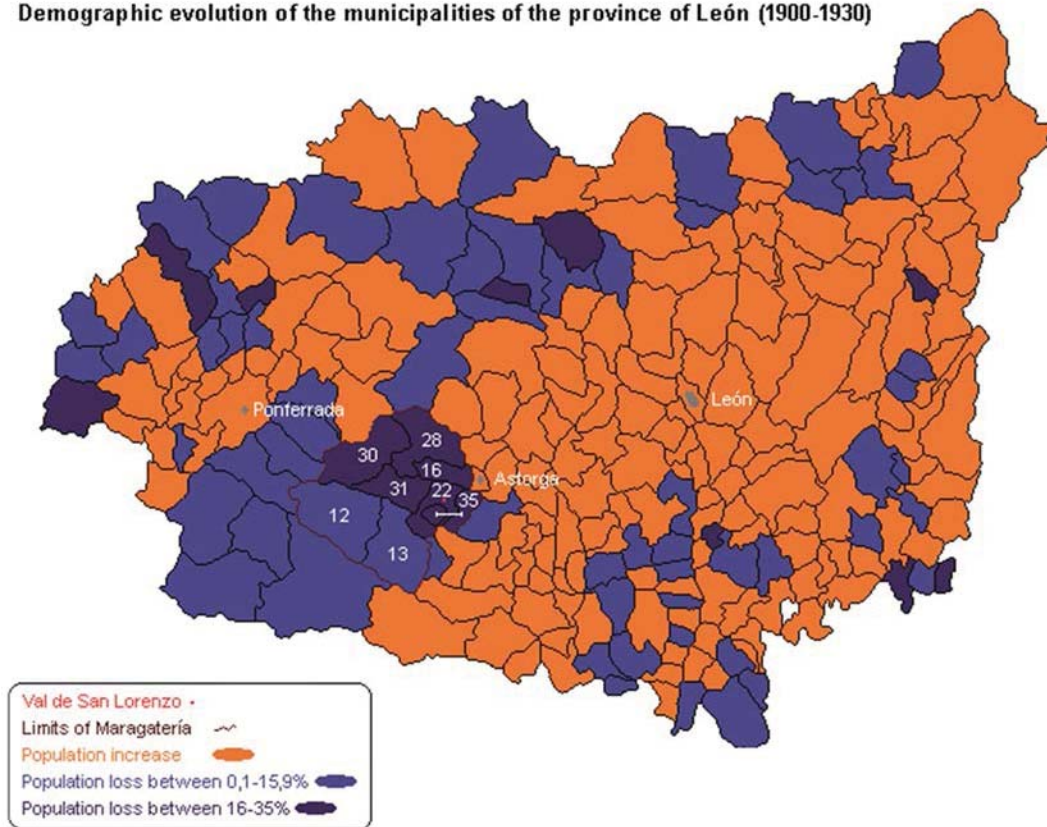


Image 13. Demographic evolution of Leonese municipalities. The map compares the demographic evolution of the different Leonese municipalities between 1900 and 1930. Source: Author and José Miguel Álvarez Domínguez.

Demographic loss in the Maragatería clearly outweighs any other county in the province. Losses are above 10% in all municipalities, while in four of them the decrease between 1900 and 1930 rounds one in three people. This situation must be framed in a context where the province of León as a whole increased over a 14% in the same period, while the Spanish population grew a 27%, despite the strong emigration outputs and the flu epidemic of 1918. Of the 15 municipalities of León experiencing losses over 16%, six are in Maragatería. Santiago Millas, Santa Colomba de Somoza, Rabanal del Camino, Brazuelo and Val de San Lorenzo, are placed respectively first, third, fourth, sixth and eighth in the list of losses among 236 municipalities. Overall, the area went from 14,524 inhabitants in 1900 to 11,219 in 1930, a decline of almost 23%. In this case, the figures speak for themselves.

As we have seen, the *maragatos* were a separate social group that abandoned the region almost completely. Then, the question is why the rest of the people adopted some of their customs, dress and architecture? Two answers have been provided to the question. The ‘presentist’ thesis held by Rubio argues that the *maragato* culture was an adoption of the XX century: “at the end of the stage, in the XX century, that culture and myths crafted from certain realities were assumed and imitated as a triumphant model by locals and outsiders, peasants and artisans who had never had anything to do with the differential maragato reality” adopting "from the XX century the maragato distinguishing feature as standard differentiating mark and identity marker" (Rubio Pérez 2003: 8).

The ‘traditionalist’ thesis considers these traditions to exist in the area before the ‘appearance’ of the *maragatos*. Thus, “we can affirm that most of the customs (dress, dances, popular religiosity, etc.) that we can observe in Maragatería are previous to what some authors have defined as a *maragato* phenomenon” (Rodríguez Pérez 2008: 5). Both accounts are flawed in some form: the former considers the production of novel cultural forms as a ‘folklorization’ of it, while the latter considers that an authentic pristine past is at the root of culture and tradition. In this view, vernacular societies are reified and cannot assume change or hybrid forms. Hobsbawm and Ranger have shown how most traditions which seem ‘untimely’ have been actually created during the XIXth century (1992). In Maragatería, we lack the necessary data to confirm this point. However, my research points towards a process of gradual change and hybridization of cultures and traditions.

First, the broad social adoption of *maragato* elements cannot be limited to the XXth century. In the end of the XIX century, there are already folkloric *maragato* groups in Val de San Lorenzo, a village where *maragato* elites were just a few. In addition, the journal of the society Val de San Lorenzo in Buenos Aires shows a picture in 1928 of the ‘Last people in the village wearing *maragato* dress’. Thus, what we witness during the XXth century is a twofold process of ‘folklorization’ of *maragato* culture, certainly fostered during General Franco’s dictatorship (1939-1975), with a parallel extinction of the *maragato* traditions in quotidian and unconsciously assumed ways. The folklorization already started in the XIX century when the folkloric group of Val de San Lorenzo travelled to Paris and many other places, *maragato* culture being subject to forms of abstract representation well before the 1960s, as Rubio would have it (2003). Moreover, there are pictures of elder people with *maragato* dress at the beginning of the XX century.

It is clear then than these customs were well rooted already during the XIXth century, as the magnificent novel of Concha Espina written at the beginning of the XXth century confirms (1920). Their differential character was also portrayed, in somewhat offensive way, by the novel of Jaume Cuadrat Realp called ‘The Seed of Freedom: or the life of an Spanish teacher among the poverty and fanaticism of the Maragatos’ (1961). Furthermore, my ethnography showed that at the beginning of the XXth century there was a well-defined and socially entrenched semiotic system present in dress. In fact, the *zagalejo*, a garment in *maragato* female dress, indicated social class: red for the elite, green for middle class and yellow for poor women. Of course, the self-assumption and self-expression of social roles could not occur overnight; while at the same time cannot be previous to the *maragato* semiotic ordering of society. Similarly, written records confirm the existence of the *tamboriteros* – drummers with a flute distinctive of the area – in the XVIth century, well before the *maragato* culture became powerful and prevailing. However, it would be naïve to assume that those practices went unchanged for four centuries. Therefore, we cannot assume an ‘authenticity’ of traditions, whether we situate this authenticity in the *maragato* culture or before it. We should conceive of ‘tradition’ as a modern construct (Latour 1993), and understand change in vernacular society as a process of hybridization through which *maragato* elites established a constant interplay with other social groups, reshaping customs and traditions from a position of power.



Image 14. Last group of people in Val de San Lorenzo wearing *maragato* dress. Source: *Revista del Centro "Val de San Lorenzo" en Buenos Aires (1928)*.

Most likely, the gradual social negotiation/assumption of those values occurred through a slow distillation process in similar vein to what Bourdieu terms ‘demonstration effect’. This occurs when a new scale of values and desires is suggested and finally becomes dominant not through discourses or arguments against the old order, but rather by the arrival of a set of objects and forms of life which are presented in a more attractive way than the previous ones (Bourdieu 1972). Notwithstanding this fact, even today *maragato* is used as an adjective and not as a noun by many people in the area. Accordingly, each village has a different degree of ‘maragato-ness’ depending on the perceptions and oral traditions referring to the number and power of the actual *maragatos* living in that particular village.

The XX century remains broadly understudied in Maragatería. The two defining traits of the period are emigration and depopulation, and the gradual breakup of the vernacular organization of society and economy. Of course, this is not an overnight process and many inheritances of that world are still present, from communal forms of organization and solidarity bonds, to paternalism and political nepotism. Despite in-depth research is still pending, it can be said that the Civil War (1936-9) did not have a significant impact in the region as it fell under the ‘national’ right-wing control from the very beginning and was never in the frontline. While in Astorga repression was harsh, my ethnography revealed a marginal degree of violent – beyond social or symbolic forms of violence– repression in the villages of Maragatería, although it existed. Val de San Lorenzo was well known for its left-wing tendencies due to the existence of industrial handworkers of socialist

and republican ideologies. Even the church was burnt, a terrible shock for an area where religious customs were so deeply rooted. However, it seems that the priest interceded for those who were blamed in the face of Franco's authorities. Similar cases in which community bonds prevailed over ideological issues were common. Despite it is difficult to raise these issues during interviews, some people pointed vaguely to the existence of anti-Franco guerrilla activity at least during the 1940s. This is not surprising as the 'Federation of guerrillas of León-Galicia' was active in nearby areas such as El Bierzo (Serrano 1986). It was during this period that the Firing Range of El Teleno was established and started to be used intensively by the military, who became a new actor in Maragatería with an overwhelming presence until present days.

The demographic patterns of Maragatería throughout the XX and XXI centuries speak for themselves. The area has moved from 15867 inhabitants in 1900 to 2979 in 2011, a loss of the 82% in a period in which Spain has more than doubled its population.

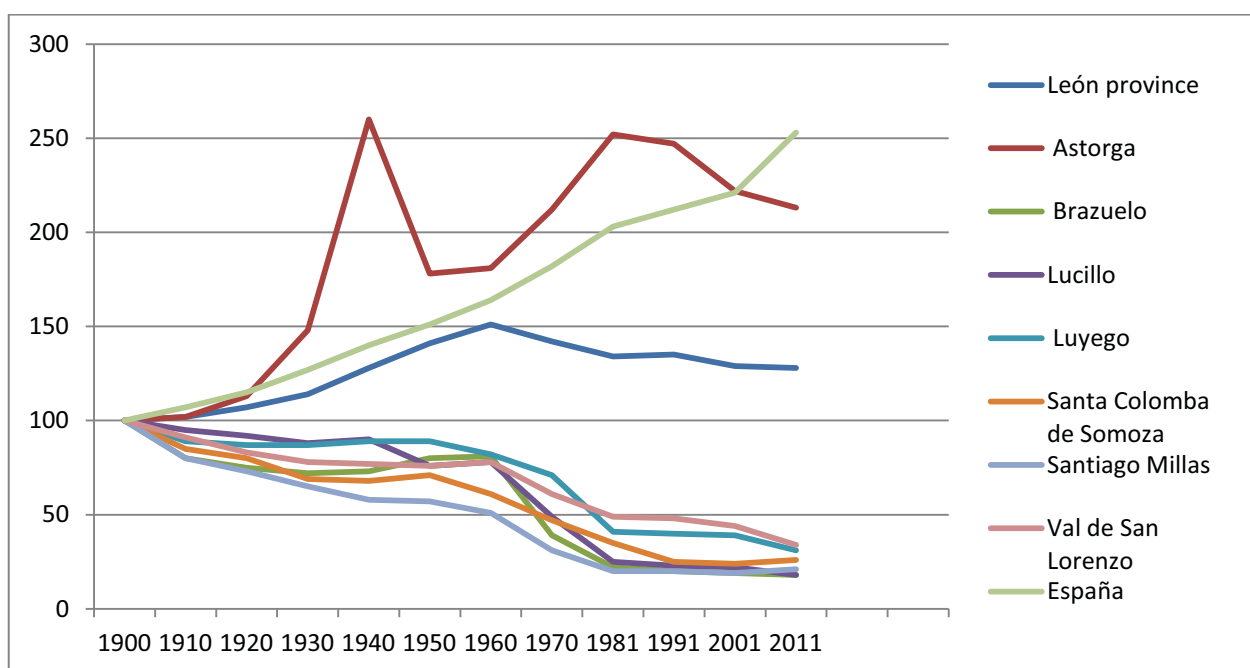


Image 15. Demographic evolution of the province of León, Spain, Astorga, and the municipalities of Maragatería during the XXth century. Source: Author from *Instituto Nacional de Estadística de España* (INE) data.

The area has remained marginal and underdeveloped, bounded to low-productivity farming and agriculture activities until those have become unsustainable. The system of *concejos* and common law suffered a blow during the 1960s, when emigration flows towards Switzerland, Germany and the thriving industrial Spanish areas such as Barcelona, Madrid or the Basque Country, largely dismantled what remained of the villages' structural organization. Some of them were completely or almost completely abandoned as Manjarín, Foncebadón, Labor de Rey and Prada de la Sierra. A last attempt to save agricultural production was the process of land reparcelling carried out during the 1980s. The process served only to shatter a historic landscape characterized by *minifundia* and smallholdings. 'Modernity' appeared slowly, mostly after the

1960s, in the form of roads, house electricity and running water, and internal WC's. As far as I know, the last person living without electricity and running water died in Lucillo in 2011.

As Cazorla notes, the process of economic and social modernization in Spain came before political modernization (1995). Clearly, many patronage networks were reorganized as political parties in the area but still work to redistribute favors, this time drawing on the distribution of public benefits. Nonetheless, the arrival of democracy entailed an improvement of life conditions in general. More people achieved economic independence and this paved the way for a diversification of activities. This process was curtailed in Maragatería by the lack of human capital as the few young people remaining in the area have been forced to emigrate and the percentage of elder and retired population is quite high. Today, half of the villages count less than fifty people and only Val de San Lorenzo goes above five hundred people.

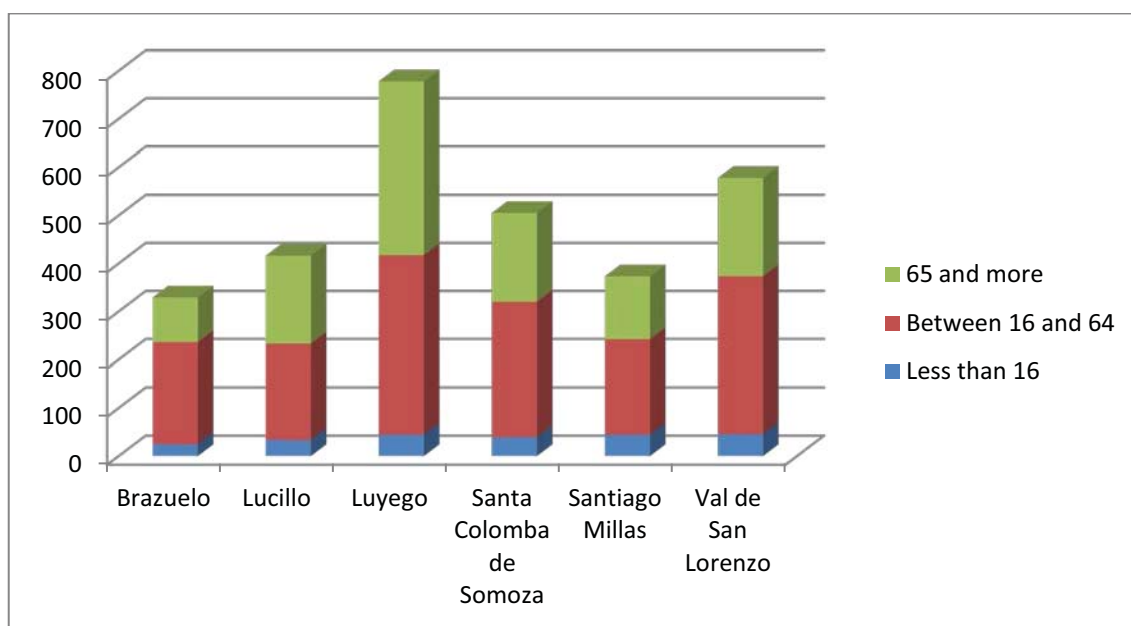


Image 16. Demography of Maragatería by municipalities and age groups in 2011. Source: Author from INE data.

The establishment of an E.U. funded project within the LEADER program called *Montañas del Teleno* during the 1990s covered some different historic regions and included Maragatería. The institution has tried to reinforce the weak economy of the area and foster a transition towards a service economy. The combination of heritage and tourism has had a primary role in this agenda, leading to a burst of *casas rurales* – country houses and hotels – that are now everywhere in Maragatería. It was thought that the revival of the World Heritage Itinerary *Camino de Santiago*, which traverses Maragatería, could be an incentive for the economic recovery of the area. The new project has also aimed at creating a new ‘identity’ for a region born with the establishment of the E.U. funding institution. Thus, in their publications and advertising they refer to ‘the peoples of the Teleno mountains’ broadly. After twenty years of huge investments the project is coming to an end as Spain is not anymore a primary receiver of structural and cohesion funds. Today, it seems pretty obvious that the project has failed in its twofold attempt to create a novel identity and to bolster the ailing economy of the area. Actually, although the discourse of the funding group clings to the

narrative of sustainability and local participation, most people in Maragatería do not know what *Montañas del Teleno* means or what it does. Better known is the Common Agricultural Policy E.U. frame that provides subsidies for agricultural production and sustains the economies of many families.

Probably, the only place where the combination of heritage and tourism has worked is in Castrillo de los Polvazares, a heritagized village which had been nearly abandoned, and remains today as the outmost example of Maragato architecture and urbanism. To this, some inventions have been added such as the successful ‘cocido maragato’ or ‘maragato stew’. Along with Castrillo de los Polvazares, only the ‘historic village’ of Santiago Millas and the Church of Asunción in Rabanal del *Camino* have been declared Goods of Cultural Interest (*Bienes de Interés Cultural*, ‘BIC’ in Spanish). The Heritage Law of the Region of Castilla and León (2002) incorporated the items declared BIC through the Decree of April 22, 1949, which included all the castles of Spain. This makes of the ‘Tower’ of Lagunas de Somoza – which is a windmill in reality – the fourth BIC item in the Maragatería. Clearly, the idea of heritage held by the regional authorities remains bounded to traditional positivist conceptions of it that prioritize architectural elements and monuments. Not even the prehistoric carvings or the astounding mining Roman works have been considered for BIC status. Thus, most heritage elements in the area remain virtually and practically unprotected, and only some city councils take them into consideration. Intangible heritage does not even figure among the categories of heritage in the regional legislation. Furthermore, handling and declaration procedures are complex, slow and politicized to a large extent. During my own experience as ‘heritage manager’ in Val de San Lorenzo for 6 months in 2008 I could witness how even mayors and city councils felt powerless against the bureaucratic machine, an endemic lack of funds, and the absence of heritage guidelines. Not to talk about the lack of institutional coordination: half the surface of the Roman hillfort of the village was plowed with three feet deep rows one morning to replant pines without noticing anyone beforehand. Immediately going to the hillfort, I could not complaining about anything or stop the works when the workers showed me their permissions from the regional environmental and heritage secretariats. Only afterwards the authorities ‘regretted the incident’. Of course, I do not consider heritage to be the catalogue of single objects, monuments and landscapes. However, their gradual destruction and social disregard towards them shows that the ‘structural laws’ (Magnaghi 2005a) underpinning the identity and livelihood of the territory are changing and gradually disappearing.

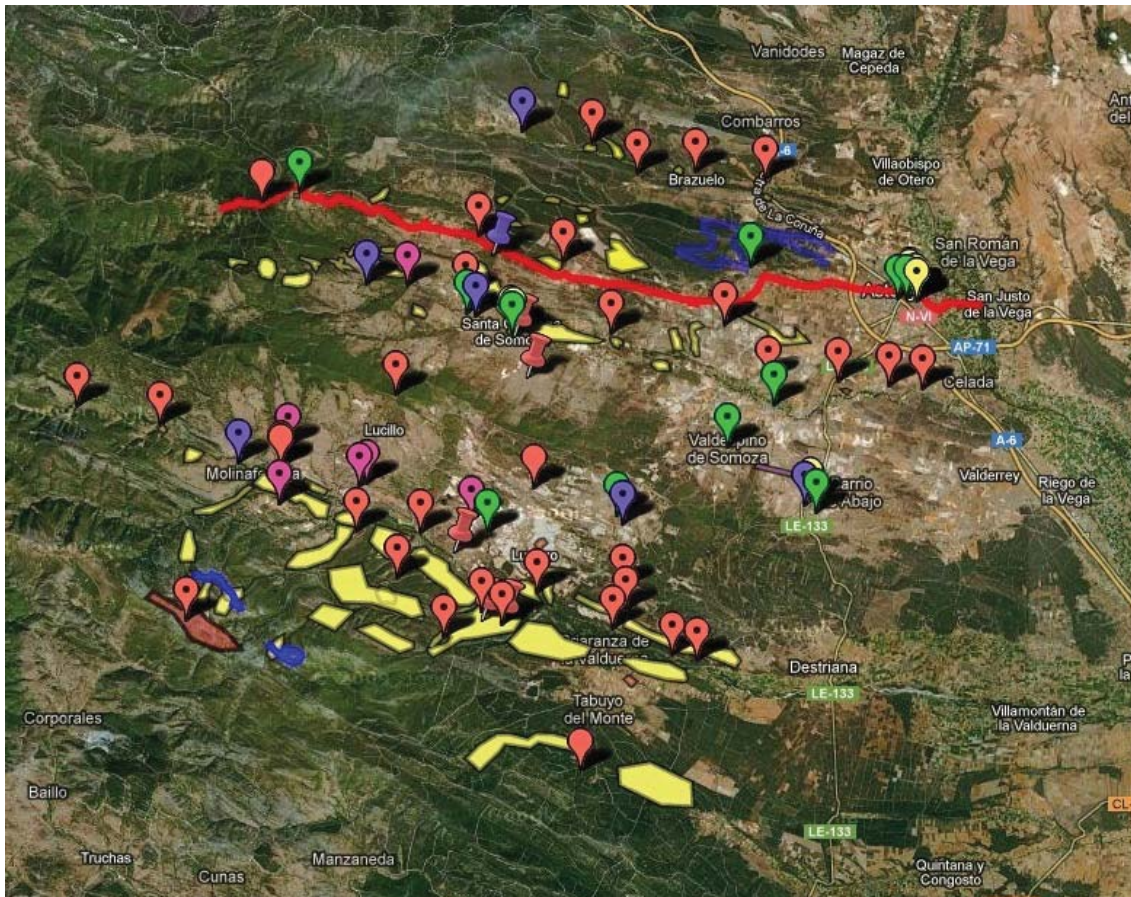


Image 17. Google map of heritage sites. The map shows the most relevant heritage sites in Maragatería.

- Red line: the path followed by the *Camino de Santiago* in the area.
- Red dots: Roman sites
- Yellow area: Roman mining works
- Pink dots: prehistoric sites
- Purple dots: vernacular heritage
- Green dots: general category comprising different sites of heritage interest
- Red area + Red dot: the Teleno mountain Roman mining heritage complex. The blue lines represent hydraulic channels. The complex is underrepresented as it comprises a large area from the Teleno until the Médulas World Heritage Site in the county of El Bierzo.

The map is available in Google Maps at:

<https://maps.google.es/maps/ms?authuser=0&vps=2&ie=UTF8&msa=0&output=kml&msid=217241829908549778791.0004729bc649ea6697c7e>

Source: Author.

Beyond the institutional framework, many novel subjects have appeared in Maragatería with different conceptions of what heritage is and for what. Fundamentally, they come from urban areas, although with different backgrounds and attitudes towards the rural. These phenomena of ‘neoruralism’ are common throughout Spain (Margarido Ortega 2009), although they take different forms depending on the region (Collantes et al. 2010; Rodríguez Eguizabal and Trabada Crende 1991). It is oversimplifying to equate the former inhabitant of a village who rebuilds his own family

house, the upper-middle class person from Madrid who wants a monumental second residence and the Swiss building a house in a tree to live alone in the mountains. Even among the group which I broadly call 'eco-rurals' there are clear differences that they emphasize and perform socially. Only within the village of Matavenero dozens of differential attitudes towards the rural, heritage and commonality can be found. Therefore, Maragatería cannot be considered in essential terms anymore but rather as a multiple object, where different temporalities and spatial dimensions coexist and intersect in creative, surprising and conflicting ways. The area has moved quickly from a pre-modern world to a post-modern rural space (Murdoch and Pratt 1993). In fact, the boundaries between the rural and the urban start to be discussed, and new concepts such as 'rururban' (Sobrino 2002) are needed. However, we must be cautious as the impact of these novelties in local power configurations and the orderings of the social are generally limited. However, they open up new ways of thinking the rural and the role of heritage in these marginal or 'minor' areas, where low-intensity economies and societies live far from the centers of institutional and economic power.

The present state of affairs in Maragatería can be framed within the Deleuzian concept of the transition to "societies of control" (Deleuze 1992), where creativity and complexity lead to an eventful sociality. Place and enduring sites are replaced by moments of encounter, from communities as 'being-in-common' (Nancy 1991b) they are shifting towards ways of 'becoming together', whereas rural and urban subjects in the area coalesce into differential and situated forms of being without a determined *habitus*. The traditional locus of power and ordering of reality as the church, the communal institutions and the city councils, while keeping their momentum, gradually lose their capacity to control overflows and entanglements over novel creative social agencies in the area enacting alternative orderings of reality. The area is composed of networks opening new paths of action and others aiming at the maintenance of stability. Maragatería does not resemble a Foucauldian *panopticon*. It is much closer to what Latour has termed the *oligopticon*, a series of localized totalities and partial orders where partial knowledge and control over the area is produced: *oligoptica*, argues Latour, "do exactly the opposite of *panoptica*: they see much *too little* to feed the megalomania of the inspector or the paranoia of the inspected" (2005c: 181). The absence of control implies the existence of 'ecologies of ignorance' (Luhmann 1998)), where multiple ambiguities, misunderstandings, knowledge gaps and invisibilities defy totalization (Amin 2002).

My study of Maragatería distinguishes between research field and case study. I do not employ the 'strategy of the superlative' (Fariás 2008) considering Maragatería to be representative of other regions or areas in the world. Instead of being a case study *of* heritage, Maragatería has been framed as an arena *for* the analysis of heritage through a long-term engagement and a focus in specific cases of study. Those cases work as mediators to answer the theoretical questions posed by the research, defying disciplinary boundaries and methods. Nonetheless, they do not 'represent' a larger scheme or theory and remain situated interventions that might still be instructive in other contexts "with the condition that, elsewhere, in other cases, what is similar and different is not to be taken for granted" (Law and Mol 2002: 14). Many different lines intersect in the multiplicities constituting the cases of study. I try to map them to extract and construct useful concepts without falling into essentialisms or 'who's right' scenarios (Hillier 2007: 125). Moreover, Maragatería defies standard critical research stances characteristic of heritage studies. There are no 'strong agencies' or large projects and initiatives, either public or private, that can be analyzed, deconstructed and criticized. Rather, many tiny agencies lead to specific states of affairs evolving

slowly and gradually. It becomes difficult to establish linear narratives with clear causalities: power and desire are diffuse and fade in the complex array of overlapping assemblages. In exploring those complex interplays I do not aim to convey fixed hegemonic representations establishing 'how things work', but rather to reveal the tendencies, the directions towards which different actors move and what heritages and social realities emerge from them.

Carretero and Ortiz point out that most policies intersecting with issues of anthropological concern in Spain are planned and implemented without consulting or including anthropologists (2008). This situation can be extended to heritagization processes, which remain largely understudied. I consider that this situation has to do with a two-sided problem concerning both politicians and researchers: the former consider that they do not need assistance while the latter are enclosed in their own research concerns and rarely address social problems in terms similar to those of the actors in the field. My work tries to bridge both worlds by framing research questions symmetrically, aiming at keeping an immanence with the situated epistemologies of the subjects under scrutiny. Disciplinary knowledge must avoid the dualistic trap of falling into a univocal idea of nature or to perform political representation by providing critical accounts. The challenge is to work politically while simultaneously update the core of the discipline (Zaera-Polo 2008: 79). One way of doing this in our case is to develop symmetrical and immanent approaches forcing as to leave the ivory tower of academia and go down to the field and observe what actors have to say and what they see. By opening up our research to social scrutiny and market forces, disregarding divisions between culture and economy, nature and culture, we might pave the way for new connections with the political in pragmatic ways. This is not *research action* anymore but rather a sort of *research mediation* (Latour 2005a).

8. An Entry. From *Maragato* Difference to *Peasant Otherness*: The construction of the 'peasant' as a subaltern in Maragatería.

Introduction

This chapter deals with a group of people that can be located, broadly speaking, in the north west of the Spanish Peninsula, whose worldviews, ways of life and forms of common sense differ from the mainstream social forms developing in contemporary Spain. These differential traits derive basically from their geopolitical location in peripheral and rural areas of the Spanish Peninsula where preindustrial ways of life and social organization lasted longer. Accordingly, they have witnessed the transition in just a few decades from a preindustrial organization to a postindustrial economy and society. The process of modernization and the creation of a welfare state in Spain have damned these cultures to disappearance in the near future, although some socioeconomic and cultural behaviors might last among the future generations birth in rural areas. Overall, my argument is that modern epistemology and the modern nation-State have enacted a two-fold process. First, these cultures have been considered as 'different' and have become in many cases abstract social constructions and representations highlighting their backwardness, ignorance and subaltern role. Second, State power and modernization have gradually undermined the actual 'difference' of these groups, which have been progressively integrated within the national socioeconomic schemes and constantly disempowered. In other words, while the peasant is

constructed as a transcendent social representation of difference, its actual otherness, his or her immanent differential ontology and epistemology is not recognized in political, socioeconomic and cultural terms.

Many processes converge in the social and material construction of peasants as ideal types. Institutional and academic knowledge practices have played fundamental roles in this process. However, the complexity of the issue must be tackled from a perspective that acknowledges the multidimensional character of the peasant and the manifold ways in which its social and material construction has been carried out. The presence of the Maragato culture in our area of study adds a further layer of complexity. In fact, the social construction of the Maragato myth by ethnographers, travelers, folklorists and society in general has created a breach between the representation of a differential ethnic group and the real life conditions in the area, which did not differ much from other regions of the North West during the last centuries. The changes brought about by the gradual shift towards a postindustrial society in Spain accentuated the gap between cultural representations of the peasant and reality. The appropriations and manifold uses of the 'peasant' to legitimate and develop discourses and practices have increased recently. In fact, the multiple uses of 'peasants' carried out by different social actors has effected their reification and gradual conversion into subalterns in the linear schemes of progress. While this epistemic construction was formerly bounded to academic disciplines and institutions, it has become widespread nowadays. For instance, in the provincial TV channel of León the program '*Paisanos*' affirms in its promoting ad: "Each of them with a life, each of them with a history. All them with a similar starting point: León. Discover the authentic roots of our land in *paisanos*. We are who we are because they are who they are."²⁹ From an urban standpoint, the *paisanos* are meant to embody the past, tradition, authenticity and the roots of Leonese identity. Approaches to them are held midway between wishful curiosity and undercover sarcasm and disdain.

But peasants are also constructed beyond the signifying regime of discourses. In fact, the most oppressive form of constructing the peasant is being carried out in an immanent and material form in Maragatería through what I call the 'heritage machine'. The concept of the heritage machine bounds together a group of processes that share a common relation to heritage metanarratives that reinforce cultural representations of difference. Those are carried out by a multiplicity of social actors that have settled down in Maragatería in recent times, transforming its villages into complex assemblages of eco-rurals, pilgrims, upper-middle urban classes, returned migrants and a shifting local population. These heritage processes consciously and unconsciously undermine the cultural foundations of the people brought up in the area, and tend to marginalize them as subaltern or traditional identities. The multiple forms of constructing peasants as subaltern rural identities have legitimated their disempowerment and the shattering of their ways of life and agency. The final step in this process has been the abolition by decree-Law in 2012 of the *Juntas Vecinales*, organs of democratic decision making at the local community level, dating back to medieval times that fall beyond the scope of the State bureaucracy. Ultimately, the cultural representation of the peasant is maintained in a sanitized form to underpin different sociopolitical discourses, while their actual agency and ways of life are undermined.

²⁹ "Cada uno con una vida, cada uno con una historia, y todos con un mismo punto de partida: León." Descubre las auténticas raíces de nuestra tierra en *Paisanos*. Somos quienes somos porque ellos son quienes son" Retrieved 02/07/2012 from <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WpaSdFf5T0k&feature=relmfu>.

My aim here is to briefly expose and deconstruct the long-standing cultural representations of the Maragatos and peasants as ‘different’ that have been created since the Enlightenment period. I will make these representational discourses of ‘difference’ converge with a more immanent account of the ‘otherness’ displayed by these alleged peasants. This implies reflecting and thinking in forms of knowledge construction that do not reproduce the couple of similar/different that reify local people as peasants. Deleuzian philosophy provides a way out of this apparent epistemological deadlock by providing an account of modernity as a self-differentiating machine that relentlessly generates dualisms (1983). In moving away from the cultural representation of difference to the affirmation of the ontological status of otherness ascribed to them, it becomes possible for local people to claim agency not in terms of identity politics (i.e., of cultural representation) but on ontological politics (Mol 1999). This move aims to underpin and legitimize the need to reconstitute the right of local communities to self-decision and unrestricted disposal of their communal goods and assets that are being buttressed by public institutions under the guise of an emergency due to the economic crisis situation.

My approach here considers Maragatería as a whole as case study, drawing on the ethnographic data gathered in the period ranging from 2006-2012. As my scope here is broad, I will focus in macro processes without ‘thick-descriptions’ of particular cases, trying to account for the ‘abstract machine’ behind the process as a whole. This implies not only accounting for actual social conditions but also for historically situated representations and interpretations made of these social conditions. Carrying out such a task requires resource to a “methodological bricolage” (Kincheloe 2001) and a sociology of knowledge, along with historical research, discourse analysis and ethnographic methodology providing empirical data from the field.

Modernity and the Construction of Difference.

The process of modernization carved out epistemological niches separating the realms of culture, economy, politics and other fields which started to be conceived as pure forms (García Canclini 1989). Many of the divides that are discussed in contemporary academic research such as rural – urban, nature – culture, traditional – modern, human – non-human, were laid out during the XVIII century. Spain thrived economically and culturally in this period and attempts to modernize the country increased in depth and extension. Accordingly, enlightened positivists such as Gaspar de Jovellanos or Marqués de la Ensenada aimed at the suppression of difference and the incorporation of dissenting peoples into the socioeconomic and cultural sphere of the nation state. They were concerned with the replacement of traditional societies and cultures by modern ones. Progress was conceived in a linear fashion according to which history is the process of spread of the values and workings of the urban centers of the nation state to the rural, backward and passive hinterland (Redfield 1989). However, it would be unfair to conceive their works as concomitant with the agency of the nation state. Their interests somehow reflect the will to carry out research on scientific grounds and the curiosity of the people of the time. In fact, the interest on the Maragato culture was awakened by accounts provided by foreign travelers (see Casado 1983). For instance, Fray Martín Sarmiento wrote his *Discurso crítico sobre el origen de los maragatos* (1787) because of the significant gossiping and theory-building that their origin and culture raised among people from Madrid, who considered them to be too odd to be Spanish.

The modernization of Spain and the imposition of a central power from the urban centers started a process of homogenization that amplified the reach of the State control with the aid of positivist sciences, and the cultural recoding of cultural and social difference constructed by all sorts of intellectuals and scientists. This division has lasted until our present academic practices in many ways, as the divisions between positivist, instrumentalist and applied sciences and hermeneutic and interpretive approaches show (Cloke 1997). In the fields of rural and peasant studies this is still a central topic of debate because a seemingly unbridgeable gap has been created between positivist accounts of peasants and the rural based on demographic and economic terms, and hermeneutic approaches emphasizing the cultural and social complexity of rural areas and their inhabitants (Philo 1992; Philo 1993).

Nonetheless, State and cultural interests are normally meshed together. In fact, when the modern state starts a process of self-affirmation, it consciously and unconsciously constructs and homogenizes the social field by prioritizing the cultures that are to become 'dominant'. This process implies marking and signaling the existence of 'internal others' such as the Maragatos, which are marked as deviations from the mainstream individual (Briones 1998). Intellectuals such as Jovellanos combined their criticism of communal forms of property and production with the construction of cultural representations of difference in their writings. His accounts of the so-called 'damned peoples' (*maragatos, pasiegos, vaqueiros*, Gypsies, among others) of Spain showed an interest in their homogenization. Deleuze (Ansell-Pearson 1997) and Adorno (2001) have showed how the integration of difference under a totality (either social or political: Spain or Spanishness) turns difference into an abstract quality, a representation. For Adorno, culture recodes difference while homogenizing it. This implies a subtle form of totalitarianism because "recoding negatively defines the organization of the social field" (Parr 2008: 77). The symbolic representation of phenomena in the cultural sphere thus contributes to the re-elaboration of material structures that reproduce and transform the social system, restructuring, administering and distributing meaning and the possibility of fixing and producing it (García Canclini 1993: 10).

Enlightened intellectuals created a differentiation and marginalization of other forms of rationality and common sense that labeled were since then on as traditional, irrational, rural and backward, and thus could not fit within the modern representation of 'Spain'. Accordingly, in their self-declared scientific accounts intellectuals pointed to the multiple potential origins of the *maragatos* as a differential ethnic group. These accounts implied that they were not Spanish and traced mysterious connections between the *maragatos* and the other 'damned peoples'. They were considered of medieval Berber origin, of isolated pre-Roman tribes, of Carthaginian migrants, and isolated groups of Jews, among others (more in Ford 1906). Constructing theories about their origin, or including maragatos in pseudo historical narratives is still common nowadays (Miner Otamendi and Martínez 1978; Sánchez Dragó 1992). A construction that reached a further level in South America, where some authors tried to lay the foundations of their nationalities via the Berber origin of the Gauchos *via* the Maragato influence (de Ornellas 1976). Others have tried to deconstruct them (Cilleros 1994), but they are still alive.

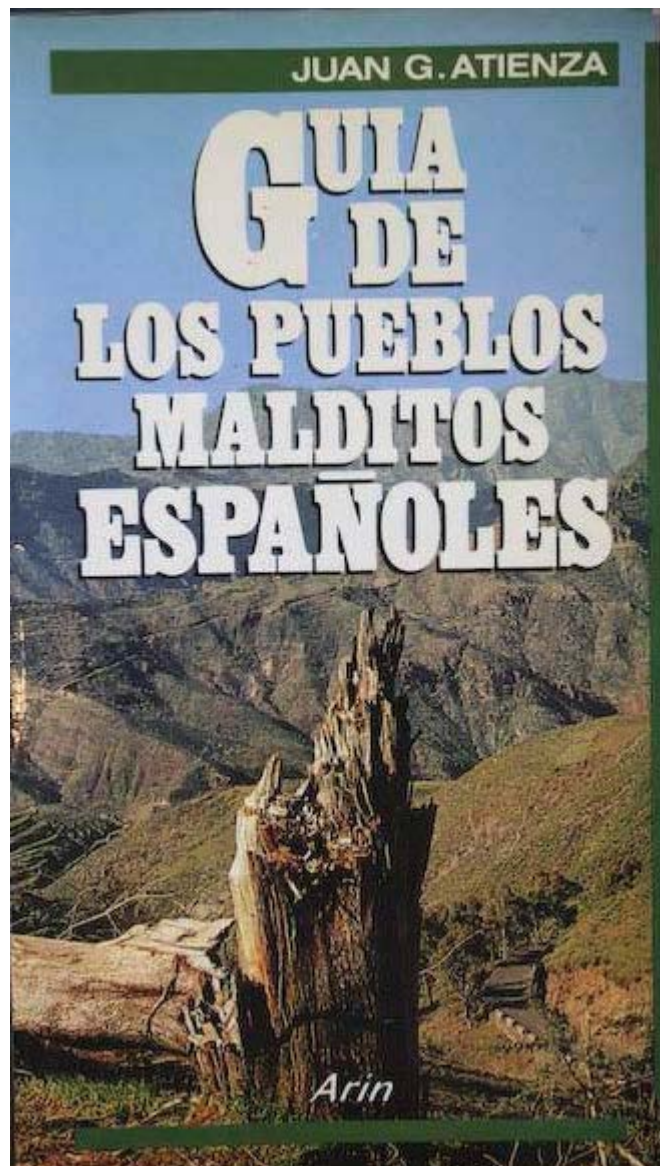


Image 18. Guide of the damned peoples of Spain. The ‘damned peoples’ and their identities are today subjected to marketing strategies. Difference provides value in our postindustrial society that enthrones the exotic as Comaroff and Comaroff (2009) suggest. Source: Cover of the *Guía de los Pueblos Malditos Españoles* (Atienza 1985).

The process constructing the *maragato* as a differential ethnic group has to do with the continued utilization and expansion of this anthropological category. In fact, the insistence in the use of the concept of ‘ethnic group’ as a generalization and essentialist noun contributed to the construction of the same communities named and labeled under that conceptualization. Thus, it is necessary to account for the processes that produce specific ethnicities or, rather, the contexts in which the alterity of certain groups is constructed from specific power positions. These constructions can emerge as a result of social processes of differentiation/marginalization of specific social groups, religious segmentations, or State policies of homogenization. Of course, these practices lead not only to the construction of ‘others’, but to the concealment of the social model posited as the ‘norm’ (Williams 1989). Therefore, to avoid falling into the essentialist trap of speaking of ethnic groups, it is necessary to understand that what appears as an essence is in reality

a sociohistorical construction. For this purpose, it is useful to compare the conceptualizations of racial and ethnic formations. Race is a marker of alterity that prevents the possibility of suppressing its markers of difference through cultural transformation or inclusion, and thus has to undergo miscegenation processes in order to be dissolved or blurred. In contrast, ethnic groups are marked by cultural segmentations rather than natural ones (Briones 2007). Therefore, it is possible for ethnic groups and their cultural/social markers to be dissolved in the social sphere under the mainstream logics promoted by powerful actors (intellectuals, the State, the media, and so on). In fact, the possibility of ‘cultural inclusion’ and the lack of natural markers that can be inherited and passed on to future generations contribute to the invisibilization of the ontological otherness of contemporary peasants in north western Spain. Their alterity does not pose a political or epistemological challenge to institutions or scholars because, contrarily to aboriginal communities in Sweden, America or Australia, their cultural alterity will fade away as the last generation of people brought up in a preindustrial context passes away.

Again, these ethnic constructions can be traced back to the tentative scientific approach of Spanish Enlightened intellectuals, who were in fact reproducing socially held stereotypes of the time. As the study of Callahan (1972) shows, the XVIII century witnessed the ascent of the bourgeoisie and the gradual decadence of the aristocratic social classes of the Ancient Regime, leading to a conflict between competing sets of values and ideas in relation to the issues of blood, honor and trade. Two defining traits shared by the ‘damned peoples’ of Spain rendered them suspect for the rest of the population: their great spatial mobility and their dedication to commerce and trade. If we take into account that Catholicism regarded profit-seeking as sinful and proper of Protestants and Jews, it becomes clear that alterity metaphors concerning the Jew origin of the *maragatos* derive from their occupations and not from any kind of historical evidence (Freeman 2011). A further strategy for the marking of alterity in preindustrial societies was connected with the will of the Church to suppress pagan cults and associated spaces. This strategy attributes a Moorish origin to all past remains or cultural practices considered incompatible with Catholic beliefs (Conde 2000). This could have been easily done with the *maragatos*, and with the *vaqueiros d'alzada* as well. By curtailing the link between the socioeconomic activities and cultural expressions of the *maragatos*, these intellectuals and the Church opened a gap and generated a long-lasting representation of them as different people from the rest of Spaniards. They depicted the *maragatos* as minorities and constantly pointed to their cultural and geographic isolation. However, minorities are not isolated communities but rather means for the structuration of contact (Cátedra 2011: 260) that help to justify the central position and to relationally stabilize the identities of the dominant culture.

Moreover, these dispositives creating classificatory dualisms are “radicated on culturally specific notions of the self as discontinuous with the other. Self and other are the axis of any worldview, but the relationship between them is variable” (Kearney 1984: 68-72, 150-153). Dominant cultures use this variability to create further oppositions and inequalities. The most basic of them is the spatial metaphor opposing the backward rural to the modern urban. On this grounds, the abstract temporal opposition between tradition and modernity is naturalized too, and thus, rural becomes to urban what traditional is to modern (Kearney 1996: 43). The existence of minorities with other modes of existence was disruptive in this regard because romantic and Enlightenment authors and artists sought authentic communities in the rural areas as repositories of the national

identity. Caro Baroja (1963) considered that authors have historically sought paradigmatic examples of cultures in villages rather than cities. While the former are associated with harmony, nobility, stability, purity and coherence, the city has been considered since ancient times as the preferred site for corruption, disorder and instability.

Furthermore, these authors disregarded a basic nuance: the *maragatos* were a differential ethnic group that shared space and community life with other social group in a *comarca* or county, which was called *Somoza* at the time. Thus, they were not only ‘internal others’ (Ramos 2005) at the national level, but also ‘internal others’ within their local communities. Afterwards, the region borrowed its name from the dominant *maragato* social group to become ‘Maragatería’. However, this fact did not turn ‘non-maragatos’ into *maragatos* culturally, although some of their cultural expressions were broadly adopted such as the dress and architectural forms. This overturns the traditional process by which territories provided a name for people living in them: here the contrary applies. This led to a confusion that endured the abandonment of the area by the *maragato* ethnic group during the second half of the XIX century and the beginnings of the XX. In fact, when social anthropologists from the U.S. disembarked in Spain and started to establish straightforward links between territory and culture – as, by the way, the Franco regime did – the cultural expressions found in Maragatería were considered as intrinsic to the people inhabiting the area. Thus, the cultural expressions and the myth of the *maragato* culture were being analyzed by anthropologists as a differential phenomenon. This was supported by the Franco regime, which promoted the identification between specific areas of Spain and certain groups of people. However, all this was happening without the actual presence of the *maragato* people in the area, as almost all of them had emigrated for good.

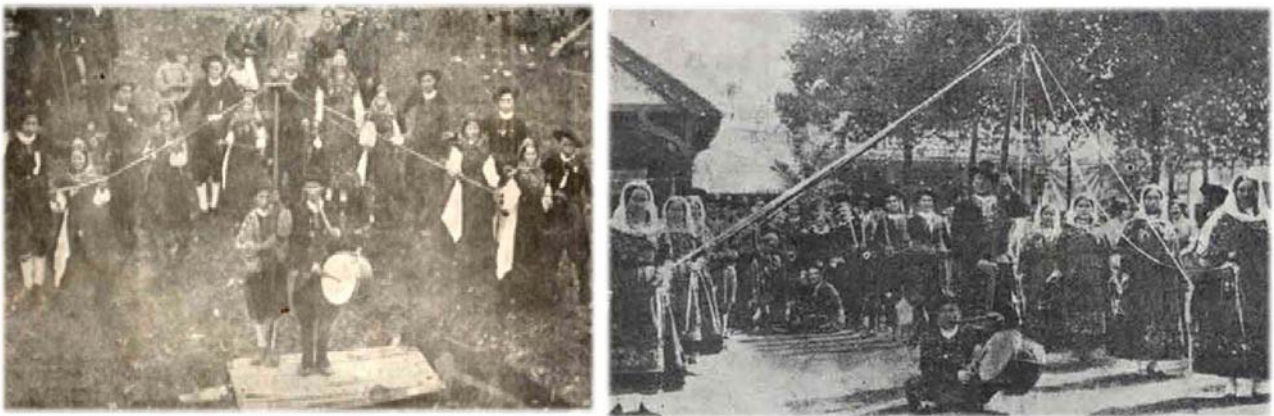


Image 19. The *Danza de Palos* or *lazo*. It is being performed by a *maragato* folkloric group in Val de San Lorenzo in 1898 (left) and London in 1916 (right) Source: *Revista de Val de San Lorenzo en Buenos Aires*, 4 & 5, (1929, 1931)

Clearly, the root of these misunderstandings can be located in the works of Enlightenment intellectuals and their modern understanding of culture. More than two centuries afterwards, an article in *The Telegraph* still reports the existence of the “damned *maragatos* of Berber origin”, even though a local inhabitant of Rabanal del *Camino* explicitly told the journalist that “We have never been different to other people and nothing has changed” (Wilkinson 16/08/2003). For our purposes here, it is necessary to shift from an epistemological framework that analyzes culture to a

theory that explains the emergence of inequalities and conflicts between different cultural systems. As there is no culture in general against which we can establish universal comparative frameworks, and neither can specific cultures be conceived as essences with sets of intrinsic qualities, it is necessary to analyze how cultural representations arise relationally in the social field and sometimes in opposition to the hegemonic culture (García Canclini 1993: 9). Studying the political economy of cultural production entails conceiving culture as a reflective phenomenon that not only produces meaning and sense, but also its own metacultural assumptions (Urban 2001a). These metacultural notions naturalize certain aspects of social life, isolating them from the cultural sphere, while certain characteristics and traits are attributed to others (being a Jew, a Moorish, and so on). As Briones argues, “in explicitly or implicitly turning ‘local’ and ‘foreign’ cultures into cultural representations, these metacultural discourses generate their own regimes of truth” (Briones 2005a: 15).

The *maragatos* raised the interest and attention of different authors because they could not be lumped together in the broad category of rural peasants, as they were rich and mobile, and their primary activity was not agriculture. Some authors have pointed to the development of an incredibly sophisticated ‘cultural ecology’ by *maragato* traders that allowed them to preserve a link with their local communities and develop a subsistence agriculture led by women (Martínez Veiga 1981). At the same time, the poverty of soils led them to start different businesses and trades that generated specific ideological differentiations thanks to their access to a monetary economy. Thus, for instance, *maragatos* would never invest in textile industries in Val de San Lorenzo as they considered it to be a non-respectable activity. The development of their own codes of value and honor rendered them individuals that were even more ambiguous and reinforced the social perception of their difference.

In any case, both the ambiguous *maragato* and the peasant in general were categories in the making. The modern state needed stable subjects to be disciplined, organized and put to work in novel ways, and, as Deleuze and Guattari point out, “there is no fixed subject unless there is repression” (1983: 18). As Hall (1996) argues, these repressions articulate different modes of economic exploitation and ideological incorporation of the labor force, paralleled by the creation of a modern citizenship. The modern logic implied the imposition of criteria of difference, individuality and temporality on certain subjects that became ‘objects of knowledge’ (Latour 1993). In doing so, the modern asserts its own identity by differentiating itself from temporal and spatial others (the traditional, the peasant, the ‘damned’, etc.) and ultimately turns peoples and ways of life into social constructions (Grossberg 1996). However, the modern does not constitute itself as a fixed identity. Deleuze and Guattari show how modernity is machine of self-differentiation, always different from itself across time and space (1987). This supposed absence of a fixed identity grants the modern subject of enunciation a ‘point-zero’ perspective (Castro-Gómez 2003), a god-eye view representing itself as being without a point of view, and thus an universal power of enunciation and objectification.

Social Anthropology and the Peasant as Internal Other: the Folkloric Discourse.

The advancement of Spanish sciences during the XIX century and the first half of the XX century did not entail a development of social and cultural anthropology. This was due to the

absence of primitive others that constituted the quintessential object of the thriving colonial British and French anthropologies and the anthropology of indigenous populations in the United States. Consequently, the curiosity of researchers and intellectuals was geared towards these ethnic groups considered to be marginal and somehow different (Brandes 2011: 34). The fundamental dualism between them/us that defines anthropology (Marcus 1995: 98) was therefore an ambiguous line that separated researchers from those subjected to research in Spain.

In any case, the number of studies carried out about *maragatos* during this period and broadly during the XX century is very large. In general, during the second half of the XIX and the first half of the XX century, accounts of the *maragatos* fall within the 'folkloric discourse' (Prat 1987) interested in questions of origins, physical evolution, traditional objects and cultural traits in connection with a particular land, rather than the universal concern about humankind that characterizes anthropology. Accordingly, different authors seek the origins of the *maragatos*, from Dozy (1859), P. Alba, E. Saavedra and Matías Rodríguez (in Rodríguez 1909: 671-673), Olivera Martins (1894), Sáez de Melgar (1881), Ciria y Vincent (1909), Menéndez Pidal (1962), Blanco Cela or Padre Probanza (quoted in Rodríguez Pérez 2008). All of them insisted in searching the origins of *maragatos*, despite already Gómez Moreno (1925) had affirmed that all they were doing was fantasizing. In 1913, Concha Espina published the novel *La Esfinge Maragata*, considered by many to be the best ethnographic account ever provided about the region. However, similarly to other trends of research on the *maragatos*, folkloric approaches appear regularly that tackle similar topics (Alonso Luengo 1992; Carro 1955; García Escudero 1953; Luengo y Martínez 1995; Quintana Prieto 1978). Even Caro Baroja came into play and proposed a different origin for the *maragatos*, connecting them with the pre-Roman tribe of the Astures (Caro Baroja 2003), a hypothesis that has been backed up recently by Ballester (2002).

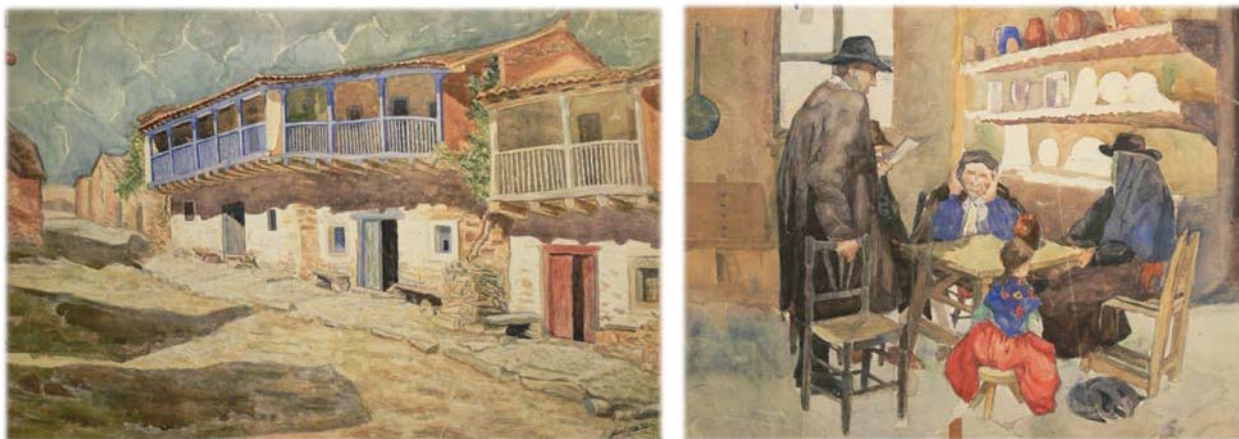


Image 20. Watercolors of Val de San Lorenzo. The painters from the *Escuela de Cerámica* in Madrid visited places where supposedly exotic and idyllic communities lived, staying in these sites for a short period in order to depict their inhabitants. One of the places chosen was Val de San Lorenzo in 1926. Source: Escuela de Cerámica de Madrid.

Ortiz García (1996) has pointed to the great development of biological anthropology before the Spanish Civil War (1936-9). Maragatería did not escape this scientific wave, and in 1902 Aragón y Escacena analyzed *maragato* skulls to conclude that they were Berber peoples deriving from a Libyan-Iberian race. During this period, the cultural representation of the *maragatos* not only considered them a different ethnic group, but a specific racial formation. The studies of

Aragón y Escacena paved the way for further bioanthropological research whose fundamental objective was to seek the racial origins of the *maragatos* (Bernis 1975; Caro Dobón 1986), 1986). This strand of research culminated in the mitochondrial DNA characterization of *maragato* specimens, which are still referred to as ‘European isolates’ (Larruga et al. 2001). Other authors aimed at discovering linguistic dialectal particularities of the *maragatos* (Garrote 1909), comparative cultural frameworks for archaeological diggings (Luengo Martínez 1966; Luengo Martínez 1982; Luengo Martínez 1990), historic accounts of the moments of cultural and economic apogee of the *maragato* families (Galindo 1956; Galindo and Luis 1956), or analysis of the particularities of *maragato* legal and social frameworks during the modern era (Peña Sanz 1962).

The folkloric discourse and its different ramifications did not entail a break with previous cultural representations of the *maragato* alterity. In this regard, these authors shared a similar approach with Enlightenment authors and European Romantic folklorists “who had looked backwards to find a peasantry that – for them – embodied the essences of an unchanging and unchanged people” (Díaz Viana 2010). This approach to folklore and popular culture will strongly influence ulterior developments in social anthropology, which can be considered as a heir of folkloric studies in Spain (Alcina Franch 1984). Despite their accounts were detailed and popular cultures were seriously analyzed, they reproduced the rural-urban divide as they focused in socially or territorially bounded rural and normally poor communities (Aguilar Criado). They put forward an essentialist concept of identity assuming that some intrinsic qualities such as origin or experience can serve to define a social group (Srnicek 2007). Accordingly, intellectual efforts were geared towards the discovery of the ‘authentic’ and the ‘original’, either as racial, historic or ethnic origins of the *maragatos*. Similarly, deconstructions of previous models entail the substitution of some qualities by other qualities in a similar essentialist fashion: if they were not Goths, they were Moorish. Therefore, the objective of those authors was to locate the distinctiveness of each village, county or ethnic group to find their real ‘soul’. This is what Deleuze calls the ‘identity logics’ that always puts forward a disjunctive synthesis based on the ‘either ... or’ strategy (Bogard 1998). Moreover, within the essentialist paradigm identity becomes a “structured representation which only achieves its positive through the narrow eye of the negative” (Hall 1991: 21). Accordingly, the *maragato* identity was made to rely upon its difference from other identities that construct the dominant cultural paradigm through a series of intertwined metonymies. The *maragatos* cannot be Spaniards. In addition, as long as Spaniards must be Catholic, they have come from a different ethnic and even racial background: thus, they are related with the Moorish, the Goths, and so on. Consequently, there are not ‘original’ Spaniards and Christians, and their blood is not pure, thus they might be of Jewish origins. In sum, they are different and not honorable: they are damned peoples.

From Them to Us: the Birth of Peasants as Knowledge Objects.

The growth of social anthropology in the U.S., Britain and France during the 1950s and 1960s slowly permeated Spanish academy. The arrival of foreign researchers, especially American, came about due to a fundamental shift in the discipline that started to study not only ‘primitive’ peoples but also the peasantry as a novel category of analysis. Anthropology was conceived as a scientific discipline on the grounds of the difference between the western subject of enunciation and the

ethnographic other represented by the primitive, who was temporally, spatially and socioculturally far away from the western self. The contrast with the primitives facilitated the social construction of modernity and the justification of geopolitical inequalities (Castro-Gómez 2003). The entrance of the peasant within the reach of anthropology disrupted some of these basic assumptions, as peasants are not the antithesis of modernity but rather subjects located on the geographic, historical and sociocultural margins, half-way between primitivism and modernity (Kearney 1996: 5). The invention of the peasant in anthropology disrupted many metaphysical modern oppositions as they are, by definition, hybrid and ambiguous categories far away from the purity and absolute categorizations of the modern sensibility (Latour 1993). With the gradual disappearance of the ‘pure primitives’, the peasant increasingly came to typify the generalized other, but an Other “seen not as primitive nor primordial but as underdeveloped” (Kearney 1996: 35). The peasant thus became the other against which discourses on development and national homogenization could be put together. This shift in the anthropological object of research was in tune with the interests of the dictatorship of Francisco Franco in Spain (1939-1975), where the implementation of large programs of industrialization and modernization threatened the solidity of the regime. Peasants (and women) had to be incorporated to the market and to a developed society while preserving political stability.



Image 21. *Maragatos* performing. Pictures date from the first half of the XX century. Source: David Andrés Fernández.

For Brandes, social anthropology was born in Spain during the Franco period, unconsciously sharing some ideological principles and objects of study with the fascist program in Spain (2011: 33). The American influence in Spanish social anthropology was huge at the time. American anthropologists considered that social identity in Spain was largely determined by the place of birth, thus fostering the link between culture and territory that the Franco regime was promoting. Significantly, marginal groups of “relatively reduced population intimately bounded to specific territories, were among the primary objects of study in Spain. Those groups were socially equivalent at the time with the indigenous groups of the United States: that is, marginal, discriminated, poor, with differential cultural traits from the rest of peninsular cultures” (Brandes 2011: 24). Accordingly, Catedra (1989) studied the *vaqueiros de alzada*, Freeman the *pasiegos* (1979) while Avelino Gutiérrez (1983) and Melis Maynar analyzed the *maragatos* (1976; 1987; 1988). This conception of ethnic groups bounded to a particular village –what Caro Baroja named the sociocentrism of the natal villages (1957)- suited the regime. In fact, not only the equation of

land and culture was used to conceal class inequalities, but also the promotion of inter-village and inter-regional conflicts and competition.

Even after the demise of the Franco regime, most social anthropology continued equating land and identity. In his study of the *maragatos*, Avelino Gutiérrez begins with a citation of Lisón Tolosana –who will be the supervisor of Melis Maynar in her PhD on Maragatería – who reinstates the link between communities and territories as follows: “as hypothesis of anthropological research, it is possible to equate each area or similar way of life with a subcultural area ... my thesis is simply as follows: that a geographic and physical environment tends to be associated with a corresponding way of life and this originates a specific subculture” (Lisón Tolosana 1980: 32).

One of the fundamental tasks for a modern state, and especially for a dictatorship, is to perpetuate national cohesion and solidarity while reproducing inequalities and segmentations among its population. Modern states put much effort in constructing the liberal and universal individual. Accordingly, they need science and culture to explain the actual differences and inequalities among these theoretically similar individuals. For Kearney, the “project of fusing national cultural unity with social inequality was first consolidated by the liberal philosophy and economics, which laid out the basic characteristics of the rational individual. This creature is a choice-making, self-gratifying, maximizing actor” (1996: 48). Politically, this subject is what O’Hanlon (1988) denominates “the virile figure of the subject-agent” that, according to Grossberg, must comply with three fundamental defining traits: “(1) the subject as a position defining the possibility and the source of experience and, by extension, of knowledge; (2) the agent as a position of activity; and (3) the self as the mark of a social identity” (1996: 97-98). This paved the way for the creation of hierarchies between the productive, educated and liberal subjects, and those who were not, that were to be found mostly in rural areas.

The Franco regime solved this paradox by what Kearney calls a strategy of containment (1996: 64). Containment does not work by conveying false ideology but by affirming and constructing truths, it “is effective when it is able to constitute the types it essentializes” (Idem: 64). During the dictatorship in Spain, the State filled the intellectual and social spheres of cultural representation with images of its own making, thus impeding the participation of alternative images of rural communities and people. Basically, cultural representations of groups intrinsically connected to rural territories diluted individuality into stereotypical social abstractions. Rural areas were chosen because they were regarded as the embodiment of stability, tradition and fidelity to Catholicism. One of the fundamental tools to do so was the control of folklore (Ortiz 1999). Fundamentally, this was achieved through an organization called *Coros y Danzas*, part of the *Sección Femenina* of Spain’s bureaucratic machine. The objective of the organization was to recover traditional Spanish songs and dances. This was in tune with the aims of the *Sección Femenina*, which aimed at the exaltation of the past and the recovering of traditions that, from the official ideological standpoint, implied the restitution of the glorious past of Spain (Casero-Garcia 2000). This process is somewhat paradoxical. Whereas the ultimate aim of the Regime was to promote the homogenization of Spain and Spaniards under a single national identity, this was being carried out though the promotion of local and regional identities attached to specific territories. In areas with strong national sentiment such as Catalonia and Basque Country, this strategy was counterproductive as it facilitated the endurance of their languages and identities (Viejo-Rose 2011c).



Image 22. The *maragatos* in the farewell parade for the *Legión Cóndor* in León, 1939. Here, they won the individual and collective prizes for their performance. Source: José Manuel Sutil Pérez (1997)

The outstanding folkloric expressions of Maragatería were of course appreciated and promoted by the Regime since its early beginnings. When in 1939 the troops of Franco finally defeated the democratic forces of the Republican regime a huge parade called *Día Regional de la Victoria* was celebrated in León as a tribute and farewell to the *Legión Condor*, an air division of German troops settled in the airport of La Virgen del Camino. The *maragatos* were the foremost protagonists of the parade: the ‘Folkloric Group’ of Val de San Lorenzo and a woman from Castrillo de los Polvazares respectively won the collective and individual awards (Sutil Pérez 1997). Actually, the *maragatos* came to be representative of the province of León as a whole (González Arpide 1988). In addition, the *maragatos* won the *Coros y Danzas* national folkloric contest in 1943³⁰. Curiously enough, during this period of apogee of the cultural representation of the *maragato* folkloric myth, the actual use of the *maragato* dress in the region decayed rapidly during the 1940s (Anonymous 1928). The preferential role accorded to the *maragatos* by the Regime is confirmed by the many travels and parades around the nation and abroad they did under the aegis of the State. In 1949, a group of *maragatos* traveled to Santo Domingo, Perú, Chile, Ecuador and Venezuela (Sutil Pérez Junio de 2000), at a time when travelling was not easy for Spaniards for political and economic reasons. In 1955 the renowned *tamboritero maragato* –maragato drummer – called Ti Cardana traveled to Cuba. Alonso Luengo, an intellectual committed to the Regime, devoted many of his investigations to the *maragato* culture and folklore (1992; n.d.). Also, the *maragatos* had a relevant presence in general books about folklore objects and agricultural tools (Caro Baroja 1973; i Candi et al. 1933) and in the photo books elaborated during Franco times, which reminded the XIX *Los Españoles pintados por sí mismos* (Gaspar and Roig 1851). The fundamental collections were elaborated by Ortíz-Echágüe and, although the first book called *España, tipos y trajes* (1933) was published during Republican times it was re-edited in multiple

³⁰ See the newscast (NO-DO) of 08 November 1943 online at <http://www.rtve.es/filmoteca/no-do/not-45/1467539/>

occasions afterwards, along with new books such as *España, pueblos y paisajes* (1939), *España mística* (1943) and *España, castillos y alcázares* (Echagüe and de Urbel 1964).

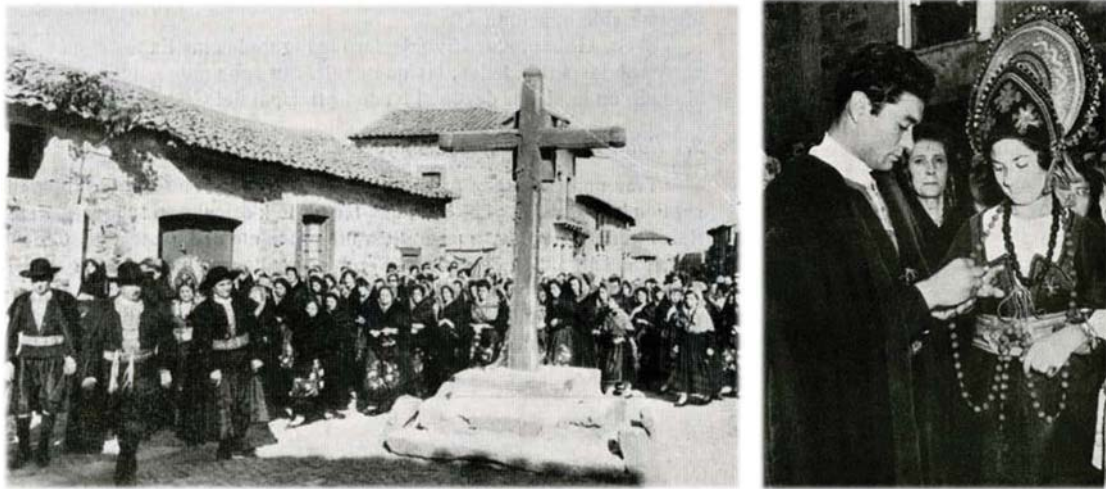


Image 23. Celebration of the *II Día de las Comarcas*, - second day of the historic counties of the province of León – in Castrillo de los Polvazares, the 1st September, 1962. These celebrations were instrumentalized to emphasize the attachment of local communities to the traditional values of the Church, the family, and the Spanish nation. Source: *Tierras de León*, vol. III, 1962, pp. 94-96.

Again, folkloric, anthropological, and artistic depictions of the time share the idea of territories closely bounded to cultural expressions (Brandes 2011: 42). In a sort of neo-romanticism, authors sought autochthonous and uncontaminated cultures that were to be found in the villages. To this end, Maragatería represented a perfect place to carry out research as the folkloric aspects of rural Spain are “manifested here with a unique idiosyncrasy and traditionalism” (Gutiérrez González 1983: 291). The anthropological turn towards the study of the peasantry led the American wave of researchers to disembark in Spain with many preconceptions that led them to assume essentialist and intrinsic qualities to the villages that equated those of the Franco regime. However, as Cole points out, the sociocentrism of the village could have been a reaction to the insidious presence of the State (1991), as demonstrated by the quick social changes that occurred in Spanish rural areas when the dictatorship ended (Brandes 2011: 47).

The Social Construction and Material Obliteration of the Peasant.

The rationale of the Franco regime led to a hypertrophy of cultural representations circulating in the social sphere that camouflaged the stunning changes that were going on rural areas of Spain. While the cultural representations of the Maragatería were becoming widespread, the *actual* Maragatería was undergoing a huge depopulation that curtailed the foundations of the normal working of its villages, turning it into a perfect place to situate a Real-gunfire military range in operation since the 1950s. However, at that time Maragatería still presented many traits of what has been labeled as a ‘traditional society’, where pre-industrial forms of production and community bonds prevail. This is not to reinstate an essentialism, as these communities were not purely rural, agricultural nor culturally untouched. In fact, Maragatería shares many similar characteristics with

the Leonese region as a whole. The region of León does not fit in the categorization created as a gradient to account for the prevailing social models of the different Spanish regions put forward by some authors (Pitt-Rivers and Abou Zeid 1977). In this model, the Basque Country represents the North and Andalucía the South. Leonese society is also structurally different from the Castilian standard, while it holds certain similarities with Asturias and Galicia.

Basically, Leonese villages are characterized by the endurance of common law and communal forms of property and community management which have lasted our present days. These forms of legislation, socioeconomic management and land tenure, at work since medieval times, came under attack especially during the XIX century and have been gradually eroded until present, especially after 1960. This is not to say that these communities were rural isolated nodes: as Pérez-Díaz points out, Spanish villages have a long history of communication with urban centers, the State, the market and the Church (1991). Similarly, different processes had an impact in the area that led to productive imbalances: demographic and crop productivity expansion, the confiscation of communal properties, and the imposition of a network of public institutions (provinces and municipalities) over the local forms of communal management. While emigration was the usual result of these processes in the north west of Spain, it had a comparatively stunning impact in Maragatería due to the end of the profitable trade of the *maragato* ethnic group based on mule trading which collapsed with the advent of railways. Huge numbers of people, fundamentally male, emigrated to South America between 1870 and 1940, and to northern Europe afterwards. Emigration catalyzed change in Maragatería and accelerated the dissolution of vernacular cultural expressions and traditions (Alonso González 2009a). This led some authors to consider that matriarchy prevailed in Maragatería, as women were in charge of the household and of working the land. Different authors have pointed to this fact, from the first European travelers during the modern era to Martínez Veiga (1981) or Melis Maynar (1988). Also, this has contributed to increasing the *maragato* myth as a backward ethnic group, as matriarchy was associated with pre-Roman social formations.

In any case, although changes in local communities had been continuous during the last century, the 1960s culminated the process and largely dissolved the traditional ways of life and management of these rural villages (Freeman 1965: 144). The multiple projects of development implemented by the Franco technocratic government after the 1950s had the objective of industrializing and modernizing Spain, culminating a task envisioned by Enlightenment Spanish intellectuals since the XVIII century. As a consequence of this process of modernization, the subaltern identities ascribed to the rural peasant will be reinforced. These subjects were then subjected to a process that Pasolini (1975) had observed in Italy. As Maurizio Lazzarato sums up,

“Pasolini is well aware of the paradox that capitalism establishes. On the one hand, it destroys popular cultures and their sacred, ‘animist’ vision of nature, things and the cosmos. On the other hand, through novel machinic assemblages it creates the conditions for drawing new continuities between subject/object and nature/culture. As Guattari, he understood this contradictory double movement. Firstly, the objectification and rationalization of nature and the cosmos that renders them exploitable and, secondly, the possibility of a ‘machinicism’ that could ‘re-sacralize’ (Pasolini) or ‘re-enchant’ (Guattari) them. What has been lost with the disappearance of non-anthropomorphic cultures and religions can be reinvented with the non-anthropomorphic machinism of capitalism” (Maurizio Lazzarato, forthcoming). This process is at work in different dimensions:

the social construction of the cultural representations of both *maragatos* and peasants was parallel with the actual obliteration of their conditions of existence based on certain socioeconomic conditions.

The process of modernization leading to this outcome can be better understood through Foucault's theory of governmentality (2007). For him, Western modernization started with the Enlightenment period and its gradual replacement of belief and religion by rationality, the imposition of culture over nature, and the separation between human ideas and the outer world following Kant's Copernican revolution. The expansion of governmentality strategies entailed a deep shift in the relations between the State and society which had a huge impact in rural areas: previously autonomous groups and local bonds were broken and community members became 'individual subjects' (Cruikshank 2006: 184). As Bauman points out, the modernization of Northern Europe, occurring during the XIX century, is "first and foremost the centralization of social powers previously localized" (1992: 6). However, the generalized process of modernization in Southern Europe had to wait until the post World War II period. This citation from Lyson depicts a situation occurring 150 years ago, but could be applied to Maragatería just 50 years ago: "...the household, the community and the economy were tightly bound up with one another. The local economy was not something that could be isolated from society. Rather, the economy was embedded in the social relations in the household and the rural community" (2006: 293). As was previously mentioned, the modern individual had to be created and extricated from familial and community bonds. Once this occurred, communal and familial forms of government became outdated –or so modern discourse affirmed at least (Cruikshank 2009). These changes are ambiguously perceived and remembered by people in Maragatería. On the one hand, elder people acknowledge the poor living conditions of their youth. On the other, they relate that period with lack of responsibility and happiness, which can be linked to psychosocial conditionings leading to an equation of childhood, happiness and an idyllic rural past (Olwig 2001). Broadly, the preindustrial period is referred to as "*lo de antes*" – that which existed before –, and contrasted with the modernization period after the 1960s, that is, "*ahora*", - now -. A seventy year-old shepherd in Santa Colomba de Somoza told me that "antes" poverty was more or less equally shared. Community prevailed over the individual interests. In contrast "now, everyone is envious and suspicious of the other, people do not trust their neighbors... When people from the cities come for holidays, we realize that still we are all poor in comparison. But it does not matter. People is still envious" (Interview 1, 2009). Her account is telling, as it points to the atomization of local villages and the rupture of community bonds. Similarly, it reflects the tendency to the individualization of subjects characteristic of modernity, or what Hernando has called the 'fantasy of individuality' (Hernando Gonzalo 2012). Also, it shows how the return of migrants for holidays or for buying second residences does not entail a fundamental change in the village but is rather a new layer of complexity superimposed on the local socioeconomic structure. This shows that dialectical oppositions of rural-urban and traditional-modern are flawed, as changes in the rural are better framed as a continuum in which novel assemblages intermingle with pre-existent conditions.

These minor changes were not unrelated to molar transformations at the national level. Starting in 1958 with the Stabilization Plan, and reaching until 1965, a huge concentration of economic reports from different national and international institutions planned industrial growth

and rural development in Spain for subsequent years (Foessa 1966; Foessa 1971; Foessa 1976)³¹. This period signaled the end of the autarchy that had characterized the years after the Civil War that led to the return (or to the perpetuation) of subsistence agricultural practices in the rural areas of Spain (Izquierdo Vallina 2008: 166). Most government reports highlighted the need to reduce the population of rural areas. Thus, peasants were to be relocated in urban areas as workforce, or forced to emigrate so as they could send remittances in foreign currency (Aceves 1978). In plain, this meant that rural communities had to be shattered, a project in which the Church was complicit in different forms. It is during this period when many villages in Maragatería were definitely abandoned: Prada de la Sierra, Manjarín, Foncebadón, Labor de Rey and the nearby Matavenero, Poibueno and Fonfría.

The modernization process, under the guise of theories of development, had to associate the rural with the pre-modern and the traditional: “the rural is in other words a traditional society that is not allowed to change unless it becomes non-rural” (Cruikshank 2009: 101). For Saraceno, “the paradox of rurality is that it is defined in negative terms and can only remain rural if it does not change or if it declines. It is impossible for a rural area to develop without automatically becoming non-rural” (1994a: 468). The rural emerges as an essentialized and fixed category: the rural must be unchanging or it will become non-rural (Cruikshank 2009; Marsden and Murdoch 1998). In other words, the rural cannot be conceived as a ‘changing same’ (Gilroy 1994). Accordingly, the social scientists of Foessa, in charge of the ideological and theoretical basis of development plans in Spain, constantly reinstated the qualitative intrinsic difference between the rural and the urban in Spain and the absence of any kind of rural-urban continuum (Aceves 1978). Despite the political implications of this affirmation, it is surely not only a State affirmation but also an emic perception of the peasants as social actors, who clearly discerned the differences between the rural and the urban, and considered the latter as a superior form of life (Pérez Díaz 1969: 22).

The stabilization of the rural as a fixed category entailed the separation between two perceptions and approaches. The positivist approach of the State regarded rural areas as productive spaces (the exploitation of natural resources). The second approach, mostly held by intellectuals, created the rural as an idyllic space associated with certain values (a cultural representation). Both can be considered as transcendent approaches that disregard the immanent views and perceptions of rural inhabitants, for whom the separation between cultural and economic values and functions was not as clear. With the rise of industrial cities, the rural became an idyllic alternative to urban environments (Cloke and Little 1997). The process that started to dissociate rural areas from a productivist regime in the countryside (Mormont 1996) thus started in the period of massive migration of the 1960s, although its apogee arrived much later to Spain than to the Northern European countries - mostly during the 1990s in Maragatería. The multiple representations of the rural led to the social construction of the ‘peasant’ as by-product. Historically, Spanish technocrats and intellectuals regarded peasants as stubborn, narrow minded and conservative people who rejected technical and organizational novelties who were being made ‘for their own good’. The failure of development programs was consequently blamed on their fanatic adherence to tradition

³¹ The most relevant issues were the 1957 World Bank report on the Spanish economic situation, the entry of Spain to the World Bank, the International Monetary fund and the OECD, the concession of a credit to Spain by the IMF, the Decree-Law 21/7/1959 on the New Economic Organization, the entry of Spain to the GATT in 1963, and the World Bank and FAO reports on the agricultural situation of Spain López Linage, J. (2007). *Modelo productivo y población campesina del occidente asturiano: 1940-1975*, Madrid: Ministerio de Agricultura, Pesca y Alimentación..

and custom. This stance was commonplace from Enlightenment intellectuals like Jovellanos, to Franco's technocrats and most contemporary rural development agents. However, in reality when rural people can perceive the benefits of a specific policy they rapidly support and promote it, like the case of the land reparcelling shows (Aceves 1978: 326; Pérez Díaz 1977). On the other hand, the myth of the rural as an imagined idyllic space associated with a peaceful life was fundamentally created by the Generation of the 98 and expanded by authors like Hemingway, Unamuno and Ortega y Gasset. Many of these ideas were also imported from countries where, like in the United Kingdom, the abandonment of rural areas had occurred two centuries ago and ideas about the countryside were largely crafted by an urban-based middle class nostalgic of the rural (Bunce and Bunce 1994: 37). Rural areas in Britain were largely regarded as spaces of leisure, recreation and residence, but not for production, which was cheaper in other areas of the Empire (Shucksmith et al. 2009).

This kind of urban nostalgia reinforced the rural and peasant categories as subaltern in Spain. Furthermore, this subalternization was driven by two vectors: the transcendent political one, and the immanent social one. Politically, the abandonment of the rural posed a problem for the ideological underpinnings of the Franco regime, which had always considered and represented the rural areas and their associated peasant identities as the backbone of the nation. The contradiction was clear: the rural population excess had to be suppressed, but the rural areas could not be lost as representations of the 'idyllic Spain'. For instance, in his book dealing with agricultural problems in Spain, Anlló Vázquez attempts to demonstrate that agricultural population is poor and rather unproductive. However, worried about the 'impoverishment of rural areas', he proposes to stop the rural exodus and to root peasants in the land (Anlló Vázquez 1966: 99). Here, two conceptual frameworks are utilized: in the positivist view, the rural areas 'impoverish' the country by being unproductive, in the second, cultural one, the soul of the country is 'impoverished' if rural life is lost. Clearly, as modernization moved on the cultural representations created and conveyed by folklore were becoming empty signifiers.

The social construction of the peasant and rurality as a whole occurs through processes of mobility to urban centers and emigration as a whole. Rural people living in urban areas normally go back to the village, conceived now as a space for leisure and recreation, in contrast to local inhabitants who are still devoted to productive tasks. This situation emphasizes the distinction between the urban and the rural, and relegates to a subaltern position the second. The changes in values, experiences and evaluations of what is a 'good life' were overturned in a few years. This shift was epitomized by the tale/story of the poor shepherd who left the village by the back door and came back for holidays a few years later from an urban center. In fact, those who were left out of the networks of familial marriages between landowners – i.e., shepherds, handworkers, and so on – had to leave the villages. When they returned to the villages with a higher standard of living, they undermined the foundations of value assessment of local dwellers. Those traditionally associated land property, stable residence and good marriage with power, security, honor and success (Aceves and Bailey 1967). Now, staying in the village and being bound to the land started to be considered a synonym of failure. A new set of virtual possibilities and values thus emerged in rural areas, thus furthering the momentum and intensity of change. In areas with high levels of emigration like Maragatería, this process can be located throughout the XX century and is still ongoing today. For instance, as early as the late XIX century, staying in Val de San Lorenzo rather than moving to

Buenos Aires was considered a failure, and young male were propelled by their families to emigrate. A new regime of truth and value had been imposed.

All these processes, along with the advent of mass media to the rural, led to the oversimplification of the rural in official discourse. However, this is in tune with real changes, as Spanish rural areas were being gradually homogenized. Land reparalements, social mobility – both in socioeconomic status and in geographic location –, and the shift in cultural attitudes, led to the replacement of the inhabitant by the producer/consumer, of the place and territory by the site and the landscape, and of the historical and biological regions by the economic regions (Magnaghi 2010: 25). Moreover, economic modernization led to a general decrease of both individual and regional inequalities in Spain.³² The arrival of democracy and the Welfare State entailed a shift in budget expenditure away from the military and State bureaucracy to health, education and income redistribution. The increased individual freedom and potential for social mobility offered by State jobs furthered the break of community bonds in villages. Patronage networks typical of villages and the relevant role of the local ‘cacique’ in marginal rural areas have been remodeled to fit the novel situation (Cazorla Pérez 1995: 38). Today, power and well-being derive from the discriminatory distribution of favors to maintain and increase power over public resources (Silverman 1977) managed by the now well funded city councils and municipalities. In this context of fragmentation, the community bonds of solidarity have been weakened, although communal property and local *Juntas Vecinales* still exist and function (even though a 2012 governmental decree points towards their near suppression). Forms of community solidarity and communication were reshaped and in many places the bar became the place where democracy was performed and social classes mixed together, while at the same time the new hierarchies and patronage networks were created and performed too (Hansen 1978: 260-270).

Under these premises, Brandes argues that the long-standing association of a specific land with a cultural identity that was straightforwardly assumed by social anthropologists and promoted by the dictatorship has faded away. He points to three possible reasons for that. First, the integration of Spain in the European Union. Second, the exhaustion of that theoretical trend in the social sciences. And third, that deconstructionism has revealed the ambiguous relation between territory and culture (Brandes 2011: 44). From my viewpoint, these elements only partially serve to explain the break. The problem I see here is that Brandes is referring to the transcendent conditions of possibility of the land-culture relation, that is, to the production of that link as a representation through scientific knowledge and institutional practice.

However, from my perspective, the explanation to this breakage can be better framed by looking at the perceptions of social actors immanently. In other words: the identity link between people and territory was really broken, not only by those who emigrated but also by people who stayed in the rural. In Maragatería, different interviewees pointed to the fade of folkloric Maragato practices when the dictatorship ended in 1975. One of the most renowned Maragato drummers today, Maxi Arce, explains that he only started playing Maragato music when he retired, during the late 1980s and the beginnings of the 1990s. In this period, the Maragato Folkloric Group of Astorga

³² Whereas in 1967 the percentage of rich and poor population was of 1,3 and 41,3 percent respectively, in 1989 the percentage of the richest people had increased to 3,25 while poor people decreased to 24,4 percent. Furthermore, the economic imbalances between the poorest and richest province of Spain decreased one third between 1955 and 1987 Cazorla Pérez, J., and Socials, I. d. C. P. i. (1992). *Del clientelismo tradicional al clientelismo de partido: evolución y características*, Barcelona: Institut de ciències polítiques i socials..

was created, and the one in Val de San Lorenzo regained its vitality (Arce 2010). Returned emigrants were fundamental in the recovery of these practices. Clearly, a new process had started that overturned the previous one. This is what Pasolini called the re-sacralization of the rural (Pasolini and Ottone 1975): the modernization process created a cultural representation of the rural while obliterating it in reality.

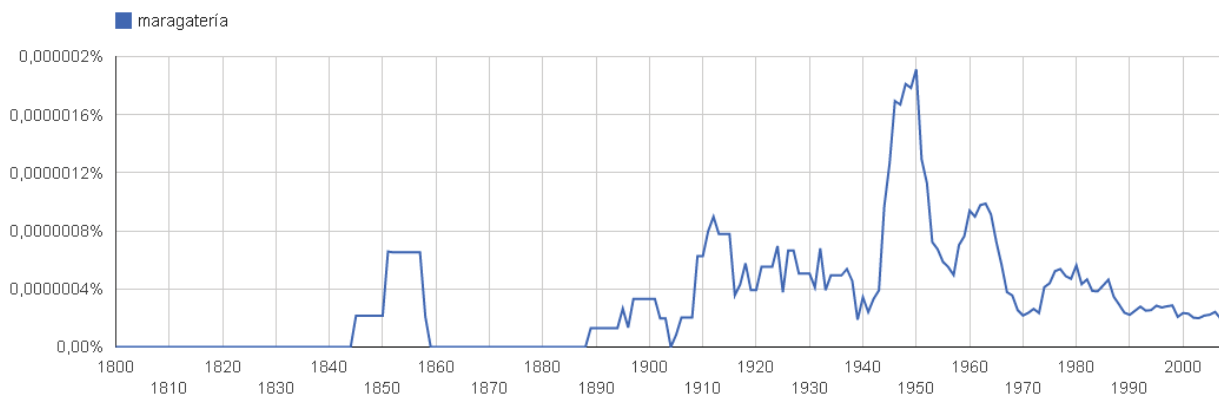


Image 24. Ngram: Maragatería. The Google Ngram viewer measures the relative mentioning of certain words or phrases within a corpus of books in a given period. Here we can see how references to Maragatería rocket at the beginning of the century with the rise of biological anthropology, and during the 1950s with the implementation of Franco cultural policies regarding local identities. Source: Author from Google Ngram viewer.

Now that the actual association between land and identity had been broken to a large extent, the social abstraction of the rural became a discourse that different actors began to try to implement it in reality to recover the lost link between land and territory. Rather than considering this process as a post-modern phenomenon, I prefer to see it as supermodern (Augé 2008) because it emphasizes and intensifies the modern stereotypes: by trying to fix the rural and stabilize it on the basis of a frozen picture of it, its livelihood and the few remnants of the rural ‘changing same’ are reified and obliterated. In other words, the conceptual and social construction of the peasant difference in association with the rural in modern times has been emphasized with the arrival of post-industrialism, democracy and the welfare State. According to Rullani (2005) and Martín-Barbero (2011), the local is not anymore something essential and becomes something to be constructed in the interplay between cultural representations and communities. Reaffirming the local in a global context thus becomes a project geared towards the affirmation of an identity and a shared project for the future (Martín-Barbero 2011: 346) and a form of symbolic attachment to the multicultural trope for individuals (Segato 1998; Žižek 1998).

From Difference to Otherness.

The etymological root of the term *paisano* offers a better starting point than the modern constructions made of it in order to move from a transcendent to an immanent approach to their study. The term derives from Latin in its different contemporary forms, *paisano*, *paesano*, *pagés*,

paysan, from the forms *pagense* and *ager pagensis*, in relation to the ‘ager’, i.e., the countryside that surrounded the *pagus*, the village (Izquierdo Vallina 2008: 81). The term later acquired the meanings of ‘neighbor’ and ‘compatriot’ or ‘countryman’, and further derived into *páis* - country – and *paisaje* – landscape-, i.e., the land that can be seen from a certain place. The term *paisano* prevailed over *pagano* – pagan –, the inhabitant of the *pagus* resilient to change and the imposition of the Christian beliefs and traditions (Izquierdo Vallina and Barrena 2006). The *páis* is the place, the *pagus*, where the *pagano* built its agricultural landscapes (Izquierdo Vallina 2008). This depiction points to the existence of diverse groups of people inhabiting rural areas who were resilient to the imposition of external powers and sets of values. In fact, many people in north west Spain and in Maragatería still hold beliefs that do not fit with the religious worldview provided by the Church nor with modern science. This is demonstrated by the existence of characters like the *mouros* in the social imaginary, fictional peoples living in or nearby archaeological sites. While the Church constructs difference in terms of ‘paganism’, (the non-believing other), modernity does so in terms of ‘tradition’ (the non-modern other). However, as Latour’s microbes (1988), traditional peasants were never there, they had to be invented by moderns. Forms of internal differentiation enabled the relational emergence of hybrid subjectivities as a consequence of temporal and spatial internal and informal networking in communities, as opposed to officially constructed, transcendent ideas of difference created to refer to them (Kearney 1996: 121). These official references crafted from an external plane of reference by the State, the scientist, the urban visitor, the TV program or the intellectual, strive to construct a difference through the definition of pure categories to refer to what they consider to be a totality (Latour 1996). In doing so, they construct a difference but do not actually acknowledge the actual *otherness* of the subject they are referring to. In other words, they generate cultural representations and try to change reality to fit those representations, without acknowledging the *real differences* between ‘them’ and us’. Therefore, my is to move from difference to otherness, trying to explore potential knowledge practices allowing us to avoid reproducing differences, essentialisms and oppressions in constructing social subjects as objects of research. This implies looking at different forms of common sense deployed by the so-called ‘peasants’ and moving away from the folkloric discourse.

I wanted to begin this section with an etymological approach to avoid starting with questions of identity and difference, and thus reinstating a modern approach to the other. I have tried to provide an account which regards the differences made of peasants and the rural as historically conditioned products of modern power and not as ‘givens’. Many post-modern approaches and metaphors have been elaborated on the basis of theories of difference, which pose that the identity or meaning of a concept, term or idea relies on its relation or difference with other terms (Grossberg 1996: 94). The Maragato was considered non-Spanish, the peasants not modern and the rural not urban. According to Lawrence, theories of otherness “assume that difference is itself an historically produced economy, imposed in modern structures of power, on the real. Difference as much as identity is an effect of power (Idem: 95). If we want to move forward in our knowledge practices and in their connection with situated political ‘matters of concern’ (Latour 2004a), it is necessary to begin with a “strong sense of otherness which recognizes that the other exists, in its own place, as what it is, independently of any *specific* relations” (Grossberg 1996: 94).

A politics of otherness poses a problem for the researcher as knowledge always implies the construction of a barrier between self and other, especially in fields such as anthropology. Many

critics, following Foucault, have pointed to the intrinsic relation between power and knowledge. However, knowledge must be conceived as appropriative and oppressive when it is articulated into specific geo-economic and political relations reconfiguring scientific interest into power (Castro-Gómez 2007). The political role of the researcher seems to be trapped between the use of his/her knowledge by State or market forces and social unimportance. Even social anthropology in Spain has been in trouble to jettison its folkloric legacy and shift from the study of the 'other' to the 'us'. Probably, this reticence is owing to the fact that many urban inhabitants are the sons or nieces of rural peasants, and find it difficult to reify their own families. Thus, rather than speaking of 'internal others' (Briones 1998) research has focused on essential identities and traditions. The most recent anthropological approaches to Maragatería focus essentially in the differential traits of certain rituals, familial configurations, 'fiestas', and rites of passage that render the region and its inhabitants 'different'. The most differential aspects are emphasized while the common sense, what is close to 'us', is left aside. Ramos describes a similar situation in the study of indigenous communities in south America. For him, "we might affirm that, the more 'familial' the subjects under study are in relation to the group of reference of the anthropologist and the people reading his works, the simpler it becomes to focus in the analysis of quotidian life without the sensation that something fundamental is being left out of the analysis. In plain, it seems that we still expect that the indigenous should have more myths than common sense... and that the opposite should happen among 'us'. Consequently, the less 'foreign elements' emerge in the practices of natives, the more 'authentic' or 'traditional' they will look to us" (2005). Similarly, what is interesting in Maragatería for researchers is not the actual contemporary situation and living conditions of the people, but the people as an 'object' that provides certain exotic cultural expressions to the researcher. In this vein, a complete ethnographic description of two feasts in Luyego (Maragatería) does not even mention that the existence of all the symbolic connotations and cultural expressions displayed in the 'fiestas' are made possible by the existence of a *Junta Vecinal* that coordinates and makes possible the *fiesta* as a whole.

The substantial social and political momentum of the forces recoding 'diversity' as 'difference' leads the researcher to the uncertainty of considering that he or she is reproducing the inequalities and constituted differences of the object of study (and I do not claim to be an exception here). However, I deem necessary to face the task of dealing with the alterity of the people who have been labeled and constructed as peasants but whose agency and ontological status as 'others' has been silenced and not taken into account. Fundamentally, this is so because, unlike clearly defined ethnic or racial groups, 'peasants' are supposed to disappear both culturally and materially through development (Djurfeldt 1999). Moreover, 'peasants'³³ born and brought up during pre-industrial times in Maragatería and north western Spain are normally old. They do not present differential phenotypes that would make the construction of alterity endure generation after generation (the results from the DNA mitochondrial analysis of maragato specimens showed that the alleged maragato differential race was not such. (Larruga et al. 2001). Thus, they were not racially different from the rest of the population.³⁴

³³ I will use the word 'peasant' as an abbreviation here to refer to the 'so-called peasants', that is, I am not reproducing the essential characterization of them but just using the term functionally, as García Canclini suggests García Canclini, N. (1982). *Las culturas populares en el capitalismo*, Mexico: Nueva Imagen..

³⁴ Pun intended here: it is stunning that these kinds of analysis are still carried out on these grounds, when it should be clear by now that, in case the maragato group had been different, they should be looked for not in Maragatería but in

In fact, scholars' silence on the issue is especially harmful at a time when the institutions that governed these villages and that still played fundamental roles have come under serious threat. If stopping to speak about 'race' does not abolish racism (Briones 1998), not acknowledging that the ways of life of these people labeled as peasants constitute a historically constituted form of alterity does not change nor challenge the actual oppressions they must face. Moreover, this engagement with a politics of otherness does not forcefully lead to the 'speaking for them' approach. However, it is fundamental that the knowledge acquisition pathways adopt a symmetric position and, in Latour's terms, "follow the actors" (2005c). Following the evaluations and actions of actors from an emic and immanent approach enables us to compare forms of common sense, a fundamental task of anthropology (Herzfeld 2001).

Viveiros de Castro proposes a choice between two different images of anthropology and social science. "The first views research as the outcome of applying concept extrinsic to its object: we know beforehand what social relations are, cognition, kinship, religion, politics and so on, and our aim is to see how these entities take shape in this or that ethnographic context...in contrast, the alternative encouraged by the strategy of the and is to note that the procedures characterizing the investigation are conceptually of the same kind as those to be investigated" (2003: 7-8). The second one is what Latour calls a symmetric position (1993). Viveiros continues: "while the first conception of anthropology imagines each culture or society as the embodiment of a specific solution to a generic problem – as the specification of a universal form (the anthropological concept) with a particular content (the indigenous representation) – the second by contrast imagines that the problems themselves are radically distinct. More than this: it starts out from the principle that the anthropologist cannot know beforehand what these problems may be" (2003: 8). Methodologically, this view implies that the problems and worldviews of actors are not predetermined by those of the researcher. Therefore, it becomes necessary to document and analyze how the actors build their own worlds in different contexts. Furthermore, this implies that we do not necessarily need to establish universal planes of reference or comparative frameworks between supposedly similar 'categories of people', as some authors propose (e.g. Freeman 2011: 61).

I have performed the role of the 'internal ethnographer' (Davies 1999) following a situated approach. Although I am originally from Astorga, the so-called capital of the Maragatería, I have been living abroad for many years. Also, I never had a close relation to the rural and neither my parents were peasants nor came from rural origin. During my ethnography, the alterity of 'peasants' emerged in many forms and through different epistemological vectors. My first contact with 'peasant alterity' was informal as some of my friends and acquaintances from villages in Maragatería would like to follow the rural lifestyles of their parents. They even affirm, half serious, half joking, that they "want to become '*paisanos*'" and keep living in the rural. They do things that sound strange for people from Astorga of a similar age, like hunting or fishing. They do not go hiking but just "go to the mountains". However, the poor economic conditions of the area force them to emigrate and seek State jobs and positions. Then, when I started my ethnographic studies of the area, particularly investigating the textile artisans of Val de San Lorenzo, I started to learn their customs and differing temporal and spatial categories from me. Gathering information about how to meet an artisan from other informants did not entail the establishment of an appointment, but to

Madrid, La Coruña or South America, as the core maragato social elite massively emigrated in the last half of the XIX century from the region.

gather the necessary information about the bar he uses to go, the time he takes a nap and when he finishes playing cards. And more importantly, with which group of people he used to spend the afternoons sitting in benches and chatting and where this group used to gather. It took me a time to realize that the best way to gather information in group meetings was to spend hours chatting and trying to direct conversations to issues of my interest. Direct questioning and scientific or intellectual talk usually bewildered them, and responses stopped being spontaneous, which created a sense of strangeness. My formation as an archaeologist led me to encounter all the mythological accounts and legends around archaeological sites and objects, which many archaeologists considered to be just a sign of ignorance and backwardness.

When my research became a more 'formal' long-term investigation in 2008, I assumed a multidimensional approach that suited my interests. At the time, I was interested in Gramsci's theory of hegemony and already rejected to account for popular cultures according to their intrinsic qualities. However, the theory of hegemony was still charged with dialectics and considered that the best way to analyze popular culture was to oppose it to the hegemonic culture (Crehan 2002). Nonetheless, Gramsci's followers like Satriani (1968) or Cirese built more developed functional theories for the study of popular cultures. For Cirese, the defining elements of popular cultures should be established by use rather than by origin and thus considered as "fact rather than essence, as relational position rather than substance" (Cirese, Alberto quoted in García Canclini 1993: 25). Therefore, alterity arises as "the historical relationship one of difference or contrast with other cultural facts" (Idem: 25). Accordingly, I continued to listen to the narrations of the lives of 'peasants' and to analyze their material culture in houses, storage areas and stables. In addition, I started to interrogate the different social groups present in Maragatería about their perceptions and opinions of people I perceived as appertaining to other social groups. This strategy was fruitful and led me to put aside many preconceptions I had about the 'peasants'. I had assumed, for instance, that the intrinsic conservatism of 'peasants' would led them to reject the hippies and the eco-rurals, while having good relations with upper-middle class people from urban centers with which they would like to create social bonds. Instead, many 'peasants' were happy to have the hippies in their villages and had visited Matavenero (the hippie village *par excellence*). Leaving aside political views and physical aspect, there was an immanent connection between them in the ways of conceiving the relation with nature and with production/consumption: the hippies wanted to learn to work the land from the 'peasants'. In turn, working the land (the culture of effort, perseverance and suffering) and wanting to stay and live in the village was considered admirable by the 'peasants'. In contrast, they mostly disliked people from urban centers and many conflicts emerge between them in different villages. Finally, the combination of different methodologies revealed multiple dimensions of otherness. The study of houses, attitudes towards past and present material culture, individual and collective interviews, informal chatting and participant observation, all provided different views of them.



Image 25. The geographic and body politics of ‘peasants’. Different people who could fall within the broad and diffuse category of ‘peasants’. Their attitudes in the public sphere differ from the behavior of modern people by their location within the landscape of the village, normally sitting in stone benches and performing some kind of activity (knitting, playing cards, etc.) or just sitting down and chatting for hours. Also, their clothing clearly differentiates them from modern and supermodern individuals inhabiting the villages. Women normally wear a headscarf and men a beret. Also, the colors of their clothes normally tend to be dark and matte. Source: Author.

A further dimension of information was provided by the recording of a documentary film in the area. The final outcome were 65 hours of footage and a complete different view of the area through the lens, which makes people behave differently and can reveal many sociocultural attitudes and attitudes. For instance, that some people did not know in 2010 that a 60x25x30 cm. object with a huge lens at the front, a tripod below and a person looking through it was a video camera stunned me, and confirmed that they were living in a different ontological reality than mine. Moreover, it made me think on the seclusion and lack of voice of these people. There are no journalists to cover the area and thus unless city councils send faxes to the provincial journals, Maragatería remains silent and only the bombs of the Gunfire Range can be heard from it (at least I can hear them from where I write in Astorga). This, of course, facilitates taking certain kinds of political and economic decisions and not others. If no one will raise the voice, why not locating a Gunfire Range here? And then, why not a tire incinerator, a center for the treatment of residual waste, or an storage site for power plant remains? Or destroying the whole landscape through land reparcellations to abandon them immediately afterwards? Meanwhile, folklorists ask people about the way they talk and are stunned by the alleged beauty of preindustrial objects; anthropologists seek traditions, rituals and familial processes; rich people build huge houses and disrupt the normal

activities of the villages; the State forbids traditional cultural practices like the *matanza del cerdo* — - killing of the pig - and brings experts to allegedly take care of rivers and woods, with disastrous results in most cases. It does not matter because no one will raise the voice.

In relation to the ‘lack of voice’ of people in the area that I perceived, I realized that there had been a significant decrease in the interest and number of newspaper and journal articles and books on the Maragatería and its culture in recent times. The peasants and the maragatos were not being socially constructed through discourse anymore. Most processes of alterization and change were occurring gradually: the heritagization of some villages, the reoccupation of deserted villages, and so on. Furthermore, after a few years I realized that both myself and many of the friends who would accompany me in different occasions, could discern with an almost infallible accuracy the social ascription of each person only with an eyesight. Clothes, movements, activity and location let me know immediately who was who in the area. In my ‘ethnography of ethnographers’, I could see that many folklorists, especially those looking for peasants and their dialectic Leonese traits, immediately headed towards groups of ‘peasants’ with accuracy. However, how to describe this rather ‘unconscious’ knowledge on the visual economy of the place without falling into essentialist traps? The Deleuzian inspired materialist ethnographies of Saldanha (2007) and Bonta (2005) provided me the theoretical framework necessary to deal with the situation. Maragatería has become a place of multiple temporal and spatial coexistences, where topological thinking is necessary to account for how physicality and bodily practices are fundamental to the definition of identities (Law and Mol 2002).

On these grounds, I will expose a somewhat static approach to some relevant traits of the ‘peasants’ drawing on existing literature and my own experience, to then present a series of situations where different subjectivities intersect with what I broadly refer to as ‘heritage events’. These events emerge relationally through the interaction of different people and reveal useful information. But, how to account for an object of knowledge, in this case the ‘peasants’, without reifying, categorizing and essentializing it again? The ‘peasants’ cannot be conceived as a clearly separated group neither socially, culturally or economically, and the extent to which each of them is influenced by modern ideas and ways of life cannot be categorized nor defined in closed terms. Most conceptual metaphors developed in recent decades drawing in poststructuralist social theory fall short either. Figures like ‘differance’, ‘liminality’, ‘fragmentation’ or ‘hybridity’ usually become rhetoric devices without any actual usefulness for accounting for the stubbornness and complexity of empirical realities (Segato 2007). As different authors point out (O’Hanlon 1988; Parry 1987), these metaphors ultimately draw identities back to fundamentally modern figures such as geographic belonging or ways of life. Thus, they often ignore the “the fragmentary and conflictual nature of the discourses of power (different at different places and spaces of course); for ignoring the heterogeneity of power and apparently reducing it to discourses of representation and ignoring its material realities; for ignoring the positivity of the subaltern - as the possessor of other knowledges and traditions; as having their own history in which there are power relations defined within the ranks of the subordinated” (Grossberg 1996: 92).

Grossberg’s description can be applied to most modern constructions of peasants and maragato culture. I prefer to adopt Deleuze’s emergent and multidimensional understanding of identity, which does not deny that self and other are existentially real, but this fact does not become the foundation for a philosophical or scientific project (Saldanha 2007). This is the stance advocated

by Haber's 'undisciplined methodology' (Haber 2009), that goes beyond a symmetric approach to advocate the establishment of intricate and inmanent relations with the communities under study. This position assumes that it is not possible to continue speaking about identity in general, as the compression of time and space in the global arena (Virilio 2006; Virilio 2007) lead to the constant becoming of identities into something else, both individually and collectively. 'Peasants' in Maragatería must coexist in a similar plane of existence with a continuum of pre-industrial, modern and supermodern realities. Then, it is fundamental to grant a positivity and agency to the 'peasants' rather than reifying them. Thus, changes in their culture cannot then be conceived as 'contaminations' of a previously untouched culture, as folklorists use to consider it, but rather as forms of 'cultural production' that intermingle the old and the new (García Canclini 1995a). From this standpoint, the 'peasants' do not stand in dialectical opposition to an 'other' – urban, modern – but become active subjects constantly folding external realities to develop their interior (Deleuze 1993). The deleuzian conception of identity as sets of foldings and unfoldings allows us to account for the complexity and constant differentiation of 'a people', that is, a changing same (Gilroy 1994) without presupposing any intrinsic essence. Oppositions between traditional and modern are not suitable for understanding 'peasant' narratives and legends (Ayán Vila and Gago Mariño 2012). The traditional and the modern, the rural peasant and the urban dweller, exist out there not as essences but rather as tendencies in a grid of ideal categories that subjects tend towards, or reject. The metaphor of fractality is increasingly used to describe these processes, which are better conceived as gradients of change in a continuum rather than as closed compartments. Peasants today are dynamic compositions, folding and unfolding new materials, discourses and practices, and maintaining others, in a constant individual and collective 'becoming-other' (Yanai 1994; Yanai 2002).

In particular, Deleuze's concept of multiplicities provides an opportunity to avoid reproducing similar categorizations. Thinking through multiplicities enables us to avoid dialectic reason, a logic running in social theory since Hegel, and continued with Marx (class contradictions), Weber (ideal and substantive types), Simmel (forms and content, objective and subjective culture), Mead (Self and Other), Goffman (Frontstage and backstage) and Giddens (dialectics of control and structuration theory), among others. This logic reproduces sets of dualisms that have constituted the backbone of social theory such as self-other, individual-society, subject-object and structure-process. Moreover, the dialectic always favors the resolution of those dualisms – thus, identity over difference, the unity or universality of the concept of the multiplicity of sense. What the negation of the negation negates is always difference. Self and other are resolved in "intersubjectivity" or "reflexivity", subject and object in "community", individual and society in Society (the "collective representation") itself. For Deleuze, however, such resolutions merely divert us from attending to a multiplicity, as "all the selves are multiple" (Bogard 1998: 66). From this standpoint, William James' question of whether all possible relations are comprised in the inner nature of the self and constitute their essence or not (1948) must be answered through Deleuze's theory of relations of exteriority to avoid essentialisms. This theory conceives relations as independent from any essence. Accordingly, the terms and networks in which subjects (collective or individual) enter can be independent from one another and partake of different socioeconomic and cultural assemblages (Lazzarato 2006b).

The 'peasants' can enter different relations without constituting an essential totality, their *otherness* emerging as an 'operatory function' by which differences and similarities are established relationally with other subjects in the social field. In other words, when a 'peasant' observes and shares space with a newcomer urban dweller he might adopt some of his behavior patterns, and vice versa. This should not lead us to refer back to the dialectical logic that categorizes new subject forms through the typological categories of similarity, opposition, analogy and identity (Deleuze 1994): the 'peasant' has not become similar, or is opposed to the urban dweller, he or she has just entered novel relations of exteriority that produce something new, previously undetermined. In Deleuzian terms, he has actualized a virtual set of potential in his own plane of reference or worldview. Or, as Latour would put it, "either you have actors who realize potentialities and thus are not actors at all, or you describe actors who are rendering virtualities actual" (2005c: 155). The 'peasants' have never been actors at all: they can either become developed and thus non-peasants, non-rural, non-traditional; or remain essentially peasants bounded to the land, "no more intelligent than their donkeys" (Aceves 1978) in the view of official discourse and thought. Of course, granting the 'peasants' a positive ontology does not imply ignoring the power and economic segmentations that render them subaltern. As any other subject, they are conditioned by the differential possibilities of access, mobility and circulation in the social sphere that are conditioned by a series of historic and political pre-existing structures. These pre-existing conditions determine the agency of each actor, the differential capacities to acquire cultural and economic capital, and the possibility of accessing the life paths through which those cultural and economic resources can be acquired (Briones 2005a).

These novel hybrid situations that emerge through relational sets of differences in the dynamic interaction of peasants with novel sociohistorical realities can be easily perceived in materiality. There is a multiplicity of changes in façades and inner parts of vernacular houses that adopt some elements from modern and supermodern heritagized house from urban dwellers. They do not fit into broad schemes of 'modernity' or 'tradition', the new house aesthetics and articulations are novel realizations of virtual potentials. Neither local elites in the villages of Maragatería, who have traveled and can afford expensive materials, become 'totally modern': despite their houses try to imitate those of newcomers they only partially assume foreign patterns of construction. Despite the materiality of their houses attempts to replicate the aspect of traditional 'heritage houses', their location in villages differs from those of foreigners. Furthermore, they normally add gardens or swimming pools, and do not display pre-industrial objects in the outside: they do not clearly make the difference between modernity and tradition in the interplay of markers of symbolic power in the villages.



Image 26. Different rhythms in Valdespino de Somoza. While better roads and infrastructures are being implemented in Maragatería to facilitate the mobility of tourists and urban newcomers, no cultural activities are programmed to enhance the livelihood of the villages and their inhabitants, who have normally low patterns of mobility. Source: Author.

Thus, a conception of peasants as multiplicities enables us to move away from essences. If there is “no entity without identity” (Quine 1981), thus the ‘peasant’ multiplicity is not an entity but rather a rhizome, a reticular system in which different heterogeneous subjectivities constantly shift and become something else, it is an ‘assemblage of becomings’, a ‘difference engine’ (Viveiros de Castro 2010). The assemblage of subjectivities is constituted through ‘disjunctive synthesis’ that do not refer back to contradiction, similarity or identity in relation to a central ‘benchmark’ against which judgments and evaluations can be made. Rather, the self and subjectivity emerges in-between, in the distances and divergences between different subjectivities. Subjects change through ‘asymmetric reciprocal implication’ between the terms entering a relation. As Zourabichvili puts it, “the deepest idea of Deleuze is probably this one: that difference is also a communication and contagion among heterogeneous entities; in other words, that a divergence does not ever emerge without a reciprocal contamination of viewpoints ... To connect is always to make two poles of a distance enter into communication through the own heterogeneity of the terms” (2004: 66). From this standpoint, my account of the ‘peasants’ in Maragatería should be understood not as the ethnological comparison of ‘my peasants’ with ‘other peasants’ in a Universal continuum that provides a plane of scientific reference, but neither the definition of foundational categories that make someone or something be essentially ‘peasant’. Mine is an attempt to lay out some traits that appear as sources of difference immanently in the constant interplay between actors in the social sphere.

From the *Mouro* Other to the Peasant Other: the Obliteration of the Outside.

The social uses and representations of the figure of the *paisano* in contemporary Spain have subsumed their actual conditions of existence into a set of abstractions associating them with tradition, a peaceful life, the roots of society, and so on. My aim here is not to speak on their behalf and tell them what their lives should mean or head towards (Kearney 1996: 155). This is what different social actors do, showing that the actual existence of peasants does not matter to them, except when they can use them or their cultural representations for their own interest (as scientific or economic capital, political legitimization, and so on). The construction of their difference renders their actual otherness and forms of resistance or adaptation to change a ‘hidden transcript’ (Scott 1990) which has been too simply labeled as stubbornness or a conservative attitude. Most of the people labeled now as *paisanos* were born and brought up during pre-industrial times in rural Spain. Thus, their ‘habitus’ and worldview differ from ‘modern’ subjects. Drawing on Althusser’s terminology, we can affirm that different apparatuses of government are internalized by members of the society in ways that shape individual subjectivities (1970). Determinate structures of meaning, aptitudes, education, basic schemes of evaluation, action and understanding generate habituses that are structured in society and contribute to articulate it (García Canclini 1993: 17). Different sets of habits and forms of common sense render persons and collectives systematically distinct from others, and thus their forms of dealing with change – in this case, modernization and industrialization – vary.

Different labels have been used to refer to these societies such as pre-modern, pre-capitalist, pre-industrial or traditional. Until the 1960s, most traits of those societies described in the literature could be observed in Maragatería: limited economic production, division of labor, class difference and mobility, prevalence of agricultural work and a link between a producer and the land, of crafts rather than massive production – the mechanization of textile industries in Val de San Lorenzo was not generalized until the 1950s – , parochialism, rather feeble presence of state bureaucracy and a balance between personal forms of authority – ‘caciques’ – and solid community bonds (Crone 1989). Rogers and Svenning summarize some characteristics of these groups: “1. Lack of trust in interpersonal relations; 2. A perception that good things are limited; 3. Dependence and hostility towards the government’s authority; 4. “familism”; 4. Lack of entrepreneurial spirit; 6. Fatalism; 7. Limited ambitions. 8. Lack of dilation in the satisfaction; 9. Limited worldview. 10. Lack of empathy” (1973: 35, translated from the Spanish version). For Shanin, “the peasantry is composed of little agricultural producers who, with the support of a simple set of tools and the work of their families, produce enough to satisfy their own consumption and for the fulfilment of their obligations to the holders of the economic and political power” (Shanin 1979: 215-216).

Public education in schools was far from widespread. Moreover, when it was available it only reached low levels as most youngsters abandoned the school to aid their parents with agricultural activities or crafts. Similarly to other areas of the north west of Spain, Maragatería was mostly a “preliterate society within a literate society” (González Méndez 2000: 14) where journals were read in common by literate members of the community. The childhood of most interviewees was marked by the period commonly referred as *el hambre* –the hunger-, that is, the autarchy that followed the Spanish Civil War lasting broadly from 1939 to 1960 (Matés Barco and González Enciso 2006). This period led to a decrease in commercial exchanges –although *estraperlo* or illegal trade was

widespread -, the endurance of subsistence agriculture and a diminishing of a monetary economy. Roads, sewing systems, telephones, running water, electricity and internal toilets became commonplace only during the 1960s and 1970s. Despite an incipient labor division existed, most people used to have at least a partial dedication to agriculture, from cattle dealers, egg deliverers, blacksmiths, to tavern holders.



Image 27. Blacksmiths. Pepe, on the left, is the last ‘traditional’ blacksmith that remains in Maragatería. He built and has carried on repairing his forge continuously for nearly fifty years. This picture was taken in Valdespino in 2010. On the right, a blacksmith apprentice in Santa Catalina de Somoza. Source: Author.

Manifestations of popular culture involved the participation of the community as a whole, and many rituals, parades and seasonal feasts endured with a certain livelihood until recent times (Melis Maynar 1988). My ethnographic data reveal a kind of community with a socioeconomic organization and cultural schemes that with many similarities with other northwestern communities at the time (de Rota and Monter 1984; García Martínez 2008a; González-Quevedo González 2002; Lisón Tolosana 1981). However, in the province of León as a whole and in certain areas like Maragatería in particular, communal institutions, forms of property and management lasted with a particular livelihood. Whereas in Asturias the local *concejos* gradually became city councils under State control, in León this did not happen everywhere. Interviewees emphasize these aspects when referring to ‘lo de antes’ in its many forms. The community would gather together to help a family build a house, to collect money for a celebration, to take the cattle to graze, and so on.

It has been common to emphasize the intrinsic relation between peasant communities and their surrounding territory (Weber 1976; Wolf 1966). This is why different authors have pointed to the fundamental relevance of space over time in the constitution of these societies: the construction of space as territory and the control over nature is fundamental for their reproduction (Criado-Boado 1988: 76). In fact, space can be considered to be the most primitive and concrete of the multiple worldview universals, well before temporality (Kearney 1995). Vicent points to the fragmentarity and lack of depth of the temporal conceptions of these groups (1990). In the Alto Minho, de Pina Cabral (1989) presents the temporal schemes used by peasants as consisting in two basic phases. The first refers to a ‘nowadays’ equated with contemporary times and the ‘people’. The second is the ‘before’, which corresponds with the past as received through oral accounts, and which is associated with the ‘elder’, to finally use a generic ‘formerly’ time were the ‘ancient’

peoples lived. As González Álvarez points out, those ‘ancient’ peoples could be equated with the *mouros* or *moros* of Asturias (2011), and by extension, with those found in Maragatería.

Time and space are fundamental references for the construction of schemes of meaning that provide stability to societies, as all members of a community are endowed with similar frameworks to account for and control the material reality (Hernando Gonzalo 1999). Hernando Gonzalo (2002) further points to the priority of space as the fundamental ordering framework where narrations, norms, remembrances and dreams of preindustrial societies are inscribed. In fact, space is full of meanings and the topography of the surrounding areas of villages is intensely differentiated and described by rural communities in what we could call ‘cognitive maps’ (Criado-Boado 1989). Significantly, in places where land reparation occurred such as Val de San Lorenzo, stories attached to places began to fade as well as topography names. Moreover, people started not to be sure anymore, of whether the stories told about those places were true or not. Similar cases are reported in Galicia (Ayán Vila and Gago Mariño 2012; Ayán Vila et al. 2010). The obliteration of the relation between space and meaning has pragmatic consequences for the communal management of the village. Thus, in places where reparation has not been implemented, common law prevails in conflicts over land boundaries between neighbors. On the contrary, modern technologies administered by the State are used to solve those conflicts in reparation areas. The links between cultural and material processes were more intricate in these communities and only modernization will extricate them.

However, we must be careful not to grant space nor the relation between peasant and land a foundational character to define those communities as most essentialist approaches to the peasantry do (Kearney 1996). Thus, we cannot assume that aspects of personality, worldview, economic rationality or social identity derive from a special relation to the land. Regarding temporality, both Henri Bergson and his concept of ‘duration’ (Mahler 2008: 69) and Walter Benjamin (2008) point to a kind of lived temporality based on ‘experiential time’, which takes place below the level of consciousness (Mahler 2008: 69). For Benjamin, in times of subsistence economy the individual and collective stories are embedded in the cultural and natural environment through storytelling. In fact, the connection between time and territory is kept through legends. As Ayán Vila and Gago Mariño point out in Galicia, it would be wrong to understand peasant stories about fantastic characters inhabiting the rural by opposing traditional to modern (2012: 60). These legends are ancient and contemporary at the same time. Through their constant novel elaborations the relations of the people with those places is perpetuated. Moreover, these narrations constitute a fundamental part of the ontological security devices of the community (Giddens 1991), as they provide the basic frameworks of perception and understanding of space, time and reality.

In Maragatería, as well as in most northwestern areas of the Iberian Peninsula, those fantastic characters inhabiting close to archaeological sites are called *mouros* or *moros*. Those are male and female characters who occupied the territory in a mythical time of which the peasants have no memory (González Méndez 2000). The cultural and temporal break between the *mouros* and the communities is clear: they do not conceive them as their ancestors. The alterity attributed to Roman mines and hillforts contrasts to the well-preserved social memory of deserted quarters of villages, cemeteries and ruined churches, with which local communities identify. Contrary to our supermodern social formations obsessed with the search of ancestors, who are sought everywhere (Whitley 2002), vernacular communities did not seek ancestors but rather ‘others’ in the outside.

These *mouro* others present non-human characters, from living in rivers or underground, to the possession of magical powers. The *mouros* share the mythical imaginary of the communities with the *ánimas* and *hadas*, inhabiting fonts, wells and the forests. The stories about the *mouros* go hand in hand with tales of hidden treasures and gold hoards that are supposedly hidden somewhere nearby the archaeological sites. Those receive different names: the ‘golden chariot’, ‘golden horse’, ‘golden serpent’, and so on. In other cases they are portrayed as performing human quotidian activities. I was told once that nearby the hillfort of Morales del Arcediano “the *mora* once came down to do the laundry” (Interview 2, November 2008).

Stories about *moros* are intermingled with Christian discourses that tried to discursively and materially recodify narrations and spaces that were considered to be pagan. This process might have started during the initial spread of Christianity (Conde 2000: 498-499; in González Álvarez 2011) with a possible reawakening of paganism during late medieval or modern times (Ayán Vila 2005: 105; Marín Suárez 2005: 100). This Christian strategy consisted basically in the construction of chapels and churches superimposed in sites of pagan cult, and in the elaboration of narrations featuring charismatic Christian characters such as Santiago Matamoros. Consequently, stories about *moros* are today mixed with Christian narratives in the social imaginary of ‘peasants’. For instance, in Val de San Lorenzo it is common to hear that the hillfort is inhabited by *moros* (in Maragatería both *moros* and *mouros* is used), but a half-moon carved in stone just below the hillfort is called the ‘footstep of Santiago’s horse’.



Image 28. *La pisada del caballo de Santiago* – Santiago’s horse footstep. It is a carving of nearly one meter of diameter located next to the hillfort of Val de San Lorenzo. It does not catalogue in the archaeological record of the area and has not been investigated. Local elders affirm that their grandfathers used to tell them the story of the *pisada* already. Source: Author.

Also, sometimes the old *moros* are conflated with the ‘contemporary Moorish’ (González Álvarez 2011). However, this is probably a recent addition to the previous narrations derived from the relevant role of Moorish troops during the Spanish Civil War and other recent historical events (Ayán Vila and Gago Mariño 2012). This hypothesis is supported by the fact that people in Maragatería who lived the Civil War normally consider it the most striking period of their lives, especially if they were actively involved in it. This is not to claim that the *moro* designation is somewhat the authentic one, as it might well replace previous ones such as *gentiles*, *antiguos*, *galigriegos*, *griegos* or *gigantes* (Álvarez Peña 2007: 225-226; Arizaga Castro and Ayán Vila 2007: 460-471; González Reboredo 1971: 19-25).

Different authors have considered the *moros* to be an ‘other’ that represents the alterity of the pre-industrial community and thus helps defining its identity negatively (Linares García 1990: 21). This would be so because there is a temporal break between the ‘us’ and ‘them’ and because the *moros* appertain to a different race (Linares 1990: 78). According to González Álvarez, the peasant identity is reinforced by the existence of these fantastic characters, who help them to make sense of some unexplainable elements of their surrounding world, such as the existence of ruins or elements foreign to their collective memory about temporally far events (2011). Following Bartra (1992), he argues that the opposition of certain features, either cultural or physical, with their own reality serves pre-industrial communities to define the ‘other’ and consequently the ‘us’. He argues that examples of this process exist in the Balkans (Hrobat 2007: 35-38), América (Lima 1996), Portugal (de Pina Cabral and Valverde 1989: 65-66) or Scandinavia (Herva 2009: 392). This definition of identity runs in parallel with the establishment of mechanisms of security that reinforce our sense of existential security (Hernando Gonzalo 2002). González follows Hernando (2006: 226) to argue that due to the spread of market and State power in Spain, the traditional values are reversed and thus change has become a positive asset against immobility, permanence and the invariable maintenance of the reality known. Once these changes have occurred, the identity function performed by the mythical discourse fades away and falls into oblivion. In my ethnography, younger generations, returned migrants or urban newcomers told ‘peasants’ that all that stories about *moros* were just stupid legends, to which they normally replied a timid “that’s what the elder used to say”. The enchanted material remains of the past where ‘peasants’ could see supernatural elements (Gazin-Schwartz and Holtorf 1999b), have become mute and cold ‘archaeological sites’.

Despite I broadly agree with González’s depiction, I consider that his account follows a too idealist conception of identity based on negativity and Hegelian dialectics. For Hegel, a thing is at the same time what it is not and, thus, as Adorno points out, Hegelian negativity reaches identity by already presupposing it (Widder 2008: 67). The dialectical models of identity have had a significant grip in Spain since the very beginnings of social and cultural anthropology. During the 1980s, different groups started to analyze identity catalyzed by the new context in which the brand-new Autonomous Communities needed and promoted difference and local tradition (Prat Carós 1992). The influential Symposium on “Identity” held at the Universidad Complutense of Madrid in 1978 and directed by Lisón Tolosana, focused on identity as a cultural phenomenon in which specific rituals reinforced collective sentiments and the duality between ‘us’ and ‘them’. Beyond the critique of Hegelian dialectics, perhaps is more important to note that the idea that identities and the self are constructed through difference is one of the most ingrained legacies of modernity (Grossberg 1996). In fact, the moderns have always constructed their identities via a differentiation from an-Other,

considered as physically impure, 'traditional' in a temporal sense, or as 'primitive' or 'ethnic' when conceived as spatial others turned into temporal others. In fact, whenever there is a "quest for purity, identity is performed through divergence and dichotomy, rather than through mixture and the referential integration of alterity" (Pollán 2010, March 25: min. 66).

This form of identification constrains the 'others' to respond via an inversion of the same model (as when indigenous communities are forced to start talking about 'their heritage' (Montenegro 2010). The peculiarity of modernity is then to conceive of itself as a difference which always differs from itself along temporal and spatial lines (Grossberg 1996). Therefore, the modern self conceives itself in a reflective fashion via an opposition with the others from which it differs (Briones 2007). Some people in the local communities of Maragatería still present mythical worldviews, which are mixed with religious narratives and increasingly with modern epistemologies. Myths, their narrations, legends and value assessments are normally accompanied by specific rites, that can endure the abandonment of mythical worldviews (García Gual 1997). However, the myth is a form of thought that avoids a subjective self-reflection about individual constituencies: it is a modern characteristic to acquire internal temporal and spatial consciousness in a self-reflective manner (Grossberg 1996). Thus, arguing that discursive constructions about *moros* and other fantastic entities served peasant communities as 'others' against which their individual and collective identities were constructed seems to me a form of projecting contemporary modern epistemologies towards the past and to the 'peasant other'. Why would they need 'others' when their community bonds were immanently fixed and subjects were not hyper-individualized as it the case today?

In authors like Nietzsche, "the essential relation of one force to another is never conceived of as a negative element in the essence. In its relation with the other the force which makes itself obeyed does not deny the other or that which it is not, it affirms its own difference" (Deleuze 1983: 8-9). Viewing peasants' identities as built upon the marking of a difference with an 'other' implies taking difference itself as a given, as "the economy out of which identities are produced" (Grossberg 1996: 94). Again, this conception makes identity and meaning rely on its relation and difference from other terms – the *moros* for instance –. From my standpoint, a more materialist approach reveals that the actual 'others' are normally 'human others' – other surrounding villages, for instance –. Also, this is not a psychological or symbolic differentiation but a relational emergence of values and judgments derived from sociohistoric contexts where conflict, collaboration and exchange took place for real objects and entities (Lordon 2006). These situations where values were negotiated relationally could occur in contact zones (Pratt 1991) such as village's boundaries, contentious issues revolving around land property, sites of exchange such as markets, or religious and social feasts and celebrations. The study of the *refranero* – proverbs – must be taken into account for the study of these communities (Freeman 2011). In Maragatería, different sayings and nicknames are used to describe the character of the inhabitants of neighboring villages, or to the village as a whole: "*Para putas y mal pan, Boisán*" – "[To find] whores and bad bread, Boisán" or "*Andiñuela está en un teso, Villaciervos n'un fondal, mataburros en Turienzo, porretos en Rabanal*" - "Andiñuela is in a hill, Villaciervos in a fen, stubborn people in Turienzo, Hicks in Rabanal" (Botas San Martín 1993a). In Val de San Lorenzo, denigrating nicknames were applied only to surrounding villages: Valdespino and Val de San Román. Clearly, these proverbs are related to territorial issues and to contentious issues related to the existence of limited resources

available for economic production and the always-precarious balance between production and consumption. Losing a land dispute could lead a family to hunger and to the village as a whole to be forced take care of the family.

Therefore, I prefer to conceive the *moros* as part of the immanent multinaturalism of the community and its perception of enchanted landscapes as a form of symbolic structuration or their social and physical landscape through ‘cognitive maps’. A theory of ‘otherness’ should assume that difference is a historically produced economy related to real structures of power, ‘identity’ being already a constitutive condition of modernity which implies transcendence from nature. The material embodiment of identities, and the codes of difference and distinction associated with it, are inscribed in collectivities and individuals historically. If racism is “directed to secure us ‘over here’ and them ‘over there’, to fix each in its appointed species place” (Hall 1992: 16), I do not see the *moros* performing the same task. Precisely because the worldview in which they make sense and are generated differs from ours, is ‘an-other’ form of thinking that does not forcefully need to be translated into our epistemologies (Mignolo 2000). Clearly, dualisms are culturally specific and are predicated on the idea that the self is discontinuous with the other. Thus, self and other are the basic axis of any worldview whose relationships are, however, variable and not forcefully constitutive of identities (Kearney 1984: 68-72, 150-153). In fact, the *moros* can be conceived as these kinds of hybrid elements that, according to Latour, define the pre-modern cultures. For him, in “devoting themselves to conceiving of hybrids, the other cultures [the non-modern] have secluded their proliferation” (1993: 12).

Broadly stated, I deem more suitable to conceive the issue as a form of establishing a connection with an ‘outside’ that alters the relation between immanence and transcendence. In other words, I think that the *moros* serve as immanent beliefs that allow communities to preserve their intrinsic and immanent links among their members and with the surrounding landscape. These sets of beliefs constitute the structure of possibility of the community and its reproduction, and can be related with the conservative character – or better, self-preservation instinct or form of resistance – of these pre-industrial groups against any form of transcendence (either from the Church, the State, the Knowledgeable modern subject, etc.). To preserve the immanence of the worldview of these communities I deem fundamental not to extricate certain aspects of their immanent reality into modern compartments crafted by the researcher, like ‘mythical thought’, separations between religious, economic and cultural aspects, and so on. Thus, it might be more useful to consider the *moros* as a belief in ‘others’ – not dialectically opposed others – that serve as ‘virtual structures of the possible’, that is, the conditions of possibility for perception, explanation and understanding of the world, that provide ontological security to the group as well (Reynolds 2008: 75).

Contrary to knowledge, belief implies a relation with the outside and an affirmation of that exteriority (Zourabichvili et al. 2004: 91). The *moros* are part of an immanent belief in relation with an unthinkable and imperceptible ‘outside’, fantastic beings embodying human and non-human attributes that inhabit real landscapes, that enable subjects to make sense of ambiguous elements of troublesome inclusion in the spatiotemporal coordinates of their worldviews– e.g. past remains or ruins. If the *moros* could not grant the subjective underpinnings for an identity through dialectical negation, they provided an immanent set of coordinates to make sense of the emotional and physical landscapes inhabited by the communities. Contrarily, the Church aimed at the imposition of a transcendent belief in a God that was unknowable and concealed, abstracted from any material

reference and whose perfection overcame and humiliated the banal and mundane existence (Zourabichvili 2003)., This implementation of a transcendent moral order was paralleled by the gradual establishment of solid structures of domination.

Thus, I suggest that one of the specificities of pre-industrial 'peasant' communities comes from their affirmation of a belief in the outside. In turn, modernity and modern knowledge entail the inclusion of the outside – God, the *moros* – in the world or under the epistemological categories of the knowledgeable subject. According to Lash and Urry, the pre-modern refers to a life in immanent relation with the pace of nature that entails an unpredictable and open-ended movement. In turn, the modern implies a transcendent abstraction from the insecurities, unpredictability and incommensurabilities that a life in immanent relation with nature implies (Lash and Urry 1994). This is what Viveiros de Castro defines as the transition from a world where multiple natures coexisted, to a modern context where a multiplicity of cultures emerge from a scientifically known and Universal nature (2009). When modernity fills the space of nature with an 'objective' cultural representation of it, the relation with the outside is broken and there is no more room left for the *moros*, those beings suited for the structuration of the relation with an open ended and unpredictable immanent relation with nature. Modernity tells us that nature is one but that humans have multiple perspectives on it (Harman 2009). In trying to purify the world, the moderns dissect it into the two incommensurable realms of culture and nature (Latour 2004a). Time starts to be privileged over space and the different planes of social individuation start to be constructed temporally, in ways foreign to those of the pre-industrial communities: subjectivity gains internal time consciousness, and thus attempts to impose an order in nature and a conscious control over time, identities arise through temporal constructions of difference in history, while agency can be conceived as the temporal displacement of difference (Grossberg 1996). The agency of moderns posits the individual self as the benchmark of social identity, the source of experience, knowledge and action (O'Hanlon 1988). This is not to deny that pre-industrial communities lacked those, or to affirm that they did not have an identity. But, contrary to the psychoanalytical position, subjects and communities do not lack anything, do not need an 'other' to mirror their own identities: when identities arise those are the effects of some kind of repression and power device: for instance, when modern knowledge invents tradition or the peasant (García Canclini 1989) the dynamic and creative character of the objects of knowledge is negated and overlooked. In reality, everyone is located within specific locations providing differential forms of access to experience and knowledge about themselves and the world. However, affirming an all-too-easy construction of their identity via an opposition with the *moros* entails an oppression and reproduction of a foundational essentialism. This is so because the 'community' becomes an undifferentiated whole whose identity arises in opposition to an 'other', disregarding the fact that some individuals might occupy different positions in relation to those 'others', with specific power positions and perspectives on reality. 'Peasant' societies, as any other society, present internal segmentations and inequalities that enable and constrain specific subject positions along lines of class, gender and symbolic recognition.

A Conservative Impulse?

We are in a better position now to assess one of the most common defining traits of the peasant that has become a quasi-essentialism. In fact, the ‘conservative character’ of the peasant is asserted in the broad literature about peasantry in general (Shanin 1979) and in different sources in Spain, from the Enlightenment authors (Jovellanos 1981 [1782]), to the Franco sociologists (Foessa 1966). Moreover, the largely conservative and traditionalist character of the *maragatos* has been constantly highlighted since XVIII century authors (Sarmiento 1787) to recent research (Gutiérrez González 1983). From my standpoint, these characterizations have been made from a modern epistemological standpoint that reinforces the cultural representations of peasant difference without actually acknowledging their alterity. The peasant is again considered rural, traditional and thus opposed to modernity and the innovative spirit. However, authors like the novelist Delibes (Delibes 1960; Delibes 1981; Delibes and Masats 1964) or the anthropologist Aceves provided a more complex and nuanced portrayal of the Spanish peasants, that for Aceves represent a group of “cautious, prudent and rather restless” people (1978: 334). International debates on the peasant character have focused in the peasantry as a subject when it became a potential revolutionary agent after revolutionary processes like the Chinese (Kearney 1996). This is why debates about them have been polarized into whether peasants are essentially revolutionary and parochial, or rather rational actors that tend to embrace market forces. This discussion was epitomized by the debate between Scott’s *The Moral Economy of the Peasant* (1976), who argued that peasants tended to resist authority and preferred to remain within patronage relations. When those patronage bonds were broken, revolution was likely to start. In *The Rational Peasant* (1979) Popkin challenges this argument by showing how peasants were willing to embrace free markets and abandon patronage and exploitation networks. These debates in political anthropology had universal pretensions. They attempted to account for an archetypal and stereotyped peasant, and thus are not valid for my situated enquire in Maragatería.

In brief, my point here is that what has been called ‘conservatism’ can be better framed as a strategy for the preservation of the immanence of communities and individuals. That is, we are dealing with an-other logic (Mignolo 2012), and therefore qualifying it as ‘conservative’ from the onset is a rather flawed starting point of analysis. In other words, we need to stop considering the ‘peasant’ as a reified knowledge object useful for our discursive constructions, and acknowledge that their worldviews and rationales differ from ours: “they think different from us, and therefore build and live in symbolic landscapes quite dissimilar to ours” (González Álvarez 2011: 146). González-Ruibal (2003a: 417), has established three categories that relate patterns of behavior towards material culture with specific historical phases. Thus, the conservative behavior (*actitud conservativa*) is characteristic of the Ancient Regime or the pre-rural and pre-modern world. Within this framework, nearly everything is preserved: glass, metal or pot are always preserved. The non-conservative behavior of the modern world tends to discard most things without showing any specific emotional attachment to them, and presents a tendency to reject material culture from the pre-industrial past as a symbol of a backward and poor past. The conservative attitude (*actitud conservadora*, rather than *conservativa*), refers to an ideological stance whereby a symbolic relation is established between people and objects, beyond economic or utilitarian factors. According to Ruibal, this stance is characteristic of the postmodern era.

These different stances are reflected not only in attitudes towards material culture (see Alonso González 2009a), but can also be documented in social practices. For instance, by a saying that I documented during my ethnography and is commonly held by many elder people in rural areas. Many people use to say that “*en tiempos de Franco se estaba mejor*” – things were better in Franco times–. For young people this appears as a striking remark for we tend to understand and interpret it as an ideological or political statement, as if they were affirming that a dictatorship is a better regime than democracy or that they supported Franco’s ideology. However, a deeper ethnographic analysis shows how their conceptions of ‘politics’ diverge from the mainstream, in their evaluations are more immanent and pragmatic. First, they are normally distrustful of any form of power imposed from the outside, an attitude which existed well before the Franco regime (Aceves 2011). Second, politics and historic events are not linked directly or intrinsically to ideological choices in a free decision-making environment. Third, their political evaluations are closely related to their immanent perceptions of individual and collective freedom. This freedom is understood in an Spinozian sense, that is, related to capacities of acting, moving, being in control of situations without external interference, and so on. In fact, it is a conception of freedom linked to the Spinozian notion of the self as the terms of capacities for affecting and being affected, of ‘what a body can do’ (Deleuze 1990a) One interviewee, a retired egg dealer from Val de San Lorenzo, explained at length all the reasons why he perceived that his freedom had been curtailed in recent years. In his opinion, during Franco’s times he could “do everything”, but now he “cannot do anything” (Interview 3, January 2009). He could drive his car wherever, go fishing and hunting, walk in the mountains without fences and enclosures impeding him to do so, and so on. He complains about the role of State agents in forest and river management, and that now he needs “cards and papers for everything” (Interview 3, January 2009), whereas foreign people find it easy to come and get the mushrooms or fish in the village’s communal forests and in the river. Similar complaints can be found elsewhere in north western Spain (e.g. Ayán Vila and Gago Mariño 2012; Izquierdo Vallina and Barrena 2006), especially regarding the issue of river and forest management and in relation to the introduction of foreign species by State agents and the mismanagement of fires.

For the egg vendor, the relation with politics is one of immanence and materialism, of what bodies can do or are impeded to do, and their capacities to affect and be affected by their surroundings, to establish new connections (Massumi 2002). In fact, while Franco’s dictatorship established a disciplinary system (Foucault 1977) that controlled the fundamental institutions of the State (repressive apparatus, schooling, industries, and so on), the transition to a democracy entailed a shift towards a regime of control where the regulation of *life* as a whole became much more insidious and pervasive (Deleuze 1995). While in Franco’s times the local communal instruments of self-government were left untouched, the State apparatus of the democratic regime has relentlessly tried to undermine them constantly in its will to regulate not only the disciplinary apparatuses but all forms of life and government. Of course, in a time when neoliberal governmentality is being imposed (Gordon 1991), and new subjects to be governed defined and objectified (Rose 1997), the common management and self-regulation of local communities cannot be but threatened and despised as outdated. Today, the regional government of Castilla y León imposes quotas on what can be hunted or not. Why did people in Val de San Lorenzo not hunt twenty rabbits (and thus plundering their resources) instead of the one or two they used to before? The egg trader explains:

“because it made no sense to hunt that much. No one would hunt to sell in the market in Astorga or anything. Also, if I hunted ten rather than two, other people could not hunt and that would create unrest in the village” (Interview 3, January 2009). The forests were communal, and thus the animals within it too. Contrary to the thesis of ‘tragedy of the common’ (Hardin 1968), managing the communal implied a set of unwritten laws and bonds of solidarity which were based on immanent perceptions, emotional bonds and constraints, and on the simple fact of belonging to a community (Agamben 1993): if I hunt ten you cannot hunt one.

Communal property was not “no man’s property” (Hardin 1994) but rather an intensively striated space where many norms and precepts had to operate for it to exist. This dense set of rules that communal life implies is what most people considered ‘freedom’, whereas freedom for the modern urban subject is the possibility of establishing a ‘contract’ to get what he wants: if the foreign hunter wants to hunt ten rabbits, he will pay for his license, buy the concession to hunt them, and take them away. Why not? This, of course, disrupts the delicate equilibrium of the local, extricating nature from culture and disregarding local forms and customs. Different forms of maintaining the striated and intensively controlled space of the community are still alive today. Brandes described some of those in a Castilian village when they were still totally operative (1973). The way communities preserved their internal immanent relations and bonds was at the same time insidious and reassuring, and in any case fundamental for its reproduction. For instance, a sort of ‘panopticon’ was generated by which everyone constantly needed to know, and normally knew, where the other members of the community were coming from, going or staying (Brandes 1978).

My ethnography has revealed how local common sense is disrupted by modern technologies and different urban logics. For instance, in a conversation with a group of elders in Santiago Millas, they bitterly complained about the increasing number of foreign urban dwellers. They were annoyed because most times they “*ni siquiera saludan cuando pasan por delante de uno*” – do not even say hello when passing by –. They complained about the fact that they had electric heating and a garage as well. Not because they were envious, but because they could not tell whether the newcomers were at home or not by seeing the car parked in the front of the house or the smoke coming out from the chimney. For them, this is a reassuring strategy as they visit each other daily to check that “nothing bad has happened” to the others, especially to those who live alone. I was surprised to encounter similar strategies in the ‘hippy’ village of Matavenero, where people from northern Europe try to emulate pre-industrial local traditions to a certain extent: as a rule, elders in the village had to light a fire during wintertime so as the others could see the smoke and confirm that the elders were fine. These strategies demonstrate how ambiguous rural communities can be: the cost of solidarity is the absence of intimacy, whereas community prevails over the individual. In fact, this contradiction is one of the fundamental causes of the break of many alternative and eco-rural communities (Gómez-Ullate García de León 2006). Things did not change much with the transition to democracy and the establishment of an open party system: this shift did not imply that mayors were elected according to ideological choices. Most times patronage networks were reproduced and remodeled according to the new status quo (see Cazorla Pérez 1995; Cazorla Pérez and Socials 1992 for a broad analysis of these processes at the national level). It is still common to hear that at the local level it is not the party that matters, but the person and the family.

Proverbs provided a further element for the social structuration of the villages, facilitating the transmission of common knowledge from elder generations to the youngsters. In Maragatería, and

in the province of León as a whole, the *filandonos* – community evening gatherings during winter where women spun and sewed – (Bartolomé Pérez 2007) provided the communal time and space for the elders to repeat the sayings to the youngsters, which could be again repeated at home. Most proverbs tend to refer to the individual as part of a broader network in which it comes to cohere and ‘make sense’. What matters is, again, the relation of the part to the whole rather than the part and its behavior in isolation. Thus, proverbs are geared towards the regulation of the activities of individuals so as they do not alter the soft reproduction of communal life. Similarly to what Brandes noted in his study of a Castilian village (1978), social attitudes like hypocrisy and lack of honorability are censured in proverbs. But, more importantly, sayings teach members of the community to distrust introverted subjects and those unwilling to participate in group activities: “*Guárdate del hombre que no habla y del perro que no ladra*” – “Stay away from the silent man and the dog that does not bark” (Botas San Martín 1993b). The insidiousness of community regulation reaches the fundamental issue of marriage, which concentrates by far the largest amount of sayings and advices. These sayings can associate introversion with marriage: “*Hombre cobarde se casa mal y tarde*” - “A coward man gets married badly and late” and foster endogamy: “*El que lejos va a casar, va engañado o va a engañar*” – “He who goes far away to get married, goes deceived or goes to deceive”. Individuals were constrained to get married because single men were not considered ‘neighbors’, which meant that they could not draw on the communal resources nor build a house. Again, communal life implies regulation rather than free will, and the dense set of moral precepts associated to its legal and institutional framework guarantees the immanent reproduction of the system. For those threatening that system there were sayings as well. For instance, the following proverb was told to those working slow in *hacenderas* – communal works –: “*Come y bebe y ponte gordo, y cuando te llamen hazte el sordo*” – “Eat and drink and get fat, and when you are called pretend not to listen” (Botas San Martín 1993a).

Even the rich *maragato* mule traders had a large amount of proverbs that served as caveats for their heirs and family members. Normally, those pointed to the difficulties of gathering money and the easiness to lose it. Ultimately, however, the proverbs’ fundamental caveat was not to neglect and overlook the poor people of the community as they could easily become one of them in the future. Those proverbs reflect the uncertainty and unpredictability of a world in which a natural catastrophe, or an illness affecting the mules, could impoverish a family overnight. In fact, the rich *maragatos* always abode to the rules of the local democratic councils and participated to a certain extent in communal life (Rubio Pérez 2003). Thus, we might ask, what keeps the community bounded and together? The fundamental cause is the virtual idea of its potential fragmentation, which acts not as a possibility but as a sort of non-linear causality that Deleuze calls ‘quasi-cause’ (1991a). From local council’s common law, to proverbs and the festive calendar, most elements in communal life were geared towards the prevention of the shattering of the community and the maximization of predictability. It is not that these communities were essentially conservative as such. Rather, they were dealing positively and inventively with the unpredictable conditions of their environment (physical, economic, social, and political) that posed a threat to their survival. That the *Juntas Vecinales* have endured the last two centuries under fundamentally adverse and shifting political and socioeconomic environments is a proof of it. Only the arrival of modernity and the domestication of nature through technology, and the establishment of scientific truths that allowed individuals a certain stability and capacity to predict, would threaten the grounds of the

communities, that needed since then on a new ‘social contract’ between the parts (individual) and the whole (collectivity).

If ‘ecology’ and ‘nature’ are the two modern concepts that disrupted the relation of communities with their territories, ‘heritage’ will serve to shatter the shared cultural and temporal conceptions within the community (García Martínez 1981). Further divisions will split the immanence of the community as a whole into separated compartments: ritual, festive, cultural, popular, religious, aesthetic, and so on. From this standpoint, the alleged conservatism of these communities is not that, but rather a form of self-preservation and resistance that can be framed in terms of freedom: their ‘freedom-other’. Marris has shown that conservatism is an universal attitude not only present in pre-industrial communities but also in multinational corporations and bureaucracies (1974: 5-6). For him, the conservative impulse is the “tendency of adaptive beings to assimilate reality to their existing structure, and so to avoid or reorganize parts of the environment which cannot be assimilated” (Idem: 4). This drive is related to the organized structures of understanding and emotional attachments that enable a subject or a community to interpret their lives and environments in fundamental ways to guarantee their abilities to survive (Idem: 2). For him, “the will to adapt to change has to overcome an impulse to restore the past which is equally universal” (Idem: 2). From this standpoint, when a subject of enunciation labels others as conservative (understood not only in ideological or political terms, but as a general life attitude) is because they are trying to manipulate or force a change in them, attacking the stability of interpretations that render their lives predictable and their realities manageable. Accordingly, when the Enlightened intellectuals tried to suppress communal property in the XVIII and XIX centuries, they accused local communities of conservatism (Flórez de Quiñones y Tomé 1924), in a similar vein to the current right-wing government of democratic Spain in 2012. It is surprising how local communities have managed to preserve the immanence of their habits of “feeling, principles of conduct, attachments, purposes, conceptions of how people behave, and the attachments which make life meaningful are characteristically specific” (Marris 1974: 9). In a way, the conflict between local communities and State control is one about different forms of predictability, and thus of control over the environment. Modern knowledge controls the physical world – nature – by discovering its laws and, but the social world cannot be controlled as such, rational laws are imposed upon it (Marris 1974: 16). The contemporary failures of natural and ecological policies in rural areas show that trying to manage ‘nature’ without taking into account human dynamics is flawed: it is impossible to discern where nature ends and culture starts (Latour 2004a). A situation that pre-industrial communities were in a better position to tackle than modern ones, due to their rather feeble epistemological division between culture and nature. In the end, the apparently progressive contemporary worship of values such as risk-taking, individualism and creativity is just a conservative strategy to preserve the basic structures for the reproduction of the system. Thus, “corporations may welcome ambitious young executives with original ideas, but the contribution they are expected to make lies within narrow boundaries of assumed purpose and organizational habits” (Marris 1974).

This is not to deny that these communities did not have any conservative attitude at all. For instance, their relation with material culture is one of accumulation and preservation, as González Ruibal has shown in his study of preindustrial abandoned houses in Galicia (2003b). These preservationist attitudes are especially intense in relation to scarce materials such as metals or glass.

Similar attitudes are found throughout Maragatería, where old kitchens and storage areas are normally stuffed with all kinds of objects (Alonso González 2009a). Another material aspect of pre-industrial communities that reinforced the immanence of the group and its egalitarian ethos was architecture. Houses tended to be similar in shape and materials, and devoid of ornamental or distinctive elements, highlighting homogeneity (González-Ruibal 2005). In material terms, the transition to modernity implied a shift from attitudes of concealment and hiding to a politics of display and distinction in the symbolic landscape of the villages. Another novelty arrived with modernization was the emergence of the ‘bar culture’, studied by Hansen (1978) during the 1960s in Catalonia. He showed that the bar phenomenon created a sort of fake democratic atmosphere where people from different classes and social extractions would meet and perform their social networks and roles. He did not mention that only men normally go to bars, reproducing gender inequalities that were reinforced during the Franco period. In any case, the bar is still today a fundamental place for the exchange of information and news, and a crucial local political arena. Bar ethnographies are required to understand rural Spanish areas.

The scarce separation between aspects such as ritual, mundane and quotidian contexts (Gazin-Schwartz and Holtorf 1999a), and also of feasting, property management, social conduct or symbolism, reinforce the communitarian ethos of the group (Lisón Tolosana 1980: 91). Even religion, the supposedly most transcendent aspect of the community, does not escape this tendency towards immanence. Again, a superficial reading of the relations between those communities and the church might lead us to affirm their conservative attachment to all which is religious. Even today, the church keeps a good deal of control and regulates local time. In addition, the most fundamental identity landmark for people in Maragatería is the local church, associated with a saint. They feel proud of them and when tourists visit they are immediately told to visit the church. The role of the church in these communities is ambiguous, as it represents at the same time the most foreign and the most local entity in the villages. The property of local church is of the Spanish Church, which also appoints priests for the parishes. However, this differentiation fades locally, as the *Juntas Vecinales* and neighbors have always been in charge of repairing the church and keeping it clean and safe. A spatial metaphor suffices to demonstrate the unity of civic and religious issues: the local communal council of the village used to meet on Sundays after mass in the external patio of the local church. Proverbs confirm this point, as they normally put God on the one hand as a transcendent entity from which justice emanates, and the Church on the other as a worldly structure conformed by human beings. Similarly, the symbolic elements of the local villages (the *pendón*, *ramo* and the *bastón*) are displayed together with religious elements in parades and ceremonies.

Furthermore, the fundamental role of church’s bells in community life since medieval times has been widely commented (Dozy 1859). It was so in Maragatería until recent times, and even today they are used in many cases. The material structure of the churches and behavioral attitudes towards them reveal their ambiguous status and, again, points to the impossibility of compartmentalizing the sacred and the civic in these communities. For instance, many churches present external stairs giving access to the belfry that have been clearly attached to the original structure of the building. The process of adding external stairs implies a *de facto* taking over control over the church as a symbolic and functional element by the community. This is so because thanks to the external stairs the consent of the priest was not necessary anymore to access the belfry. Rubio points to the XVIII century as the time when the construction of external stairs became widespread

(personal communication). However, the reasons why it was done remain alive in oral tradition. The former *campanero* – bell ringer – of Rabanal del *Camino* states that the external stairs were essential whenever there was a *cura malo* –bad priest – in the village, and thus it was necessary for the community to take direct control of the belfry and the bells (Interview 4, August 2010). The existence of a specific person appointed and paid by the local village council to be in charge of the bells is also relevant. During my ethnography, many interviewees insisted in taking me to the belfry to see the panorama, or just to show me their skills ringing the bells. These bell-ringing demonstrations were performed without consulting anyone or opening any door; although this does not mean that bell ringing is unregulated.

My point here is that the church, the belfry, the saint, and even the priest, are considered intrinsic part, and a sort of ‘right’ of the community. Unsurprisingly, when the Church takes decisions about its property that concern the villages, violent reactions are to be expected, as local communities do not consider the church to be private property of the Church. Examples abound in Maragatería, and in many cases intervention of the military police has been necessary – shots included –, in places like Foncebadón during the 1990s and in Rabanal del *Camino* in 2010. In sum, all these elements show that the alleged conservatism of pre-industrial communities was not so, but rather a strategy of self-preservation and, in fact, a struggle for autonomy through the affirmation of immanence and belonging. The transcendental forces of modernity disrupt this immanence in a complex process of emergence by which internal and external forces contribute to the fragmentation or remodeling of the community. I want to focus here in one of those transcendent social machines that today works to further uproot the immanence of local communities: the ‘heritage machine’.

The Heritage Machine: Reassembling the Peasant as Subaltern.

“When we approach a different population we are no longer forced to choose between saying either “they are the same as us” or “They are other to us” (as it was the case with the discourse on primitives and, to some extent, peasants). The contradictory conceptual couple, identity and difference, is not the adequate framework for understanding the organization of the multitude. Instead we are a multiplicity of singular forms of life at the same time share a common global existence. The anthropology of the multitude is an anthropology of singularity and commonality”
(Hardt and Negri 2004: 126).

The peasants are back, “each one with his own life and his own history, but all them with a similar origin” (Televisión de Castilla y León 2010-2012). This chapter sets out to analyze how the construction of the cultural representation of the ‘peasants’ as different is paralleled by their actual marginalization, disregard and misrepresentation in Maragatería. Different objectives and research questions are tackled. Why and how are communities been shattered? What is the relation between this process and the heritage burst in post-industrial society? What roles and perceived subjectivities are ascribed to local dwellers in the process? Why local people’s traditional rejection to change has shifted towards an active emulation of new trends and foreign fashions? Why and in what terms does the transmutation of values occurs?

The time scope of the process can be situated between the late 1990s and 2012, a period in which economic growth, the expansion of the welfare state and academic institutions provided the grounds for a different approach to the rural areas and people living in them that has not been undertaken. The general patterns of decadence and social crisis in the villages of Maragatería has been thus ongoing since the beginnings of the XX century, and emphasized after the 1960s. At present, different social actors in the territory perform different knowledge practices and create transcendent abstractions or metacultural representations that disrupt the immanence of the local communities. This is not to reinstate a simple dichotomy between the ‘good local’ and the ‘bad foreigner’. Rather, these sorts of processes are not essentially bad or good: it is the geopolitical and socioeconomic coordinates in which they are evolving that render them oppressive. Similarly, I do not oppose urban to rural actors. Newcomers from cities might challenge local forms of patronage and *caciquismo*, while rural local elites might contribute to reinforce some forms of oppression and take advantage from the shattering of the community.



Image 29. Crew of the TV program *Paisanos* of *La 8 León* channel, with two *paisanos*. Source: Facebook Webpage of the program, <https://www.facebook.com/PAISANOSDELEON>, accessed 10/12/2012.

If modernity tended to obliterate different modes of existence while turning them into social constructions or representations (Grossberg 1996), the supermodern phase (Augé 2008) characteristic of post-industrial society attempts to turn those representations into real modes of existence. Supermoderns strive to live in the inverted image of the other (García Martínez 2008a). Theirs is not an abandonment of modernity and an impossible return to a mythical worldview, but rather a search of meaning in the void of sense and disenchantment left by modern science and the rational explanation of the world (Cerezo Galán 1997). Maragatería has become a place where

multiple dimensions of time, space, and existence coexist. The economic depression and depopulation of the area has been paralleled by the arrival of different groups to Maragatería: hippies, urban dwellers, returned migrants and foreign immigrants. Different assemblages of power and control, ways of life, and worldviews are superimposed upon each other. The most recent layer of complexity added to the territory, a new virtual diagram that has rearticulated the terms in which social relations and politics are understood and tackled, is the 'heritage machine'. The concept is useful as it brings together many different processes and tendencies I have witnessed during my ethnography under a single explanatory framework. In Deleuzian terms, I have tried to grasp the 'abstract machine' governing the social assemblages of Maragatería, that is, the patterns and thresholds that define the tendencies of a determinate system (Bonta and Protevi 2004: 47). As a consequence of the operation of the heritage machine, certain subject-positions and agencies are reinforced, policies supported, and identities constructed as by-productions (e.g. the peasant as backward subaltern).

The heritage machine connects the most diverse material and discursive elements from a certain environment to generate a determinate social structure. This structure – of values, meaning, action, and so on – exists as long as the different elements of the machine are held together (Mahler 2008). The heritage machine is not a fictional entity or abstraction, but rather a unit of production of different material and discursive elements. The most varied elements can be brought in it, from the cultural representation of the *maragatos*, to European funding programs, aesthetic tastes and evaluations, urban planning policies, old plows and agricultural tools, and so on. The intrinsic connection between heritage, identity and the sense of time has been signaled by different authors recently (Ashworth 2003; Ashworth et al. 2007; Thomas 1996). This renders heritage a suitable device to construct narratives of inclusion and exclusion that marginalize certain power positions and disregard others by emphasizing, representing and reinforcing social differences. Heritage thus can reinforce the modern affirmation of difference and their proliferation by locating of certain subjects into narratives that provide legitimacy and leaving others aside (Bhabha 1990). The uses of cultural memory, or the collective understandings of the past people have (Holtorf 2001a: 2.0), becomes embedded in the sociopolitical structures of power. Strategies of control and representation of cultural memory are not geared to gain control over the past, but rather over the future. That is, "not who we are or where we came from, so much as what we might become... not the so-called return to roots but a coming-to-terms-with our routes" (Hall 1996b: 3-4). The heritage machine provides new ways of representing and performing socioeconomic and political relations. Different social processes are now performed under the trope of heritage, which has become empty rhetoric and a new way of saying the same with different words.

This novel 'abstract machine' governing Maragatería does not work through dualisms, opposition and negativity: urban against rural, tradition against modernity and so on. Rather, it entails a twofold process of affirmation of certain cultures and identities and a purification and filtering out through a distillation process of those subjects, materials and discourses that do not fit into it. This process of selection and purification reaffirms homogeneity and momentum immanently, it arises relationally in social contexts of interaction (Saldanha 2007: 128). I am not analyzing here a 'who's right' scenario in which there are clear protagonists and 'strong agencies' such as the State, the Market, the UNESCO, and so on. Rather, the large multiplicity of causalities and actors at play has led me to choose a different level of analysis in which 'heritage' is conceived

as a quasi-cause, a driving force, of many ongoing processes in Maragatería. In this regard, ‘heritage’ must be thought as an emergent reality in complexity terms, the cause and effect of interactions. I have tried to avoid ‘thick description’ of ethnographic contexts and the description of facts to deal with trajectories and probabilities (Idem: 128). In the interplay of behavior, materiality, memory, culture and bodies; a grid of ideal types and categories emerges that people tend towards immanently. To simplify the issue, it is useful to draw a spatial metaphor and conceive Maragatería in a gradient where virtual poles attract and repel certain people and behaviors. As an ideal type, the local ‘peasant’ is repelled by the structures created by the heritage machine, whether newcomers’ social attitudes and buildings, or museums and exhibitions where the peasant or its materiality are represented. Similarly, local assemblages tend to repel urban newcomers: for instance the fact that there are animals in villages and that animals have the natural tendency to defecate in public spaces, or to attract fleas, bedbugs and ticks, is unbearable for many urban dwellers. Recent public policies forcing the relocation of animals outside villages are an outcome of a determinate worldview promoted by the heritage machine. It posits a virtual image of what the rural or a village should be, projects a certain expected future, and tries to turn that cultural representation into a physical reality. However, these virtual poles (the local or the foreign dweller) are not concepts abstracted from reality but rather empirically grounded on field data. In 2011, the last person living without electricity and running water died in Lucillo. Meanwhile, a heritagized and restored old monumental *maragato* house from Santiago Millas with added domestic equipment appeared in a design journal. At the same time, someone was going to the communal forest to gather wood and light a fire at home for the last time in her life, while other was activating his heating from somewhere in northern Europe before coming for holidays in Maragatería: *maragato* houses are huge and take a week to get warm.

In this sense, heritage works as a resource for the “reproduction of difference between social groups and the hegemony of who has preferential access to the production and distribution of heritage properties” (Canclini 1997: 61). Through different strategies, dominant sectors define what is to be preserved and create hierarchies of refinement and quality. Clearly, this is a political operation, if we understand politics as the “set of practices and institutions through which an order is created” (Mouffe 2005: 9). This is done through the establishment of links between material and symbolic structures that can serve to create social spatial and temporal metaphors and hierarchies. Of course, those are maintained because they have the economic and social power to sustain their representations. This leads us to the fundamental question of agency and, in Marxist terms, to asking who produces the conditions under which history is made. For Lawrence, agency is not that much a question of cultural identity or representation, but how “access and investment or participation (as a structure of belonging) are distributed within particular structure terrains... In Deleuzian terms, agency is the product of a territorializing machine” (Grossberg 1996: 100). The heritage machine distributes capacities and evaluations and renders the ‘peasant’ subaltern “in part through his inability, in his poverty, his lack of leisure, and his inarticulacy, to participate to any significant degree in the public institutions of civil society, with all the particular kinds of power which they confer, but most of all, through his consequently weaker ability to articulate civil society's self-sustaining myth. That is, agency involves relations of participation and access, the possibilities of moving into particular sites of activity and power, and of belonging to them in such a way as to be able to enact their powers” (O'Hanlon 1988: 207). This is an immanent process by

which a limited space and social relations are organized along with the distribution of people within it (Grossberg 1996: 103), in ways that define “kinds of persons in relation to the kinds of experience they have available, the 'ways of belonging' constitutive of agency define a distribution of acts” (Grossberg 1996: 102). Thus, the ability to make history is not an essential category of certain subjects. What a ‘peasant’ can do or do not is the product of diagrams of mobility and placement – machines – “which define or map the possibilities of where and how specific vectors of influence can stop and be placed” (Idem: 102). As Fox and Ward put it, “rather than seeking identity by trying to understand a person’s ‘experiences’ or abstracted social contexts or dominant systems of thought, we can seek out their myriad relations or affects: to their families and associates, to walking, to food, to their careers, to all the relations in their past and present lives. If we can document these relations, we can start to postulate the assemblages, and thereby the conditions of possibility for identity” (2008: 1009).

I have called ‘heritage subjectivities’ those specific actors constructing heritage as a social object in the field, which increase agency and power in the public sphere in the process. Those supermodern subjects generate their empowered subjectivity by affirming difference. They are the novel ‘subjects of enunciation’ in Deleuzian terms, the active individuals who name things and construct certain mental realities or worldviews to which “the subject of the statement must conform if to a ‘dominant reality’ (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 129). The fundamental question is how the process of subjectification occurs, that is, the process of producing subjects on the basis of a certain regime of signs determined by the heritage machine (Idem: 130). Social assemblages linking bodies and discourses are created by reference to a ‘point of subjectification’, that is, the organizing points for the construction of subjectivities (Weltanschauung or dominant world-views) to which subalterns are submitted. There is no longer a need for a transcendent central source of power, “as subjectification is the self-application of power, making oneself conform to a normalized standard” (Bonta and Protevi 2004: 130, see also Foucault 1977). Understanding why this is so implies asking how social change occurs or, in our context, why local people try to adopt foreign models, structures of thought and meanings.

The context in Maragatería shows that theoretical frameworks based on the explanatory model that underscores the shift from production to consumption as the hegemonic form of value production (Baudrillard 1989) do not work. Neither considering that there are ‘hegemonic classes’ imposing their values, as the Gramscian model would have, is useful in general terms. This would lead us to apply models of enculturation that presuppose a diffusionist model of cultural transmission (Díaz de Rada and Universidad Nacional de Educación a 2003: 85) by which the culture of subalterns tends to fade while the dominant cultures are imposed (and thus the subalterns remain supposedly without culture). Similarly, the creation of partial concepts with little explanatory power is useless: consider the ‘half-moderns’ conceived by Hertzfeld, who try to keep the best of traditional and modern worlds in moments of change (2004: 198). Who is the half-modern? What are his/her defining traits? Are not we re-instating essentialist modes of thinking with close-cut categories? From my viewpoint, the question must be framed as a process of value creation and transmutation that establishes virtual poles of change that people tend, or are attracted to. People seek to become desired or appreciated according to the ideals defining value in the community, ideas defined by class-specific tastes and their embodiment by certain individuals that replicate class identities (Kearney 1996: 162). The problem arises when certain values ‘foreign’ to

the community transform what is valuable and what is not, to the extent that people ‘must learn’ the new set of rules and values. Bourdieu’s model of distinction (1984) broadly argues that change occurs not by the rational critique of the old values, but by the exposition of novel values in more desirable forms. However, Bourdieu’s model already presupposes that the evaluations of what is desirable have changed. This framework is functional for the explanation of processes of identity construction in South America for instance, where communities assume and elaborate their own subaltern identities for self-interest and to defend themselves in the sphere of domination (Kearney 1996). But this is not the case in Maragatería, where ‘peasants’ do not embark in such processes of active counter-domination.

I find particularly useful the model of value transmutation provided by Nietzsche in *On the Genealogy of Morals* (1967), which can also shed light on the changes in the significance and meanings of objects. Nietzsche argues that we find the problem that evaluations – aesthetic, scientific, philosophical – seem to be based on sets of values or principles. However, in reality, values or principles presuppose evaluations and evaluators that function as ‘perspectives’ sustaining certain appraisals of things that tend to be regarded as principles and from which value derives (Mahon 1992: 83). Contrary to the extended belief in hermeneutic interpretations considering that “it is meaning that gives value, either cultural or financial, to heritage” (Graham and Howard 2008a: 2), values derive from the affirmation of certain subject-positions. The power and legitimacy of these subject-positions ultimately rests in their ways of life that consciously and unconsciously determine what is valuable (Citton and Lordon 2008). This affirmation of ways of life is what Nietzsche calls the master morality that “accords honor to things; it is value-creating” (Nietzsche 1998 [1886]: 270). As Deleuze puts it:

“Evaluations, in essence, are not values but ways of being, modes of existence of those who judge and evaluate, serving as principles for the values on the basis of which they judge. This is why we always have the beliefs, feelings and thoughts that we deserve given our way of being or our style of life. There are things that can only be said, felt or conceived, values which can only be adhered to, on condition of “base” evaluation, “base” living and thinking. This is the crucial point; high and low, noble and base, are not values but represent the differential element from which the value of values themselves derives.” (1983: 1-2).

This implies that there are no absolute, utilitarian or relative values, there are just forces that affirm differences from which value derives (Molina n.d.). Heritage subjectivities affirm their subject-position by a series of metonymies and actions whose only reference is their way of life. When someone builds a monumental *maragato* house from the scratch, mobilizing different people from the surrounding area to acquire ‘authentic’ old objects that he displays in the façade of his house, along with some foreign materials that are unaffordable to locals, a difference is being affirmed. The spatial coordinates in which he moves also accord difference to the house in relation to use: he would only come for summer holidays, Christmas and Easter. Similarly, the pre-industrial objects he displays to the outside of the building circulate in the visual economy of the community. Plows, yokes and harrows are endowed new meanings through their domination by a novel force and their different utilization. For Deleuze, the history of a thing is “the succession of forces which take possession of it and the co-existence of the forces which struggle for possession. The same object, the same phenomenon, changes sense depending on the force that appropriates it. History is

the variation of senses” (Deleuze 1983: 3). The cultural sphere is therefore filled by the senses and values circulated by dominant forces. Those socially and physically instilled in the consciences of others that, in negotiating, incorporating or opposing these values, are drawn into a new assemblage of meanings and practices where their lives become meaningful. Thus, culture becomes “a training and selection so that people will learn to accept dominant senses and values” (Idem: 133). As a result, a ‘cultural relativism’ arises in which different forces struggle for attaining a central position (Goodchild 1996). I will focus here in the heritage machine, but it is only one of those forces. Other forces such as the ‘eco-rural machine’ push in the opposite direction, generating non-heritage subjectivities that aim to reterritorialize striated space into smooth space and rooted place and to recode the transcendence imposed by modernity back to an immanent relation with nature. The heritage machine explicitly and implicitly transforms local and foreign cultures into cultural representations. The construction of heritage is intrinsically bounded to the generation of a metaculture that naturalizes certain aspects are defined as a-cultural in the local community, while attributing and naturalizing *others* essentially (Briones 2007). Thus, the struggle against the heritage machine is one that affirms immanence over transcendence, and roots social processes in material terms (as the eco-rurals do) rather than in representational terms.

Once some values have been situated in a dominant position, the dynamic of the reproduction of difference comes into play. In the terms of Gabriel Tarde, the French sociologist whose views on society opposed those of Durkheim, a process of invention and repetition begins (Lazzarato 2002). Tarde’s psychological sociology looks at how processes of mimicry are fundamental to the reproduction of society, what he calls the ‘collective brain’. Here, inventions or social novelties are considered part of a social agency that goes beyond the individual and below social structures, (e.g. the telephone is not the invention of a single man but the coagulation of social knowledge in an individual). His views underpin Actor-Network-Theory’s sociology, which looks at how individual actors mediate and reinterpret social meanings and structures.

What I have observed in Maragatería is a similar process of invention-repetition that reconfigures ways of asserting value and power. The extent to which the new ‘heritage machine’ is accepted by local people is ambiguous. Interviews have clearly shown that familial conflicts and traditional divisions within villages are still fundamental in the local dynamics. Newcomers are seen as foreigners and their feeble participation in the village’s life creates a sort of a veil of mystery around them. In fact, local people start using new codes (material or discursive) to reshape internal conflicts through the new foreign languages provided by newcomers. In other words, they draw on the – new – heritage rhetoric to continue the – old – undercover struggle for symbolic familial, political and individual power within the villages. This is clear in the case of local elites, who own the economic resources to create cultural representations but lack the ‘cultural capital’ – style, aesthetics, decisions on what is heritage or not – that foreigners bring with them. Thus, they try to imitate foreign cultural representations, but, in doing so, they consciously and unconsciously adapt their representations to local meanings. As we will see later, this is revealed by the way they build their monumental houses and their aesthetic decisions. To what extent the assumption of the ‘formal’ aesthetic principles and ways of doing by local people has led to a real assumption of the ‘content’ and the worldview of the dominant culture is again a matter of laying out a gradient of degrees in virtual poles. The extent to which the assumptions of the heritage machine have permeated local ideology is reflected in the material culture of the villages. Clearly, some villages

have undergone a more intense striation and appropriation by foreign people and have become formally ‘perfect’ – in the sense of heritage logics, of course –, such as Santiago Millas or Castrillo de los Polvazares, but have actually been emptied of community life in the traditional sense. Here, the wiping out of the community and the construction of a social representation of it as a cultural ‘display of order’ (Herzfeld 2001) is clear. Other villages, however, remain bounded to traditional aesthetics and communal forms of life and organization.



Image 30. The harvest. Peasants storing grass in the barn using traditional tools and animal power. Just a few meters away, super individualized postmodern houses built by affluent urban dwellers thrive. Source: Author.

Another phenomenon that contributes to the fragmentation of community life is the way the ‘heritage machine’ simply affirms the individual as the fundamental subject of life disregarding community bonds. In this sense, the idea that participating in community life *at all* – even from a position of dominance – is a symbol of being backward and hick, leads many local elites and ‘cultured’ people to avoid community life: going to the bar, attending popular culture events, local council meetings, and so on. The migrant returning to his home village, who boasts about the higher socioeconomic status acquired in his previous urban life in the face of the neighbors of his childhood, is the paramount representation of hickness for foreign newcomers who are not native of the village. An event occurred in Valdespino and recounted by a friend sums up this point. A summer Sunday after mass during the feasts of the village the priest passes along a purse in front of the community to collect donations for the church. People discretely introduce money in it. Not everyone is forced to do so but the public character of the event, and the incitement of the priest, create a social pressure to do so. In another example of the community’s egalitarian ethos people would introduce similar amounts of money, and normally not much. One returned migrant then pulls out a five-hundred euro note and, after waiving it in the air, introduces it in the purse. His affirmation of power and richness so he would become esteemed and revered in the eyes of the members of the community disrupts the symbolism and meaning of the event. This behavior is considered typical of bumps or hicks by foreign urban newcomers. In parallel, this behavior leads

local people to refrain from participating in the event again as they cannot match the new ‘rules of the game’ and would therefore be publicly humiliated. Equally, returned migrants and newcomers try to recover some traditions that have been abandoned by local people, such as *maragato* bowling, or turn what are quotidian practices for local people into representations and leisure activities for their families, such as wood chopping. Similar ‘minor’ processes, temporally and spatially scattered throughout Maragatería, gradually erode the immanent ethos of communities and contribute to the tendency of abandoning ‘real’ ways of life and consume them as metaculture in cases and museums (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004a).

The move from immanence to transcendence, from reality to cultural representation, and in a way, from production to consumption, has become a clear tendency in Maragatería. Jane Collier observes similar patterns of behavior in Andalucía (1997). Many Andalusians claim for a collective identity based on a past previous to their “capacity for disembodied reason” (Herzfeld 2004: 198). The paradox lies in their rejection of the bodily adornments and everything ‘traditional’ in their bodies and houses, while they embrace those when presented as cultural representations in folklore museums and ethnographic books. As Herzfeld puts it, “people want to have the best of both worlds, by both claiming tradition as their own and at the same time removing it from the immediate environment of their personal space and identity” (Idem: 198). Entering the metacultural sphere of cultural representation entails a different approach to temporality and, for some people, the recognition that they themselves were ‘others’ before they started to have a disembodied reason. This is what social Darwinism would metaphorically define as a transition from childhood to maturity, and that traditional approaches to rural areas have long maintained (Djurfeldt 1999).

We have already shown how the ‘cognitive maps’ of pre-industrial communities were fundamentally spatial and territorial. If, contrary to Jameson (1991), we accept that the foundations of modernity come from the privileging of time over space, it then becomes clear how the subject’s adoption and understanding of the metacultural dimension that heritage entails runs in parallel with the adoption of a novel image of time. Processes of individuation have historically constructed the individual subject over the community, and this individuation is constructed temporally: “subjectivity as internal time consciousness; identity as the temporal construction of difference; and agency as the temporal displacement of difference” (Grossberg 1996: 100). That is, for a ‘peasant’ to acknowledge his own past, the world where he grew and lived, as an-other cultural representation disembodied from his personal memories and emotions, implies adopting an internal time consciousness that differs from that of pre-industrial communities. I do not think most people have taken this step in Maragatería: ‘peasants’ might have abandoned some of the cultural expressions of pre-industrial life but have not definitely adopted the new languages of modernity or supermodernity³⁵. This stands in sharp contrast with urban newcomers that employ clear a

³⁵ Similar to Peter Marris’ account of the conservative drive in *Loss and Change* Marris, P. (1974). *Loss and change*, New York: Pantheon Books., Fox and Ward show that identity shifts – what they call deterritorializations – are rare and the broad tendency of subjects is to move back into former identities and structures of meaning: “Deterritorialization can come about in many ways: through a new relation in the form of an interaction or experience, as a consequence of an environmental change (Deleuze and Guattari 1988: 55), a confrontation Drury, J., and Reicher, S. (2000). "Collective action and psychological change: The emergence of new social identities." *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 39(4), 579-604., perhaps through a question during a research interview. Usually, this reflexive moment of identification does not radically disrupt the assemblages patterning the BwO [Body without Organs], which settle back into comfortable and familiar paths (Deleuze and Guattari 1988: 56). But occasionally, a major (or ‘absolute’) de-territorialization will lead to a becoming-other of the BwO, reconstituting it in unknown directions (what Deleuze and Guattari call a ‘line of flight’)” Fox, N. J., and Ward, K. J. (2008). "What are health identities and how may we study them?" *Sociology of*

combination of visual culture and the manipulation of spatio-temporal coordinates to construct difference. For instance, by restoring abandoned *maragato* houses, they symbolically connect themselves with a temporal splendid past. Buying and publicly displaying in their houses pre-industrial objects that had a productive and functional role, and which are associated with suffering, hunger and poverty by people living there, implies constructing difference and temporally displacing it to a past that is both ‘previous’ and ‘inferior’ to the present they are living in an scale of progress.



Image 31. A house with a plow on display in Vellido. Plows are hung in the façades of various houses in *maragato* villages, normally by urban newcomers. A symbol of the triumph over the past? A marker of difference with the local community? Be it as it were, these deployments increase the complexity of the material landscape of the villages and break the previous communitarian ethos that was also reflected in material culture. Source: Author.

The transition from ‘function’ to ‘value’ is another, more subtle, form of explaining this process of change (Tomás Pollán, personal communication) that can be perceived in different forms of ascribing meanings and understanding the surrounding environment. When a tourist and a ‘peasant’ say that a field is beautiful, the former is thinking in terms of aesthetic criteria and the second in terms of productivity and functional value.

The political and oppressive content of the heritage machine is not related to a transition to modernity, suggesting that pre-industrial life was devoid of internal conflict or similar naïve assumptions. The problem comes with the kind of individuation and political community that emerges from this transition in which temporal and spatial metaphors are created that imply hierarchies and unequal distributions of power and agency. Other supermodern agencies in the

health & illness, 30(7), 1007-1021. . Taking into account that change is less likely as humans grow older and that the native population of Maragatería is generally old, these ‘lines of flight’ that would entail the assumption of novel structures of meaning and identities are unlikely.

territory such as the eco-rurals deploy similar patterns of behavior: individuality, metacultural consciousness and a temporal displacement of difference in their social life. However, they channel their forces towards the affirmation of other forms of living and establishing social relations that do not entail the creation of hierarchies and oppressions. For instance, in the hippy village of Matavenero a clear break with the past is signaled through materiality: the communal schools of the abandoned village were to be restored and preserved as communal areas to preserve the ‘spirit’ of the community alive. A metacultural relation is established with the past without implying hierarchies of value, the construction of difference or evolutionary trajectories of progress. Rather, inclusion and temporal continuity are promoted. This social investment of energy and affect generates future-oriented connections and opens new doors for territorial development and the remodeling of rural communities. Thus, an old textile artisan In Val de San Lorenzo has survived thanks to eco-rurals selling her products in alternative markets throughout Europe. These ‘minor economies’ and social networks that maintain not only the economies, but also the self-esteem of rural areas alive, are invisible for planners, politicians and rural development agencies. Neither of both actors – the informal vendor or the artisan – fit the archetype of the social subject that neoliberal governmentality is targeting: the ‘young entrepreneur’ (Rose 2000b).

On the contrary, heritage subjectivities seem to deploy, following Arendt (2009), a dangerous nostalgia for a return to the quiet pace of life of the past as a reaction to the acceleration of the pace of life. For Connolly, “this nostalgia for a comforting image of the past expresses anxiety about the security of immortality, existential meaning, moral boundaries, explanatory confidence, and narrative closure” (2007: 147). Rather than meaning, as Young (1992) would propose, what these actors instill into the social field are investments of energies and affects. These forces create a new context that turns in on itself and becomes paranoid and reactionary, a sort of microfascism according to Guattari (1984). Here, memories and identities of a pre-industrial world considered to be more ‘authentic’ or ‘pure’ because untouched by modernity, are appropriated and reshaped to generate a new coded and fixed use (Saldanha 2007: 191). This situation is in tune with the cultural logic of postindustrial capitalism that tends to saturate the social field with memory (Crang and Travlou 2001). With Marx, we could read this fixation on remembrance and the kind of use it is given as a further revolutionizing of the instruments and relations of productions that the bourgeoisie needs to reproduce itself (Parr 2008). Then, the problem “is not so much in the shift from the material conditions of history to that of the simulacrum, as Jameson suggests; rather it is the deterritorializing force of the raw material of memory that is turned into common property through the endless repetition of the same images and memory connections that constitutes the work of a reterritorializing memory” (Parr 2008: 80). Moreover, this reterritorializing memory includes living human beings in its narration as part of another spatio-temporal dimension.

The Workings of the Heritage Machine.

My aim here is to describe and analyze the different processes that converge to enact a deterritorialization of local identities and their recoding into cultural representations through heritage. The interconnectedness of these processes should not be understood as the implementation of a transcendent, top-down plan. As I tried to explain before, different agencies and subjectivities of different social actors at different scales participate in it. The divisions I have created seek to

facilitate the exposition and understanding of the processes but remain fictions: for example, ‘heritage experts’ are part of policies, academic expertise and social practices and cannot be disentangled from them. Similarly, heritage should be understood here broadly, as an assemblage of discourses, objects, policies, practices and materials, related or not with the past, which somehow imply an evaluation of what is valuable and worthy of being preserved by a subject of enunciation that creates a metacultural transcendent plane of reference. This is not a detailed ethnographic account of specific situations – although I will refer to some of them – but an abstract summary of what I consider to be the fundamental ongoing processes in Maragatería in this regard. I leave aside matters concerning policies and social attitudes towards nature. The rather feeble differentiation existing in pre-industrial communities between culture and nature renders both fields inextricable and thus, from an emic perspective, natural elements should be considered as something that local people ‘value’ immanently. However I leave forest and river management out of my account because natural elements have not been transformed metaculturally to construct the ‘peasant’ as a cultural other. This is not to say that forest, hunting or river policies have not had an impact in the fragmentation of pre-industrial communities. Rather, the modern State has been insidious in this regard and has disregarded local communities generally (see Seijo 06/08/2012). However, again, it has not been done through the heritage machine but through instrumental and technical-scientific apparatuses of the State.

Politics and Policies.

The separation of politics and policies is just an attempt to extricate ideological foundations from the implementation of specific agendas. Of course, both go hand in hand in real contexts, but the differentiation remains useful to a certain extent (Castles 1982). In our field of inquiry, the State is the ‘usual suspect’ that centers the attention of most heritage ethnographies and studies (Breglia 2006; De Cesari 2009; Herzfeld 2006; Viejo-Rose 2011c). This comes as no surprise owing to the fact that it is the largest machine that appropriates and shapes the past and its remains to justify its existence and to create a national community (Anderson 2006; Bhabha 1990; Chatterjee 1991). However, the peripheral geographic location and scarce socioeconomic weight of Maragatería have minimized the presence and intervention of the State in the realm of heritage. This comprises the sub-institutions operating as ‘State-forms’ at the regional and provincial levels (Abrams 2006). After the ‘maragato burst’ during the Franco period, and the great role of *maragato* folkloric groups within the *Coros y Danzas* institution, the presence of Maragatería in the cultural sphere of the nation has faded. The only instrumental action within the competences of the modern State concerning heritage in Maragatería was the declaration of the ‘castle’ of Lagunas de Somoza as a ‘Bien de Interés Cultural’ – Good of Cultural Interest – (España 1987), when the catalogue of historic military structures was carried out in Spain (more on this below).

However, the presence of the State and its relation to heritage is strongly felt *negatively*, for what it destroys and overlooks. The utilization of Maragatería as a Military Gunfire Range by the Ministry of Defense started during the 1950s and became official in the early 1980s. Basically, the Range was intended for the training of artillery and heavy artillery divisions and tanks. A nuance that rendered the Range unique in its kind in Europe was that shells flied over inhabited villages before impacting in the slopes of the Teleno mountain. For the first and last time in history, people

from all over Maragatería organized demonstrations in Astorga against the Range. Different interviewees pointed to the union of different ideological social sectors against the Range as the survival of the area's economy was at stake. Nonetheless, the extended perception that Maragatería was a deserted land where only "stones grew" (Martínez Veiga 1981) did not help. In the end the Range was established officially and a large proportion of the region was expropriated for military uses. As could not be otherwise, the most affected areas were communal lands, as the local villages' democratic institutions were perceived as weak and devoid of political voice. Many pasture fields were occupied and traditional cattle transhumance was disrupted. The stress caused to animals by the shells caused abortions and disrupted the normal reproduction of cattle. Just to number a few of the negative outcomes. The fact would have little to do with heritage³⁶ if it were not by the fact that the Teleno mountain came to be known as the largest archaeological mining complex of the Roman period in the world (Domergue 1987) And it was being bombed. During years different social actors have hit the ceiling denouncing the destruction of heritage involved. The heritage and the ecological discourses are the strongest arguments held by critics to demand the suppression of the Range. However, by focusing on birds and Roman mining sites, local inhabitants are again overlooked: what is to be preserved is not the local forms of life but 'the past remains'. Accordingly, discussions revolve around the ecologic cleaning of the area and the enhancement of the archaeological sites after the dismantling of the Range. The devolution of communal lands or the establishment of a feasible economic plan for the area has not even been mentioned. However, these are the main complaints people have, and the facts that remain alive in the collective memory: they were strike by the State appropriation of the communal lands and remained waiting for the promised economic benefits of the Range. Subsidies given to villages by the Ministry of Defense in the form of roads or funding cannot compensate the obliteration of a whole eco-cultural dynamic and a form of life in a territory.

Similarly, the establishment of democracy led to the creation of a network of Autonomous Communities or regional governments that were gradually endowed with the powers over different fields: health, spatial planning, culture and so on. The *Junta de Castilla y León* was created in 1983, and in 2002 the law on cultural heritage was passed (1988). The categories comprised by the law denote a limited, monumental and essentialist conception of heritage. Heritage can only be a 'monument', 'historic garden', 'historic complex', 'historic site', 'archaeological area', 'historic path' and an 'archaeological area'. Accordingly, the paramount *maragato* villages of Castrillo de los Polvazares and Santiago Millas have been declared historic complexes, the Church of La Asunción and the Tower of Turienzo de los Caballeros as monuments, and the Corona de Quintanilla as archaeological site. The critique of the rather random character and intrinsic essentialism of these declarations goes beyond my scope here³⁷.

³⁶ Conceived as a metacultural production, as for me the real 'heritage' as value perceived by local people are the communal lands and common ways of doing and relating with the land.

³⁷ Only one archaeological site has been declared BIC while there are nearly thirty similar sites of equal relevance in the area. Instead, the prehistoric carvings of Filiel that have had national and international relevance have not yet been protected.



Image 32. Tower of the Osorio family in Turienzo de los Caballeros. Source: Author.

Only the declaration of Castrillo de los Polvazares and Santiago Millas have had a real impact. Both sites provide canonical examples of the commoditization of heritage. Castrillo has become the touristic site *par excellence* in Maragatería and the soul of the gastronomic invented tradition of the area, whereas Santiago Millas presents a vast concentration of *maragato* monumental architecture. Both places have mostly attracted upper-middle classes willing to have a second residence in a beautiful and charming rural area with the obvious consequences of rocketing real estate prices and the gradual displacement of the local community to other villages as younger generations cannot afford buying property. Moreover, the visual economy and architecture of the villages has become intensely striated, not only socially but also in terms of spatial planning policies. For instance, only certain changes and materials are allowed in the houses, rendering even more expensive their maintenance. Similarly, their general embellishment of the houses by foreign newcomers puts pressure on local people to do the same with their houses so as to preserve the architectural homogeneity of the village. Whereas modernity led to the obliteration of reality and the social construction of cultural representations (Grossberg 2003), the supermodern trope aims at the construction of reality in the image of those cultural representations (in this case of the ‘maragato myth’. This representation is an assemblage of perceived notions of aesthetic beauty, a sanitized past, the most magnificent and lavish elements of *maragato* culture, monumentality, homogeneity, and so on (Haraway 1988; Lowenthal 1986). In occasions, what is reproduced architecturally is the ‘copy of the copy’ of the original. New urban dwellers build their houses according to what they perceive as the most valuable and magnificent heritage of the area, the *maragato* house, with the support and advice of architects and designers who might reinterpret some architectonic elements. Then, other actors – normally local elites – imitate the models provided by the foreigners that set the standards of ‘what is heritage’ and culturally refined. As could not be otherwise, their own values, worldviews and functional interests differ from those of urban dwellers and thus their houses become reinterpretations of the models provided by foreigners. Clearly, heritage has nothing to do with authenticity, but to the implementation of a new ‘language

of power' that pervades the social field as a metacultural construction. In all this process, lower and middle classes are displaced and marginalized symbolically and even spatially when gentrification processes are intense as in Castrillo or Santiago Millas. Thus, from the egalitarian ethos maintained by pre-industrial communities' and its expression in the material homogeneity of the villages, we have moved to an intensely codified visual landscape where individuality, difference and distinction prevail over the community ethos.

My material culture analysis of Maragatería shows how vernacular houses owned by local people, traditionally made of stone and straw or tile, started to incorporate as modern materials and spaces as they could afford – metal windows, plastic roofs, bricks, etc. Moreover, the modernization of villages (a previous process to the heritage machine that started during the 1960s) had led to a consideration of stone as a symbol of poverty. Stone walls were consequently covered with limestone or concrete if bricks were not available. Of course, the heritage machine tends to purify and filter out these elements that are now considered ugly, both immanently through social criteria of distinction and taste, and transcendently through urban planning policies.

Therefore, people are confronted with the dilemma of either getting rid of the concrete covering their stone walls or leaving it in sight. The former solution leads to two further problems. The first is material: layers of concrete leave what is called an 'ugly stone' when they are removed. The second is ideological: getting rid of concrete would be an acknowledgement that the arguments held by local inhabitants to justify the coverage of their stone walls were false. For instance, they argued that it was necessary to cover the stone walls in order to avoid humidity or cold coming into the house (a rather weak argument in any case when walls are normally more than one meter width). In other words, getting rid of the concrete or limestone coverage would entail unveiling an obscene ideological unsayable (Zizek 2001). For most local people, the modern, criteria of taste are still prevailing over the supermodern. Accordingly, stone is still equated with poverty, and thus concrete and limestone coverings are mostly preserved (when it is not punished by urban laws).

Therefore, the heritagization of the villages does not imply a return to *what was there before*, but a construction of something new and the investment of energy, affect and money in it. It also leads to a symbolic struggle for recognition in the visual landscape of the village in terms of distinction and value. The need for social recognition and the transition from *real* power struggles to *symbolic* and *mnemonic* battles is another recognizable trait of the supermodern subject. This understanding of the contemporary social individual has been developed by Fukuyama (Alonso González 2010b; Fukuyama 2006), who draws on Plato's idea of the *thymotic drive*, a supposedly universal human need for social recognition, to argue that symbolic needs prevail over material ones in the contemporary world. Of course, Fukuyama's argument is an attack on Marxism, and an attempt to hide the material causes and power articulations lying behind symbolic struggles. Despite it has some explanatory power for my case study, I concur with those criticizing his account from anthropological perspectives showing how every symbolic battle for recognition is preceded by a power struggle over the material: objects, resources, and so on (Lordon 2006; Lordon et al. 2010).

In order to 'stay in tune' with the operation of the heritage machine, it is common in Maragatería to see houses whose roofs are substituted different times in a short time range so as to resemble novel perceived notions of what is heritage and what not – having old-looking tiles, or some constructive detail for instance. The 'old' houses of local people are just that: old houses appertaining to tradition, a period of embodied reason in which people supposedly did not grant a

specific value to aesthetic issues. These are thus non-heritage, as they have not undergone a metacultural mediation. Huge paradoxes arise in relation with the concept and value of ‘authenticity’. Thus, having a real old house is not valuable in itself as everyone can build new heritage houses from the scratch now. Similarly, whereas the use of specific materials (metal, plastic, bricks, etc.) is not allowed for local people, building new monumental *maragato* houses from the scratch that comply with the ‘heritage aesthetics’ is legal, and even promoted by city councils.



Image 33. Old looking house in Val de San Lorenzo. These houses, which I call postmodern or supermodern, try to resemble traditional *maragato* houses but include all the functional and technological modern features, including swimming pools and garages. Source: Author.

These houses are built with bricks and covered with layers of stone that imitate *maragato* forms. Balconies and other constructive details might be copied or brought from other villages. Many objects from the pre-industrial world are displayed internally and externally, entering and circulating within the villages’ visual economies. This reinforces the temporal displacement of the ‘peasant’: objects they used and that symbolized their poverty and attachment to the land are now publicly displayed as ‘trophy’ by those who control the conditions under which history is made and can thus instill an order and hierarchy into it.

Again, what matters are the external appearance and the façade. A situation occurred during my ethnography in Santiago Millas in 2011 sums up the situation. Each two years the *Patios Maragatos* feast is held. The monumentalized heritage *maragato* houses – around twenty – are opened to the public, food and drinks being offered. This is a fundamental moment for the public exposition of ‘displays of order’ (Herzfeld 2001) in which the ‘value’ of each house arises relationally through social comment and comparison among visitors, locals and property owners (mostly foreign). Most houses had been magnificently restored and some had been built from the scratch and presented as real *maragato* houses. I centered my analysis on the non-participant local people and interviewed them during the event. Most of them refused to join the celebration. Some of them had *maragato* houses with originally preserved patios that were not open to the public.

After an hour of chatting with an old couple from Santiago Millas, they invited me to see their patio. Unsurprisingly, it was stuffed with old objects, plants and ‘disordered’, with constructive ‘modern’ additions here and there: a tap, metal windows in the balcony, metal benches, plastic roofs, and so on. It was the exact opposite of the patios on display where every detail was taken care of and the visual atmosphere was clean, minimalist and austere: everything was ordered and no modern objects were in sight, only plows and pre-industrial equipment.

While I was sitting with the old couple in their patio, a tourist snaked in thinking that it was another patio open for visitors. He politely showed his admiration for their patio, saying that it was beautiful, and went away. A few hours later, I came across him by chance. He told me that he was an architect, and pointed that the ‘peasant’ house we had seen was an architectural aberration. He considered that “everything was wrong” (in reference to his perceived ‘heritage unconscious’ of what is ‘right’ aesthetically) and underscored the ignorance of these people. This was so because, as he argued, if they would arrange the house according to the *maragato* standards they could sell it for a really high amount of money. He told me that a friend of his, of whom he seemed to be proud of, used to buy old houses from rural peasants to restore them and sell them to urban dwellers at three or four times as much as the original price. Therefore, it was impossible for him to conceive of alternative logics to that of the market and the heritage machine regarding the house. Of course, pre-industrial communities had a completely different conception of the house, that was intrinsically linked with the ‘soul’ of the family and its temporal endurance (González-Ruibal 2003c; González-Ruibal 2005), and at the center of productive and community activities (García Martínez 2008b; García Martínez 2011).

An important contribution to this state of things is the Group of Local Action *Montañas del Teleno*, that manages rural development funds coming fundamentally from the European Union through the LEADER schemes. The action range of the group covers not only Maragatería but also other historic *comarcas* such as La Cabrera or Valduerna. Although in theory the role of the LEADER comes down to a technical matter of distributing and managing E.U. funds, the group adds a further layer of complexity to the territory in trying to invent and promote a further territorial identity – with rather poor results by the way. Tasks of ‘identity building’, ‘identity consciousness rising’ or ‘territorial personality creation’ are in fact comprised in the guidelines of the projects (Dargan and Shucksmith 2008; High and Nemes 2007; LEADER 1999a; LEADER 1999b). The paradox of this task comes, first, by the pre-existence of real territorial identities rooted in the social imaginary, which renders absurd the endeavor to create new ones, and, second, by the transitory character of those projects that always come with an ‘expiry date’. I have carried out ethnography of a LEADER project in Asturias with similar outcomes and perceptions of the territorial problems these groups face, and how they fail in dealing with them, with the only difference that historic *comarcas* do not exist in Asturias. Back to Maragatería, the LEADER identity building strategies come down to referring in the official publications to the “peoples of the *Montañas del Teleno*”, or the realization of LEADER national gatherings in Madrid where folkloric specimens from each area of Spain are selected and paid to go by and represent their regions, in this case the invented “peoples of the *Montañas del Teleno*”. When I proposed the LEADER group the possibility of starting to work in a territorial project for the long-term development of Maragatería it was rejected on the basis that it would generate ‘territorial imbalances’ with regard to the other areas comprised within the “*Montañas del Teleno*” area.

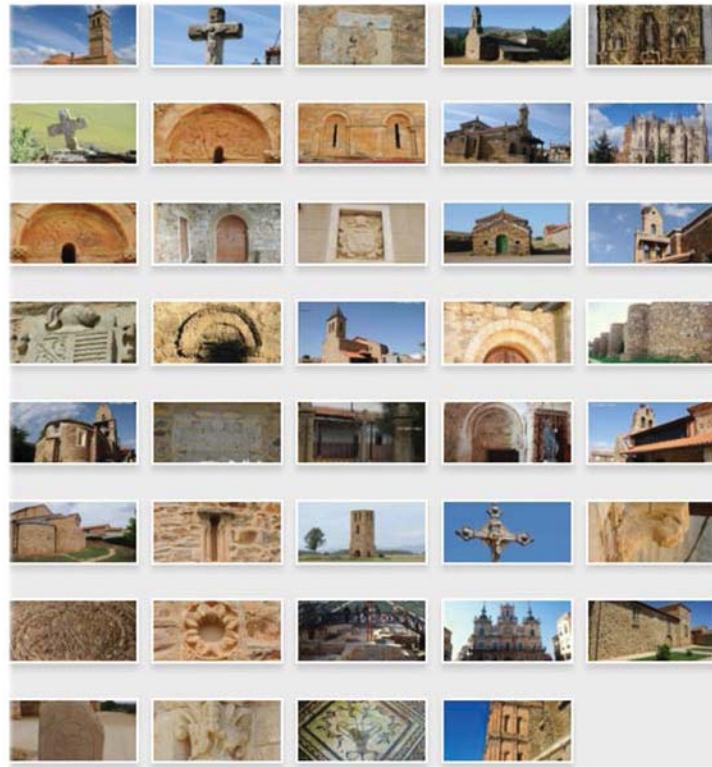


Image 34. Montañas del Teleno Local Action Group. On the left, the logo of the E.U. funded *Montañas del Teleno* rural development group. On the right, the gallery of images of the ‘cultural heritage’ of the region according to them: churches, crosses, cathedrals and stone walls. Source: From the site of the *Asociación Montañas del Teleno*: http://www.xn--montaasdelteleno-bub.es/index.php/Patrimonio_cultural

The group partakes in the construction of the ‘peasant’ as a cultural representation and a subaltern subject in different ways. A first strategy entails a positive construction of the ‘peasant’ as a ‘territorial resource’ in official publications, the Website, and marketing. Thus, despite arts and crafts are not promoted financially because most funding is devoted to favor the transition to a third sector economy based on tourism and hostels, the ‘peoples’ of the *Montañas del Teleno* are presented as one of the reasons to visit the area, along with gastronomy, heritage, nature and so on. It is clear that the signified of the signifier ‘people’ here is the ‘peasant’, the craftsman, the folklore dancer, the one who grows vegetables in the garden and lives in harmony with nature, that is, the *other* to the urban tourist. A second strategy entails the construction of the ‘peasants’ negatively, that is, through the undermining of their agency and marginalization in actual policies and decision making. Every policy is driven by a ‘virtual image’ of the territory and a configuration of the social field that is striving to actualize in reality. LEADER projects focus in the promotion of the neoliberal subject, the ‘young entrepreneur’ that carries out innovative projects and businesses promoting sustainable development and other empty signifiers characteristic of the development rhetoric (Gunder 2003; Gunder 2006; Saraceno 1994a).³⁸ In practice, innovation and

³⁸ Moreover, the rules of the LEADER schemes prohibit the funding of more than 50% of private projects. Therefore, capital flows only to reinforce those already having it to expand their businesses and properties.

entrepreneurship are geared towards the tourism economy, which draws on the values created by those excluded from the exploitation of those values: the ‘peasants’ who crafted a landscape, a material culture, a way of life and a culture. All those are packed as cultural representations, or in techno-bureaucratic euphemistic terminology as ‘territorial resources’, and sold to the tourist. Curiously enough, the supermodern heritage machine tends to destroy the tourism-heritage assemblage in the long run: by creating cultural representations of the territory while letting the real signifiers of that cultural representations disappear, the heritage-tourism couple stops working. In the ever more competitive market of tourism, the offer largely outweighs the demand (Ritzer and Liska 1997; Urry 1995a), and territories with lively communities and immanent forms of life preserved not as cultural representations but as realities are preferred: the Italian Tuscany is a good example of it (Casini and Zucconi 2003). Finally, in tune with the LEADER’s emphasis in the necessary transition to a third sector post-industrial economy, the group has funded most rural hotels and country houses in the area. The owners of these businesses are normally foreign entrepreneurs most interested in promoting the heritage economy and enhance the villages’ aesthetics to catalyze the arrival of tourism. Without doubt, the tantamount aesthetic heritage aberrations are to be found in the network of rural houses and hotels in the area.



Image 35. Huge rural hostels and restaurants in Val de San Lorenzo and Rabanal del Camino.
Source: Author.

Many of these rural hotels and houses have been implemented in villages spread along the *Camino de Santiago* – Saint James Way – a UNESCO World Heritage trail whose significance and affluence is growing in recent years (Precedo Ledo et al. 2007). The Junta de Castilla y León has developed spatial planning guidelines for the *Camino* to favor investments along the way and to preserve a certain aesthetic cohesion in the villages it passes through. As could not be otherwise, the institutional approach to the *Camino* as a tourism gold mine rather than a pilgrimage way has led to a reterritorialization of many villages in terms of market logics. Thus, villages like Foncebadón, Murias de Rechivaldo, el Ganso or Rabanal del *Camino* are nearly deserted during the winter, when the number of pilgrims comes to a minimum and it is not profitable to keep businesses open, and crowded during summer times. The *Camino*, as it is devised now, is a specific kind of heritage machine that assembles deterritorialized forces according to its own laws. Tourists, priests, monks and religious orders, *hospitaleros* working at pilgrim’s shelters, hostel entrepreneurs, whores, freaks, homeless people, petty thieves and religious pilgrims are brought together by a path and an

infrastructure created around it. Local people tend to be part of the background and do not normally enter the ‘Camino world’, nor profit from it, thus being further marginalized by the heritage economy created around it.

As politics underpin policies, debates around urban regulations often turn into ideological struggles. One of the most heated debates occurred in Val de San Lorenzo in the middle 2000s, when the right-wing party in power issued a law that prohibited the *poynos* or benches that were traditionally used by people to sit down, gather and chat in front of their houses. This was part of a broad project to heritagize the village as a whole, which entailed the construction of two museums and the creation of tourism hostels. This seems an apparently neutral action. However, a closer look reveals its oppressive character for local inhabitants: benches are used basically by them, whereas newcomers prefer to stay at home or in their inner patios. This difference is not only a functional choice but is derived from a certain structure of thought and conception of place, space and the role of the house in the villages. Traditionally, houses were left open and neighbors would go into each other’s houses indiscriminately (Brandes 1975). The space dividing the house and the community is considered a highly permeable boundary by ‘peasants’: the individual and the family were constitutive parts of the community. As such, the external space of the house was actually part of the house, a ‘contact zone’ (Clifford 1997a; Pratt 1991) where sociability was enacted and community bonds reinforced. Once the modern individuation of subjects and houses occurs (sensuHernando Gonzalo 2012), the boundaries between house and community become solidified and striated. As Bonta and Protevi put it, “striation results from stratification, the overcoding, centralization, hierarchization, binarization, and segmentation for the free movements of signs, particles, bodies, territories spaces, and so on” (Bonta and Protevi 2004: 151). Thus, the politics of the envelope (Zaera-Polo 2008) that is, the liminal space dividing interior and exterior or the façade, shifts from being a permeable boundary to become a representational device. It comes by no surprise that supermodern heritage subjectivities use the façade as the paramount aesthetic device: it serves as an aesthetic statement of individuality and differentiation from the community. Accordingly, the house is extricated from the community, interior from exterior, and internal and individual forms of socialization are privileged away from the ‘public sphere’ of the village. In their efforts to heritagize Val de San Lorenzo it was then necessary to get rid of the traditional to embrace the modern, favoring the aesthetic homogeneity of streets and façades to the local customs and ways of doing. Again, the heritage machine performs microfascist operations that try to tailor local variation and fill its space and temporality with one dominant regime of signs, “one way of thinking and acting” (Bonta 2005).

The candidate to the municipality of Val de San Lorenzo appertaining to the regionalist party *Unión del Pueblo Leonés*, employed the struggle against the prohibition of traditional benches as the political banner to wield against the former mayor in the elections. He argued that the benches were a Leonese tradition that should be preserved, and refused to get rid of his stone bench. Finally, he won the elections, largely due to the conflict around benches. What matters here is the kind of operation being enacted by the heritage machine that again shifts from immanence to transcendence. During my work in Val de San Lorenzo as heritage manager, I realized that the preservation of the benches was part of the same process of constructing an abstraction and obliterating immanent practices. Thus, the benches were to be preserved not simply because they are fundamental sites of socialization for local dwellers, but because *they were part of the Leonese*

identity, and thus a heritage village and its houses should have them. That is, in order to make sense, public discourses and claims must be framed within metacultural heritage rhetorics – which are, of course, foreign to local people.

The regionalist Leonese ideology and socially constructed identity that has emerged strongly since the 1980s, has played a relevant role in the heritage machine as it deterritorializes certain realities and transforms them into cultural abstractions – everything is recoded into a Leonese cultural representation. The Leonesist identity emerged as a banner to be wielded against the Castilian dominance in the brand-new Autonomous Community of Castilla y León, whose capital was located in Valladolid, the heart of Castile (Díez Llamas 1997; González Clavero and Pérez López 2002). In fact, the new institution had a need to justify its existence as it had no social or historical basis in contemporary history: during Franco times, the Leonese Region comprising Salamanca and Zamora remained separated from Castile. Thus, the Autonomous Community started to recodify different cultural elements as *castellano-leonés*, school history books were tailored to suit the narration of the region, and so on. Even the dog race ‘*Leonés Shepherd*’ was renamed as the ‘Dog of the Land’ in official regional terminology. As a reaction, Leonesism performed a similar task: different elements were abstracted from their contexts to become Leonese cultural representations of identity. Stone benches turned into Leonese benches. *maragato* drummers were recruited in the Arts and Crafts school in León to teach ‘Leonese drums’. The ideology behind the program *paisanos* in León TV is in tune with these ideology, by which ‘peasants’ are regarded as the cultural root of León. They candidly approach ‘peasants’ and present them as the authentic people, the soul of the land to be found in rural areas, associated to slow paces of life and a different cultural origin. Aficionado ethnographers in search for the Leonese roots in the rural have become more and more common. In their own way, they recodify the ‘peasant’ other as the Leonese cultural background. Again, the ‘peasant’ is conceived as an object of study and source of data, not as a subject with agency. In El Ganso, an aficionado folklorist asked an old woman to name a place called *La Cruz de Hierro*, located in the *Camino de Santiago*. She said she called it *La Cruz de Ferro*. Then he argued that it should be called *La Cruz de Fierro* that supposedly was the right Leonese way of calling it. Then, he explained the woman that what she spoke was a bastardized form of the Leonese language mixed with Spanish and Galician. A bit nervous, she replied that she just spoke. He just turned round and commented that for him it was a pity that “our traditions are being lost”. As we will see later, the objectification of the ‘peasant’ serves a further objective in the legitimating of regionalist agenda. In particular, they serve to establish historical threads and continuities and to create a link with pre-Roman peoples, which are considered as the original inhabitants of the area and ‘our ancestors’ (Whitley 2002). By linking the pre-Roman Astures with the medieval Kingdom of León and vernacular ‘peasant’ communities, the Leonese ideology builds up an ideological discourse of legitimating.

Moreover, the Leonesist ideology had an impact in the direct production and management of heritage through archaeological agendas. This becomes clear in Astorga, where the left-wing party in power had fostered and promoted the Roman past since the 1980s. The Leonesist party created an alternative cultural link with the pre-Roman inhabitants of the area, the *astures*. This is hardly news, as the appropriation of the pre-Roman past is a common strategy employed by nationalist and regionalist groups in the North West of Spain (Marín Suárez et al. 2013). Broadly, the implicit discourse holds that these communities somewhat endured the Roman conquest and acculturation.

Accordingly, their identities remained in a sort of ‘latent’ state throughout history. Allegedly, the pre-industrial communities, the ‘peasants’ are the heirs of this tradition. Of course, these discourses are fed by the imagination of culture-history positivist ethnography, history and anthropology. In fact, the *maragato* culture has been repeatedly linked with an *astur* origin (i.e. Caro Baroja 1973) and some of their traditions, such as plowing the snow, directly linked with pre-Roman rituals (Ballester 2002). Similarly, communal forms of management and land property were directly equated with the ‘primitive communism’ supposedly held by the pre-Romans (Flórez de Quiñones y Tomé 1924; Jovellanos 1981 [1782]). Of course, the whole discourse works to create a generalized and diffuse ‘other’ that goes from the primitive indigenous pre-Roman to the rural ‘peasant’ subject.

This ideological background has led to the rather arbitrary implementation of barely scientific archaeological agendas. For instance, one of the conditions required by the Leonese party to join a coalition with the PSOE for the city council of Astorga was the need to dig a hillfort. Another commonly held idea by Leonese is that hillforts are pre-Roman archaeological sites, when actually most of them have a Roman origin in Maragatería (Orejas Saco del Valle 1996). The PSOE agreed with the UPL, and they decided to excavate the hillfort of Castrillo de los Polvazares. Well before the start of the excavations, the leader of the Leonese party and deputy mayor of Astorga declared that the “palisade used by the pre-Roman inhabitants... and one of their houses” (Almanza 19/08/2005) were going to be reconstructed and musealized. Furthermore, he had projected the creation of an interpretation center that would “let us deepen the knowledge about our roots, showing how the *astur* world, the hillforts and their inhabitants, became gradually part of the Roman world without *the substitution of one group of people by the other... the astures maintained the customs they managed to preserve, and that continuity reaches our days*” (Idem, emphasis mine). Six years after the start of the excavations nothing has been published yet. As I excavated there for one summer, I know that the hillfort had a Roman occupation as well, but this did not interest the Leonese party, of course. In any case, what interests me here is to show that the ‘peasants’ are constructed again as cultural others and included in a hierarchical narrative progress that entails their connection with the indigenous inhabitants of the area, thus reinforcing their backwardness.

In summary, tradition and the ‘peasant’ become socially constructed cultural representations of difference, while their actual alterity is wiped out and remains unacknowledged. However, the – for me – most immanent and distinctive entity in the villages of Maragatería is rarely talked about and not turned into representation: the *Juntas Vecinales* – the local institutions that regulate the coexistence among neighbors. Similarly, the hidden conflict between city councils – normally governing over a number of villages – and the ‘Juntas’, goes unacknowledged for academics, journalists and politicians. The lack of voice of local people comes to the fore again. From the writings of Flórez de Quiñones y Tomé (1924), to interviews with presidents of the ‘Juntas’ today, a common argument arises: the city councils want to take over the profitable communal properties of villages. Other people frame it in terms of the party system taking over an-other political logic where immanent pragmatic concerns are prior to the party machinery. In other words, the ‘Juntas’ regulate relations among neighbors and between neighbors and territory, rather than between citizens and the state through the mediation of party structures. Therefore, the ‘Juntas’, whose existence dates back to medieval times and whose functioning could easily join the World Heritage Immaterial Heritage list, are not heritagized and preserved neither as reality nor as cultural

representations, and only rarely as part of the Leonese cultural repertoire. The 2012 Local Government Law proposal comprises the suppression of the 'Juntas', because, as the Minister of Finance Cristóbal Montoro affirmed, they are "obsolete and opaque" (Cachafeiro 14/07/2012). The suppression is made in the grounds of an economic crisis and a supposed saving of economic resources. The puzzling paradox is that the political positions in the 'Juntas' are not remunerated and thus those are virtually free institutions for the State. In addition, the 'Juntas' must forcefully make their accounts public yearly according to the regional legislation. On the contrary, the municipal, provincial, regional and national bureaucracies and political institutions are drowning in cases of corruption, nepotism and finance mismanagement. Again, an alterity that cannot be constructed as a cultural representation of difference – an unthinkable other (Tetlock 2003) - is temporally displaced as a hindrance from the past. It is described a 'peasant', backward institution characteristic of rural areas, a non-modern element that does not fit with the transcendence of the modern State apparatus and reveals the truth that needs to be concealed: that other logics, worldviews, and forms of governing a political community are possible.

On Social Practices, Experts and Museums.

Social practices are not disconnected from politics but are performed at a different level. One of the most heated social conflicts that has emerged in recent times had in fact to do with a specific policy: The Plan-E implemented by Rodríguez Zapatero's government in 2009 as a Keynesian response to the economic crisis. Thousands of millions of Euros were given to the city councils to execute public works. The plan came to be known sarcastically as the plan to asphalt roads and streets. Maragatería was not an exception to this, and many villages with unpaved streets were asphalted with concrete, whereas the already paved ones were re-asphalted with a new layer of concrete. Leaving aside the detailed description of the facts, which reached physical menaces, denounces and trials, a conflict started between two sides broadly in the whole area. While returned migrants, urban newcomers and eco-rurals opposed the asphaltting, the 'peasants' supported it. For the latter, an immanent and functional view of the village prevailed. Having sidewalks and paved streets was a symbol of modernity and if other nearby villages had them, why not them? Moreover, paved streets avoided floods and the creation of mud in rainy periods, and eased the cleaning of the village, all of which were relevant issues for an elderly population and the underfunded local *Juntas Vecinales*. For newcomers, the asphaltting of the villages was an aesthetic aberration that deprived the village from its aesthetic beauty and rural charm and of its value as tourism attractions.

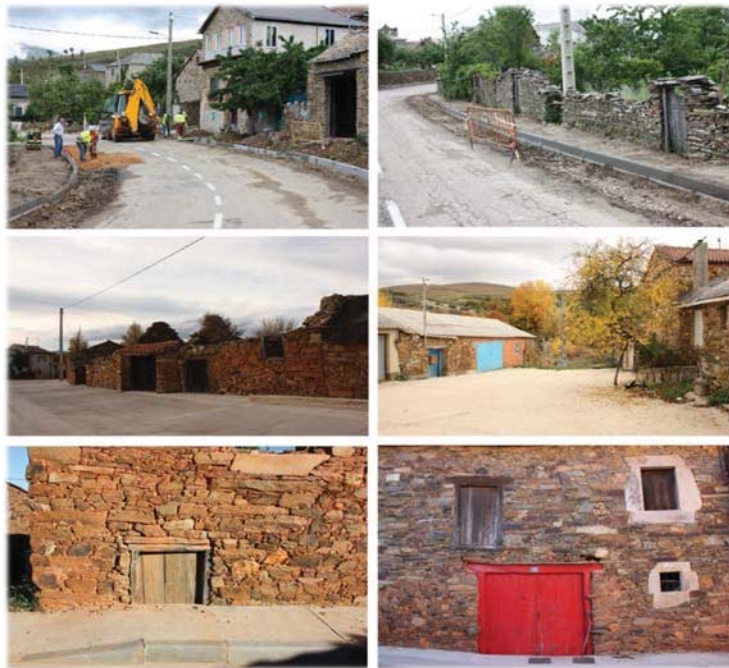


Image 36. Asphaltting or destroying? The *Plan E*, devised by the Spanish government to enhance investment and employment, resulted in a *concretization* of many rural areas, and also of Maragatería. Funds were geared to reinvigorate the construction sector and to nurture short-term political interests. In most cases, streets were actually re-paved and sidewalks built, even though only a few cars pass by the villages each day. The whole process resulted in the obliteration of many traditional doors and, for newcomers and tourists, the destruction of the aesthetic value of many villages. The pictures of the upper part come from Lucillo, in the middle, we see Pedredo (left) and Piedras Albas (right), and in the lower part, two of the many doors rendered useless in Villar de Golfer. This is just a small sample: examples abound all over place. Source: Author.

Some people referred to the lost of value of their properties with this measure: supermodern urban dwellers (some of which had been born in the village) did not want animals – a symbol of tradition – nor concrete – a symbol of modernity – in the village. As a farmer in Prada de la Sierra put it bluntly: “They were born amongst cow shit and now they don’t want to see it around” (Interview 5, August 2010). In turn, eco-rurals are fine with animals but not with concrete. Most of them justify their decision to abandon wealthy lives in Sweden, Holland, U.K., Germany or Switzerland and coming to Maragatería as a way to recover contact with nature and tradition. As a Dutch interviewee in Pedredo explained, “my country is full of concrete... what I enjoy here is freedom, nature, and the ruins... I like the ruins” (Interview 6, September 2010). The supermodern heritage machine entails a metacultural perception of the villages as traditional, rural and backward, and a parallel disregard for local people who are deemed ignorant for “not knowing what they have here”. In fact, many local people have left their village in just a few occasions in their life and cannot ‘know’ - and do not need to know - what they have. The problem with the reified connection ‘peasant-rural’ is again that only two alternatives are given to ‘peasants’: either they are ‘developed’ – and thus non-rural and non-peasant – and embrace the State bureaucracy and market logics, or they remain traditional, ruinous, rural and backward (Kearney 1996).

Other social practices tend to disrupt the immanent continuum of local practices within these communities, where the separation between the ritual and the mundane elements is only faintly sanctioned (González Álvarez 2011). Thus, in the celebrations held during the feasts of the villages, the cultural, ritual, religious, social, economic and festive elements cannot be extricated. Almost all members of the community go to mass, participate in the *maragato* dances and drum playing, eat and drink until late at night. The *Junta Vecinal* plays a fundamental role in maintaining the whole festive dynamic alive and the different aspects of it together. In fact, in the villages without ‘Juntas’ the process that extricates these constitutive elements of the ‘fiestas’ into separated realms is more advanced. The ‘Juntas’ collect the money and organize the party, hiring a *maragato* drummer and dancers to perform during the feasts. This system preserves a balance between *maragato* performance and the celebrations. However, *maragato* drummers complain that this precarious balance is being threatened by both institutions and newcomers. Provincial and municipal institutions prefer to get rid of the *Juntas Vecinales* and give subsidies to the drummers as ‘artists’, thus extricating them from their belonging in the community and turning them into cultural expressions and named as ‘artists’.

Secondly, newcomers who normally spend time in the village during summer time prefer to hire orchestras or mobile discos rather than drummers and dancers. They create well-funded festive commissions to do so. What follows is a separation of the different aspects of the celebration, temporally, socially and spatially. The night becomes the time for partying with a bar and an orchestra/disco, purified from elder people who used to spend time with younger generations at night. Villages such as Viforcós, where the arrival of newcomers has remained marginal, the local feasts still gather together at night the elders and the youngsters, stories are told and music is played. In places where metacultural heritage practices have become prominent, the drummers and dancers must perform in ‘cultural events’, in the place designed for culture: the museum. Culture disappears in the world and reappears in the museum (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett et al. 1991), the place where reified and inert entities are displayed (Hooper-Greenhill 1989).

Moreover, drummers and dancers are paid for playing in the villages (a function), but not for performing in the museum (a cultural expression): the heritage machine extricates culture from economy. The ‘ritual to spectacle’ explanatory model (Handelman 1997) is not suitable here, as the performance of the drummers cannot be considered solely as a ritual: it was just part of the immanent continuum of the community from which it is extricated as metacultural representation. This is not to say that the ‘drummers’ were somehow ‘original’ or ‘authentic’ representatives of the local culture. Although their presence has been documented since the XVI century in the area, their continuity has been guaranteed by certain policies and socioeconomic situations (such as Franco’s *Coros y Danzas*). Be it as it were, the community perceives them to be a fundamental part of the feast, disregarding issues of authenticity: in fact many drummers do not dress the *maragato* clothes. They do not need to abide to the standards of the heritage machine to preserve their role in the celebration. Today, many drummers think that the suppression of the ‘Juntas’ will lead to the proliferation of festive commissions and the end of their jobs as drummers. The transition has already begun as many villages are starting to ask drummers to perform for free. They are becoming part of the ‘peasant’ traditional cultural representation.

The continuum between religious aspects and the community is also being threatened, in this occasion by the Church. The Church owns most cultural heritage assets in Spain and its role in rural

and little communities is still fundamental. In this case, the immanence of local communities in the relation with local churches and the elements contained in them is menaced by private property: when the Church sells some elements of the local churches, tries to take away local saint's statues to repair them, or similar situations, conflicts emerge. This is so because local communities consider the church to be theirs on the grounds that they afford its maintenance, cleaning up and reparations. Recently, the *Junta Vecinal* of Val de San Román repaired the roof of the local church, of which local people are really proud. However, the church *is not actually theirs*, despite they think it is. This ambiguity is favored by the Church, which uses this situation to its convenience: for instance arguing that each community must take care of *its own church*, but then closing these churches or selling their properties when it is considered convenient.

The church and some of its symbolic elements are considered to be the soul of the village. For the association striving to repopulate the deserted village of Prada de la Sierra, the first objective of their project is to raise money to repair the belfry and relocate the original bells that are kept in a nearby village. In Maragatería, it is common to hear complaints about the lessening in the number of weekly morning and afternoon masses and prays, or the closure and desacralization of chapels. The decrease in the number of priests, the large number of little villages and the religious zeal of people in the area, puts the Church on the rope to promptly deliver its services to its faithful believers. This situation leads also to a coming and going of priests, which are not central members of the community anymore as they used to be.

Conflicts around issues of property and the Church are not new. In fact, those started when the Church started to work hand by hand with the Franco regime to favor rural depopulation (Aceves 1978). However, the heritage machine emphasizes these conflicts and contentious dynamics. For instance, during the 1990s, the last inhabitant of Foncebadón – an old woman – resisted the attempt of the Diocese of Astorga to remove the bells from the Church and bring them to a *Museo de los Caminos*, a museum located in the Gaudí's Diocesan palace in Astorga. She received the priest, the military police and the handworkers with a rain of stones and insults. This is how Julio Llamazares, the outstanding narrator of the death of Spanish villages, narrates the story: “in vain, they tried to convince her to come down and let them get away with the bells, which, in the end, were not legally hers. While she was throwing stones, María said that she needed them, among other things, to warn people from nearby villages in case a fire started in his village, as she could not have a telephone to perform the same task”. Llamazares concluded: “while loneliness takes hold of the ruins for good, as an invisible oxide, they should let the people live in peace, with their memories and their bells, although neither of them can serve them to feel alive” (Llamazares 1995).

More recently, in 2010, the German monk community ‘San Salvador del Monte Irago’, living in Rabanal del Camino, situated in the *Camino de Santiago* trail, was violently expelled from the village. Due to the lack of priests, they were saying Mass in the village's main church (declared ‘Good of Cultural Interest’, by the way). Archaeological diggings were being carried out that kept half of the church closed and unearthed, a situation that was considered to be an aberration by many local people. The stroke that broke the camel was the relocation of the altarpiece and the removal of the famous clock of the Church, made by the famous clock-maker Canseco. Violent demonstrations followed the removal of the clock, and the monks had to move back to Germany escorted by the military police during the local feasts. Again, heritage interests, in which the regional government

was involved as well, prevailed over the people's will. Local people were never consulted nor informed about what was going on in the church, to the extent of infuriating a people rather little inclined to such public demonstrations of anger.

Similar actions that show little respect for local communities' views and understandings are common among individual 'experts' or academics specialized in specific fields of knowledge. Some performances enact an active oppression while others can be considered to be passive forms of marginalization that simply ignore the existence of other worldviews and other potential viewpoints. As part of their 'identity raising tasks' the E.U. funding group *Montañas del Teleno* decided to hire a company of heritage management from Granada (800 kilometers away from Maragatería) to 'teach' heritage values to the people in different villages through public seminars. Therefore, the underlying rationale is that 'heritage' is a universal and therefore everyone can talk about it anywhere in the world. Also, heritage is not a given, but rather has to be taught to people who do not know, who are "heritage deficient" (Andrews 2010). In one of the seminars, held in Lagunas de Somoza, the heritage expert, a middle-aged female, had clearly prepared her seminar without having a walk around the village. Lagunas de Somoza has a declared 'Good of Cultural Interest' under the 1949 inventory that catalogued the military structures of Spain. Despite everyone in the village knows that their catalogued tower is in reality a windmill, the heritage expert insisted in affirming that it was a tower: why should she believe local 'peasants' rather than the inventory? People left the room without learning 'heritage values' and she ended up crying.



Image 37. In the background, the windmill of Lagunas de Somoza. In the forefront, a wild boar.

Source: Author.

A more passive marginalization of the people has been carried out by all kinds of ethnographers, folklorists and professionals since the Enlightenment onwards. Most archaeologists create the territorial archaeological maps – and are paid for it – drawing on information provided by

local people who know their territory better than anyone does, without even mentioning them. As González Álvarez points out in the case of Asturias, “the dialogue between archaeologists and communities was not established within an equal and bidirectional framework, rather, the flow of information was clearly controlled by Archaeology. Archaeologists only aimed to gather data while keeping to a minimum the participation of the peasants, that did not receive any counterpart in the communication process... instead of merely extracting data, archaeologists can constructively learn from peasants, appreciating their visions and patterns of relation with the landscape which are completely alien to the present-centered [*presentista*] academic production of knowledge about the past” (González Álvarez 2011: 145). If the interactions established with ‘peasants’ are unequal, the way the past is constructed and exposed to them is oppressive too. By establishing a chronological ordering of time with universal pretensions (Lane 2006: 72), archaeology disrupts the spatiotemporal coordinates of the pre-industrial communities. In a conversation with a group of local ‘peasants’, Juan Carlos Campos, the discoverer of the prehistoric carvings of Filiel and aficionado archaeologists, tried to explain them that the stones were carved some 4.000 years ago, at least. They laughed and insisted that the carvings had been done by shepherds, and some of them even claimed to know the shepherd who had done them, or to have done them themselves when they were children. Juan Carlos replied that it might have been a shepherd, but thousands of years ago. They laughed again: the temporal coordinates are just not part of their worldview. An old woman in Lucillo summed up her view on the fuss created by the carvings: “A bunch of stones... I am fed up of seeing stones you know? Bah, stones. I do not know why people make such a fuss about stones!” (Interview 7, June 2009). Clearly, the ‘peasants’ worldview is resilient. Moreover, breaking with the many modern forms of ontological and epistemological oppressions implied by modern science and epistemology is not an easy task. In fact, breaking with the “Archaeology of ourselves forces us to deal with the challenge of documenting, reconstruction and presenting the past of subaltern groups” (Damm 2005: 73).

This leads us to a final issue: presentation and representation. In the U.S., Australia, New Zealand and even Sweden, there is an inflation of academic research, museum and community projects dealing with their ‘internal others’ (Graham and Howard 2008a). All sorts of projects have been devised from different points of view, most of them from the standpoint of the politics of identity and multiculturalism. Their aim is generally to represent and give a voice to these marginalized communities, which are not anymore ‘primitive’ others but rather people whose rights to have an-other lifestyle and worldview are respected – although oppressions have occurred and still occur (Alfred and Corntassel 2005). The primary sites for cultural representation are the museums. For Bartra, museums are strategic places where cultural continuity is fabricated and exhibited (1991). Postmodern critics of the museum argue that it provides the perfect metaphor of the simulacrum: it is a simulation machine that apparently preserves the real while actually concealing the vanishing of that represented reality in the world (Rajchman 1985). It does not preserve but rather sterilizes, freezes and turns reality into spectacle (Bartra 1991).

From my standpoint, museums in Spanish rural and peripheral communities respond closely to local political interests and heritagization/touristification processes. However, as any other cultural representation, they project and reveal the ideological underpinnings and unconscious assumptions about reality of the social actors that implement them in their displays. In Maragatería, some informal quasi-museums or locales gather materials from the pre-industrial world as if it were

valuable *per se*. In turn, the official museums are far from exhibiting a cultural continuity with the present, or creating links with the present inhabitants of the area. The drugstore-museum of Santa Colomba de Somoza is one example of it. In Tabuyo del Monte, two museums have been created thanks to the funding provided by the Ministry of Defense after the forest of the village was devastated and burned out by the impact of a shell coming from the Military Range. That would have been a good opportunity to restore and metaphorically rebuild the bonds between community, forest and the territory broadly through a museum. However, a Mushroom Interpretation Center and a Honey Museum were created that were supposedly in tune with the economic enterprises being created in the area at the time – restaurants, hotels, agricultural cooperatives, etc. The *Museo de la Arriería* – mule trading museum – in Santiago Millas describes the basic defining traits of the *maragato* culture during their heyday, without tracing any link whatsoever with the present, or the end of the *maragato* cultural and socioeconomic world. Precisely, it was in this museum where the first exhibition of *maragato* music as a reified performance in front of a passive public was held, promoted by newcomers to the village. But, what is the point of preserving in the museum, or as performance for the tourist, what has been wiped out in the community? (Viejo-Rose 2011a). In fact, the point is that the heritage machine does not care about community, but rather about the maximization of subjects' individualization.

The museum endowed with a more complex museological discourse is located in Val de San Lorenzo, split in two locales, the 'Batán Museum' and the 'Textile Interpretation Center'. The functioning and meaning conveyed in the museum can serve as a summary of what has been said hitherto. Val de San Lorenzo was the only village in Maragatería to undergo an industrialization process related to textile production. Two productive trends emerged. The liberal trend promoted the creation of individual factories where all productive processes were carried out. The communal trend entailed continuity with pre-industrial forms of production. Two communal factories carried out most processes and the communal workers could end the pieces in their looms at home. When industrial benefits started to decline most factories closed and the communal factory did so in the late 1990s. In tune with the process of heritagization of the village promoted by local elites – normally ex-liberal producers – and the city council, the communal factory was transformed into an interpretation center. It was made of plastic and bricks, and concrete covered the stone walls. The architect and promoters considered it unsuitable as a heritage object and tailored the museum to fit the heritage standards: the stones were uncovered, the bricks covered, roof plastic was substituted by old looking tiles, and windows and door painted with a particular kind of blue which was considered to be the authentic color of Maragatería.

The display presented a story of progress, from pre-industrial tools to the most recent mechanic looms. Despite it is called *La Comunal* Interpretation Center, no reference is made to the process of communal production. Neither is emigration talked about despite its fundamental role in the process of industrialization. Temporal exhibitions held have displayed, among other things, pictures of *maragato* dresses, old blankets, religious bouquets and old banners. Unsurprisingly, most local people, and especially the former stakeholders of the communal society, reject the musealization process and have never visited the museum. They are aware that it serves to attract tourism for the benefit of those who built rural hostels with the support of the E.U. funds, that is, the former liberal textile producers who strived to dismantle communal production for decades. The 'peasant', represented by the communal producers who continued with a pre-industrial working

ethos, is spatially and metaphorically displaced and cast into oblivion. The sanitized heritage discourse cannot in this case preserve a cultural abstraction of what they did because of its political implications. If industrialism is equated with modernity and individualism, how could ‘peasants’ manage to become industrialized while maintaining their communal ethos without external support?

Conclusion.

The gradual development of history and centuries of culture contact, migrations, change, adaptation and isolation have resulted in local thickenings of differences that further change and travel dissolve (Saldanha 2007). Geopolitical situations and power relations led to the consideration of some of these thickenings superior to others. We can speak then of the peasants as subaltern creations of modernity that were in most cases ‘internal others’ to be included into the larger project of the nation-state. Under the God-eye of the State, the multiplicity of peasants tended to be reified through statistics creating ‘the population’ and its categories. The politically informed complexity theory of Deleuze enables us to speak of peasants as changing multiplicities without essential characters. However, this does not preclude the possibility of accounting for the virtual worlds and capabilities that their specific geopolitical and economic locations have made possible, in a positive and active folding of the exterior to develop the interior. They come to form group clusters resulting from the specific agencies that relationally come to discipline – or to instill self-discipline and control into bodies through coercion – and shape their worldviews and behaviors. The peasants are not a community of resistance, dialectically opposed to the other reified categories such as the urban dweller. There are multiple dimensions and rhythms of differentiation and change in which they participate through the establishment of connections with new forces, territories and cultures.

However, the ‘peasants’ have been historically constructed as a category by the operation of the modern state. The Spanish modern state needed to colonize and homogenize its territory, in a process that generated ‘internal others’ such as the *maragatos* as by-products. To do so, the colonial violence starts with the nomination of subjects, individuals and communities (objectification). Then, it takes them apart, splits the immanent constitutive relations between peoples and communities (repression), to then reassemble them into novel networks of relations (administration). This is the reason why “language, subjectivity and the law are the backbone of violence: they enunciate, constitute and normalize the land, the death, history and life” (Haber 2011b: 20). These novel rules imply establishing a hegemonic knowledge through science, religion and law, which is then normalized and instilled into the people’s subjectivities through pedagogic governmental technologies such as schooling, institutionalization, catechizing, etc. The modern western episteme is also brought by scientific disciplines that enforce and naturalize colonial values like the “vectorial linearity of time, cultural alterity as difference, autonomy of the material, distancing with the past, anthropocentrism of the social, dimensional extension of space, primacy of vision in the perception of the world, privileging of reason to access knowledge, separation between knowledge and social relations, etc.” (Haber 2011b: 30).

These epistemological constructs become metaphysical assumptions once they are assumed by individuals, fixating gender, racial and ethnic inequalities as “natural”. This is a further colonial violence, a second phase of the process that disguises the former oppressions. In this sense, the colonization of internal others in order to create an homogeneous nation can be framed as a

creative, positive process by which certain languages, subjects, religions, races, power and economic articulations become standards that define 'what is normal'. Cultural notions of difference are underpinned by hegemonic epistemological constructions that generate their own metaculture (Urban 2001a), that is, notions that naturalize and define as a-cultural certain aspects of the world, while others are attributed to the 'Other'. The *maragato*, the 'peasant', are others that defy the norm, and are therefore their cultural representations are developed negatively: they are considered backward, impure, hybrid, and are consequently associated symbolically with all the signifiers of 'non-Spanishness' (the Jew, the Moorish, the pre-Roman, the Goth, and so on). Of course, this process must not be conceived as the actualization of a transcendental or teleological plan of the modern State, rather, it is a by-product, a consequence of the relational emergence of differences between the existing communities, peoples and society in general, and the technologies of knowledge construction, objectification, repression and administration of the modern State (Briones and Golluscio 1994).

To avoid falling into a reification of culture and the individuals and groups I analyzed, I have followed Eriksen (1991) advice to look at 'contexts of interaction' where cultural differences are constructed, reproduced, and activated. From the bioanthropological study of *maragato* skulls to the social construction of the peasant through the material indexes of difference represented in *maragato* contemporary villages and houses, social differences are created by mobilizing cultural contents that reflect cultural notions of difference. If living in an old *maragato* house is not the same than constructing a new house that looks like an 'old' *maragato* house, a (hegemonic) cultural notion of difference is being inscribed in the social field and generating a new regime of truth (Foucault 2002b). These regimes of truth mark internal inequalities, disguising certain divergences and representing others, "fixing thresholds of uniformity and otherness that make it possible to classify disparate subjects in a continuum from 'inappropriate and unacceptable' to 'tolerable subordinates' (Briones 2005a: 16; see also Williams 1989). As Hall argues, (1996a) the construction of ethnic, as well as gender, racial, religious categories, or geographic categories that distinguish between the rural and the urban, provide a multiplicity of means by which a labor force can be incorporated and exploited. In addition, it can be ideologically and politically incorporated within the framework of the nation-state and the market logics, and weakened by its internal differentiations of race, gender, ethnic group, and so on. This incorporation of an informed mass to the nation and the state bodies is related to the Hobbessian notion of 'the people'. The task of creating a people is "strictly correlated to the existence of the State" (Virno 2003: 22) , where it is necessary to transform the many of the state of nature into a One through the forging of the State.

The long-standing ethnic categories of the *maragato* and of the rural inhabitant as 'peasant', are part of the legitimization strategies of the liberal state and the hegemonic classes. The latter need others against which to represent and perform their difference and affirm their privileged status and power. The former needs to create a homogeneous mass of citizens through coercive and persuasive means that obliterate the different and praise what is considered to be the dominant model or 'standard' subject (Llobera 1996). Thus, the creation of a national soul and a mass of disciplined subjects must be understood in Deleuzian terms as a task of marking/unmarking bodies and peoples, designating 'internal others' and representing them as subaltern and illegitimate subjects. Therefore, instead of talking about the *maragatos* as an ethnic group, or as 'peasants' broadly, I have strived to concentrate in how these categories are constructed in specific processes

of interaction. That is, “in contexts and processes of formation of groups considered as different on the basis of selectively marking racial and ethnic categories from central power positions” (Briones 2005a: 14). These constructions of difference are not inconsequential as defining what is ‘normal’ implies marking boundaries between legitimate and illegitimate subjects and ascribing differential horizons of vision and action for each group and individual (Corrigan and Sayer 1985). Those who are explicitly and selectively constructed as ‘ethnic’ through strategies of spatialization, substantialization and temporalization (Alonso 1994) are at the losing end of the social interplay that distributes power, agency and access to economic resources. That is, the cultural representation of difference and lack of recognition of alterity carried out by modern and supermodern subjects, regulate and establish in negative terms the existential possibilities of these ‘internal others’ subject to their representations. As Grossberg argues (1996) these typically modern constructions articulate and condition the patterns of mobility, circulation and capital acquisition which are made possible to these subjects, and the life paths that would render these gains possible. Even naïve approaches to the peasant perform and reproduce their essentialization and reification, and confine them to limited mental and physical landscapes of action. For instance, when peasants are considered to be ‘the roots’ of some contemporary identity, or the representation of a link with nature and a mythical worldview.

If the notion that identities are constructed through difference is one of the heaviest legacies of modernity (Grossberg 1996), my analysis has shown how the heritage machine is characteristic of supermodern subjectivities and worldviews. People embodying heritage subjectivities construct themselves through differentiation from others, which can be ‘traditional’, ‘primitive’, ‘backward’ in spatial and temporal terms. In turn, the modern individual reinforces its self and agency by affirming a difference that differs from itself: a constant process of becoming in Deleuzian terms. Individuation implies affirming a difference in terms of space and time, from communities, cultures, temporal periods and other ‘non-legitimate’ subjects.

Today, the heritage machine has become the main device in the distribution of agencies and power subject-positions in Maragatería. It seems that “having a heritage is indispensable to having an identity and cultural memory” and thus it “has come to be used as proof of past, tradition, belonging and therefore proof also of rights to place, representation and political voice” (Anheier et al. 2011: 9). Heritage subjectivities play with the cultural representations generated by modernity. Maragatería has provided a perfect playground for the task, as its cultural representation has a great diffusion and reach throughout Spain, whereas the actual situation of the territory is appalling. Disregarding this fact, cultural representations (differences) are employed as virtual models to actualize novel territorial and vital assemblages that wipe out the remnants of other forms of life (otherness/alterity) through a gradual process of distillation and purification. The great divide is established between those subjects of enunciation creating heritage representations and being able to implement them in real terms, and those who are brought into, judged and subjected by, those representations. ‘Peasants’ are temporally and spatially displaced by the different symbolic and indexing strategies for their representation that construct them as different without acknowledging their otherness. This entails temporal and spatial real and metaphorical displacements – they are primitive and rural – that situate them in a largely subaltern position.

However, their cultural representation might be useful to stand for some values, which they supposedly represent, by different actors and their narratives. ‘Peasants’ can be territorial resources,

that is, heritage themselves (a process in tune with the conversion of humans into heritage, by the way (Castillo Ruiz 2007; Chaves et al. 2010). They can also embody tradition and authenticity, connect contemporary people with their lost roots supposedly embedded in primitive tribes, or symbolize a healthy and slow rural pace of life in contact with nature. What makes all these uses oppressive is that all these values are alien to them, and that this fact is not even conceived. The possibility of otherness is not contemplated by the moderns nor by the supermoderns. When otherness cannot be preserved as a cultural representation of difference, as in the museum of Val de San Lorenzo, its memory and physical remnants are obliterated. When it cannot be incorporated into the machinery of the State, like the *Juntas Vecinales*, it is cast as backward (non-normal) and wiped out.

The theoretical deadlock that impedes conceiving the ‘peasant’ agency delinked from the idea of tradition and pre-industrial, precludes the possibility of imagining an-other future for peripheral rural areas whose inhabitants hold alternative worldviews. A large body of literature has been produced in recent years analyzing the theoretical possibilities of feminism, environmentalism, anti-racism, post-colonialism or the new left to develop political alternatives. However, less emphasis has been given to detailed accounts of how certain forces reproduce the current state of things in particular contexts, and how certain subjects deploy forms of resistance and creative alternatives to avoid these logics. My task here has been to analyze the articulation of structures of individuation and planes of value and subjectivity creation revolving around the concept of heritage. I have focused in describing “the nature of human subjectivity, identity and agency as technologically produced relations which impose a particular organization and a particular conduct on the specific multiplicities operating on different planes of effects” (Grossberg 1996: 98). Once the heritage machine has been tracked as a cultural, political and socioeconomic tendency bodies and subjectivities tend towards, it becomes possible to think otherwise and to oppose alternative models of life and understanding not based on the hegemonic creation of differences and oppressions.

We should be careful here to assume that an approach based on multiculturalism and the politics of identity could provide a way out of the problem. This standpoint would focus in giving voice and representing the worldviews of the ‘peasant’ others, including their narrations in museums or in academic projects and knowledge practices. An all too easy assumption of the fact that other people’s views should be listened to and represented is already a step forward from the traditional positivist culture-history approach that contributes to reify identities and practices. However, a politics based on identity remains within the modern paradigm, because it refers the narration of the others back to the central and hegemonic ‘zero-point’ of modern disembodied reason and identity (Castro-Gómez 2003). This hegemonic worldview decides where, when, how and to whom the possibility of being represented is given. Thus, for instance, the inclusion of narrations about *moros* in the interpretations of archaeological sites can be considered as a step forward. However, it does not substantially modify the existential conditions of the ‘peasants’, nor the direction of the knowledge acquisition paths and power articulations. It remains a modern strategy of representation, although a clearly more legitimate one.

The search for a more ‘legitimate’ way of representing the other could lead us to fall in the trap of considering our political and academic goal to pursue the ‘heritage crusade’ (Lowenthal 1996) and therefore to denounce the disappearance of this or that heritage appertaining to the ‘peasant’ culture. That would imply catalyzing the momentum of the heritage machine and

reinforce its works, and to reify popular culture (Cirese 1977). For, what do we want to achieve? Do we want to preserve the arts and crafts, the dances and the houses, or do we want to recognize otherness and support its legitimacy? In fact, we would be reproducing the modern epistemological scheme in which the modern subject of enunciation is at the center to which 'other' forms of knowledge are incorporated and translated. This is, for instance, the position supported by Bauman when he argues that "the only reasonable cognitive strategy is therefore one best expressed in Geertz (1973b) idea of "thick description": recovery of the meaning of the alien experience through fathoming the tradition (form of life, life-world. Etc.) = which constitutes it, and then translating it, with as little damage as possible, into a form acceptable by one's own tradition (form of life, life-world, etc.)" (Bauman 1988: 229-230). Why this emphasis in assimilation rather than in coexistence? As Murdoch and Pratt (1994) ask, is our only role to translate what others say or rather to apply our knowledge to analyze how the powerful construct their instruments of domination?

The fundamental question for the production of an-other society is how to reconcile the constant rearticulating of culture within a common and ongoing project. In other words, the question is how to affirm the immanent continuity and togetherness of a community without reifying and essentializing it. Different groups in Maragatería are experimenting with other potential forms of political community, like in Matavenero. They demonstrate that a different way of relating to the past is necessary, one that is opposed to the heritage machine and the microfascistic deterritorializing memory fostered by it. Instead of utilizing the past to create hierarchies and perform temporal displacements, it can be conceived as a source for inspiration and community building, to pave the way for open-ended becomings (Parr 2008). I disagree with scholars celebrating multivocality, the free flow of difference and otherness (Dhareshwar 1990: 235). Similarly, I disagree with those arguing that the construction of heritage forcefully generates conflict because it serves to reinforce the opposition self-other that is used to affirm certain identities (Ashworth et al. 2007; Tunbridge 1998). This dialectical explanatory model of heritage presupposes what needs to be clarified: why the past and valuable entities are being turned heritage in such a way and not in other ways. And why this dialectical utilization of heritage is promoted by institutions, the market and the hegemonic classes with a clear focus on identity.

Here, the question arises of how our own disciplinary practices can avoid the trap of reinstating the oppressions and segmentations implied by modern knowledge. The political and epistemological tasks of the researcher are manifold in this regard. First, it is necessary to build symmetric epistemologies and knowledge practices (Latour 2007). This is a fundamental previous step that provides the grounds for a collective political agency. This quest is related "to the project of constructing a form of knowledge that respects the other without absorbing it into the same" (Young 1990: 11). Or, in our context, without turning it into a cultural representation. Approaching the other should resemble a conversation in which the researcher learns relationally. Starting a conversation does not imply an impossible becoming-other of the researcher, but rather a transformation *during* and *through* the conversation with the other. This conversation must account for the contradictions and antagonisms that exist in the epistemic and social fields, and for the position of the researcher in those antagonisms. This is an important step because "social scientists seem to be much better equipped to identify antagonisms in the objective world than to identify themselves within antagonistic relations from their positions as researchers, that is, in their position as active identifiers of antagonisms in the objective world" (Haber 2011b: 21). We must be aware

that antagonisms constitute us and our objects of study immanently (Grosso 2010). Therefore, what is at stake is not only to state on which side of the antagonisms we want to be, but rather to investigate how those antagonisms constitute out subjectivity, how we inhabit in antagonisms (Movimiento de Trabajadores Desocupados de Solano and Situaciones 2002). This is the key question of colonial disciplines such as anthropology that renders our (Western) subjectivities schizoid: we are both identifying antagonisms and living in them, while trying to carry out research *as if* we were abstracted from those relations (Haber 2011b). This contradiction is epitomized by one of the paramount anthropological methodologies: participant observation. As Haber shows, one cannot be a “honest participant and observer at the same time” (Haber 2011b: 22)³⁹. Then, the ultimate aim of research should not be to gather information about how some subjects make sense of reality, but rather to establish a bidirectional conversation with other subjects that incorporates social movements and local communities against hegemonic power.

Second, we should strive to become influential in instrumental decisions taken by the public institutions and the market (Díaz Viana 2011: 384). A decolonial research stance should not lead us to fight for a better world for those who suffer, but rather to oppose the conditions under which human oppressions and suffering have become naturalized and widespread. Abandoning a colonial research perspective implies to shift from the will to know the other, to a position that takes the other seriously. Assuming otherness and abandoning the quest for truth can only be possible when the position of the researcher moves away from an hegemonic disciplinary position to an acknowledgement of other temporal and spatial sites of thought (Grosso 2010). Moreover, it implies abandoning the modern conception of difference and being open to alterity, to other forms of regulating the relations between subjects and the world that are not constructed as logic sets of linguistic statements. Approaching alterity implies entering in practical relation with it, and establishing a link with other theories of relationality is something that cannot only be enacted in terms of knowledge acquisition (Haber 2009). For the modern scientific episteme, certain elements have come to represent alterity and otherness: the soul of things, mysticism, the sacredness of the world, the lack of compartmentalization between aspects of nature, culture and the social, and so on. In its quest to know the world, the colonial West has projected its own episteme to everything that remains external to it. Clearly, the task of “anthropology is consubstantial to coloniality as it is an exercise of translation of exteriority to Western terms and language, that makes possible to enunciate, administrate, intervene and colonize the exteriority, that is, to expand the colonial boundary” (Haber 2011b: 28). What the modern mindset is to suppress the immanent other-relations between the exterior and the interior, as with the belief of pre-industrial communities in *mouros* and other beings that inhabit the landscape. They do not believe in *mouros* to reinforce their identity through the affirmation of the existence of a different other, rather, this interpretation is the

³⁹“This is perhaps the point of departure from the traditional ethnographic method of participant observation, which has been enthroned by those who tame the experience of research as “ethnographic qualitative method” or simply “ethnographic method”. One cannot be a honest participant and observer at the same time. By joining the research process, one experiences perceptions, feelings, movements and thoughts, not as an observer but as a participant. If one observes one can pretend not to be involved, participate or act, somewhat in the manner of the acting techniques of Stanislavsky. The difference between the actor of physical actions and the participant is that once the performance is finished, the actor goes back to what he or she was before it. The relational participant, instead, must acknowledge the relational movement implied in the conversation. So, we can say that participant observation is actually a method, an instrument, while the relational conversation is a nonmethod (instead of being a path leading to knowledge, it is a place of knowledge [un lugar de conocimiento])” Haber, A. (2011b). “Nometodología payanesa. Notas de metodología indisciplina.” *Revista Chilena de Antropología*(23)..

projection of our modern episteme to other worldviews. Similar situations occur with the split of *maragato* celebrations into compartments (religion, culture, economy, etc.), or with the enduring social construction of the *maragatos* as a different ethnic and racial group.

Therefore, our ultimate task should be to work with communities in ways that foster the establishment of new connections among people that are not based on identity. Why not thinking in terms of collective agency and a belonging without identity? Whether one calls it a ‘multitude’ (Negri 2004) or a ‘coming community’ (Agamben 1993), what matters is not the affirmation of a common identity for a ‘peasant community’. This would bring us back to the policies of identity and the dialectical definition of the self through the other (Hall 2001), and to a celebration of diversity that leads nowhere. It is not through the self-identification with some inner essence that the objectification of others is overcome, but rather through the inhabiting of a difference (Grosso 2010). Why not just preserving the immanence of the ‘peasants’ in Maragatería, where having personal rights and a share in the communal property was given by the sole fact of being born there, in the village. There was no need to affirm the possession of a heritage or a disembodied reason attached to an identity. It was the fact of belonging that constituted their belonging together (Agamben 1993).

9. Before Heritage: Immanent Meshworks and the Political Economy of *Juntas Vecinales* and *Tamboriteros*.

This chapter has been written in a moment of transition in Maragatería. The Spanish Government has announced in his 2012 Municipal Government Act draft that local institutions such as the *Juntas Vecinales* should be abolished because those are “opaque and obsolete” (Cachafeiro 14/07/2012). Nearly 40% of those millennial institutions are located in the province of León. Their disappearance and the ensuing appropriation of their communal properties by the state apparatuses threatens to undermine the immanent forms of management at the local level and the endurance of cultural practices entrenched in the political economy of the village. From my viewpoint, scholarly work remains bounded to safe, stable and straightforward sites, that is, to already constituted entities or outcomes of heritagization processes, that is, to essences (Bryant et al. 2011). This chapter aims to shift the focus of analysis in heritage studies from the “composed forms” to the “component forces” (Srnicek 2008), that is, towards the formative or molecular processes that sustain certain practices before they fall within the attractor of the heritage machine.

Heritage scholars not only overinflate heritage by constructing it or promoting it, they also rarely let the actors in the social field express their views on it (although the increasing interest of anthropologists in the field of heritage is countering this trend). As Davies points out, research is largely absent in terms of less or non identified and interpreted sites (2006: 33, quoted in Andrews 2010: 14). For Harrison (2010), heritage studies must look at the interaction between top-down, ‘official’ approaches to heritage, and what people value in social milieus, what they construct from the bottom. However, this standpoint precludes the possibility of analyzing the formation of heritage processes at their root. For the contrast between binary pairs such as “oral lore/book knowledge” and “official discourse/popular understanding” is never so simple because, even though each discourse employs “symbols, lexical forms, and even entire images from each other,... they deploy these realities to quite different ends” (Herzfeld 1989: 133). This chapter aims to look at the

political economy sustaining certain social practices that, according to international charts and heritage discourse, could be ‘officially’ classified and managed as heritage, but owing to the low intensity of heritage management practice in the region they are not considered as such by the state bodies. However, the heritage machine has recently started to appear and act as an attractor in certain social spheres, and threatens to extricate cultural practices as metacultural representations away from the political economy of villages, while letting the whole assemblage that creates the conditions of possibility for the reproduction of local communities vanish.

This is not a ‘superlative’ case study (Fariás 2008), but a situated inquiry analyzing how the precarious balance between the performance of *maragato* culture and common forms of local management is maintained. Similarly, my account is not aimed at ascertaining whether the *maragato* cultural practices are ‘authentic’ or not. Rather, conceiving culture not as an essence but as the result of political economies of cultural production (Briones 2005a), or of relations of production (García Canclini 1993). I look at how the local *Juntas Vecinales* are able to adapt and modernize themselves according to a new historic and socioeconomic reality, and to reorganize the cultural production of the community immanently, that is, without resorting to metacultural ideas of heritage value and discourse. This fact reveals the complex self-organization capabilities of local communities and paves the way for fresh conceptions of heritage management where issues of empowerment should be prioritized over the promotion of cultural representations for tourist consumption.

Following DeLanda’s account of meshworks in the arena of economy (1996), I define these assemblages endowed with self-organizing capabilities as ‘heritage meshworks’. By giving ontological status to these practices, it would become possible for academics and institutions to promote them *in their own terms* without necessarily generating metacultural representations or translating “into our own tradition” (Bauman 1992). Heritage meshworks can be conceived as entanglements of social practices that dynamically crisscross the modern dualisms of nature-culture, culture-economy that enable the reproduction of the social without reifying it or imposing hylemorphic external blueprints or models (Protevi 2001). This is precisely the task of institutions and the State, that generate transcendent models and hierarchies fixing the reproduction of culture to create it as an stable process (Peterson and Anand 2004). This is not to say that meshworks are revolutionary or desirable; rather, they are entrenched in the hierarchical dynamics of the local communities as well. However, they serve to preserve heterogeneity and a stability of social forces operating within the community that keeps it alive without rendering it dependent on external entities and institutions. In a way, meshworks can be related to anti-markets, because they require crafts and not industrial replication (DeLanda 1996). The traditional drums and flutes, the castanets, the *maragato* dress, and so on, all them require a deep knowledge of the surrounding landscape and its resources, for instance to find the appropriate wood to carve an instrument, along with the know-how inherited from the elders. In addition, they require a local political economy that values these practices and accordingly allocates some financial resources for its reproduction. On the contrary, external forms of organization, either social or institutional, substitute these meshworks with the provision of *ad hoc* subsidies – to artisans, to folklore groups – or specific services by private business – the bar, the urban orchestra or disco.

How did the common management of local villages endured despite the manifold attacks it underwent during the last two centuries? Why the *Juntas Vecinales*, geographic and historic entities

of unique value, have not ever been considered as heritage by institutions and is rather being obliterated? What is the role of *Juntas Vecinales* in the immanent reproduction of custom against external forces aiming at the fixation of tradition? Could we give an ontological status to ‘heritage meshworks’ in ways that would pave the way for instrumentalist aims of preservation in terms of community empowerment? In other words, could an epistemological shift in the way we approach heritage influence ‘official’ heritage practices to recognize heritage as a complex assemblage of locally rooted sets of relations that can only be preserved through the empowerment of communities? To answer this questions, I have followed a flexible methodological bricolage (Kincheloe 2001) combining a literary review with historical research and ethnography. For the purposes of this chapter, I interviewed all the *maragato* drummers and sons of famous drummers, along with leaders of folkloric groups and some of their members. Also, I interviewed people entangled in the management of the *Juntas Vecinales*. My interviews followed a semi-structured approach (Sørensen 2009a) that left room for interviewees to express their views on the relation between common institutions and folkloric practices, along with their intimate reasons for participating in the political economy of the village in one way or another. Curiously enough, the word ‘heritage’ did not appear in any interview, and neither concerns about ‘authenticity’. Rather, most people holds a positive stance towards the reproduction of custom and the ‘changing same’ of their communities. After all, who would have said a few years ago that a Bulgarian immigrant would become an amazing *maragato* drummer?

The Common Institutions of Local Management: History and Current Realities.

“...the democratic administrative system of the commons ... it is true that that system... was the product of a long historical development, and even a prehistoric one, since many of the practices and customs that governed the lives of people have their roots in the ancient days of the tribal and gentile organization, and also true that everyone observes the extinction of those practices with grief, without finding in the social and political horizon something that might replace them in the memory, in the feeling, and in the direction of local life, especially in the case of the so-called rural population; but if all this is true, it is not that the old system is just a mere remembrance everywhere, nor in all provinces the customs that underpin them have been annihilated. In the province of León, though bereft of legal protection, and often in open conflict with the law, these practices still live a fairly vigorous life and that, if we could do away with past errors and with the homogenization in which the activity of villages has been locked, those might continue, without social upheavals arising from the arrival of novelties, their natural evolutionary development that the revolutionary ax has curtailed” (Morán 1900: 36)⁴⁰.

⁴⁰ “Del democrático régimen administrativo de los comunes, como se encuentra en los campos de Villalar la sepultura de sus libertades políticas; es muy cierto que aquel sistema... era el producto de una larguísima elaboración histórica y aun prehistórica, puesto que muchas de las prácticas y costumbres que regían la vida de los pueblos tienen sus raíces en los remotos tiempos de la organización tribal y gentilicia; y cierto también que todos observan con pena la extinción de aquellas, sin encontrar en el horizonte social y político algo que las sustituya en la memoria, en el sentimiento y en la dirección de la vida concejil, especialmente en lo que se refiere a la llamada población rural; pero si todo esto es cierto, no lo es que en todas partes sea el régimen antiguo un mero recuerdo, ni que en todas las provincias se hayan aniquilado las costumbres que lo informaban. En la provincia de León, aunque huérfanas de protección legal, y en

The territorial configuration set out during medieval times in the north west of the Iberian Peninsula is largely unknown and only the increase in written sources during the X and XI centuries allow us to shed light on the organization of villages during the period. In Maragatería, the first reference to a *concejo* – local council – dates back to the 920 d.C. in Lagunas de Somoza (Flórez et al. 1763, Vol XVI: 429), while in 1027 a reference to many other stable councils in the area is made (Idem: 449-51, see also Blanco Alonso 2005; Cabero Domínguez 1995). Different authors point to the *Fuero de León* (1017) and the *Fueros de Benavente* (1164) as the founding jurisdictional frameworks that provided legal grounds to the functioning of local councils and their common law (Rubio Pérez 2009). Others see the origin of this organization in the *Fuero Juzgo* (1241), a translation of the Visigothic jurisdictional compilation in the *Liber Iudiciorum* (654) (Flórez de Quiñones y Tomé 1924: 259). The government of villages rested on the *concilium vecinorum*, the gatherings of neighbors that were normally held in the churchyard after mass on Sundays. Normally, the ‘neighbor’ as an unit within the community, was a married male individual that represented a whole household. Strict laws were created to prevent foreigners from establishing their residence in the village in order to preserve the balance between resources and consumption. Only neighbors had access to the communal resources of the village, and thus the arrival of people entailed a decrease in the shares from the communal production (Rubio Pérez 2009).

The history of councils is marked by a series of attacks on their integrity and properties (Cabana Iglesia et al. 2011a; Cruz Artacho 2000; de Molina and Santos 2000; Fernández Montes 1992; Linares Luján 2001; López 1990; Montenegro 2010; Sabio Alcutén 1991; Sabio Alcutén 2002; Santos 2001). Rubio Pérez (1995a) shows how both religious and secular elites attempted to take over communal properties in Maragatería, especially during the late medieval times. While religious monasteries were successful in acquiring some properties from the villages, the Marquis of Astorga was unable to take over large amounts of land despite the support received from the monarchy. The poor soils of the Maragatería and the strict regime of communal land tenure forced many people in the area to seek alternative sources of income when demographic upheavals threatened the economic balance of the local communities. This explains the dedication to mule trade of many people in Maragatería since the late medieval times (Alonso Luengo 1992). Also, the establishment of a complex dual ‘cultural ecology’ comprising agriculture carried out by women at home and long-distance mule trade led by men (Martínez Veiga 1981), which was propelled by the increasing demand by the Cistercian monasteries (Rubio Pérez 2003). As a consequence, the *maragato* elite dedicated to the profitable business of mule driving could enter a monetary economy that contrasted to the local economy based on barter, and on wine exchanges. Contrary to what might be expected, the presence of a socioeconomic elite in Maragatería reinforced community links and the representative government system of the local councils. This was also favored by the *maragato* elite, as shown by the large amount of sayings and proverbs that emphasize the need to

muchos casos en lucha abierta con la ley, viven aún vida bastante vigorosa par que, si se tratara de destruir pasados errores y de hacer desaparecer la enfadosa y estéril uniformidad en que se ha encerrado la actividad de los pueblos, pudieran éstos continuar, sin conmociones sociales nacidas de la impresión de la novedad, su natural desenvolvimiento evolutivo, en mala hora tronchado por el hacha revolucionaria” Morán, E. L. (1900). *Derecho consuetudinario y economía popular de la provincia de León*: Imprenta del Asilo de huérfanos del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús..

maintain good relations with the non-maragato local community, and to participate in the local system of communal management (Botas San Martín 1993a).

The jurisdictional regime that applied in the village was the common law, that is, custom that has become norm because it has proven to be functional for the reproduction and survival of the community. In *The invention of tradition*, Eric Hobsbawm has pointed to the differences between custom and tradition (1992: 2). For him, traditions, real or invented, are invariant and in their representation, the past is repeated and fixed. In fact, as other authors have pointed out, tradition is an invention of modernity (García Canclini 1989; Latour 1993). On the other hand, ‘custom’ in pre-industrial societies “has the double function of motor and fly-wheel. It does not preclude innovation and change up to a point... What it does is to give any desired change (or resistance to innovation) the sanction of precedent, social continuity and natural law as expressed in history... ‘Custom’ cannot afford to be invariant, because even in ‘traditional’ societies life is not so. Customary or common law still shows this combination of flexibility in substance and formal adherence to precedent. The difference between ‘tradition’ and ‘custom’ in our sense is indeed well illustrated here. ‘Custom’ is what judges do; ‘tradition’ (in this case invented tradition) is the wig, robe and other formal paraphernalia and ritualized practices surrounding their substantial action. The decline of ‘custom’ inevitably changes the ‘tradition’ with which it is habitually intertwined” (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1992: 2). I would add that a distinguishing trait of the heritage machine is to keep ‘tradition’ as a reified cultural abstraction while letting ‘custom’ fade away as an ‘Other-logic’ that cannot be subsumed or incorporated. The triad community-mythological worldview-social rituals is broken, and the relation between ritual and community continues in a disenchanting fashion or as cultural representations (García Gual 1997).

Many proverbs and sayings reinforced the sense and meaning of common law and its application in specific contexts. When the liberal attack on the commons began during the XIX century, most villages put in writing their common legislation (de Molina and Santos 2000). This shows the livelihood of the communities and their forms of management during the XIX century. At the beginning of the XX century, Elías López Morán described in his *Derecho consuetudinario y economía popular en la Provincia de León* (1900) the multiple powers held by local communities, and the extensive set of laws and principles that guided life in them⁴¹. One of the fundamental issues was the management of communal property in the community. There were different kinds of communal property and all them functioned under strict regulations that defined how the commons were managed. Thus, some lands were worked by all the neighbors, while others were rented to families or rotated (See Table 1).

⁴¹ He develops a detailed explanation of all the powers of local councils, whose description goes beyond the aim of this chapter. These attributions range from the management of communal lands, to issues of police, forest management, issues of neighborhood and house building, hunting and wood gathering, to treasury and finance tasks.

Use	Kind of good	Falling within the category
1 Direct	1.1. Property of the council	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rustic properties of individual use • Communal mountain areas • Mills, furnaces and other properties
	1.2 Goods managed by the council	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Communal lands and ‘vitas’ • Meadows and mountains
2 Indirect	2.1 Assets belonging to individuals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rustic properties • Buildings and properties
3 Unquantifiable	3.1 Neighbor rights	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hunting and fishing
	3.2 Easements (servidumbres)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Standing grains and harvest • Gleanings, (espigueo, rebusca, poznera)

Table 1. Typologies of communal goods in León during the XIX century (From Álvarez 2005).

The communal character of these properties derives from the fact that it is the local council who ultimately is in charge of the organization of production in accordance with common law, and with the participation of all the neighbors. A neighbor was considered a representative of each household, that is, a house with ‘smoke’ or ‘open house’. Once an individual became a neighbor (for instance, when a single man got married and built a house), he had the right and duty to assist to the councils and take part in decision making (Behar 1986: 125; Flórez de Quiñones y Tomé 1924: 158). The central role of the household in the life of the community has been prominent until recent times in León (Behar 1983). Similarly, García Martínez considers it the nodal element around which the life of pre-industrial communities was organized in Asturias until the 1960s (2011: 1).

Even if the properties were leased or rented, something that became more and more common after the disentailments or land confiscations carried out during the XIX century by the liberal

administration (Iriarte-Goñi 2002), revenues went to the council as a whole. The council was a representative government institution that worked according to customary law (Barreiro Mallón 1996). It was endowed with legislative, executive and judicial powers, and with the control over the communal lands. It had the capacity to legislate, execute and punish, and worked for the preservation of a community ethos and mindset based on solidarity and the compliance with the rules (Álvarez 2005). Community will prevailed over individual agency, and this applied in most cases to religious aspects, which usually fell under control of the council. Legislation and rules worked until recent times in León to guarantee that the majority of neighbors could have access to a minimum income while preserving an ideal of justice and solidarity (Behar 1986: 184-5). It must be noted that a different conception of poverty existed, as everyone was more or less equally wealthy: a poor was an individual without familial support, land, properties nor access to communal land. Thus, those with fewer resources were considered neighbors and had an equal voice than wealthier people, which guaranteed a certain degree of social justice (Linares Luján 2001: 24). In this sense, the commons were a device geared against poverty and somewhat similar to charities (Alvarez et al. 1989: 121; Jiménez Blanco 2002: 147; Montiel Molina 2003).

The Liberal Assault on the Commons.

The liberal state born after the French invasion of Spain at the beginning of the XIX century implemented a series of measures geared towards the creation of a modern nation-state. Foucault has showed how modern states imposed insidious regimes of discipline that aimed at breaking the communal and familial bonds to create a ‘population’ (rather than the previous Hobbessian ‘people’ of sovereignty regimes) constituted by modern rational individuals (1977). The explicitly productionist approach of liberalism regarding the ‘peasant’ and the rural areas led to reforms that curtailed the backward forms of production linking peasant communities with their land (Kearney 1996: 115). From the standpoint of modern reformists, individual capabilities to innovate and improve production conditions were curtailed by the communal bonds that diverted their personal will and resources away from innovative economic activities (Idem: 52). The modern teleological view of history envisaged a transformation of the rural and premodern into its own image.

In Spain, the assault on the properties of the Church and aristocracies mounted by liberals was paralleled by an attack on communal lands and institutions, under the guise of an improvement of the productive capabilities of the agricultural land. The process started with the *Desamortizaciones* – disentanglement or confiscation laws – lasting between 1855 and 1881. A part of communal lands was nationalized and sold at market prices, while communal forests were intervened through the State forest administration. The idea of a ‘public property’ was born with the liberal state as a form of appropriating or taking control over lands and assets in forms that differed from ‘private’ and ‘common’ property. Accordingly, communal property cannot be equated with public property (Chamoux and Contreras 1996; Rowe 2008), although this has been done over and over again with self-serving purposes by Spanish public institutions. In fact, the problem arises today of how to deal with the distribution of the communal property of the villages in the face of the suppression of local councils, as it cannot be straightforwardly assumed that public city councils should take over the properties. If the forest is communal, it means that every inhabitant in the village has a share: why

not privatizing the forest into small parcels and giving it to their legitimate owners? Clearly, the confusion over the legal status of the commons favors the state and its objectives.

Liberal authors developed an elaborated rhetoric that justified the confiscation of communal lands on the grounds that it was carried out for the good of the rural population, and especially for the poor. Thus, in his work *Fomento de la población rural*, Caballero (1864) argued that “it is an undenied fact, and not a single thinker from Jovellanos until our days has denied it, that the commonwealth [*Mancomunidad*], far from being a real benefit to the people, is the evil and cancer of agriculture, that steals strong arms from it and provides a negative example. Indeed, the commons are the school of laziness and bad men... This is why the authorities on the subject, and those who have empirically studied the issue on the ground, condemned and condemn the communal system, as a corporate banter of immature child” (in Morán 1900: 135)⁴². Other authors, from Jovellanos (1997) to Pedregal y Canedo (1884) developed solid arguments against communal property on the basis of a rationalist and individualist mindset and philosophy. As early as 1900, Morán (1900) denounced the increasing tendency towards individualism and the atomization of Spanish society at the time, partly blaming liberal authors of promoting this shift, and exposing the reasons why local people reject the liberal measures and prefer to keep instead their communal properties. The first reason would be that most villages do well with their properties. Those properties allowed them to live well and improve their living conditions, while misery was widespread in villages where communal properties had been bought by landowners (Idem: 137). Second, most villages in León preferred to keep organizing their productive activities around communal property rather than shifting towards an individual tenure of the land (Idem: 139).

Serrano Álvarez (2006) argues that the process of land confiscation had a limited effect in León, as most communal lands were left aside the expropriations and because the socioeconomic logics and organization rejected them. From his viewpoint, local oligarchs joined local councils and the peasantry in the protection of the communal lands as they were in a privileged position to obtain a surplus from them, thus reinforcing patronage networks. In parallel to the expropriation measures, the liberal state created a network of public administrative institutions that superseded local councils and rendered them illegitimate in theory. However, in reality the real presence and power of municipalities in the territory was weak (Morán 1900: 272), and their resources were few or none until the arrival of democracy in 1975, when they were first granted public funding. The state intervention was justified by the alleged incapability of villages to manage their properties in coherent ways, in ways that resonate with the recent description of the so-called ‘tragedy of the commons’ (Hardin 1968). However, the situation depicted by the state could be hardly so if villages had managed to guarantee their reproduction during centuries: a rationality had to exist that kept a balance between resources and production, not on behalf of abstract concepts of ecological preservation, but on the immanent necessity to keep that balance in order to survive. In summary, despite municipalities were supposed to take over communal goods and state forest administration

⁴² “Es un hecho no desmentido por pensador alguno, desde Jovellanos has hoy, que la mancomunidad, lejos de ser un verdadero beneficio para el pueblo, es el mayó mal de la agricultura, el cáncer que correo sus entrañas, que la roba brazos robustos y le mantiene fatales ejemplos. En efecto, los bienes comunes son la escuela de la holgazanería y malas artes... Por eso los hombres de mayor autoridad en la materia, y que más profundamente han estudiado la cuestión sobre el terreno mismo y en presencia de los hechos, condenaron y condenan el sistema de aprovechamiento común, como maña infantil de sociedades inmaturas” (Morán, 1900: 135).

to watch the mountain lands, villages carried on managing their own territories, legislating, and having their own guards to monitor the forests (Álvarez 2005: 454).

The preservation of communal properties and collective forms of management facing the liberal attempt to expropriate them can be explained by the existence of a 'moral economy' (Booth 1994; Scott 1976). This set of immanent values and beliefs reinforced community bonds and made survival rely precisely on its reproduction, which partially explains the reluctance of local communities to change. Culture was in this sense understood as productive, rather than as folklore, although the modernization of the country will gradually reinforce the tendency towards folklorization. As Morán shows, these forms of management were strongly rooted in Maragatería (1900: 114), where economic resources were few and thus the codification of community behavior was even more necessary. However, the communal system was not necessarily connected to the existence of an egalitarian society, nor on a rejection of external powers and social differentiation. Oligarchies, patronage networks, and inequalities were always present and intrinsically connected to the communal system, which tended to gradually erode the mindset that fostered solidarity and its replacement by a mentality based on individual gains (Álvarez 2005).

The II Republic, the Franco Period and the Arrival of Democracy.

After the unsuccessful attempt during the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera (1923-1930) to abolish the local councils, the Republican era (1931-1939) witnessed a reinvigoration of the position of the local councils thanks to the Law for Agrarian Reform, 15 September (1932), which established the possibility for local communities to recover communal lands which had been previously expropriated (3rd paragraph, base 20). This led to the strengthening of the communal memory and practice, and many villages set out processes to claim their dispossessed lands (Álvarez 2005). However, the political instability of the Republic, and the triumph of General Franco and the establishment of a dictatorship in Spain, curtailed these possibilities. However, the Franco regime tolerated common law and even promoted it in some cases. As a fascist disciplinary system, it aimed at the control the fundamental relays of power – industry, religion, education and the military – while leaving other social forms that posed no threat to the regime a significant degree of freedom. In fact, the Local Government Law of 1955, article 107 (see España 1958), endowed local communities with broad powers in terms of water management, police tasks, management and use of common goods, street cleaning, and public works. The juridical competence of the *Juntas Vecinales (J.V.)* was recognized, and individuals sentenced by them would pass before the Civil Governor of the province. Despite the *J.V.* were supposedly brought under control of the municipalities, this did not apply and the local councils continued to have more power and social grip than municipalities in reality (Fernández Criado 1985). In fact, the survival of communal forms of industrial textile production during the Franco period in Val de San Lorenzo can only be understood under the logic of a tolerance of the autonomy of local communities, and not as an example of some form of socialism (Alonso González 2009a).

Despite the intense fragmentation of rural life and economy, and the huge demographic drain underwent in Maragatería, most villages still had a *J.V.* that guided the organization of community life when democracy came in 1975. Also, the mobilization against the process of land expropriation by the Ministry of Defense for the creation of a Military Range during the 1980s was a

demonstration of the livelihood of these institutions. Nonetheless, the beginning of the democratic era came again with a new wave of rationalization and modernization measures that were to be applied and seemed to damn local councils to disappearance. However, as Fernández Criado shows, 27% of the land in the province of León was owned by the *J.V.*, while 1.200 of 1.500 villages were governed by them through *Concejo Abierto* – open council – that operated as a representative popular assembly that managed communal goods and had more power than municipalities in most cases (1985: 28). Moreover, León concentrated nearly 35% of the national ‘Local Minor Institutions’. This led to quarrels around issues of property and legitimacy that are still unresolved in many villages, such as Val de San Lorenzo, where conflicts between both arise constantly. This is only one of the dozens of legal anomalies signaled by Fernández Criado with regard to the administrative situation of the *J.V.*. For instance, the existence of *J.V.* in the villages where the capital of the municipality is located is forbidden in theory by the Law on Local Government. Thus, the *J.V.* were still ‘outlaw’ in 1985, some old institutions with no clear legal status. Moreover, they mostly lack the typical instruments of modern bureaucracies: budgets, accountability and financial liability. However, according to Fernández Criado, it was clear that “the neighbors of each village are not willing to lose control over the government and administration of their local interests” (Idem: 29). Finally, the Regulatory Law of Local Government (1985) (see España 1986) paved the way for the brand-new regional governments to legislate on the issue. The *J.V.* gained official recognition, but at the same time, the law promoted their politization by forcing their electoral system to work in party terms rather than through direct designation by neighbors.

Notwithstanding this fact, the regional government of Castilla y León, did not regulate their functioning and existence until the delivering of the Law 1/1998, 4th June of Local Institutions of Castilla y León (1998). The document grants some powers to the *J.V.*, including the recognition of their communal property, control over forests, and the right to carry out open councils. The law was just sanctioning a *de facto* ongoing social and jurisdictional process, although in a somewhat limiting fashion. In fact, the law was regarded as a threat by most *J.V.* and fiercely opposed. The Leonese party *Unión del Pueblo Leonés*, that strives for the constitution of an independent Autonomous Community in the historic region of León (comprising the provinces of Zamora, León and Salamanca) separated from Castile, politicized the process as a struggle against the central power of Valladolid, the regional capital. Further legislation delivered by the Regional Government was perceived by the *J.V.* as a threat, and this was in not without reason in most cases. For instance, the Forest Law of Castilla y León (2009), taxes the *J.V.* with a 20% of their revenue coming from forests. My ethnography has shown the blunt rejection at the local level of this legislation that is considered to be invasive and detached from reality. An inhabitant from Val de San Lorenzo, in charge of the hunting ground of the village, complained bitterly about the law: “If we want our hunting ground to be profitable we must take care of forests. We must grow some rye to feed the beasts and all. And clean the stubble [*rastrojos*] to prevent fires. Where is the Junta [Regional Government] when we have to do all this stuff? They don’t give a damn, they only come to get the money” (Interview 8, September 2011). Similar complaints can be heard regarding issues of river management and fire prevention. Again, in 2011 the Regional Government obliged *J.V.* to pay a public servant, a lawyer or a consultant every time they wanted to deliver an official note.

The absence of academic studies from every disciplinary field on the *J.V.* since Fernández Criado’s article in 1985, shows the scarce public concern on the issue and the lack of ‘voice’ local

communities have in the public sphere. The overlooking of these institutions seems to be a common trend throughout Spain (Arévalo and Marcos, 2011). The situation in León must be understood in relation to the political-administrative context. Within the framework of the construction of the *Estado de las Autonomías* in Spain – a quasi-federal administrative scheme –, the Regional Government of Castilla y León persistently overlooks cultural and socioeconomic differences within the region in order to construct an identity that legitimates its existence (see for instance Marín Suárez 2005 for a similar process of regional legitimization in Asturias). As the *J.V.* are a distinctive trait of the Leonese area, where the existence of a regionalist ideal that strives for independence from Castile threatens the stability of the Autonomous Region, those are constantly ignored and under threat. However, advocates of the Leonese ideology do not put much emphasis in the protection of the *J.V.*, nor in their social construction as cultural representations that could be considered as ‘heritage’, only using them when they can be wielded as a banner in ideological struggles against Valladolid. Rather, they prefer to focus on sanitized ‘cultural representations’ of the Leonese identity and folkloric expressions, from traditional music, to architecture, dances and language (see for instance Soto 24/09/2001).

In fact, the social construction of ‘minor local entities’ as heritage is not common at the national level. Marcos Arévalo and Sánchez Marcos (p.^pp.) have pointed to the reasons why this construction might be possible (2011). For them, common law is part of the collective identity wrought over centuries by villages and societies, and thus can be equated with cultural heritage under the aegis of the UNESCO’s Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (UNESCO 2012). They argue that “common law represents the expression of a particular cultural identity, a reflection of the ways of life that have to do with heritage and the cultural goods of a community. Common law is undoubtedly associated to scales of value that are collectively shared... These are the characteristics that lead us to treat common law as cultural heritage, and specifically as immaterial cultural heritage or intangible goods” (Arévalo and Marcos, 2011: 83). The standpoint assumed by the authors clearly reveals how academic practice can fall prey to the attractor of the heritage machine. By overinflating heritage values and constructing transcendent cultural representations, disciplinary knowledge constructs as metaculture what is functioning in real terms. If common law is perceived by many people as a functional relation with their sociopolitical and economic environment, why protect it as heritage rather than as a social practice as it is? Why should common law be the expression of a cultural identity rather than an immanent set of rules that guide the life of a community? Can common law be regarded as intangible heritage or a cultural good? Why this insistence in extricating common law, the ‘peasant’ and the local councils from their immanent relation where culture and economy are intertwined?

If our aim is to preserve and reinforce the role and agency of these local democratic and representative institutions, the strategy of heritagization might be misled and ultimately counter-productive. First, because the category of intangible heritage has been created in a way that reproduces and reinforces the gap between humans and non-humans. This is so despite efforts by UNESCO and scholarly works to emphasize that intangible heritage must be considered as embodied and related to a wider context. As Kirshenblatt-Gimblett argues, it is not possible “to treat such manifestations as proxies for persons, even with recording technologies that can separate performances from performers and consign the repertoire to the archive” (2004b: 60). This has to do, not only with the reification of culture, but also with its commoditization as a product for

tourism consumption. Second, creating a cultural representation of an entity that exists in the real world seems unnecessary. Third, because common law must be tackled as custom rather than as tradition or folklore, if we are willing to preserve their current functions and roles. Fourth, because wedging the battle against the suppression of the *J.V.* or supporting them by claiming their status as heritage, entails a shift towards the realm of identity politics that precludes the possibility of dealing with the power inequalities and asymmetrical distributions of agency in the social field (Grossberg 1996). For people outside the academic world, the maintenance of the *J.V.* has to do with the preservation of their immanent possibilities, their ‘puissance’, or embodied capacity to ‘act’ in their environment. That is, to be able to hunt, to fish, to have a say in urban and rural management, to organize local feasts, but not to have their ‘cultural identity’ represented. The transition towards the realm of identity politics always implies the assumption of an ‘slave attitude’ in Nietzsche’s terminology, as it requires the sanctioning of one’s identity by an external subject – the Master – who is in a position to ‘judge’ and decide whose identities are ‘represented’.

In the final part of this chapter I will try to show that local communities in Maragatería still today deploy a high level of immanence and livelihood in their social practices as reflected during their ‘fiestas’, without the need of resorting to any external support, institutional recognition of what they do as cultural heritage. By analyzing the *fiestas* as complex assemblages where the *J.V.* play a fundamental role, I will try to show that an immanent account of heritage practices is possible. This immanent account regards the social field as a complex assemblage – a heritage meshwork – in which it is not possible (or it would be analytically flawed) to epistemologically separate the different spheres that compose it. This move leads us to adopt an ‘ontological politics’ (Mol 1999), an engaged and situated position as researchers. This is so because ‘protecting heritage’ (or, from my standpoint, fighting for the preservation of the immanent otherness of communities) in this case immediately leads us to issues of political nature: why are communities being disempowered? Why should we only preserve tradition and folklore while letting ‘custom’ and the livelihood of local communities fade away? Facing these dilemmas, I argue that the position of critical heritage scholars in this regard should not be complicit with the heritage machine. On the one hand, we can redefine our conception of ‘what is heritage’ towards a more immanent approach compatible with local and emic views and categories of the phenomenon. The other option is to concur with the overinflating of heritage values and strive to preserve a metacultural representation called ‘heritage’ which conceals processes of community disempowerment and shattering, and ultimately leads to the obliteration of heterogeneous ways of life and socio-cultural logics that do not comply with modern standards. What do we want to preserve, the wig and the robe in the museum case, or the judge adopting common law to the new times?

Drummers, Dances and *Fiestas*.

The existence of the *J.V.* connects with the social reproduction of the local community as reflected in the ‘fiestas’ – feasts. Those should not be conceived as separated events where specific elements are expressed and performed as identity, ritual, religion or culture, but rather as integral parts of community life intrinsically linked with a specific conception of time marked by the religious and agricultural calendars. Thus, issues related with economic production are meshed together with religion and feasts. However, feasts played a fundamental role in the reproduction of

the community. Not only owing to the fact that they served to reinforce and strengthen community bonds, but because that was the preferential site for single men and women to meet and engage. In fact, the *mozos y mozas* – young male and women – are always the protagonists of feasts, dances and ceremonies. Similarly, religion was not felt as an external element (Botas San Martín 1993b). Clear divisions were established between, on one hand, the idea of God and of the Church as an institution, and on the other hand, the local church, the saint and the bells, considered part of the local assets and in many cases managed as such. Community regulations obliged people to go to mass and to organize the feasts. Also, all neighbors had to contribute economically to their celebration or otherwise to refrain from attending the celebration, which was considered a shame (Rubio Pérez 2009).



Image 38. *Tamboriteros* in both sides of the Atlantic: Val de San Lorenzo and Buenos Aires. They normally appear in the center of the picture, as the ‘soul’ of the groups they represent. The pictures date from the initial decades of the XX century. Source: *Revista del Centro Val de San Lorenzo en Buenos Aires*, 2 & 4, (1927, 1929).

Many different practices converge during the celebration. What today is considered a more or less stable set of folkloric representations is in reality the result of dynamic processes of historically conditioned cultural productions. However, the *tamborilero* or *tamboritero* – drummer – is a figure that has been always present in Maragatería. The first document proving the presence of a drummer in the region was located in Santiago Millas and dates back to 1569. It is a birth certificate of

Francisco Martínez, “the older”, also referred to as the “drummer of the place” (Sutil Pérez Diciembre 2005 [1980]). The drummers’ tradition reached the XX with livelihood. In fact, drummers came to represent Maragatería and León as a whole, as in the *murales* of Joaquín Sorolla like the *Castilla: la fiesta del pan*’ from the early XX century. In turn, the *Coros y Bailes* institution during the Franco dictatorship encumbered the figure of the drummer as the protagonist of the Maragato folkloric representation. Today, most drummers in Maragatería refer to the period 1970-1980 as the period of decadence of the charismatic figure of the drummer.

During that period, the role of drummers decayed and many villages started to hire orchestras and modern pop or rock groups. A young drummer, David Andrés, considers that this was partially due to a rejection of the past and rural life in the villages, which was deemed miserable. Not only the role of drummers decreased, but the folkloric groups organized around the *Coros y Danzas* disappeared altogether during this period. The age ranges of my interviewees are revealing. There is a generation of drummers aged between 60 and 80 years old, and a younger generation between 18 and 30 years old. There are no middle age drummers. Regarding the patterns of transmission of songs and drum skills, the old drummers recall similar experiences about their beginnings: almost all of them learnt to play the flute and the drum when they were sheep shepherds as children, and had to spend long periods in the mountains. As Antonio *el Jamonero* explains, “when we were ten years old we had to go to the mountains. That was real life. And what could one do up there all that time? Play the flute and look at the sky” (Interview 9, April 2010). As Maxi Arce recalls, “I learnt with the sheep and the cows. In that period one could here flutes from one valley to the other... The only way to learn was to listen and repeat what the others did... But then I moved to Astorga and I did not start to play again until I retired” (Interview 10A, August 2009). His story sums up well all the fundamental issues: the older drummers learnt as shepherds by copying from others. All them also highlight and complain that the ‘young drummers’ (“*estos de ahora*”) have technical musical knowledge and can record songs and repeat them at home as well. In addition, most of them abandoned their jobs as drummers during the 1960s-1980s and moved to cities, only starting to play again when they retired during the late 1980s and especially during the 1990s. Most of them are also artisan because they had to build their own instruments. Eduardo, part of a family of drummers from Viforcós, devoted fifteen minutes of our formal interview explaining the necessary steps to follow to craft a good and enduring instrument: selection of the kind of wood, the period of the year to get it, the right conditions of humidity, ways of ‘attacking’ the wood when carving the instrument, and how to round off the task. This knowledge about surrounding landscapes and the resources available was given by their long periods spent in the mountains with the flocks, and will be lost by the younger generations inevitably.

In turn, younger drummers⁴³ combine traditional ways of learning with contemporary technologies and technical musical knowledge. Normally, they have one or two ‘teachers’ (*maestros*), while the elder call the younger ‘pupils’ (*alumnos*). Young drummers are from Maragatería but might combine their university or high school studies with playing the drum during weekends in *maragato* parties. The case of Spas, a 14-year-old Bulgarian immigrant that has become a prominent drummer raises the curiosity of people in Maragatería. When his family arrived and settled down in Filiel, his father bought a flock of sheep and he started taking care of

⁴³ Javier García de Cabo (Val de San Lorenzo), David Andrés, (Piedralba), Adrián Alonso (Luyego de Somoza), Julianín, (Astorga), Spas (Filiel).

them after school, taking the *maragato* flute (a flute of three holes) with him: “I went crazy about the *maragato* culture”, he says (Interview 11, July 2010). He is the only one in his generation that learnt like the elders, in the company of sheep. Now, he spends all the money he earns playing in feasts in the acquisition of new instruments and complements for his *maragato* dress. During the interviews with young drummers, all them highlighted as a fundamental event the first time they went somewhere to play and “were paid”, without me asking specifically about the issue. ‘Being paid’ is in fact a sort of proof of the maturity and social recognition achieved by a drummer, a sort of a rite of passage. None of them hopes to make a living as drummers (the average pay for a two-day feast ranges between 50 and 200 euro), but they consider it to be “the way things work”. This is in fact related to the functionalist and utilitarian mentality that is still prevailing in the villages, where most tasks need to be framed in terms of economic value rather than symbolic⁴⁴. This is why the metacultural value produced by heritage as ‘cultural capital’ (Throsby 2000) only reluctantly permeates the mindsets of local people that do not see the point in investing in ‘culture’. Of course, forms of cultural differentiation exist within communities. However, those are related to degrees of knowledge, skills and expertise accumulated in the course of people’s lives and connected to the idea of ‘being experienced’. This assessments that configure the internal logics of value in communities differ from the modern acquisition of external symbols of status related to forms of cultural consumption that, for instance, urban newcomers to Maragatería deploy in relation to *maragato* feasts and folklore. This can be framed as a transition towards forms of accumulation of symbolic rather than economic capital (Bourdieu 1986) and to a shift in the evaluations of individual skills and attitudes (Sennett 2008).



Image 39. Spas, the young *tamboritero* coming from Bulgaria and living in Filiel. Here, Spas playing during the local *fiesta* of Filiel with a group of people dancing the *jota*. Source: Author.

⁴⁴ This is well known by archaeologists digging close or within villages in Asturias, Galicia and León. Local people constantly try to estimate how much revenue we make from our diggings, and indirectly or directly try to ask about it: “Did you find gold / oil already?”, being a common phrase. If we say that we have found bronze or copper pieces they immediately ask how much those are worth. That we are digging in their villages for cultural, personal or scientific interests is an alien idea for most of them.

In turn, other people try to combine their ‘normal’ jobs and lives with their roles in *maragato* celebrations. For instance, the 28-year-old drummer David Andrés strives to carry out his job as a carpenter with playing the drum during feasts, and teaching at the ‘School of Traditional Music’ in León. This institution was established during the period in which the Leonese regionalist ideology was influential and also powerful in the city council of León and other municipalities. Fundamentally, it aims to recodify the huge heterogeneity of cultural expressions existing in the Leonese province and its *comarcas* under the banner of a supposedly homogeneous ‘Leonese tradition’. Their approach to ‘culture’ is a peculiar combination of an allegedly scientific approach with folklore and history-culture studies characteristic of ‘cultured elites’. Thus, for instance, the head of the Leonesist party UPL in Astorga, Enrique Soto, put forward the following tasks as necessary to save the Leonese identity in his article “No feast without a drummer” (Soto 24/09/2001)⁴⁵:

- Create an inventory of traditional Leonese musicians.
 - Develop a guide of traditional musicians available for feasts, celebrations and other events.
 - Provide the formative means to enable the recompilation of themes, songs, etc. with scientific methods.
- And, most importantly, to educate the people, beginning by politicians, so as they do not tolerate that any party is celebrated in any Leonese village without a drummer or a bagpiper.

His approach reveals the paternalistic approach of Leonesist cultured elites to the Leonese people. On the one hand, those need to be educated, which presupposes an epistemological pitfall: “they do not know what being Leonese means”, or worse, an ontological one: “they are not Leonese and need to be turned into them”. On the other hand, drummers and bagpipers must be ranked and ordered for bureaucratic purposes, and become subjected to some unspecified scientific knowledge practices. What matters is the cultural expression, the bagpipe and the drum. However, the complex meshworks that render their reproduction possible immanently are disregarded: for *maragato* celebrations to continue rakings, inventories or scientific accounts are not necessary, but rather an ontological politics that supports local empowerment. Clearly, the heritage deficiency presupposition (Andrews 2010) lures strongly in the Leonesist ideology. In fact, their activities have contributed to the twofold process of creating cultural representations while letting social realities perish: the defense of the *J.V.* has become a matter of concern only as long as it can be wielded as a political banner against the Regional Government of Castilla y León. Be it as it were, when the PP right-wing party took control of the city council of León in 2011, the School of Traditional Music was damned to disappearance (half of the teachers have been licensed in April 2012).

The revitalization of the drummer tradition ran in parallel with the creation of new folkloric groups during the 1980s. The first of them was the folkloric group from Astorga led by the drummer Antonio *el Jamonero*, in 1982. Other groups were born at the time, which is today composed by between 20 – 40 members each. Morán, an artisan from Luyego, recalls that during the 1980s, the feast of *Los Remedios* nearly disappeared and that no one had *maragato* dresses (or were not willing to wear them). There was no money to afford a drummer, “and me and other people coming from Madrid and Barcelona had to pay for it. Now, there are at least 63 male *maragato* dresses to my knowledge” (Interview 12, September 2011), he affirms proudly. Another folklore group, the one led by Paco from Val de San Lorenzo, recounts 42 members. The reasons he

⁴⁵ “*Ninguna fiesta sin tamboritero*”.

argues for creating it are clear: “all this [the maragato folklore] is being lost, and we had to do something. The problem is that the dancers and the drummers are old. It seems that only the elders want to preserve the old customs” (Interview 13, July 2011). This concern is shared by most folklorists and drummers.

The revitalization of *maragato* folkloric tradition can be explained by multiple factors. On the one hand, there was a revival of parties and celebrations throughout Spain during the 1980s as a reaction to the decades of Franco’s moral and social repression (Ariño Villarroya and García Pilán 2006). In addition, the improved socio-economic conditions of Spain enable people to spend time in leisure and cultural activities. Another perspective on the issue emerges when we look at the micropolitics and affective reasons that led most people to join these groups. Then we find a clear tendency: many of them, and the most enthusiasts, are returned migrants from Switzerland, Belgium, France, Argentina, and so on. A 82-year-old member of Antonio *el Jamonero*’s folkloric group constantly linked her infancy with her present interest and will to participate in folklore activities: “When I was child I joined the *Sección Femenina* with *Coros y Danzas*. Consequently, I have these dances and sounds inside me... So I had to go to Switzerland to make a living, and when I came back I was happy to join this group... only the fact of putting the dress on makes me feel a tremendous joy and makes my hair stand on end... it is the illusion of living again those experiences that you lived when you were a child” (Interview 14, July 2010). Thus, she considered the folkloric interpretation of the *maragato* tradition carried out by the *Coros y Danzas* to embody the ‘authentic’ maragato spirit. This reveals how custom, as opposed to tradition, works in non-linear ways. Instead of becoming a fixed cultural representation, it can be a reinterpretation of previous cultural expressions that can be then adapted to new contexts without losing the fundamental link with the community. For her, in fact, the most fundamental reason for joining the group was that it made her feel as if she had “returned home” (*volver a casa*) definitely. In a similar fashion, a 65 year old returned migrant explained that “in Argentina there are many things like this [folklore performances] in the House of León, the House of Galicia and so on... I have my *maragato* dress in Argentina, I took it with me from Maragatería when I left. It is 200 year old... And when I came back... you know, is just hearing the sound of the drum and the castanets and the feeling comes out from the inside again...this is what we had here, there were no orchestras or anything, these dances were the only thing to do” (Interview 15, July 2010). Their memories blend past experiences with issues of place identity, feelings and emotions, and sense of belonging.

In this sense, folklore is clearly bounded with physical things which are embedded with meaning, but it is first and foremost a form of cultural production, a positive addition to the world (García Canclini 1993). From this viewpoint, it stands in contrast with tradition and with taxonomic and essentialist approaches to heritage (Harrison 2010). Understood as culture and custom, rather than as metaculture, the livelihood of these practices in *maragato* celebrations reflects not only an accumulation of things but rather a set of processes of reinterpretation and adaptation of old and new practices within a specific cultural system (Comaroff and Comaroff 1992). In this regard, the feasts serve subjects to connect themselves with the past, to make sense of their lives by inscribing them into a narrative (Bhabha 1990; Ricoeur 1984), and to reinforce collective bounds via the recollection or recreation of specific memories and histories (McDowell 2008).



Image 40. Returned migrants dressing *maragata* clothes, part of the *maragato* folkloric group of *el Jamonero*. The woman on the left migrated to Argentina and returned to Spain during the 2000s, while the woman on the right migrated to Switzerland and Italy, returning to Maragatería in the 1990s. Both emphasize the mixed feelings that returning to the *patria chica* implies, and the nostalgic emotion driving them to join the *maragato* group. Source: Verónica Verdejo.

The livelihood and dynamism of these groups becomes apparent when we analyze their performances: all them play different songs and neither of them tries to fix his repertoire nor claim to be the authentic representatives of the *maragato* tradition. For instance, the *Danza de Cintas* and the *Danza de Paloteo* that were widespread in XVI century Spain have been lost. Also, as David Andrés explained to me (Interview 16, 10 June, 2012), some dances and songs that seem to be specifically ‘*maragato* tradition’ were largely unknown one century ago, and vice versa. This is the case of the *Jota*, which today seems to be intrinsically *maragata* and is perceived as such by local people. However, as the most renowned *maragato* drummer, Aquilino Pastor, recalled: “When I was 10 [1899], when I started to play, people did not like the *jota*, that was something that came about afterwards; the *corrido* was the most important performance, and the *entradilla* and *zapateta* to conclude” (quoted in Fernández 21/03/2011)⁴⁶. David Andrés explains that today people in Maragatería ask him not to play the *corrillo* because they do not know how to dance it: they prefer the *jota* in its different versions (Interview 17, August 2009). Moreover, the heterogeneity between villages forces folkloric groups to widen their repertoire while at the same time reproducing the multiplicity of practices, mixing them, etc. As Maxi Arce points out “in the Somoza [another denomination for Maragatería] there are 32 villages and in each of them people dances differently, in some people jump more, in some less, there is no specific ‘*maragato* dance’, although there are certain similarities” (Interview 10A, August 2009). This demonstrates the livelihood of the heritage meshwork created between local communities and drummers, which are able to adapt to changes in tastes and to modernize their repertoire. A repertoire that is fundamentally hybrid, and whose

⁴⁶ “Cuando yo tenía 10 años [1899], cuando empecé a tocar, a la gente no le gustaba la jota, eso vino después; primaba más el corrido y para acabar la *entradilla* con la *zapateta*” Fernández, D. A. 21/03/2011. ¿Es la Jota Maragata un baile tan antiguo? *El Faro*.

'authenticity' no one claims. The intertwined character of culture as part of the community immanently helps reproducing cultural expressions without any nostalgia from things lost. The disappearance of a practice and its substitution by another practice is regarded without concern, as a fact without further relevance. What matters is the preservation of the 'changing same' (Gilroy 1994), and the capacity to deal with the changing circumstances of everyday life. This is what Appadurai (1996; 2002) conceives as processes that maintain the connection of people to particular places and to each other, that is, an immanent production of locality.

However, as David Andrés and David Martínez point out, the survival of the *maragato* folkloric groups and performances would not be possible without the actual will of local people to have them in their feasts. Also, they make a fundamental point: people do not 'see' the dances as an spectacle, rather, local people know how to dance and actually do so during the celebrations. This fact precludes the creation of a gap between the representations of folklore groups and 'real life'. In other words, an immanent relation is established between public and performer, rather than the typically modern divide between that locates the artist and the spectator in different planes: the public judges or admires the artist through vision and hearing. In this regard, they deem fundamental that *maragato* dances are open to the participation of the community as a whole, are simple, and reinforce the community bonds by creating an atmosphere where different generations can share a space and a time. This is why, they argue, the *maragato* ways of celebrating are livelier than in many other regions of the Spanish geography (Fernández and Martínez 15/06/2011 [2007]). In fact, *maragato* dances create 'events' (sensu Massumi 2002) where a different spatiality and temporality emerges and grandfathers spend time with their nieces, singing and dancing with them. These spaces of intergenerational communication are more and more absent in contemporary modern societies due to the increasing tendency to separate spaces, temporalities and activities depending on age range.

The study of feasts by cultural and social anthropology, at least in Maragatería, has disregarded the immanent intricacy of historically conditioned and changing social practices. Those are constantly reinterpreted, adopted and adapted by local communities without clear separations between the spheres created by the modern compartmentalization of time and space into separate realms: nature, culture, economy, and so on. The drummers, the folklore, the local saint, and the communal organization of the feasts by the *J.V.* all make part of a complex heritage meshwork that derives from non-linear and complex historical dynamics. The 'modern' anthropological literature in Spain started to focus in *fiestas* and popular culture during the 1970s (Mira 1976; Valdés del Toro 1976). Nevertheless, the 'boom' would arrive during the 1980s in parallel with the increasing number of *fiestas*, the expansion of anthropology departments and scientific funding (Caro Baroja 1984; Colomer 1987; de Velázquez and Esteban 1988; Galván Tudela 1987; González Casarrubios 1985; Sanmartín Arce 1988; Soler I Amigó 1988; Velasco 1982). As Prat argues (n.d.), the *fiesta* was perceived as a synonym of freedom and spontaneity. Thus, they were conceived as moments in which *communitas* was performed in opposition to 'structure' in Turner's terminology (1995). This phenomenon had to do with the political context of unrestrained freedom that emerged after the demise of the Franco dictatorship. Accordingly, many city councils, private and public actors were willing to reinforce the role of the feasts, and many anthropologists were willing to investigate the process.



Image 41. *Tamboriteros maragatos*, past and present. Source: Author and *Revista del Centro Val de San Lorenzo en Buenos Aires*, 4, (1929).

Melis Maynar studied two ‘fiestas’ in Maragatería during the 1980s, in particular in the village of Luyego. Drawing on Geertz and Durkheim, she conceived the *fiesta* as an eventful moment of transition from the profane and normal life to a sacred and abnormal temporal dimension that served to reproduce the meanings that “perpetuated the general significations” of the party (Melis Maynar 1988: 94). After a detailed ethnographic description of the events in the two feasts she analyzed, she concludes that the spring *fiesta* can be equated to a ‘fair-feast’ (*fiesta-feria*) while the one celebrated during the summer was a ‘feast-procession’ (*fiesta-Romería*) (Idem: 97). The first is primarily focused on trading and on the establishment of cultural and economic relations with neighboring villages. In turn, the second is considered as an ‘intimate’ fiesta, one where more local people is present (Idem 96). Despite she mentions that socioeconomic factors are relevant in the *fiesta*, she focuses in the ritual and cultural aspects of it that serve to “reinforce the community as a clear element of psychological and social identification facing other groups, and mark the existing differences among individuals. Those are ritual and symbolic expressions of all the social phenomena and mental processes” (Idem: 97). She points to the presence of a drummer but also of modern orchestras during the events. Also, she establishes a set of dualisms between both parties, one representing a “local character, intimate, self-enclosed and familial-neighboring, opposed to the open, collective and external character of the fair” (Idem: 104). She notes that the feasts reveal the different levels of identity where “the private, the familial, the communal, and the local are blended in that sacred moment with the public, extra familial, supralocal and regional” (Idem 99). The

‘sacred’ character of the feasts enables the community to reinforce its identity in the face of the ‘other’, while unifying the community by bringing together, tradition, local history, legends and myths of origin, the history of the *comarca* and the emigration to other lands (Idem 104). Despite her account is detailed, it seems a somewhat forced depiction of the ‘fiestas’ in the area. The election of Luyego as case study makes it unique, as the biggest celebration in the whole region is held there precisely. The all-too-easy depiction of two different and opposed temporalities and realities between the spring and summer feasts, and the dialectical model of identity construction – one party reinforces the ‘us’, the other party opens the community to the ‘other’ – seems rather difficult to apply in other villages of the area. Also, she takes as a cultural expression what is in reality a structural condition: it is not that in the *fiesta* the individuals, the families and the community blend together, but rather, the togetherness of the community and its complex political economy make the *fiesta* possible. Moreover, the influence of Geertz’s ‘cultural turn’ is patent in her emphasis on ‘reading’ the meaning of ritual practices and her consideration of the whole event as ‘cultural’. This reading leaves out of the picture the underpinnings of the party, how it is funded, organized and how subject positions and agencies are distributed between individuals.



Image 42. *Fiestas* in Prada de la Sierra before it was abandoned and Piedralba in 2012. Source: David Andrés Fernández & Laura Celada.

This is not to deny that ‘sacred’ and ‘ritual’ aspects exist, nor to impose a materialist determinism upon the party. Rather, as I have been arguing throughout this essay, the modern epistemology embodied by scientific disciplines constantly tries to create and fix cultural representations as rituals and traditions by extricating the symbolic aspects of community life from their immanent livelihood. Those processes can be immanent to the social field – e.g. urban people that start representing local people as metaculture in museums or houses – or transcendent – state or bureaucratic policies-. In both cases, the outcome is the partial deterritorialization and deconstruction of immanent cultures and their reorganization as symbolic metacultural productions. To do so, the socioeconomic basis is separated from cultural representations thus curtailing the links between production, circulation and consumption, and breaking the bounded relation between individual and community. García Canclini observes similar processes at work in South America, where, in a second phase of the processes “they put the pieces back together again and subordinate them to a globalization of culture that corresponds to the nationalization of capital. We will examine this process through one of its principal mechanisms: the reduction of the ethnic to the typical”

(García Canclini 1993: xiii). By highlighting the ritual aspects of the *fiestas* and extricating them from their contexts, anthropology and scholarly work in general can unconsciously facilitate and accelerate this process, reproducing difference without acknowledging otherness. Furthermore, by emphasizing the sacred and ritual character of those practices, their ‘traditional’ character is emphasized along with other sets of modern binary pairs. Thus, traditional societies have rituals, while modern ones have spectacles and museums (Handelman 1990). This division partially reproduces Tönnies (1963) distinction between *gemeinschaft* and *gesellschaft*: while the former have rituals and their persistence is considered a form of archaism, the latter have spectacles (see also Herzfeld 2001: 256-7). By constructing the *maragato* feasts as cultural expressions embedded with meaning that serve to negotiate identities in the social field, rather than just social practices that make sense within the community ethos, we are paving the way for the transition to ‘spectacles’. How can we develop other knowledge acquisition pathways that do not reproduce modern dichotomies and respect ‘otherness’ without constructing ‘differences’? In other words, how can we preserve a symmetric approach with the views of the people under study?

Immanent Meshworks: the *Fiestas* Today.

Today, the ‘feast’ calendar in Maragatería is tending towards a concentration of the celebrations during the summer period, when many migrants can return and join the events. Despite some specific elements of the celebrations might have changed in recent times, most elder people point that almost everything is the same as when they were children – except from the disco music and bars during the night of course. During the last six years, I have actively participated, observed multiple parties, and interviewed people involved in them. Although there are manifold variations owing to the different socioeconomic and demographic background of the villages, the fundamental pattern of the feasts is shared among the *maragato* villages. In addition, all of them present an entanglement of cultural, religious, economic and cultural practices that are inextricably bound to the community’s dynamics.



Image 43. Maragato folkloric groups. On the left, with the King Juan Carlos I of Spain. On the right, in Combarros. Source: David Andrés Fernández.

The feast that opens the festive season is the Corpus Christi, celebrated 60 days after Easter Sunday. This normally occurs during the month of June. Traditionally, the *Danzas de Paloteo y de Cintas* were performed during the event, but have been lost today. Then, each weekend during July

and August a number of villages celebrate their *fiestas patronales*, that is, the feasts devoted to the local saint. Normally, celebrations last two or three days, from Friday to Sunday. Fridays can be devoted to communal tasks such as cleaning or decorating the streets and the local church. On Saturdays and Sundays, the *maragato* drummers take the lead, usually accompanied by folkloric groups. Saturdays are increasingly becoming the ‘festive’ days due to the influence of returned migrants and young people, who consider it to be a day for having fun. Thus, *maragato* music and dances can be combined with orchestras, food and drink, *maragato* bowling and football competitions, and similar activities. Sundays usually begin with the *alborada*, an early morning parade that local people are not forced to join. It is also called the ‘accompanying of the scepter’, a stick with a saint or a cross that is a symbol of the local council. In it, religious and civic elements are inextricably bounded, although it is the president of the local council that normally carries it. In case there is a *mayordomo* – steward or foreman – he will carry the stick. The *mayordomo* is a figure that bears the expenses of the whole feast. This is the exception rather than the rule, and being a *mayordomo* is in some places a rotary position for every local household that is normally assumed by male adults. Also, the reasons why *mayordomos* become so are multiple and have to do with community and individual dynamics rather than with issues of cultural capital. One can become a *mayordomo* because he has turned a mature adult (the 18th birthday), because his father was *mayordomo* when he had turned 18, because some wish he secretly asked for has been fulfilled, because a house has been built, a son has been born, or rhetorical bets were made in public: “If this happens... then I’ll be the *mayordomo*”. Thus, the patronage of the feasts is related with issues of place identity and memory that make sense within the internal dynamics of the community, and derive from its fundamental events (birth, house building, rites of passage, and so on). Another fact of interest is that not everybody knows the reasons why a person becomes *mayordomo*, a fact that prompts gossip and curiosity.

In case there is a *mayordomo*, a specific repertoire is played by the drummer. In case there is not, other repertoire is performed. When there is no steward, the *J.V.* affords the celebrations, although in both cases the *J.V.* organized them. When the resources of the *J.V.* are low they follow the customary ways: the neighbors meet and a certain amount of money is set to be paid per household or by every adult. In case a family does not pay and then joins the party, nothing happens explicitly, but the gossip networks – magnificently described by Brandes (1978) – will start to denigrate that family and marginalize its members. This rarely happens, as mostly every member of the community has the internalized idea that the feast is both a duty and a joy that is shared with the other neighbors. They have to decide the kind of events that will be held and the drummers and folkloric groups that will be hired. In cases where there is no *J.V.*, there are not enough funds, or the number of newcomers outweighs that of locals, *comisiones de fiestas* – ‘feast commissions’ – are created. These *ad hoc* commissions tend to supersede the local organization and promote different events. Conflicts arise around the form that the feast should take and the content that it should have. When the ‘feast commissions’ are organized, they rarely hire *maragato* drummers or folklore groups. Normally, they tend to hire mobile discos or orchestras. This, of course, transforms the whole environment of the party: the intergenerational bonds that were created around the *maragato* dances during the afternoon and the night are broken. Also, temporal and spatial coordinates change and become segmented: the night turns to be the time for young people to drink alcohol and be together listening to contemporary music, while elders go to bed. Each generation has a space and a

time allocated. *maragato* dances and music can be displaced to the museum, as occurred in Santiago Millas in 2011, to become ‘cultural events’ in which there are performers in stage and spectators sitting in chairs: a public consuming cultural capital. This shift disempowers and demoralizes local communities, which become aware of their lack of resources to reproduce their own celebrations in comparison with the affluent newcomers and their well-organized cultural displays. Moreover, the metacultural transition desestructures the collective identities of villages by shattering and fragmenting the shared interpretations of the events and experiences that had become an accepted and common belief about the origins and *raison d’être* of the group (Tosh 1991: 2).

The timetable of the feasts continues after the *alborada* with a further parade where people follow the drummer that leads them to mass. After the mass, the saint and the *ramo* – traditional bouquet – are taken out in parade accompanied by the drummer. Just before mass, in the churchyard, the *sorteo del cetro* – draw of the scepter – is performed. During this event candidates to become *mayordomos* for next year’s celebrations can make their intentions public. Also, the priest can pass a purse along to collect money for different purposes – repairing the church, the saint, or just for charity or for unspecified reasons –. Economy, religion and culture are bound and performed in the same place. Immediately after the mass, the parade moves to the main square to drink and eat and participate in dances with the folklore groups or with the drummer, as the final part of the morning celebrations. During the afternoon and night, the range of activities varies. However, those normally comprise the performance of drummers and dances, with special prominence of the *corro* – ‘round’ –. The whole process can be repeated in Saturdays and Sundays, although the *alborada* is not normally repeated.

Thus, despite the strength and livelihood of local communities in Maragatería has diminished constantly since the 1960s, most of the constitutive elements underpinning their feasts are still constitutive structuring parts of the social ethos of the community that are adopted and adapted in different ways by younger generations. Those authors who argue that the contemporary livelihood and reawakening of the *maragato* folklore is an external imposition and an adoption of foreign stereotypes in order to attract tourism are misled (e.g. Martínez Veiga 1981; Rubio Pérez 2003). First, because the presence of tourists is anecdotal during *maragato* celebrations and, generally, in most villages of Maragatería. Second, because the reasons for the revival of *maragato* expressions are to be found in a complex combination of socioeconomic, psychological and cultural factors at multiple levels, international, national and also internal to the Maragatería and its villages. In their celebrations, the temporality and spatiality of community prevail without a separation and differentiation by age or condition. In addition, the gap between cultural folkloric representations and the immanence of festive practices is kept at the minimum. Similarly, religion, economy and culture are bounded together thanks to the maintenance of the *J.V.* as the structuring element that provides the connective tissue for all these strands in constant interaction within the community. What is at stake is how we, as researchers, face this phenomenon as an ‘object of knowledge’. Some authors consider these ‘forms of life’ as intrinsically valuable and equate them with a ‘heritage’, either tangible or intangible (i.e. Arévalo and Marcos, 2011). This taxonomic drive implies an essentialist view of social life that accords an intrinsic value to social entities as such (Harrison 2009). Consequently, it leads us to a ‘will to preserve’ and to the social construction of cultural representations of difference and the obliteration of otherness. Many critical authors, from Smith (2004) to Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1995) have pointed to the different discursive spheres in which

'heritage' and 'reality' move. Harrison (2010) similarly contrasts the 'bottom-up' with the 'top-down' approaches to heritage. In turn, Andrews aims to preserve a separation between 'identity' and 'community' as different entities subjected to 'heritage processes' (2010). Kirshenblatt-Gimblett uses the concept 'metacultural' to refer to the construction of heritage objects that "change how people understand their culture and themselves" and "the fundamental conditions for cultural production and reproduction" (2004b: 58). Also,, she refers to 'culture' as the other term in the equation, that is, what I have called the 'pre-heritage' reality, what is 'out there' before the metacultural transformation is activated. In a similar fashion, García Canclini and Briones refer to different forms of cultural production embedded in multiple socioeconomic environments (Briones 1998; Briones 2005b; 1993).

The problematic that emerges in my case study is that the 'constitutive forces', the 'pre-heritage' elements that are being increasingly threatened by the attractors of the heritage machine, are not intrinsically 'cultural'. If we closely stick to an emic and symmetric perspective, they would not be so at least for the interested actors: the local communities. Thus, to preserve the symmetric approach I deem necessary to develop a new concept and speak of 'immanent meshworks'. DeLanda (1996: 187) developed the concept of meshwork from biology. In contrast to the taxonomic approach that defined living beings in terms of species and their objectified behaviors, an approach based on ecosystems has the advantage of integrating "a variety of animals and plants in a food web, interlocking them together into what has been called a "meshwork structure" (Idem). Contrary to this view, approaches in the field of heritage tend to be taxonomic and apply to the social field the devices of modern museology (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004a). Talking of meshworks enables us to deal with situations in which self-organized and decentralized structures without any central source of order are able to reproduce their own forms of life immanently. Also, this allows us to better understand the complex networks of meaningful social actions that take place within communities and the broader context – social, political, cultural and economic – in which their survival can be made possible.

The distinction between heritage and meshworks is clear: while heritage discourse tends to create hierarchies and structures "out of elements sorted out into homogenous ranks, the latter articulates heterogeneous elements as such, without homogenization" (DeLanda 1996: para. 23). In this case, we are not getting rid of the concept of heritage as different authors suggest we should do (e.g. Landzelius 2003; Landzelius 2009). Rather, the heritage machine is an existing entity that works here as an attractor in complexity theory terminology, a quasi-cause that is present and makes people tend toward, a virtual potential not yet actualized. Therefore, stopping speaking about heritage would not be a solution, as it exists as a social process in the field, which must be analyzed and countered. From a transcendent God-eye view, the heritage subjectivities deterritorialize the immanence of local practices, recodifying spaces and territories, allocating resources to other practices and rarefying temporal conceptions. Heritage meshworks can enable researchers to better tackle these situations where "actions to safeguard tangible inventoried items of cultural production are unlikely to safeguard adequately the larger, deeper, more diffuse cultural patterns and contexts" (Kurin 2004b: 74). My distinction between transcendence and immanence should not be conceived in essential terms: there is no such thing as a purely immanent or transcendent environment, these just function as unattainable 'attractors' in an open social field conceived as a gradient of tendencies and deviations. Thus, following Deleuze, what we should do is to map concrete heterogeneous

assemblages and spaces along with the forces pushing towards transcendence and immanence they contain in relation to our research problems (Bonta 2005). In clarifying this distinction we are better equipped to tackle the situation of local communities in contexts like Maragatería, where equating their customs and internal dynamics with ‘cultural heritage’ would be a counter-productive strategy if our ultimate aim is to empower and support local communities.

Conclusion. A Future for the Fiestas?

The integrity of the complex immanent meshwork by which folklore and custom are reproduced in the villages of Maragatería without resorting to any external funding body or institution, and without any inclusion in heritage lists or ranks, has come under threat increasingly in recent times. The economic crisis affecting Spain has had a significant impact in an already decaying rural area. The decrease of revenue for local communities due to the lowering of wood prices, the standstill of pasture activities, land renting and hunting licenses, and other activities that provided revenues for their treasury, has led many *J.V.* to organize low-budget feasts in 2011 and 2012. Different drummers have complained bitterly about villages calling them to perform in their feasts without a pay. Most of them have kindly rejected the offers. Thus, feast commissions are taking over, newcomers tend to organize the celebrations and hire orchestras and mobile discos. Drummers have sought different options to gather funding. The provincial government – the *Diputación de León* – offers them the chance to join the provincial ‘artists list’. This would imply that the provincial institution could bear half of the expenses of hiring a drummer by villages. However, this has not happened and drummers do not see why they should join lists or be payed as ‘artists’.

Also, the recent announcement by the right wing government of the PP that the *J.V.* would be suppressed under the new Law for the Rationalization and Sustainability of Local Government in July 2012 caught local communities by surprise. This is so because the financial cuts were supposed to affect the expensive regional, provincial, and municipal institutions, but not the local ones whose positions are unpaid and which are largely self-sufficient. The announcement raised a huge controversy and a Platform of *J.V.* has been created to oppose the measure. The suppression will create some legal and social problems that might lead the government to withdraw the measure. For instance, communal property has been straightforwardly equated with public property (transference of communal property of *J.V.* to public municipalities), and this is far from being so easy. Also, the *J.V.* are recognized by the regional legislation and the measure would create legal incompatibilities. The ex-president of one of the *J.V.* of Maragatería⁴⁷ made me note the fundamental consequences that worry the people in the area. First, that no one guarantees that the revenues expropriated to local communities will revert to them in any form and respond to the will and accountability of the neighbors. Second, that now the former communal resources will fall prey to the party system and will be spent under short-term logics related with political concerns and visibility. Finally, that this decision will ultimately led to the fading away of community life and changes in the ways everything is managed, from celebrations to hunting fields. When the Minister Montoro affirms that the *J.V.* are “obsolete and opaque entities” (Cachafeiro 14/07/2012) he is revealing the fundamental inability of the modern state to deal with ‘internal others’, not to talk about understanding or

⁴⁷ He prefers to keep his identity in secret.

learning from them. Montoro builds upon a long-standing tradition that constructs a cultural representation of the *J.V.* as ‘subaltern’ institutions by temporally displacing them to an unspecified past (tradition) and geographically (to the rural). The metaphorical description of the Juntas as opaque for the God-eye view of public bureaucracy is revealing. However, “what from the perspective of the dominant discourse looks like irrational traditionalism emerges, on closer inspection, as an alternative logic” (Herzfeld 2001: 14). In fact, the *J.V.* remain ‘clear and distinct’ for local communities and this is their only potential for survival: their immanent livelihood. As in the contentious situation described by Roseman in Galicia (1996: 838), here oral “memory is understood as an important strategic advantage held by the poorly educated “peasants” (*labradores, labregos or campesinos*)” over bureaucratic and state forms of accounting for the past that posit the *J.V.* as fundamentally illegitimate entities. To this official discourse, local communities counter simply with ‘practice’, for “everyday usage continually subverts the official code, by deploying its constituent elements in order to achieve meanings that are local and immediate, rather than national and eternal” (Herzfeld 1989: 133). The absence of academics in support of the *J.V.* in León in their struggle wedged against suppression is revealing of the lack of critical academic engagement in the area. This situation deeply undermines the position of the *J.V.*, as negotiations about the past, culture and the social and anthropological roots are fundamental weapons in ongoing contests over property, rights and other entitlement rights (see Jackson 1989a; Rappaport 1998)

The announcement has truncated the expectations of drummers hoping for a future recovery of the situation. Those I have been able to speak with see the end of *J.V.* as the end of the whole *cosa maragata* - ‘maragato thing’ - as some of them call it. They are well aware that *maragato* expressions are far from being fixed or ‘authentic’. Nevertheless, what they value most is the perpetuation of a way of structuring the community and the relations between different villages and individuals. That is, they do not stick to a certain set of fixed elements to be reproduced in a certain fashion – a tradition –, nor to their performance in front of a public – a spectacle –. Rather, they are interested in preserving a certain immanent dynamic that cannot be captured by legal texts, inventories or ranks. During a conversation with David Andrés, I asked him if he would be willing to claim to the regional and provincial institutions for a system of subsidies for *maragato* drummers and folklore groups. I explained him that what they did could be considered as intangible heritage and gain recognition by different institutional bodies. After remaining silent for a few seconds he simply replied: “No, no... it has to be as it is. If we do what you say, it makes no sense. Once people from the outside gets into the matter, forget about it!” (Interview 18, 29 June 2012)⁴⁸. For him, once the immanence of the practices that have a meaning within the community is broken, it makes no sense to keep performing just for the sake of it. Why would he keep the external expressions like the dress for performance purposes if he does not perceive his job to be ‘valued’ and ‘functional’ within the community? In fact, as he complains, “they have money [the *J.V.*] but they might prefer to spend it in other stuff” (Idem). Although this might be or might be not true, what matters is the way he deals with the perceived role he has in the political economy of the feast.

Thus, the heritage machine can be considered as one fundamental vector that recodifies and support the workings of modernity. By creating cultural representations of real ways of life it does

⁴⁸ “No, no... tiene que ser como ahora. Si se hace eso que dices, ya no tiene sentido. Una vez que se mete gente de fuera ya olvídate” (Interview 18, 29 June 2012).

not only conceal the processes that tend to wipe out other logics and worldviews, but also participates in the task by fragmenting collective identities and the immanence of people's social practices by displacing them temporally and spatially (Rose 2002). Grossberg rhetorically asks whether it would not be better to promote the reproduction of communities through the common co-creation of culture rather than defining them in terms of cultural identities related to ethnicity, territory, or history (1996). Once modernity and supermodernity fragment the immanence of communities, the heritage machine starts redefining and splitting the community into pieces: objects become tangible heritage, folklore and common law intangible heritage, and the community and its forms of life a cultural identity or a "cultural expression" (Arévalo and Marcos). Those categories are alien to locals. For them the categories of authenticity and ethnicity are not so clearly defined. This generates a 'changing same' a co-creation of culture without strong social striations and hierarchies. Thus, a gypsy Bulgarian boy from a low social background is hired by different villages for their feasts as a drummer. This is so because 'being a drummer' is not defined by a set of specific fixed characteristics, but rather by a way of performing and a specific behavior in the face of the community.

Sadly, forms of community life that are being shattered in Maragatería embody many of the characteristics of what scholars and social actors are trying to epistemologically envisage or reconstruct in their own environments. Modernity reconstructs consciously what has been unconsciously obliterated by its performance. Rose (1999)(1999) has developed the idea of 'governing through community'. For him, the theme of community loss and the will to restore it has existed since the 18th century in the works of Hegel and Rousseau, to emerge as a response to the problems of government during the 20th century. Examples of this abound, from Durkheim (1964 [1893]), to Tönnies (1963) and the Chicago School of Sociology (Burgess 1926; Park et al. 1984). Of course, in the context from which these authors write, Rose included, rural 'organic' communities had disappeared long ago, not only in the U.K., but also in the U.S. and Germany. For Rose, community is the appropriate locus to tackle issues of crime, welfare, architecture, policing, psychological issues of individuals, charity, and so on. This does not entail the creation of repressive mechanisms of enforcement and control, but rather the productive and active participation of individuals articulated within a community ethics. This would mark a transition towards an "ethical-politics", which "concerns itself with the self-techniques necessary for responsible self-government and the relations between one's obligation to oneself and one's obligations to others" (Rose 1999: 188). In the construction of community, "a sector is brought into existence whose vectors and forces can be mobilized, enrolled, deployed in novel programmes and techniques which encourage and harness active practices of self-management and identity construction, of personal ethics and collective allegiances" (Idem: 176). His approach aims to harness the collective potentialities embodied in the forms of life and active, material, technical and creative forces of the people. It is difficult not to see the similarities between his theorization and many of the existing characteristics of local communities in Maragatería. What he terms 'ethical-politics' is nothing but the communitarian ethos – which goes beyond the 'common law' – held by individuals in their relation with the other neighbors. Promoting and reinforcing the construction of

the common here does not require a complex theorization and should not be framed in terms of heritage and cultural identities. Rather, it should be conceived as an issue of agency and empowerment. Why the J.V. are considered “obsolete and opaque” in Spain when they are envisaged elsewhere as desirable forms of government? May be, as Margarita Fernández Mier points out (personal communication), we are somewhat bound to follow a certain linear historic development, a self-fulfilling prophecy of progress that compels our societies to track a defined plot. Thus, historic periods have to be lived and experienced, and, sadly, modernity might be finally arriving to the so-called ‘traditional and backward’ Maragatería. And it will probably take a few decades before we start to construct in theory what we damned to disappearance in practice.

10. Breaking and Entering: Bombing Heritage in the Teleno Mountain.

Introduction.

The existence of a Military Gunfire Range in Maragatería is a blunt reality. No one in the region can escape it and thereafter it becomes an ‘event’. The event subsumes a determinate number of people under the same affective and emotional environment and thus forcefully elicits conscious and unconscious responses, both mental and bodily. Brian Massumi draws on Charles Peirce to account for the effect of fire alarms, which “act on the nerves of the person and force his attention” (Peirce, quoted in Massumi 2005: 69). They are nervously compelling because they “show something about things, on account of their being physically connected to them” (Idem: 69). Then Massumi adds that they are connected “in the way smoke is connected with fire” (Idem: 69). In Maragatería, bombs and their sound blasts have been for six decades connected with bodies and have conditioned the lives of people in many ways⁴⁹. This empirical, simple and blunt fact is disregarded in the quotidian life of the area and in the public and media spheres, where things carry on as if nothing has been going on, or goes on, in Maragatería. Buchli and Lucas argue that “production and consumption arguably form the central poles of contemporary material life, indeed the material basis of social existence in capitalist and socialist industrialized societies” (Buchli et al. 2001: 21). González-Ruibal adds that, along with consumption and production, destruction is the most fundamental defining trait of modernity, which is exacerbated during supermodernity (2008: 1). As González-Ruibal puts it, “this forgetting of the recent is not only caused by the peculiar nature of supermodernity or the absence of time depth. Paradoxically, it is the fact that we have a living memory of the recent past and that we are personally involved in it that have condemned supermodernity to oblivion. It seems that we cannot study what we – or our relatives – have directly or indirectly experienced. The events of supermodernity are often lived as personal and collective trauma in the present – partly because of their destructive nature. It is not easy therefore to talk

⁴⁹ Also mine. I still remember the trembling of my windows and the flashes of light and fire during the night in the seasons of intense shooting. Well before my passion for Maragatería had started, I remember asking myself how people could live in those villages under such conditions. Now I know that at the time (1980s-1990s) bombings had already decreased in intensity.

about them, whereas more remote historical episodes – such as the 1848 revolution or the Franco-Prussian War – have usually lost the power to affect us so poignantly” (2008).

In this chapter, I aim to conceive of the Military Range as a matter of concern, approaching the issue from a viewpoint that “assembles the subject as richly diverse, historically situated, infinitely complex and engaged with its own inherent contradictions and controversies” (Ripley et al. 2009: 6). Or, in the words of Bruno Latour, a “‘multifarious inquiry launched with the tools of anthropology, philosophy, metaphysics, history, sociology to detect how many participants are gathered in a thing to make it exist and maintain existence” (Latour 2004b: 246). Thus, I have tried to put together the different strands that connect Maragatería to the Military Range, that is, the different discourses, acts, practices and responses that the Range has elicited and the by-products that might have arisen from them. One of these by-products is the attempt to construct the Teleno Mountain as heritage by different social actors. Here, the logics of the heritage machine are inverted. A bottom-up approach to heritage gathers different social actors that are today trying to construct the Teleno as a metacultural value and ‘official heritage’ from multiple viewpoints. Meanwhile, institutions deploy strategies of containment aiming to safeguard the separation between nature and culture as much as possible to avoid it becoming cultural heritage and thus recognizing the Range is harmful for humans.

In this context, we are deep within the process of building a ‘negative heritage’ (Macdonald 2009; Meskell 2002b) for the future. Manifold concepts of heritage are at use in the dispute. There is a, let’s call it, ‘objective’ basis on the whole issue: the Teleno mountain has historically been a token for the territory, already venerated as a God by pre-Roman and Roman cultures – the God *Tilenus*. Moreover, it holds the hugest ancient Roman gold mining area of the whole empire, materialized in a complex engineering work of extractive labors, water canalizations and deposits (Matías Rodríguez 2006). And, objectively again, these remains are being bombed by the different regiments of artillery that carry out their training in the Range and use the mountain as their target or, better, as their ‘projectile landing area’. Unsurprisingly, the Teleno has become one of the central sites for the struggle against the ‘de-militarization’ of the territory (Prat 2008).

From this state of things, different positions are held where ideological, economic, ecologist, political and cultural discourses coalesce and intermingle. Some social actors denounce the destruction of nature and analyze in detail the consequences for birds (Martínez 2000), pointing to water and air as resources that are being contaminated and destroyed. There is also the issue of access and a heritage conceived in terms of future temporality: even if the Range disappears, it will not be possible to enter because it will be riddled with unexploded shells. Others point to the virtual, what could actually exist in the area and does not owing to the presence of the Range. Many claim that Maragatería could be an area where tourism could thrive. Many farmers argue that the abortions that stress and shocks caused by bombs have caused innumerable abortions among their animals that cannot be quantified economically. Only some recall the existence of a project to build a dam in Chana de Somoza that exists since the 1920s and was never implemented, and blame the Range of precluding the possibility of building it during the last five decades. Only the elder recall with sadness the expropriation of their communal lands. Many of them establish a direct connection

between that event and the end of their productive lives. The Range generates ‘an-Other’ Maragatería, a virtual Maragatería that exists in the minds of people that imagine another past and another future for their territory. Imagination, however, does not preclude shells from keep falling in the Teleno Mountain.

My methodology has combined historical research with ethnography. Documentation about the pre-1975s period about the Range is virtually non-existent to my knowledge. After that, a boom of articles in different national, regional and local journals came about when the intentions of the Ministry of Defense to expropriate a large surface of lands in Maragatería to expand the military Range were brought to light. For my ethnography, I have asked most people I have interviewed or talk with in different contexts about it. However, for the purposes of this chapter I have located those with prominent roles in the struggle against the Range and some ‘protagonists’ of fundamental events taking place in the area. This comprises the families of those who died because of the Range, to the local people who worked in the extinction tasks of the fire in the Tabuyo Mountain, to pacifist and ecologist activists. Unluckily, it was not possible to contact with the military, neither in Astorga nor in the Ministry of Defense.

The Range: Origins and Expropriation.

The origins of the Range date back to the times of the Republic and before the Spanish Civil War. As Martín Martínez, official chronicler of Astorga, explains, “the military range of Maragatería has been at work since 1934. At the time, a character from Maragatería, General Martínez Cabrera, was the Commander in Chief of the Army, while General Franco was War Secretary. They had a dispute because Franco wanted to take the General Maneuvers of 1934 to his land in La Mancha. However, Cabrera ultimately took the maneuvers to his land, because they were considered to generate huge revenues to the area. In fact, the Maragatería named him the ‘Favorite Son’ [*Hijo predilecto*] of the area and so did Astorga” (Interview 19, April 2008). After the Civil War (1936-9) the Range was still in use informally. Finally, in 1963 it was legalized through an agreement between the Army and the affected villages represented by the State Office of Forest Preservation. The agreement comprised the creation of an area for the landing of projectiles delimited by two 20 meters width firewalls that would avoid the propagation of fires (Luengo Ugidos 1994). At the beginning of the 1980s, the Army wanted to enlarge the Range in relation to the negotiations of Spain to join the N.A.T.O. The expropriation was announced in the *Boletín Oficial del Estado* on February 23rd, 1981. The symbolism of the date cannot escape any Spaniard: the same day in the afternoon the failed coup d’état led by Tejero that kept the young Spanish democracy breathless for 24 hours. This is why Tomás Pollán has sarcastically referred to ‘breaking and entering’ and the ‘*Maragato 23-F*’ to what happened at the time.

The Order 370/0000/81 of the Ministry of Defense made “public that the Council of Ministers held on December the 22nd, 1980, declared the urgent requirement for the Defense, the urgent occupation and compulsory expropriation of the lands for the Artillery Military Range in the area of El Teleno, Astorga (León), and the prevalence of the military aims of national defense over

forest interests, with a surface of 61.114.817 square meters” (España 23/02/1983). The expropriation directly affected the villages comprised within the landing area of projectiles. Those included Priaranza (13Km²), Quintanilla (13 Km²), Filiel (11.5 Km²), Boisán (18 Km²), distributed in 23 parcels. In Luyego the expropriations affected 4 Km² that became militarized areas. In sum, 61 Km² of the more or less 550 Km² of Maragatería. The owners would be compensated at the price of 17 pesetas per m² (a liter of milk cost 40 pesetas at the time).

Fernández Fernández demonstrate before the Parliament that the villages and municipalities were not informed partially until April, and completely until June, four months after the publication of the resolution (España 12/06/1981). He explained that the measure was a death warrant for the area because the expropriation would affect 200 hectares of pastures, 1.200 of meadows, and 3.000 used for cattle and agricultural production. Moreover, the project to create a dam in Chana de Somoza that would provide Maragatería with 4.000 hectares of irrigable land, which had gained support in recent years, would have to be cancelled. He also pointed to the cultural and archaeological richness of the area and the growing tendency of migrants to return to the area that would be cut off (Idem: 1715). Moreover, he was concerned, as most *maragatos*, that the relation between Spain joining the N.A.T.O. and the enlargement of the Range was not random and that troops from all over places might come to Maragatería to test their weapons. His account was not misled as only a few years ago Martín Galindo had shown the fundamental role of cattle for the survival of people in the Maragatería, and how the reproduction of the system rested on the maintenance of communal properties and forms of cattle management (Martín Galindo 1958).

Concern about the expropriations in Maragatería reached first the national newspapers than the local ones. The 8th July, 1981, Antonio Núñez in *El País* referred to the declarations of the tenant Angel Campano explaining that the area was completely unproductive, and the reaction of the local councils of villages in Maragatería arguing that their survival rested on the communal lands (Núñez 08/07/1981). For Miguel, a 95-year-old man from Valdespino de Somoza, the issue was clear: “here in the village, they took our best lands away. The communal lands were the best lands we had, and they were expropriated” (Interview 20, July 2010). One month later, the conflict reached the local newspaper of Astorga, *El Faro Astorgano*. The mayor of Astorga, Luis González, opened a conflict between the city and the villages of Maragatería by openly supporting the creation of the Range. This conflict endures today and explains the blunt rejection of people to consider Astorga as the ‘capital’ of Maragatería in the villages. He argued that “the gross income of Maragatería would grow three-fold in a few years”. He added that the Range would enable them “to carry out the public works to improve their land and increase their productivity, so they can have standards of living according to the present times” (Álvarez 16/08/1981).

As could not be otherwise, the headline of *El Faro's* cover page on the 20th August stated “The declarations of the mayor of Astorga about the expropriations, a bomb in Maragatería” (Editorial 20/08/1981). The correspondent of Santa Colomba de Somoza argued that the money from the expropriations would soon “evaporate, and with it the work and sweat of our ancestors. People already speak about a new wave of emigration... In any case, if things go on as they are planned, this will entail the slow death of the Maragatería, its richness and its being, that is, we will

remain without land as we remain without grandmothers” (Colomba 20/08/1981). The *Juntas Vecinales* (J.V.)— local councils – of the *maragato* villages created a platform to fight the expropriation supported by left-wing parties and *Alianza Popular*, the embryo of today’s *Partido Popular*. However, the platform was not recognized by the government of the *Unión de Centro Democrático* as the J.V. were not ‘official’ institutions (Núñez 21/08/1981). By the 27th August *El Faro* declared that their headquarters had been “materially assaulted by letters, reviews, dossiers, and all forms of support to the struggle of Maragatería, a lot of them against the Military Range” (Editorial 27/08/1981).

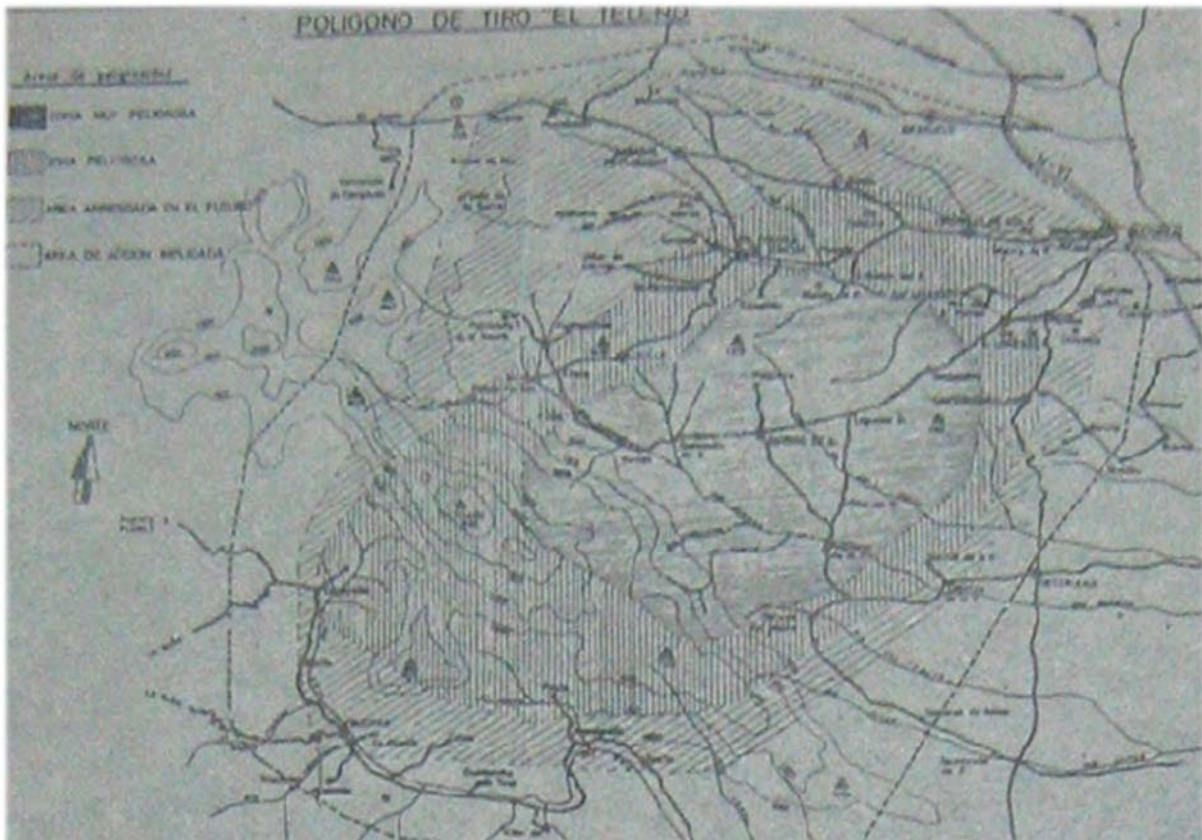


Image 44. Map of the Military Range. It comprises the three future phases of expansion and the different degrees of dangerousness for each area. Source. *El Faro*, 01/09/1981, pp. 2.

However, the soundest event was the publishing of a document in *El Faro* by Tomás Pollán García, professor of anthropology at the University Complutense of Madrid and neighbor of Valdespino de Somoza, entitled *Allanamiento de morada* – ‘breaking and entering’ –. The piece was divided into five sections, ‘The bottom line’, ‘The fallacy of the economic benefits’, ‘The pitfalls of the current procedure and the attitude of political parties’ and ‘Perspectives and actions’. In his writings, he argues that the decision to implement the Range in the Maragatería was related to the extended idea that it is ‘no man’s land’. Also, to the belief among politicians and military elites that no one would complain: “everyone knows that the decision not to establish the Range in Euskadi or Catalonia, for instance, is a consequence of the absolute certainty that the inhabitants of

these areas would never tolerate it whatsoever” (Pollán García 25/08/1981). He compares the alleged ‘urgency’ of the process with the slowly implementation of positive projects for the area. Also, he charges against the idea that the Range has to created for alleged ‘reasons of national interest’, which, as he shows, represent the interest not of the nation but only of certain people. For him, all the support given by different actors in the area to the *maragato* folklore, feasts and dances must now turn towards the defense of the ‘real’ Maragatería. He tried to move away from the economic considerations that have prevailed hitherto to frame the issue in wider terms of dignity and the impossibility of pricing “what is beyond purchases and sales: the tradition of a people, its lands, solidarity, intimate beliefs, autonomy and the dignify of free people” (Pollán García 27/08/1981). He analyzes all the pitfalls and deceptions comprised in the procedure and considers them an expression “of the content which is being implemented” (Pollán García 01/09/1981; Pollán García 03/09/1981; Pollán García 29/08/1981). His thorough critical analysis of the process and stubborn defense of the interests of the Maragato villages elicited responses by Army and Government representatives. In particular of Angel García del Vello, civil governor of the province of León who considered the Maragatería to be a “scree” (María Merino 27/04/1982), and who pushed forward the prosecution (Núñez 17/02/1982). The issue reached the national public sphere and Pollán received letters of support by different collectivities and individuals (María Merino 27/04/1982; Zofío 12/03/1982). Nonetheless, he was finally prosecuted and condemned to one year of prison and a fine of one million *pesetas*. He became the first person during the democratic era convicted for political reasons, allegedly for calumnies against the Military establishment. As the reasons for the conviction were political rather than criminal, the sentence of the Supreme Court seemed an exercise of hermeneutic literary interpretation rather than Legal discourse. Accordingly, the Supreme Court considered that

*“...the right to criticism, legitimately exercised, must never be confused with the manifestations that reveal the purpose of conveying discredit, dishonor or contempt, even though other things are said and proclaimed when this is done. And, in this case, the sentences transcribed and the very title of the articles evidence the intention to vilify the Spanish Army and certain of its ranks, and that all who read it cannot but feel hostility, embarrassment, and contempt”*⁵⁰ (ABC 04/12/1983).

The platform of local councils even wrote to the Royal House, bringing an appeal to the King as the Commander of the Army and Leader of the Spanish Democracy “for those peasants and farmers that are being dispossessed of heir only means to life decently and honorably” (29 Agosto). Some people supported the expropriation under the guise of a supposed beneficial outcome for the area. Of course, this implied assuming the official position arguing that Maragatería was a backward and miserable area, which provided legitimacy for the establishment of the Range. The alleged role of the Army was to bring ‘modernity’ to the area, which supposedly would imply ‘modern’ standards of living. Agustín Fernández, under the revealing headline of “The military are

⁵⁰ “el derecho de crítica, legítimamente ejercido, nunca debe confundirse con las manifestaciones reveladoras del propósito de producir descrédito, deshonra o menosprecio, aunque otra cosa se diga o se proclame al hacerlo. Y en este caso las frases transcritas, y el mismo título de los artículos, evidencian el propósito de vilipendiar a los Ejércitos españoles y a determinadas clases de su estamento, ya que cuantos lo leen no pueden por menos de sentir animadversión, sonrojo y desprecio”.

upstanding men, they are good people”⁵¹, argued that visitors to Maragatería “flee in terror; and there is no one who can live in those villages, because they did not have until recent times nor running water nor electricity, and still today they do not have telephones, most of them lacking priest, doctor or anything attractive. Nowadays, the only attractive remnant of Maragatería are its people, those marvelous and laborious people, charming and faithful, that no one in the world equals their category, but nothing else” (Fernández 26/09/1981: 3).

Then, in support of the Range, he compelled the *maragato* people, “who live all year round in those miserable villages, in a constant struggle with those unproductive lands, exposed to the hardest temperatures, in the lowest conditions of dietary-hygienic-sanitary existence, only similar to those of the third world, to claim to their representatives for things of primary necessity” (Idem: 4). His rhetoric strategy was similar to those employed by the government and the army: the *people* from Maragatería are quite valuable and are worth much more than they have, but the *Maragatería* as such is a backward and unproductive land in need of redemption. However, other authors were quick to emphasize all the significant assets and resources that Maragatería boasted. They started to construct Maragatería as a whole as ‘heritage’. For instance, the ‘Las Médulas Young Culture and Sports Association’ wrote a piece called ‘Safeguarding heritage’ in which they emphasize the relevance of the *maragato* cultural assets and publicly reject the expropriations (Asociación cultural deportiva “Las Médulas” 03/09/1981). The writer Antonio Colinas wrote an evocative piece where he considered Maragatería as the “heart of our land” [referring to León], a region traversed by the primitive Way of Saint James and presided by the imposing figure of the Teleno mountain (Colinas 08/09/1981). Writing against the widespread conception of Maragatería as a miserable and poor area, José Perandones showed that the works of Professor Claude Domergue in the hillforts and mining areas of the Teleno Mountain that were being carried out were well known at the time (Perandones Cordero 17/09/1981). Even the nascent Leonese Regionalist political movement supported the Maragatería claiming that the “aesthetic, urban, historic (Saint James Way), linguistic, ethnic, folkloric, commercial, religious, etc. values, make Maragatería worth of the highest esteem in support of the anthropological values that underpin the roots and being of the Spanish Nation” (Otero 19/09/1981).

At the time, most municipalities in Maragatería resigned *en masse* (Editorial 14/09/1981). A demonstration in Astorga brought together two thousand people against the Range. This was the first and last time that the *maragato* people demonstrated for any reason as a whole. Some people were dressing the *maragato* dresses and there were drummers playing, a fact that was considered “shocking” by the reports of the time (Giráldez 01/09/1981). Martínez Veiga considered the demonstration as a symbol of affirmation of the ethnic character of the *maragato* collective (1981). For him, this was so because the *maragatos* were positioned against the capital, and established comparisons with Catalonia and Basque Country as ethnic groups that successfully rejected Madrid’s impositions. For him, the continuity of the *maragato* culture with the past should be sought in their achievement of a symbiotic equilibrium with nature based on different kinds of mobilities, and not in its folkloric representation (1981: 24). Probably, the viewpoint of Martínez

⁵¹ “Los militares son hombres de bien, son buena gente”

Veiga overemphasizes the level of self-awareness of the *maragato* people about their collective identity at the time. In the end, the *maragatos* have been socially constructed from the outside, and their social filiations did not differ much from those of other social groups in Spain in the pre-industrial world: a strong attachment to the local village and the conception of ‘the rest’ as foreign (Brandes 1973). Furthermore, the large number of returned migrants in the area normally held complex and multilayered identity filiations that preclude the possibility of establishing straightforward connections between their identities and a supposed *maragato* collective self.



Image 45. Demonstration against the Military Range in Astorga. On the left, a girl dressing *maragato* clothes in front of the banners. On the right, demonstrators passing by the Bishop's Palace of Gaudí. Below, a family in *maragato* dress. Source *El Faro*, 01/09/1981, pp. 5.

In turn, Tomás Pollán noted the lack of support from people from Astorga to their cause (03/09/1981). He pointed to the double standards of the city, always in front line when the representation of ‘folklore’ was at issue, but unsupportive of the *maragato* cause. Curiously enough,

people accuse Astorga today of a similar double standard in terms of cultural heritage. Morán, a member of the Astorga-based ‘Platform for the Dismantling of the Military Range of El Teleno’, explained to me that

“the problem is that the villages are always at odds with Astorga, because Astorga supports the Range because they relate it with the maintenance of the military barracks in Astorga... They are always investing in the heritage, in the Roman past, the ruins, and the feasts of Romans against the pre-Roman Astures, but this is a double standard, because here [Teleno Mountain] there are important ruins also. Then, it’s O.K. when they want to bring tourism, but not when their economy might be harmed...” (Interview 21, August, 2009).

The enlargement of the Range entailed a dramatic increase in the intensity of the shootings against the Teleno Mountain. If during the 1950s, they shoot for one or two weeks a year, in 1981 they reached the number of 105 days (Interview 22, July 2008). Moreover, the location of the shooting points turned it into a ‘discontinuous shooting Range’. This means that shells would start to fly over inhabited villages, agricultural and cattle areas and infrastructures. As Morán points out “there only two Ranges of this kind in Spain and probably Europe, the Teleno and Cerro Muriano... No one knows exactly where the missiles will fall, and thus many unexploded shells are scattered throughout the fields both within and outside the boundaries of the Range” (Interview 21, August, 2009). José, an old man from Boisán considered that the first years of the Range were scary, “it was hard to be here... shrapnel falling all over... one was there with the cattle, and when they started to shoot I was scared... During the last years, they are shooting six times less at least. But before, people were saying, ‘we must leave, we must leave from here’” (Interview 23, July 2009).⁵²

Incidents of all kinds have been commonplace since then. At least two people have died since 1981. Before 1981, the data are not clear. To my knowledge, only the nationally famous *maragato* drummer ‘Ti Cardana’ was run over and killed by a military truck. Less striking incidents abound: shells falling close to people within villages and in workings areas, shells exploding in the air over villages as in Boisán in 1999, conflicts with local people for different reasons, realization of night ‘guerrillas’ in areas outside the boundaries of the Range, and many others. Some people argue that they might be using the Teleno as a dump for the outdated military material, pointing to the poignant side effects of it, such as chemical contamination, water and noise polluting (Interview 22, July 2008). Local councils continued their activity in order to avoid further enlargements of the Range. Also, they confronted the Ministry when a proposal to open the Range to aerial bombing was passed in 1996. The suspicions of the local councils were not groundless. After the devastating fire of Tabuyo in 1999, General Martínez Coll explained in an interview that they were going to take some safety measures. These included prohibiting the circulation of convoys around Maragatería, cleaning the firewalls and the mountains, excluding the months of June, July, August and September from bombings, avoiding shooting were weather conditions were harsh, on week-

⁵² “pero hubo ahí algunos años que daba miedo, aquí no había quien estuviera... la metralla caía por todos laos... estabas ahí con la ganadería que aquí había mucha, y daba miedo... no tiran ni un sexto de lo de antes... va a haber que marchar de aquí, va a haber que marchar de aquí decía mucha gente.”

ends and during the night (Mayo et al. 11/10/1998). What is surprising is that these minimum safety conditions were not being observed before. However, shooting over the villages was only prohibited in 2005 (Almanza 03/12/2005). Furthermore, he considered that contentious situations like the one occurred in Tabuyo came about because the Army did not control the whole area. As he says, “it would be ideal to own the whole area, as it happens in Zaragoza. There we have a good Range for maneuvers with tanks. It is vast and the only problem we have is the shepherds crossing the boundaries from time to time” (Mayo et al. 11/10/1998).

Different groups have elaborated detailed lists of all the harmful events occurred as a consequence of the presence of the Range, with a particular focus in the multiple fires occurred⁵³. However, ethnography reveals that each village has its own ‘personal story’ with the Range and singular events that come to represent the negative aspects of it. For instance, in Valdespino a chapel was partially destroyed by a military convoy and the best communal lands were expropriated. Normally, people recall situations happening to them or their acquaintances, but there are also stories in circulation whose veracity no one can confirm. Those stories normally start with a “People say...” or “They say... that a shepherd lost both hands due to a grenade” and so on.

Strategies of Containment and Strategies of Resistance: from the Sublimation of Nature to the Social Construction of Cultural Heritage.

The constant struggle of *maragato* villages and people against the Range left them alone. Neither the city of Astorga nor the provincial or regional governments supported their cause. One strategy of institutional containment was the creation of development plans based on the rhetoric of sustainability and endogenous growth. Cabero Diéguez (2005: 93) considered paradoxical that the Office for the Regional promotion of Maragatería was created just after the expropriation of the Range. Similarly, the E.U. funded LEADER group *Montañas del Teleno* created at the beginning of the 1990s promoted the development of rural tourism and hotels in Maragatería without ever dealing with the blunt reality that a military Range can be a rather uninviting attraction for tourists. In fact, Maragatería could not be considered a peaceful and silent rural area during the 1990s. In 2011, the Ministry of Defense has expressed its support to “combine the military and touristic uses of the Range” (Almanza 11/03/2011). An explosive combination, one might say. Nevertheless, it is in tune with the fundamental strategy of containment followed by the Ministry of Defense: the social construction of the military Ranges throughout Spain as supposed natural paradises. Thus, the Ministry now performs pedagogic tasks within the Ranges and promotes the animal and vegetal values within them (Varillas et al. 2006). A series of publications emphasize those values without any reference to the price paid by human communities that bear them. In the case of Maragatería the book *La Sierra de El Teleno: El campo militar de adiestramiento de El Teleno y sus condiciones ambientales* (Tornero Gómez 2005), depicts a beautiful and unharmed area and lists all the

⁵³ See, among others, <http://www.filiel.com/cdtresistencias.htm> and <http://www.antimilitaristas.org/spip.php?article2279>

vegetable and animal species that – thanks to the Range of course – live peacefully within it. As the president of the National Research Center (CSIC), Carlos Martínez, pointed out, “where a military Range was created, no highways, apartments or malls have been built” (quoted in Prádanos 04/07/2006). Only “a few times a year there are shootings, detonations and military parades disturbing the peace of these areas. In some of them, not even this because their uses are strategic and not functional. In any case, the balance is positive. Many animal species perceive it, as they feel safe from civic and human pressures and seek refuge in military areas” (Prádanos 04/07/2006). As Miguel Delibes, biologist from the National Research Council, points out, “military ranges must have something good when naturalists are always around” (quoted in Prádanos 04/07/2006). Delibes participated in a book edited by the Ministry of Defence tellingly called *Espacios naturales del Ministerio de Defensa – Natural Areas of the Ministry of Defence* – with many other high-rank specialists, with a prologue by the Prince of Spain (Varillas et al. 2006). During the presentation of the book, the naturalist Joaquín Araujo concluded that “security, today, means to preserve the spaces of life” (Quoted in Prádanos 04/07/2006).

The social construction of the Ranges as natural spaces reveals the ‘ecological turn’ in the policies and discursive rhetoric of the Ministry, which now cares about gaining international recognition for its natural preservation strategies. Thus, the Teleno Range sought the ISO 14001 ‘ecological warranty’ provided by the Spanish Association of Normalization and Certification (AENOR). They relentlessly refer to the Ranges as pristine natural areas, disregarding the fact that they were largely humanized areas before the expropriations came about. Also, concealing all the negative consequences of the Ranges for animal and vegetal life (Martínez 2000) and the pitfalls of their supposedly good practices (Monasterio 26/04/2007). Finally, they overlook the fact that the Ranges are, in the end, the more modern and human spaces where the division between nature and culture is pushed to the limit. Like natural parks, those are the most human spaces because they have been designated to be so by humans. In addition, human life is precluded because it would be risky to live there. And finally, those spaces exist to improve technologies to exterminate other humans. The paradox of this strategy of containment comes as an ideological sublimation: the possibility of preservation is given by the necessary reproduction of destruction. Sublimation, as described by Freud, consciously transforms socially unacceptable impulses or practices into socially acceptable actions of behaviors (2005 [1930]). And this is precisely what the Ministry of Defense, with the support of other elite social agents, have tried to do in the Teleno.

The strategies of resistance, in turn, have taken different forms. Mostly, they have followed the epistemology of ‘modern’ critique. This conception considers that challenging official narratives entails opposing them with all data available and producing more complete alternative narratives (González-Ruibal 2008). This is the strategy of ‘modern’ critical intellectuals such as Noam Chomsky, for whom gathering and showing the ‘true facts’ is fundamental (Žižek 2004). This has been the strategy of ecologists and pacifists during decades mostly. Foucault, and especially Deleuze, provide another concept of critique that does not rest on the dialectical negative critique, but rather on the positive construction of counter narratives not necessarily based on hard facts (Bell 2008). Some academics and aficionado researchers have followed this path, which has been joined

by ecologists and pacifists, which entail the social construction of the Teleno as a cultural heritage entity. This strategy is more useful because it is positive and constructive. Also, it does not resort to the same discursive rhetoric of the one employed by the Ministry of Defense, thus countering their claims to be ‘protecting nature’ as if that was the whole point of the issue. Finally, it is functional because it undermines the strategy of sublimating the Range as ‘natural’, by showing the strong past human presence in the area. In practice, both strategies mix and all potential arguments against the Range are combined to denounce the actions of the Army.

After the constitution of the Range a further demonstration occurred the 20th February 1982. Since then, the most active platform against the Range was AEDENAT⁵⁴, an associated integrated within *Ecologistas en Acción* – Ecologists in Action -. In 1985, they bought a house in the neuralgic center of the Range, Quintanilla de Somoza, called the *Casa por la Paz* – House for Peace. The house served as the headquarters for the different activities and talks carried out against the Range: walks through the projectile landing areas, camping protests, demonstrations, and so on.



Image 46. The *Casa por la Paz* in Quintanilla de Somoza. The house is at the core of the anti-Range social movements in Maragatería. Here, the republican Spanish flag and a man playing the hymn of the Republic, which is today associated with left-wing ideologies. Source: Author.

Today it is still active and, as Morán states, “whenever talks are held, people from the surrounding villages come and join us. This is well alive and the consciousness against the Range is still high” (Interview 21, August 2009). In 1987, the local councils sought guarantees by the Ministry of Defense that the Range would not expand in the future. AEDENAT promoted the

⁵⁴ “Asociación Ecologista de Defensa de la Naturaleza”

declaration of the Teleno Mountain as Natural Monument since 1993 (Martínez 2000). Finally, the PSOE party took the proposal to the Regional parliament in 2001, which rejected it. Ecologist groups also have created cooperatives just below slopes of the Teleno Mountain. They fundamentally produce berries and honey “which are present in different markets throughout Spain. This is to show that the lands of Maragatería are not unproductive. They can produce, and sell” (Interview 24, August 2009). One of the growers, Manolo, explains that “Maragatería has plenty of resources, not only agricultural, but also in terms of cattle, plant and animal life, an incredibly rich archaeology and Roman mining heritage, popular architecture and folklore, the tradition of the *comarca*, and I think all these resources should be promoted, but this cannot be done with the Range here” (Interview 22, July 2008).

The strategy followed concerning cultural remains can be summarized as an attempt to create heritage through its categorization and the achievement of an official recognition. As Carman points out, once this is achieved those places “have an official position that has a series of obligations, both legal and ‘moral’, arising from their inclusion on this register. ...they must be actively conserved, they should have formal documents and policies in place to determine their management, and there is an assumption that they will be able to be visited” (Carman 2002: 22). For activists, if this was achieved the military Range would forcefully have to be dismantled. Claude Domergue had signaled the significance of the archaeological remains in Maragatería and the Teleno Mountain during the 1970s. The French professor carried out archaeological research in the *Corona de Quintanilla* at the time, and considered that the area represented the “biggest world Roman mining area known to date” (Domergue and Hérail 1978). However, the declaration of the *Corona de Quintanilla* as a BIC – Good of Cultural Interest – is still pending since 1981, with the declaration paperwork in the hands of the Ministry of Culture and then of the Regional Government when it was created. In 1982, Alejandro Valderas requests the Regional Government the realization of an archaeological study of the Teleno Mountain. Since then on, the Platform for the Dismantling of the Military Range of El Teleno recorded the damages caused by the military to archaeological remains: impacts on hillforts and mining infrastructure, or the construction of roads and firewalls over archaeological sites, and denounced the Ministry of Defense (Ecologistas en Acción 2007). Finally, in 1996 they presented a report to the different public administrations explaining the different threats to archaeological remains. The report was assumed by the PSOE, and wielded as a political banner against the PP right-wing party in 1999. In 2001, the Heritage Commission of León applied for the declaration as a BIC for the mining works and Roman settlements in the slopes of the Teleno, including 29 archaeological sites. Afterwards, the Network of Municipalities of Maragatería proposed the enlargement of the application made by the Heritage Commission to include the mining works of the Duerna River and other settlements, but even the Commission disregarded this. The engineer Roberto Matías has taken the lead since 2005 when he presented his detailed studies of the Teleno mining works and publicly declared in 2006 in Astorga that “we are bombarding the most important Roman gold mining remains preserved in the world” (Quoted in Sandín Pérez 2008).



Image 47. The raspberry agricultural cooperative. This project has been implemented in Tabuyo del Monte and some neighboring villages, and is related to the sociopolitical group *Ecologistas en Acción*. Their action aims to demonstrate that, contrary to official claims, the Maragatería can be as productive as any other area, thus highlighting the negative outcomes of the presence of the Military Range for potential agricultural and farming production and work. Source: Author.

Matías Rodríguez considers that the Teleno area boasts “an exceptional concentration of mining works in the surroundings and slopes of the Teleno Mountain, especially in the rivers and streams draining into the north side... in an area of 400 Km² there are more than 75 relevant evidences of Roman mining works, the majority of which were carried out as open pit mining through hydraulic mining techniques that cover more than 38 Km²” (2006: 213).⁵⁵ All these efforts have been in vain, as no declaration or recognition to cultural elements present in Maragatería has been achieved (beyond a church and two villages far away from the Range). The issue becomes apparent when comparing with nearby regions. For instance, the studies carried out by the CSIC archaeological team in the Roman gold mining site of Las Médulas (Sánchez-Palencia Ramos 2000) led to the declaration of the area as UNESCO World Heritage in 1997. Despite Las Médulas’ mining structure is connected and part of the mining complex of the Teleno Mountain, there was no reference to the latter during the whole process. Thus, whereas the Regional Government declared Las Médulas as the first cultural landscape in the region (Sánchez-Palencia et al. 2000), the Teleno Mountain was not even considered as BIC. All the efforts to socially construct the Teleno Mountain as an official heritage site have been in vain: it remains officially considered as a ‘natural area’ and nothing else. This is in tune with UNESCO’s World Heritage universalist approach to past remains that reinforces the categories of culture-history and traditional art history (De Cesari 2010), while at the same time sanitizes the past (and the present). Las Médulas are considered aesthetically pleasant, while the Teleno seems not to be so. In addition, the declaration of the Teleno as World Heritage would be at odds with the rhetoric of sustainability and local participation held by UNESCO, and thus would require the dismantling of the Military Range.

⁵⁵ “Sino que también se ha producido una excepcional concentración de trabajos mineros romanos en el entorno y laderas de la misma montaña del Teleno, especialmente en los ríos y arroyos que drenan su vertiente norte, a la que ya han hecho referencia algunos investigadores en la década de los años 70 como “el mayor conjunto mundial de minería romana que se conoce”. En un área de 400 Km² se encuentran repartidas más de 75 evidencias importantes de minería romana cuyos trabajos fueron en su mayoría realizados a cielo abierto mediante técnicas de minería hidráulica que llegan a afectar a una superficie de terreno superior a los 38 Km²s” (Matías Rodríguez, 2006).



Image 48. Mountain summit of the Teleno, a 2100-meter high peak. It has historically functioned as a symbolic benchmark for different cultural groups, and today for the inhabitants of the *comarcas* of Maragatería and Cabrera. Source: Alejandro Mazaira Pereira.

Thus, the Teleno, and Maragatería broadly, are gradually becoming future sites of ‘negative heritage’, repositories of negative memory in the collective imaginary (Meskell 2002b: 558). I say ‘future’ because they are still been under construction: for people in Maragatería the Military Range and its associated leftovers and damages are not only repositories of memory, but a state of things they must deal with in their daily lives. The strength with which different social actors are pushing towards the rehabilitation and incorporation of the Range into the cultural ‘imagined landscapes’ of the local communities, paves the way for a future mobilization of the negative memories of the area for “positive didactic purposes” (Idem: 558). If “heritage is something that can be passed from one generation to the next” (Harrison 2010: 13), the Range will clearly become a negative heritage, an event affecting the individual and collective lives of the *maragatos* for more than six decades. Even if the Range is dismantled, the tons of shells and metal leftovers scattered in the area will remain as a material evidence for archaeologists of future archaeologists that ‘destruction’ was present there. In sites like the Teleno Mountain, the heritage logics are inverted. Normally, many things are classified as heritage “only in the light of some risk of losing them” (Idem: 17). On the contrary, the official heritage discourse held by institutions is to follow a strategy of containment. This entails the construction of the Range as a natural space, striving to convey the idea that there is no risk of losing anything (and therefore official declarations are not necessary). Rather, if we attend to official discourse it seems that it is ‘life’ broadly that is being safeguarded and is proliferating (e.g. Varillas et al. 2006).

In any case, the connection between heritage and threat has become the fundamental cornerstone around which symbolic struggles are organized between activists and institutions, and this is a fundamental shift. However, in talking so much about cultural and natural entities, both sides in the conflict are leaving aside ‘people’. Surprisingly, the deaths in the Range do not appear in the lists created by the anti-Range activists. Again, when we frame symbolic struggles in terms of heritage we are led to the construction of social abstractions that reinstate the divide between

humans and non-humans, the quintessential modern split (Latour and Woolgar 1986). In fact, both strategies of containment and strategies of resistance are reproducing the modern epistemological ethos by constructing both nature and culture in the Teleno as cultural representations disconnected from the *maragato* people.

Forests are Nature! The Forest of Tabuyo del Monte and the Fire of 1998.

*“The forest is very beautiful,
half of it was burnt,
because of the shootings in the Teleno,
by the Spanish Army.
When that Army came,
to the range to shoot,
a strong wind began to blow.
‘Y Olé’
And they should not shoot anymore.
They began shooting,
and the forest started to burn,
and instead of going to put it out,
they went back to their barracks*

*[stops singing], can you imagine? They went back to the barracks instead of putting it off, those who started it... they should have rushed to put it out!.... but they were afraid and went back to the barracks... they should not come again”*⁵⁶ Tomasa, a 102 year old woman singing and chatting about the fire that burnt Tabuyo’s forest in 1998 (Interview 25, July 2010).

The so-called *Pinal*, the forest of Tabuyo del Monte, covered a surface of 4.000 hectares of *Pinus Pinaster*, informally called *pinu bravu*. Most of the trees were older than one century, dating back to the reforestations of the late XIX century. This made the *Pinal* a unique forest in the whole province of León. Although Tabuyo was the village that profited mostly from the forest, the 75% of the nearby municipalities of Luyego, Castrocontrigo and Quintana y Congosto were covered by woodland as well (Sánchez Fernández 2005: 20). The bonds between these pre-industrial

⁵⁶ “El pinar es muy bonito
la mitad se nos quemó
por tirar contra el Teleno
el ejército español
Cuando ese ejercito vino
al campamento a tirar
se levanto un aire grande
y olé
y no tenían que tirar
Se pusieron a tirar
y el monte empezó a arder
Y en vez de ir a apagarlo
Marcharon para el cuartel

[deja de cantar] ,marcharon para el cuartel en vez de ir a apagarlo los mismos que le prendieron... tenían que haber ido corriendo... pero ellos cogieron miedo y marcharon para el cuartel... y ya no quisieron ir”.

communities and their forests, which were of communal ownership, were strong and necessary for their economic reproduction. In the case of Tabuyo, this relation was more intense due to the profitable extraction of resin from the forest since 1895. The start of the extractive activities led the villagers and the local council to promote the growth of the forest, which went from 61.000 in 1906 to 680.000 pines in the inventory of 1996 (Idem). The revenues were distributed among a population oscillating between the 200 and the 300 inhabitants during the century. Each family was assigned a certain number of pines. The richness of the village was notorious and in the 1960s, the local budget equated that of the provincial capital, León⁵⁷. The streets were asphalted and there was a sewing system (Idem). Also, Tabuyo was able, with Castrocontrigo, Nogarejas, Pinilla y Torneros de Jamuz, to buy the lands of their surrounding areas owned by the monastery of San Vicente de la Peña. The resin extractive activity came to a gradual end during the 1980s. Since then on, the productive activities started to be related with wood production (Sandín Pérez 2008).



Image 49. Tomasa and her sister. A 102 year old woman from Tabuyo del Monte, with her sister on the right and her niece in the background. On the right, Tomasa playing the tambourine. She also composes lyrics and songs such as the one against the Military Range. Source: Author.

On 13 September, 1998, Sunday, two MILAN anti-tank missiles strayed from the Range's 'projectile landing ground' exploded in the forest of Tabuyo, which was almost completely burnt (4.000 hectares, 2.000 of which were Protected Bird Areas called *Montes Aquilanos*). The fire left the village bereft of communal resources for the next four decades, at least. This was neither the first large fire nor the last provoked by the Range. In 1979, 2.000 hectares had already burnt in Tabuyo, and another 4.000 would burn in Luyego and Lucillo in 2005. However, the fire in Tabuyo had a special significance for the economic value of the forest, the emotional attachment of the community with it, and the political consequences that entailed. Also, it had a huge impact at a national scale. Even citizens from Madrid (more than 300 kilometers away) called the Firemen because they were covered with smoke arriving from Tabuyo (Sandín Pérez 2008). The strong wind favored the spread of the fire despite the large mobilization of technical and human resources for the extinction. I carried out different interviews on the issue, in Luyego and especially in Tabuyo.

⁵⁷ Even today, in 2012, Tabuyo remains as the richest 'J.V.' in León Diario de León. 26/07/2012. Las más ricas. *Diario de León*..

The most fruitful interview brought together a group of five people who participated as volunteers in the extinction works⁵⁸. The conversation turned into a heated debate that lasted for three hours and a half. The way they recount the events contrasts with the accounts made of it by the Army and the institutions in charge of extinction tasks.

The Interviewee 1 (I.1) was in one of the watchtowers of the area. He was the first to see the fire when the first missile impacted: “that’s how it began, there were three old tanks there and the missile blew out one of them. The fire started and I called León [the Fire Control Center] and told them, advised them that something was going wrong down there. Then, the second missile came and then I said: this is unstoppable. I called León and they said: ‘no worries, the military have all kinds of means to put out the fire’, and I replied that they didn’t have shit! What were they going to have! I was terribly angry that day.” Interviewee 2 (I.2): “and they waited and waited...” In fact, the military did not let the fire brigades in until next day. Well after the events, Colonel Zacarías González explained that they did not get involved in the extinction tasks because “the Army must intervene according to the requirements of the civil authorities, and there was not any order. It would have been dangerous to go there without any plans” (in Otero 15/09/98).⁵⁹ All this was going on during the feasts of Tabuyo, and when the bells from the Church started to ring, volunteers from Tabuyo and surrounding villages started to fight the fire on their own. As Interviewee 5 (I.5.) explains, “the day before we had been partying; when I heard the bells I thought we had to go to the church or something... then, people told me what was going on and I immediately rushed to the forest”. Despite the Army had left the area the day before, when the fire had started, on Sunday “there was a soldier every ten meters” (I.4). From their standpoint, the organization of the extinguishing tasks was a chaos. They were proud of having created a ditch that saved the remnants of their side of the forest, contravening the orders of a forest guard. “If we would have not been there, everything would have burnt, they would have let everything burn, they do not care because it is not theirs” (I.3). Moreover, the whole area, which was supposedly out of the projectile landing area, was full of unexploded missiles and grenades. In fact, there are “small ones, antiaircraft missiles, but also those from the Artillery regiment from Astorga, which are enormous. One could hear those shells exploding all the time due to the heat of the fire” (I. 5).

When I asked about the feelings of the people from the village during the events, there was a silence. Finally, I.1 talked. “The hearts of people sank. Can you imagine..., the mountain burning, that which is ours, and not being able to do anything?”⁶⁰ I.3: “That has always been there, your parents, and your grandparents tell you stories about the forest... we felt powerless. And all burnt because of the military”. Again, it is important to conceive the memories of these communities in immanent connection with the functional and economic values they perceive in their environment. Heritage here must be seen not only as an element that has a special meaning for a community (Fernández de Paz and Agudo Torrico 1999) but as “something that somebody or some people consider to be worthy of being valued” (Novelo 2005: 86). The conversation with the interviewees gradually shifted from specific situations and details to broader issues. For them, the point was not

⁵⁸ The interviewees prefer not to reveal their identities.

⁵⁹ “Respecto de la no intervención en un primer momento del Ejército en las tareas de extinción, el coronel Zacarías González comentó que «el Ejército tiene que actuar según nos lo solicitan las autoridades civiles y ese trámite no se efectuó. Hubiera sido peligroso ir sin tener un plan”.

⁶⁰ “A la gente se le caía el alma al suelo... imagínate que se te quema el monte, que es lo nuestro... no poder hacer nada”

simply to blame the military, but rather to show that the whole framework regulating the relations between the people and their forests was running in the bad direction. They regularly compared how things are today with how things were in the past, analyzing and signaling the pitfalls of modern techniques of extinction and forest management. First, the fundamental issue in extinguishing fires was for them reaching the place as soon as possible, a task that local communities had fulfilled perfectly in the past. As they argue, it now takes ages for the fire brigades to get to the fire sources. This is due not only to technical problems, but to the dirtiness of the forests and the destruction of the old paths. As I.4 explains, “and then the Minister comes pretentiously putting on a front, to be in the picture... then all them come to be in the news, but no one takes pictures to us... and ultimately it is the people from the villages that arrives first, earlier than all of them”. Then, I.3 added that “here in Tabuyo people come out to the fires and they always arrive before the fire brigades. It is not that we want to show off, it is facts we are talking about here”. Therefore, decades ago “if there was a fire it lasted hours”, in contrast “now every time there is a fire it lasts three or four days... First they call León, then, they call the central command office in Valladolid, send the helicopter, and then finally they come. It takes ages!” (I.2).

A second problem they see is the way the ‘technical’ system of fire extinguishing is organized, its lack of endurance and unprofessional performance. As they argue, they hire students during the summer months, and “some of them have never seen a forest in their lives. Then the rest of the year they study or work or whatever” (I.1). Moreover, when funding cuts due to the economic crisis preclude the possibility of hiring all these people, they burn the forests to be hired again, “as it happened in Galicia last year” [referring to 2009] (I.4). Other interviews with forest guards, staff members of the extinguishing tasks and ex-fire brigade members confirm most of their intuitions and viewpoints. Finally, they think that the financial resources are misused. This is not an issue of deficient technical performance, but rather a political decision of investing most resources in extinction rather than in prevention tasks. As I.1 argues, “we should be expending in prevention, not in extinction... everything is wasted during summer and the rest of the year there is nothing. No one cares about the rural and the forests”. In conclusion, “the only thing that has come from all this is that the military have not come to the village again” (I.2).

Therefore, local communities are clearly far from being ignorant and backward. They have a deep knowledge of the forest, of modern techniques of prevention, and forest exploitation. Their functional view of the forest does not preclude the creation of solid emotional bonds with it, rather, those bonds are created immanently, without extricating nature from culture, nor culture from economy. In contrast, the modern rationality imposed over forests management and the scientific control of fires leads to increasing expenditures in extinction in a context of diminishing public resources. The view of local communities addresses the fundamental question of how to relate with nature, as they conceive prevention tasks as something that should be carried out by them as, in the end, the forests are part of the village’s communal property. The transcendent disruption by state technicians of the immanent relation between community and forest is the outcome of the modern construction of nature as an independent realm from human life. Local people do not complain about volunteering and risking their lives for fighting the fires: they consider it to be the way things work. Furthermore, they know that with the funds spent in extinction tasks in Spain (€700 million/year, similar to the expenditure of the U.S. Federal Government on the same task), rural communities would have enough resources to reproduce their traditional customs and ways of life,

which would prevent fires to spread. “That is sustainability and not spending millions in helicopters and technologies” (I.4). Their detailed knowledge on forestry, the production of biomass, the cleaning of forests and fire extinguishing, contrasts with the lack of local funds to implement their ideas, which are far from advocating a ‘return to pre-industrial times’, as some state technicians think. Rather, their views on the forest and its management are part of the immanent adaptation to new situations, of the reproduction of the ‘changing same’ which is precluded by the disempowerment of local communities.



Image 50. Military leftovers. Francisco Alonso points to a training mine left by the Army in the forest of Luyego, in November 2012. Source A. Domingo, *Diario de León* (29/11/2012)

In fact, pre-industrial communities used fire for their purposes: it was not an enemy but an ally. The number of fires in Spain was significantly higher in the past, but those were small and the so-called ‘large forest fires’ (GIF in Spanish) almost did not exist. This scenario started to change in parallel with the modernization of bureaucracy and administration in Spain under Franco’s technocrat governments (more or less after 1960). The forest bureaucrats, mostly coming from urban and elite origins, considered the ‘peasant’ to be ignorant and to be destroying his own property with fire (Seijo 06/08/2012). As we have seen in previous chapters, part of these strategies were related with the objective of diminishing the Spanish rural population, the taking over communal properties by state institutions, and also with an alleged modernization and structuration of forest management around certain key industries (Idem). Despite the ‘J.V.’ own the forests in Maragatería, the control over them is in the hands of the forest authorities of the State and Regional Governments. This modern technological-economic assemblage is at work throughout Spain. This is what Cazorla Pérez, in his analysis of the case of Granada, has called ‘forest protection universalism’ (1984). This model has been promoted and made extensive to the whole territory since the 1960s. Today, the pitfalls of this system are coming to the forefront: the crisis hitting the Spanish economy has led to a cut off in extinguishing resources and fires of previously unseen dimensions are devastating the most economically decaying regions such as Valencia, Catalonia or

the Balearic Islands. People from Tabuyo were well aware of the strategies of containment at work in this regard as well. Public funds are spent on the maintenance of the networks of private and public entrepreneurial conglomerates that make huge profits from the extinguishing and forest exploitation tasks (see more in Seijo 06/08/2012). In turn, the increasing need of public resources for extinguishing tasks is charged on taxpayers. Again, losses are socialized and benefits privatized. Meanwhile, the depopulation of rural areas continues and forest policies do not precisely help stopping it.

The years that followed the fire in Tabuyo were marked by a series of legal prosecutions against the Army, not only from activist groups but also by the Regional Government. The magnitude of the catastrophe did not escape anyone and, since then, the intensity and frequency of bombardments in the Military Range diminished. Also, there were economic compensations to some of the villages affected. Fourteen years after the fire the forest of Tabuyo has started to produce resin again. However, in the end, nothing has changed substantially in the area: Astorga keeps supporting the Range because it is considered the only reason why the military barracks are kept in the city, which partially lives on the troop's expenditure. In turn, the villages in Maragatería largely reject the Range. Be it as it were, the intensity of the military presence has decreased, and the economic crisis seems to be a more plausible reason for the end of the military activity than local claims based on ecological or heritage arguments.

Nonetheless, the institutional approach to the issue has not changed one bit. This was demonstrated by the celebration of the *Seminario de restauración de Áreas Afectadas por Grandes Incendios: el caso de El Teleno* - 'Seminar for the restoration of Areas Affected by Big Fires: the case of El Teleno' (Ruiz Pérez and Rey van den Bercken 2005), hosted by the Regional Government. The papers published in the proceedings of the conference are revealing. All of them focus on technical and scientific issues from the disciplinary viewpoints of biology and ecology. From the 'Assessment of damages through Remote Sensing' to the 'State of knowledge on the genetic variations of *Pinus Pinaster* in the Iberian Peninsula', all the articles recalled and socially constructed the fire in the forest of Tabuyo as a consequence of natural causes (the wind). A paper is devoted to justifying that all the 'correct' technical measures were taken in the fire extinguishing tasks. Of course, there is no single mention in the whole book of the existence of a military Range in the area. The fire is consistently referred to as the "unfortunate destructive event of the fire of the 98" (see also Rey van den Bercken and Ruiz Pérez 2005; Ruiz Pérez and Rey van den Bercken 2005). The detailed analysis of the most common causes of fires in the area seems to be a rhetoric literary exercise to avoid mentioning the military Range as the well-known primary cause for the increase in the intensity and number of fires. The strong wind is blamed as the fundamental factor that caused the relentless spread of the fire. However, no one asks why the military carried on shooting under these adverse weather conditions.

Date	Affected surface	Location	Origin
05/1984	1500ha	Mil. Range	Mil. Maneuvers
05/1985	1500ha	Mil. Range	Mil. Maneuvers
05/1986	2000ha	Mil. Range	
05/1990	400ha	Maragatería	
05/1991	2000ha	Mil. Range	Mil. Maneuvers
05/1991	3000ha	Maragatería	Negligence
08/1991	1277ha	Castrocontrigo	Negligence
04/1994	1000ha	Mil. Range	Mil. Maneuvers
09/1994	400ha	...	Unknown
03/1997	2000+400ha	Mil. Range	Mil. Maneuvers
04/1997	500ha	...	Mil. Maneuvers
03/1998	3000ha	Mil. Range	Mil. Maneuvers
09/1998	3320ha	Mil. Range	Mil. Maneuvers
04/1999	400ha	Mil. Range	Mil. Maneuvers
04/2000	Mil. Range	Mil. Maneuvers
04/2003	1000ha	Mil. Range	Mil. Maneuvers
09/2005	>4000ha	Maragatería	Unknown

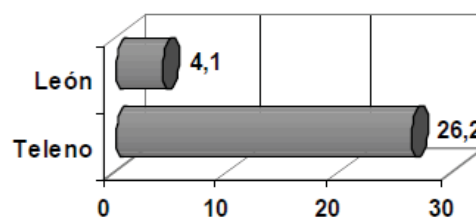


Image 51. Fire statistics in the Teleno Mountain. Above. Table with the basic data of fires in the Teleno area since 1984 until 2005. Below. Index of fire severity in the province and León in the Teleno area between 1990-1999. From Ruiz Pérez y Rey van den Bercken (2005).

Thus, after a detailed scientific account of the issue, the authors conclude that the fires must be attributed to “an increase in the amount of combustible material” (Ruiz Pérez and Rey van den Bercken 2005: 66). Accordingly, “six fundamental groups of causes have been found: intentional fires, fires related to human negligence, originated by lightings, those starting from previous fires, those from known causes and, last but not least, those of unknown origin” (Idem: 68). The underlying discourse is that, as long as it is nature we are dealing with here, scientific means can be applied to the restoration of the forest. People from Tabuyo should feel fortunate that their forest is being subjected to the latest experiments on high-tech reforestation techniques. Thus, modernity and its branch in charge of taming and controlling nature (positive science) will save us. We must improve our techniques and capabilities to better predict and control nature; we must invest more and develop technologies that are ever more refined. Why bothering to rethink the structural problems that affect the area and forest management broadly?

Also, as could not be otherwise, there is no mention to the ‘other’ restoration,. That is, the emotional attachment that connected the local community with the forest. As Marris has shown, ‘loss’, both collective and individual, is a complex and all encompassing process (1974). Furthermore, as Viejo-Rose (2011c) has demonstrated in her study of the reconstruction of post-Civil War Spain, physical reconstruction does not imply mental and cultural ‘reconstruction’. But no one is interested on what the forest meant for the people, nor the relation between the people and the Range. And why is this so? Because both the Military Range and the forest are constructed by the hegemonic discourse of the state as ‘nature’. Therefore, people have nothing to do with it, the local community (the legitimate owner of the forest) cannot have a say in management issues and everything comes down to a matter of reconstructing nature through scientific means. This shameful and overt assault on the dignity, rights and intelligence of local people is strengthened by the combination of academic, civic and military discourses. Again, the rural ‘peasants’ are directly or surreptitiously qualified as incompetent, backward and ignorant subjects.



Image 52. Fire nearby the Teleno Mountain in September 22, 2005. Source. Alejandro Mazaira Pereira.

Conclusion.

The symbolic struggle around the military Range of El Teleno can be framed in terms of a fight for the imposition of a determinate ‘regime of truth’ (sensu Foucault and Gordon 1980). The Army has moved from an arrogant and aggressive position, heir of the Franco times, to a more open stance characterized by an alleged willingness to establish constructive relations and dialogue with other social actors. To do so, they employ the rhetoric of ‘natural preservation’ to justify their ownership of military Ranges throughout Spain. This ‘strategy of containment’ is constituted as an

event in the public sphere (Badiou 2005). As Kearney (1996: 64) shows, containment does not work by conveying false ideology but by the affirmation and construction of certain regimes of truth. Containment is effective when, as in the case of the Military Range and the forest of Tabuyo, “it is able to constitute the types it essentializes” (Idem: 64). Through multiple vectors (publishing, media, academic and institutional support, official discourse and legislation), it separates nature from culture and conveys the idea that military Ranges are fundamentally positive and that their benefits outweigh their downsides. Paradoxically, Military Ranges are socially constructed places that work as strongholds where nature is protected against the destruction supposedly brought about by modern civilization (highways, malls, public works...). This strategy is aimed at the marginalization of claims by local communities. The rhetorical device constructed by the Ministry is simple: claims by local communities are symbolically not geared against the Military Range, but against the whole ethics of nature preservation (which the Ministry embodies and supports, of course). The strategy of incorporating high rank academics and scientists into their discourses is part of what Latour calls strategies of ‘rectification and institutionalization’ (2007), by which people is made familiar, black-boxed through novelty claims, tuned, standardized and finally gotten used to a specific state of affairs – a ‘regime of truth’. The case of Tabuyo and the Military Range provides a good example of the works of Official or Royal science as conceived by Deleuze. It reveals how the emancipation of scientific disciplines from power and the state is just an ideological disguise for their real performance in the support and legitimization of those (Jeanes 2006).

My study has revealed the two different ways or patterns of ordering stories deployed by different actors described by Law (Law 2004a: 111). The official one is incremental, evolutionary and undramatic. Events unfold bit by bit, problems emerge and are solved, and in the end everything seems to move on unproblematically. The second pattern is the one conveyed by local communities and activists, a sub-text or hidden transcript (Scott 1990), whose memory is preserved through oral transmission and that rarely reaches the public sphere or is able to construct a public ‘regime of truth’. This pattern of narration is heroic, romantic and discontinuous, conceiving change in qualitative terms (Law 2004a: 111). Activist groups and some political and social actors in Maragatería have struggled against the Range in different ways and through different critical strategies: from the Chomskian ‘revelation of other truths’ that uncover all the pitfalls and lies of the Range and the Army rhetoric, to the positive construction of the Teleno Mountain and Maragatería as a heritage object. Their activities are not isolated and make part of broader struggles for the demilitarization of the territory, which, as Prat argues, rarely reach the public sphere (2008).

Despite the World Heritage site of Las Médulas is only a few kilometers away from Maragatería, people in Maragatería have to witness how their own cultural assets are underestimated and their destruction officially sanctioned and tolerated. In opposition to UNESCO’s alleged task of protecting sites and monuments of universal significance, what World Heritage designations actually do according to De Cesari is to build upon national heritage traditions, reproducing, amplifying and expanding their logics and infrastructures (2010). Even Sánchez-Palencia, archaeologist of the National Research Center who achieved the World Heritage recognition for Las Médulas, openly expresses his rejection to the enhancement of cultural heritage in the Maragatería and Teleno area. For him, tourism promotion in the area should concentrate in the enhancement of the historic city of Astorga (see Almanza and Gaitero 07/10/2006).

Therefore, even if the logics of heritage construction are turned upside down in the case of El Teleno, with activists constructing heritage and the state preventing it, the fundamental imposition of transcendent models that disrupt the immanence of local communities continues. In fact, the ‘terms of the debate’, the language game and discursive regime that has become dominant is again that of heritage as metacultural construction. It does not matter anymore that people have died, that villages have lost their communal resources (which no one claims anymore), or that the potential for alternative development in the area has been curtailed. What counts now for many people is whether Maragatería and the Teleno are heritage or not, and whether these resources can bring economic benefits to the area. Meanwhile, the demographic and economic drain continues, and the issue of ‘what local communities value most’ is almost never brought to the fore neither by alternative nor official discourses.

11. The Camino de Santiago: a Self-Destroying Prophecy?

Introduction

The *Camino de Santiago* has become a self-fulfilling prophecy of development for multiple stakeholders in the north of the Iberian Peninsula. In this process, many different representations of the *Camino* have been developed and implemented in practice. Those multiple actions have resulted in the construction of the *Camino* as an official heritage entity and, for many, to its commoditization and homogenization for tourism consumption. Market ideologies clearly prevail today over other logics in the *Camino* today. The heritage machine is a strong attractor that reconfigures social and administrative functions, funds, subjectivities and agencies. However, analyzing the *Camino* proves to be a daunting task as every approach to it is forcefully reductive. It can be conceived as a complex assemblage of discourses and practices that bring together many different flows of materials, bodies and forces into a single ‘line of flight’ where all elements are intertwined and seem to make sense. My engagement with the case of Maragatería seeks to analyze how this complex assemblage of economic, technical and spiritual elements touches ground and takes on institutional and individual grip and human valence. By conceiving the *Camino* as a multiple assemblage, I aim to avoid conceiving it as a singular, fixed and stable object dominated by the powerful agencies of global, national and regional institutions. Rather, following Deleuze and Guattari, I attend at the ways these configurations are constantly reproduced and negotiated by social actors caught up in the complexities of the real world.

My account of a case study comprising some little and depopulated villages in Maragatería can be conceived as a local ‘splinter’ (Geertz 2000), but is not necessarily opposed to a global scale of events. The *Camino* is as much local as it is a ‘global form’ (Collier and Lakoff 2005). It has a significant capacity for deterritorialization and reterritorialization, to shift constantly while preserving its character and enduring as a social object (Appadurai 1996). The *Camino* can assimilate itself to new “environments, to code heterogeneous contexts and objects in terms that are amenable to control and valuation” (Collier and Ong 2005: 11). However, the *Camino* is subjected to different ‘regimes’ (Sánchez-Carretero 2012), technical infrastructures, administrative apparatuses, value assessments and to the fluctuating interests of the social stakeholders. The *Camino* is not a fixed object upon which superstructural forces impose a transcendental ordering,

nor a superficial expression of those forces. Although some specific forces work as attractors that condition its operation, the *Camino* cannot be reduced to a single logic (Collier and Ong 2005). Thus, the *Camino* is a complex, situated, contingent and heterogeneous reality that is better conceived in terms of relational emergence. When the *Camino* enters Spain from France, and moves through Navarre, Castile and León or Galicia, and when it shifts from one province or municipality to the next t, it takes on a different form in relation to the new composing forces that surround it. Thus, rather than conceiving it as a ‘product’ (e.g. Santos Solla 2002), we should think of it as a ‘co-creation’ emerging from the relational interplay of multiple actors. Accordingly, I aim to explore the different competing representations of the *Camino* as an arena of contested social relations. This arena serves as a ground for the discussion of ‘anthropological problems’ (sensu Rabinow 2008), where values of individual and collective existence are problematized or put at stake. Debates here revolve fundamentally about the issue of what does it mean to be a pilgrim. Answering the question ‘what is a pilgrim’ entails defining what is the *Camino*, and therefore how it should look like, work, and be managed, and whose subject positions and agencies should be preferred and supported within it.

As in many other aspects, the intensity of the processes analyzed in Maragatería is low. My ethnography looks at those are minor realities occurring in the area, little interventions here and there, far away from the ‘strong discourses’ (Peck and Tickell 2002) of institutions and scholars. That is, the agencies and roles of social actors are not clearly defined, while territorializations occur smoothly, like slow distillation processes. For instance, an interview with the Mayor of Santa Colomba de Somoza, the city council that governs nearly all *maragato* villages crossed by the *Camino*, does not provide significant information. The reasons for this must be sought in the poverty of city councils, and also of the Regional Government, which must deal with the management of seven World Heritage sites and holds the largest proportion of *Camino* in Spain. Also, the lack of information provided by an interview with a supposedly relevant actor in the management of the *Camino* in Maragatería is due to a feeble disembodiment between those actors and their communities. Thus, the Mayor does not build his discourse on the *Camino* as a metacultural reality, as a product for tourist consumption, or as heritage broadly. For him, as for most inhabitants of Maragatería, it is something that ‘happens to be there’, and whose relevance has increased significantly in recent years.

Therefore, it is necessary to grasp the long-term processes and the ‘tendencies’ that mark the shifts in the evolution of the ‘Camino in the area, and how it becomes territorialized in the villages (Badone and Roseman 2004). By looking in detail at these processes, issues of agency and situated notions of difference and social value arise, not only between the local population and the deterritorialized global form of the *Camino*, but most fundamentally between the own actors within the ‘mundo del Camino’ - World of the Camino. The detailed examination of the functioning of the *Camino* in Maragatería shows that investment, participation and decision-making capabilities are distributed unequally among different social actors.



Image 53. Signposts in the *Camino* path and the Rainbow symbol indicating the road to Matavenero. Source: Author.

I have drawn on ethnographic methodologies that have comprised the participation in the *Camino de Santiago* as a pilgrim, observatory participation, and interviews with different stakeholders. I interviewed the two mayors with control over villages affected by the *Camino*, along with pilgrim's shelter owners, people in charge of those shelters, and *hospitaleros* of the pilgrim shelters of Astorga, Murias de Rechivaldo, El Ganso, Rabanal del Camino, Foncebadón and Manjarín. Furthermore, I interviewed and had informal chats with dozens of pilgrims, video recording some of them. Finally, and this is usually overlooked in accounts of the *Camino*, I considered fundamental to have an 'enlarged view' of how it works as a territorializing machine. Institutions only account for the *Camino* as a set of heritage objects of a width of 30 or 100 meters at both sides of a path and a series of shelters. However, the 'mental landscapes' (Yntema 2005) of those walking it are broader. In fact, the *Camino* permeates the territories it crosses beyond the actual paths, and many people become attached (physically or emotionally) to specific sites in the process. Leaving aside the case of Matavenero, most foreign dwellers in Maragatería decided to stay, or come back afterwards, after having walked the *Camino*. Moreover, they rarely settled down in the villages situated along it.

This enlarged view of the *Camino* has consequences for spatial and urban management plans which escape the God-eye view of institutions. As a global form, the *Camino* opens up possibilities for the attraction of people that want to live in rural areas like Maragatería in contact with nature. This is precisely what the discourses on sustainable and endogenous development hold by institutions such as the LEADER project are supposedly promoting. However, my study suggests that recent developments in the management of the *Camino* and its conception as a commodified heritage product preclude the possibility of attracting those people, thus curtailing a possibility for stopping the demographic drain of the area. This is so because a detailed and qualitative analysis of their life styles shows that these subjects normally reject the logics of the market. I argue that sites like the Taberna de Gaia in Foncebadón and the Templar Knight's refuge in Manjarín are the sites where these alternative or 'minor' subjectivities take hold and start building solidarity and mutual-

aid networks that, in turn, draw further people to stay and invest their energies in the territory. I argue that these alternative subjectivities embody, or at least should be considered as, the real signified of the signifiers of sustainable development discourses (although they are excluded from them in practice). Therefore, an enlarged view of the *Camino* leads to a critique of the ‘market logics’ it is adopting. However, it goes beyond that critique to show that the potential of the *Camino* as a path towards sustainable development in Maragatería and many other rural areas of Spain is being precluded by the ignorance and mismanagement deployed by the institutions and actors in charge of it. This fact reveals the inherent hypocrisy of those actors involved both in the management of the *Camino* and in the management of rural development policies.

The *Camino de Santiago*: History and Framework as Heritage Object.

The *Camino de Santiago* is a historic trail that has been connecting Santiago de Compostela with Europe at least since medieval times. Many actors in the field consider it to be “as old as the history of humanity” (Interview 28, May 2010), a sort of flow of energy that people followed in their search for the place where the sun set and related with pre-Christian divinities and rituals. For those truly involved in the ‘Camino World’, there are as many ‘Caminos’ as people living in it. Mythical narrations, Celtic gods and medieval chronicles are mixed with Luis Buñuel’s ‘La vía Láctea’, New Age and religious beliefs, and market logics. In historic terms, the development of the route as a more or less stable path started during early medieval times. The tradition held that the body of Saint James the Apostle had been transported from the Holy Land back to Galicia, a fact that remained undiscovered until the eight century. This awakening of the Christian consciousness in relation with the presence of Saint James must be connected with the military conquests of Islam in southern Spain. In this context, the *Camino de Santiago* was part of a strategy developed by Christian forces in both France and Spain to repopulate and create a sort of safety boundary in the north of the Iberian Peninsula (Barreiro Rivas 2002; Lacarra 1951). The roads connecting Europe with Santiago de Compostela were first described during the XII century in the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, also known as *Codex Calixtinus*. The book included a guide for pilgrims and was fundamental in the growth of the number of pilgrims going to Santiago (Valiña Sampedro 1971). When the conquest of the lands held by Islamic forces in the South of Spain concluded in 1492, the relevance and affluence of pilgrims in the *Camino* decreased.

It was not until the Franco era, when the mythology around the figure of ‘Santiago Matamoros’ became a fundamental legitimizing narrative for the Franco regime, when the *Camino* regained some vitality. Accordingly, the construction of the *Camino* as a heritage object began. In 1962 the ‘French Route’ was declared part of the Artistic and Historic Heritage of Spain. In turn, the first attempt to promote the Route as a touristic product took place in 1964 (España 24/07/1964), which entailed the creation of some infrastructure and the hiring of specialized staff (Solla 2006). Soon after Spain joined the E.U., the *Camino* came to embody the idea of a transnational and multicultural Europe.

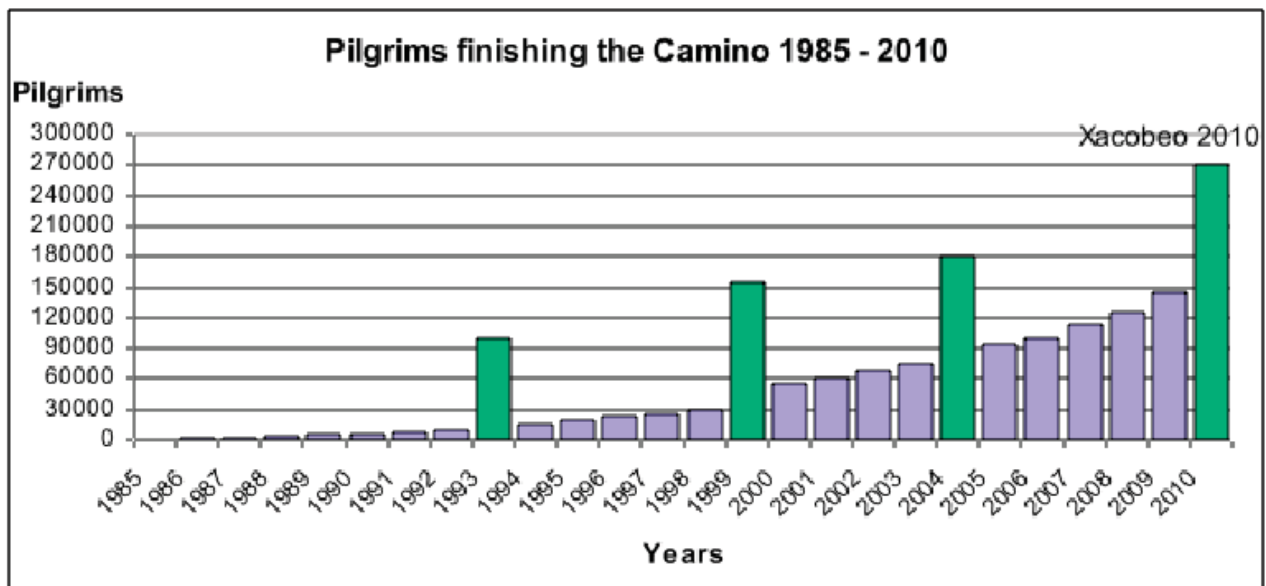


Image 54. Pilgrims finishing the *Camino* between 1985-2010. The peaks coincide with the *Xacobeo* years. Source: Kunaeva (2012)

It was considered to be a symbolic space of collective European memory and was consequently declared European Cultural Itinerary in 1987 by the European Council. This designation was afterwards expanded to Big European Cultural Itinerary in 2004. Meanwhile, it was also declared World Heritage in 1993 attending to its landscape and historic criteria, not without prompting a heated debate around the concept of heritage and the challenges that the inclusion of a Route entailed (Tresserras 2007). The fundamental problem posed by the *Camino* was that it was not an object that could be defined in physical terms, and thus its definition should forcefully remain diffuse and variable. As we will see, however, Spanish institutions stubbornly strive to impose certain physical boundaries to the *Camino* as a physical entity. The task of re-constructing the *Camino* was led by multiple Regional Governments, associations and brotherhoods of pilgrims and friends of the *Camino*, volunteers, and municipalities at the local level. Apart from the ‘mainstream’ French Route, other competing routes to Santiago have re-emerged in recent times: the Route of the North, the Via de la Plata (from Astorga to Mérida), the English Route (from La Coruña), and many other. However, in 1999 nearly 80% of the pilgrims reached Santiago through the French Route (Mouriño López 2001). The origins of this rebirth of the *Camino* lie in the initiative of Elías Valiña, the priest of O Cebreiro (Lugo), who started to paint yellow arrows along the *Camino* to guide pilgrims and to disclose the immobility of institutions in supporting the task. The celebration of ‘Jacobean years’ pushed forward the development of the *Camino*, and showed the administrations the potential for economic development held by the *Camino* (Santos Solla 1993). Since the 1990s, multiple private, public and civic bodies have emerged in relation to the *Camino*. The most powerful one is probably the ‘Jacobean Council’, whose purpose is to coordinate the actions among the different Regional Governments and the State. The overall consideration of the *Camino* as a tourism product is overtly demonstrated by the existence of a ‘Product Club’ managed by the General Secretariat of Tourism, the Spanish Federation of Municipalities and

heritage entity, other Regions have made similar random choices, from the 30 meters of width allocated to it in Galicia to the 250 of La Rioja.

Despite the commission for the revitalization of the *Camino* existed, no plan or guideline determined or defined the *Camino* explicitly. To do so, the Regional authorities started to develop the ‘Regional Plan of the *Camino* de Santiago in Castile and León’ in 2000. As of 2012, it has not been still implemented though. Nonetheless, bits and pieces of the document can be consulted online⁶². The legal figure chosen to regulate it is the ‘Regional Plan of Territorial Scope’, defined by the Law 10/1998 of Territorial Planning of Castile and León (Junta de Castilla y León 1998). The fact that the Regional Government aims to manage the *Camino* de Santiago through a spatial planning guideline is telling: it is considered as a physical element that must be defined, planned, and acted upon. Of course, this is not an easy task, which probably explains why the implementation of the plan is taking so long. Even the architects in charge of the project explain that “perhaps this is not the most suitable legislative framework to address the evaluation of, and the challenge posed by a Good of Cultural Interest [BIC] of the significance of the *Camino de Santiago*, but this is the only planning instrument of territorial scope that the Regional Government has” (Andrés Mateo and Masiá González 2011).⁶³

The Plan is permeated by traditional and essentialist notions of what heritage is and how it should be constructed and managed. The *Camino* is considered as something that exists ‘out there’ and ‘back in time’: it is considered as a physical structure from the past. Accordingly, the objective of the Plan is the “protection, recovering and revitalization” of the *Camino* (Andrés Mateo and Masiá González 2011). However, the *Camino* is not intrinsically ‘out there’, it has to be constantly re-created, performed and enacted by different actors. When institutions consider the *Camino* as a physical object, they are limiting their own agency to ‘channeling the flow’ of people through spatial planning guidelines. The concern with authenticity is another concern of traditional conceptions of heritage, which again reinforce the conception of heritage as something that is ‘out there’. However, everyone knows in any *maragato* village that some pilgrims went from Astorga to Ponferrada through the Manzanal Mountain rather than crossing Maragatería. At the local level, it is common to hear that pilgrims traditionally followed other tracks, up the hill or down through the other village. In sum, there was and there is not an authentic *Camino* in need of “protection, recovering and revitalization” (Andrés Mateo and Masiá González 2011): the *Camino* is a creation that involves a multiplicity of social actors. This process of creation involves many considerations and different elements must be taken into account.

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See:

http://www.jcyl.es/web/jcyl/MedioAmbiente/es/Plantilla100Detalle/1246988359553/_/1275395245612/Comunicacion?plantillaObligatoria=PlantillaContenidoNoticiaHome

⁶³ “No parece este quizás el marco legislativo más adecuado para abordar la problemática y valoración de un Bien de Interés Cultural de la importancia y trascendencia del Camino de Santiago, pero resulta la única herramienta de ámbito territorial con la que cuenta en ese momento el órgano autonómico.”



Image 56. Symbolic landscape of the *Camino de Santiago* just before entering Rabanal del Camino. In the stone signal there is a shell, symbol of the *Camino*, and a Rainbow symbolizing the Rainbow movement, made by people from Matavenero to indicate the way to the village. In the background, all kinds of signals comprising tourism and traffic information by different institutions: the provincial *Diputación de León*, the regional *Junta de Castilla y León*, and the multi-coloured panels funded by the *Montañas del Teleno* rural development group supported by European funds. On the right, a lonely pilgrim walks in a brand new concrete road: the materialization of the institutional views of the *Camino* as a material reality that can be rationally ordered.

Even the Plan developers must deal with this complexity and must take into account in their projects. The multiple legal frameworks and bureaucratic attempts to define the *Camino* curtail the possibility of institutions conceiving it as an unstable and diffuse entity. For instance, when developing their architectural guidelines the planners must take into account “the area declared Good of Cultural Interest number 2224/62 ... the decree 324/1999, 23 December of the *Junta de Castilla y León* (with general character and comprising a band of 100 width at each side of the *Camino*) ... the area declared World Heritage by the UNESCO, the original scope of the study fixed by the *Junta de Castilla y León*, (one kilometer at each side of the *Camino*) ... the different urban centers traversed by the *Camino* ... the urban centers not traversed by the *Camino* but located in the surroundings ... the urban centers located in the surroundings of the *Camino* that hold some significant element in typological and morphological terms” (Andrés Mateo and Masiá González 2011).

Following Latour, we must look at the agency of human and non-human elements involved in the assemblage of complex systems (2005c). This implies asking what the Plan *can really do*. From this pragmatic viewpoint, what ultimately defines ‘what the *Camino* is’ for the planners is reflected in the forms of intervention upon it that they conceive. Those can be summarized as interventions in:

- The aspect of urban centers.
- Pathways.
- Signaling.
- Landscape in broad terms.
- Connection with other relevant heritage assets (without specifying what relevant means).
- Shelters and tourism establishments.

In the absence of any other official regulations, we must consider that in the eyes of the Regional Government the *Camino de Santiago* is, on the one hand, a bunch of pathways with a specific width associated to a number of material elements (pathways, signals, houses, shelters, relevant heritage assets, etc.) and, on the other, an abstract representation of a tourism product promoted by the Secretariat of Tourism. All the intangible, emotional, behavioral and affective aspects that constitute the *experience* of the *Camino* for those walking it are not even mentioned. Neither the role of volunteers nor any other stakeholders are taken into account. The overall logic that permeates the institutional viewpoint is that “to preserve the spirit of the paths and to guarantee an adequate landscape for the different interventions implies defining the ‘character’ of the paths” (Hoyuela Jayo 2008). From this view, the paths that have an essential spirit that can and must be preserved. This essence or ‘character’ of the paths not only defines what the *Camino* is, but is also decided by a group of bureaucrats and planners. The absurdity of this viewpoint is that, as we have previously seen, the conception of what is the essential character of the paths differs from one Autonomous Community to the other. Despite the apparent incongruence of this institutional standpoint, the tasks of defining and fixing physical objects are considered essential for the stabilization of ‘official’ heritage objects (Harrison 2010), and particularly of the *Camino* as a tourist product. Multiple layers of complexity are added to the *Camino* at each territorial, institutional and political scale. Thus, each Regional Government addresses the issue from different standpoints with variable outcomes, scales of valorization, kinds of shelters, and so on. Far from guaranteeing the preservation of heterogeneity and creativity in the *Camino*, these forces work as attractors enacting ‘partial’ territorializations of the *Camino*. Consequently, it becomes a heterogeneous segmented route *with a number of internally more or less homogeneous stretches*. Of course, the reach of these territorializations depends on the financial and administrative capacity of implementing the envisaged plans. If compared with Navarre or Galicia, this capacity is really low in Castile and León owing to the extension of the Region and the poverty of its municipalities (Andrés Mateo and Masiá González 2011).

The *Camino de Santiago* in Maragatería.

Drawing on the works of Regina Bendix, Sánchez Carretero has put forward an approach to the *Camino de Santiago* in terms of ‘heritage regimes’ that intersect with certain overall logics: the market and the politics of identity (Sánchez-Carretero 2012). The main regimes that she locates can be equated with specific scales of *governmentality* (sensu Foucault 2007): the national and regional institutions, the Church, the municipalities, and the ‘local people’, whose agency might or might not be recognized in the *Camino* assemblage. In Maragatería, the low intensity of the ongoing

territorialization processes related with the *Camino* blurs these categories. The picture that arises in Maragatería is one in which certain investments – of desire, of money, of energy – made by a series of social actors – volunteers, entrepreneurs, confraternities, associations and village councils - generate a complex and multifaceted reality through the negotiation and connection with the bureaucratic and market regimes. An example of the low intensity of the territorializations implemented in the *Camino* is that the yellow arrows dating back to the 1980s are still the primary guiding elements for pilgrims in Maragatería. Moreover, the role of the municipalities of Astorga and Santa Colomba de Somoza in the management of the *Camino* is almost non-existent. Social actors in the field rarely refer to those public actors in their accounts, and if they do it is done in negative terms. The E.U. funding group *Montañas del Teleno* can be considered the fundamental actor for the territorialization of initiatives related with the *Camino*. Normally, the group partly subsidizes the rehabilitation or construction of houses that are then transformed into shelters or hostels. Those initiatives must abide to certain aesthetic and architectonic characteristics in order to maintain the supposed urban aesthetic harmony of the villages. Those are characterized by their stone *maragato* architecture in houses of one or two floors. However, despite new rural houses ‘abide’ the aesthetic rules of *maragato* architecture; they sometimes build two or more floors, disrupting the skyline of the villages.

In any case, the LEADER group is a fundamental stakeholder in the process and can embody what Carretero calls the ‘market logic’. From this standpoint, the *Camino* is considered in neoliberal terms as a resource for development and a business opportunity. The need to ‘provide a service’ for *turigrinos* – pilgrims/tourists – is normally assumed by the quintessential subject of neoliberal sustainable development policies: the ‘young entrepreneur’ – or its rural version called the ‘settler-entrepreneur’ (Vila Pons 2005). The promotion of these kinds of businesses in relation with a cultural process that is not inherently or essentially touristic reinforces the construction of the *Camino* as a tourism product. On the one hand, tourism entrepreneurs challenge the of the ‘*Camino* ethics’, an unwritten set of norms and accepted behaviors that many social actors populating the *Camino* consider to be the representation of its authentic ‘spirit’. The introduction of concepts from the market discourse such as competition, scarcity, profit margins, and so on, is considered alien to these ethics. On the other hand, these profit-seeker actors create associations that put pressure on municipalities and the Regional Government to influence decision-making about the management and marketing of the *Camino*.

The second logic described by Carretero, the politics of identity, is not active in Maragatería. To my knowledge, the rhetoric of identity used as a rhetoric strategy to build community and reinforce social bonds is not employed by any actor in the territory. To frame what has been going on in the last two decades in Maragatería we should add a ‘minor logic’, understood in the Deleuzo-Guattarian sense of becoming-minor as elaborated in *Kafka: Towards a Minor Literature* (1975). In my account, I will conceive of the Templar Knight’s settlement in Manjarín as a sample of becoming-minor. Minor social actors and logics do not embody the fixed identities of minority groups that affirm themselves in symmetrical and dialectical opposition with the major identities embodied by the State or the dominant groups. In other groups, they do not operate through the logics of identity. They affirm otherness and alterity (rather than difference) without reinstating anything, and thus pave the way for the emergence of other temporalities, properties, qualities and becomings. Against the striating forces of the market and the State, minor subjectivities create

alternative places and smooth spaces (see Bonta and Protevi 2004). These ‘minor logics’ generate parallel discursive arenas where alternative counter-discourses circulate (Fraser 1994: 291). Those alternative discourses concern the *Camino de Santiago* and the image of the legitimate pilgrim. Ultimately, they strive to create alternative worldviews and territories that work as attractors for many people whose subjectivities are in tune with those deployed by the minor actors. Accordingly, people start to stick to these spaces and to settle in nearby areas or in neighboring villages. Of course, these minor logics and projects tend to be expelled by the heritage machine driven by market and institutional logics.

The Revitalization Process and the Political Economy of Shelters.

The stories of local people in Maragatería confirm the narration of the revitalization of the *Camino* presented before. The elders recall the times when “only five or ten pilgrims passed by each year, doing the *Camino* as they could” (Interview 65, July 2010). Maxi Arce, a *maragato* drummer, was part of a local association created to take care of pilgrims and manage the *Camino* during the Franco times. During the 1960s and 1970s, “pilgrims stayed in the communal assets, in the school for instance... or in the church. Sometimes I had to shelter some of them at home. At the time in Rabanal [del Camino] was almost completely depopulated, there was nothing, not even a bar” (Interview 10B, August 2010). Then, during the early 1980s, the number of pilgrims increased steadily. At the beginning, they could only use the shelters managed by the *Juntas Vecinales* or local councils, and the church or religious shelters. Normally, these did not have heating and the infrastructure was rather poor. The role of brotherhoods, associations and religious communities has been fundamental in the area during the period of revitalization.

For instance, the British Confraternity of Saint James was created by a group of people that wanted to “give something back” to the *Camino*. Therefore, during the early 1990s, they “put money to rebuild a house in Rabanal, because there was no site to stay here after Astorga... in 1996 pilgrims were still scared to go through Rabanal [del Camino] and Foncebadón. Up there [Foncebadón] it was abandoned and there were only dogs and sheep” (Interview 66, July 2010). Since the 1990s onwards, the Confraternity has run a shelter in Rabanal del *Camino* supported by its 2.000 international members. Concerning the political economy of the shelter, they do not charge any fixed rate, only accepting donations because they consider that “this is the spirit of the *Camino*” (Interview 66, July 2010). In addition, the Benedict Monks of the Monastery of Saint Otilia (Germany) settled down in Rabanal del *Camino* in 2001. Former *posadas* that had closed down long ago became brand-new restaurants, and now during the summer Rabanal del *Camino* is a lively village. This revitalization process ran in parallel with the return of many migrants to the village and the reconstruction of houses as second residences.

Despite institutional claims affirming that they carry out outreach activities in order to promote the values of the *Camino* among local people, it remains largely considered as an alien element to them. This is partially so because entrepreneurs opening restaurants and hotels are mostly foreign, and thus people do not see how the *Camino* benefits them. When asked about the influence of the *Camino* in the economic situation of the village the common response is that “this thing, the *Camino*, this does not help, it does not bring anything here. Murias [de Rechivaldo] was repopulated when the mines opened in Astorga for example. But this thing, the shelters and all, that

does not produce anything [*no da nada*]” (Interview 65, June 2010). Talking about the *Camino* normally raises sardonic or ironic responses that reveal a sometimes hidden and sometimes overt rejection of it. When asked about whether he had done a stretch of the *Camino* some time in his life, Paco, from Murias de Rechivaldo, replied: “Yes, of course, I have done them many times. Every day, with the sheep, up and down the paths” (Interview 67, June 2010).

The separation between local communities and the *Camino* shows how it is becoming an entity increasingly deterritorialized from the local context. This deterritorialization is promoted by the market logics, which tend towards the rationalization of the journey and its compartmentalization according to means of transport, financial resources and interests. According to the market logic, the *Camino* becomes a set of points (shelters, restaurants, pilgrim’s shops and heritage sites) connected by lines (paths). Clearly, this view of the *Camino* is in tune with the vision of it promoted by Regional institutions: what matters is to stabilize the *Camino* around certain physical entities so as rational calculations enable the stabilization of profit making as well. In any case, the *Camino* cannot be considered the sole or the primary factor explaining the revitalization of the villages. Furthermore, villages are almost empty from September to April when pilgrim’s shelters close down and holidaymakers go back to urban centers. This evolution has been similar in most villages of the lower Maragatería where the market logics have applied: Murias de Rechivaldo, Rabanal del Camino, El Ganso and Santa Catalina, but not in the higher areas of Foncebadón and Manjarín.

The Political Economy of Shelters: the Market Logics.

Shelters are nodal points in the *Camino*. However, they have been largely overlooked in the otherwise scarce literature on the topic. There are different kinds of shelters, from the early elementary refuges created by local churches and councils, to the municipal refuges like the one in Astorga, to humble private refuges, hostels or luxurious hotels. Shelters can be framed as contact zones, the spaces “in which transculturation takes place – where two different cultures meet and inform each other” (Pratt 1991). Despite in the shelters there are usually more than two cultures in dynamic interaction, what I want to emphasize is that they serve to articulate the relations between territorialized social actors of the *Camino* (volunteers, *hospitaleros*, shelter owners, etc.), institutions, the market logics, and the pilgrims. Thus, the shelters are fundamental sites for the performance, negotiation and the relational emergence of the identities of the *Camino*. Pilgrims share and discuss with territorialized subjects, especially with the *hospitaleros*, evaluations of what is a good pilgrim a good shelter, and the ultimate sense of the *Camino*. For instance, it is not the same to stay in a shelter that lives on voluntary donatives than in another that fixes a price. The former establishes a relation based on ethics. Accordingly, the pilgrim is expected to be grateful for the hospitality received and is in turn thanked by the hosts for being willing to share time and space with them and other pilgrims. In contrast, the latter establishes an interested, service or instrumental relation mediated by the market logic. Instead of a community of guests and hosts, there is a relation between a product/service and a consumer/individual. Consequently, the consumer can expect and demand a quality in accordance with the price paid. The kinds of experiences deriving from these two kinds of relations are different. The former leads to the creation of reciprocity bonds based on human relations. The latter results in a constant interplay of judgments and evaluations

between rational consumers and producers, and thus to a market logics of competition that reinforce the instrumentalist reason. This is precisely what ‘existential’ pilgrims consider inauthentic and unethical in the becoming-tourism of the *Camino*: notions of authenticity are bounded to self-reflection, humbleness, mysticism and the idea of sharing rather than on judging.



Image 57. Pilgrims at the *Albergue Parroquial* – Parish shelter – of Foncebadón. Although many other actors have joined the ‘Camino world’, the Church remains a powerful stakeholder in it, especially for those who walk the Camino for religious reasons. Source: Author.

The issue of shelters is a matter of heated debate within the ‘Camino world’ that goes beyond pilgrim’s experience to reach the public sphere through the mass media. Conflicts revolve fundamentally around pricing and the employment of volunteers. Many municipal, church and private businesses-oriented shelters employ volunteers even though most of them receive public subsidies or make profit from their activities. This is considered an unethical aberration by those who operate in a non-profit basis within the *Camino*. Moreover, declaring to be a shelter and not a tourism business enabled many undercover entrepreneurs to avoid taxation, paying insurances, and passing institutional quality checks. Despite most volunteers usually worked with good will without claiming any benefit for them during years, working mostly in exchange of bed, food and drink, the situation seemed unfair for many. The huge variety of shelters and situations rendered the issue opaque and complex, and led many entrepreneurs to make huge benefits. Market logics prevailed and most shelters were, and are, close from September to April, leaving pilgrims without chances of finding a place to sleep because the traditional forms of solidarity are disappearing. The market logic contributes to the disappearance of these forms of solidarity precisely because it operates on an scarcity basis: profit seeking shelters are only open during summer, when the number of pilgrims/tourists is high and they are profitable. In doing so, they deplete the revenues of non-profit shelters that used to live the year round on the profits made from the summer profit. Therefore, the problem that arises is that the market and minor are not two complimentary logics that can coexist in the *Camino*, but rather that the former gradually erodes the latter. In addition, in doing so, it tends to transform the *Camino* in a rational and one-dimensional activity and cultural process, thus contributing to its homogenization and, in the long run, to its depletion as a tourism product.

Furthermore, forms of solidarity are eroded because of the arrival of many subjects that are not pilgrims to the *Camino*, which makes people distrust from them. In the *maragato* villages, it is a general opinion that “now no one would let pilgrims at home or in the church. People is afraid of robberies and no one knows what kind of person is sheltering” (Interview 10A, August 2009). Trying to bring some order to the matter, the Regional Government of Castilla y León started to legislate on the issue in 2009 (see Junta de Castilla y León 2009). Accordingly, three categories of shelters were created: those of one Shell⁶⁴, who could charge up to five euro, and those of two and three Shells offering more services and charging more than five euro. The Regional Government avoided making explicit the difference between non-profit shelters based on hospitality and for-profit businesses in the *Camino*. This concealment is fundamental for the continuation of private profits within shelter political economy, by not letting pilgrims know what their choices are beforehand. The confusion of pilgrims, especially foreigners, is amplified by the fact that each Autonomous Community has a different policy on shelters as well. Normally, pilgrims start to understand the shelter system (if they do at all) at the end of the journey. On the other hand, the positive aspect of the law is that it forced for-profit establishments to legally hire and pay benefits for volunteers, to pay taxes, and to be subject to quality controls. Of course, this caused the wrath of entrepreneurs. The Regional Entrepreneur Association of Castilla and León complained bitterly, and then menaced the Regional Government to go on strike. As this situation was going on during winter in 2010, a volunteer sarcastically told me that it would not be a problem if private shelters went on strike, because “to go on strike they have to be open first!” (Interview 68, February 2010). The notion that private shelters are closed during winter is not only a perception held by volunteers, but a proven reality (see Radio Televisión de Castilla y León 29/01/10).

The representative of the Entrepreneur Association argued that “no administration had legislated on the sector hitherto and it had worked perfectly until now” and that the legislation “has not been agreed with the *alma mater* of the *Camino*, which is represented by the shelters” (quoted in Almanza 29/01/2010). Moreover, he thought that by letting non-profit shelters to charge low prices the Regional Government was doing a “disservice to pilgrims, as low prices draw many homeless people to the *Camino de Santiago*”. Finally, he foresaw the end of the *Camino* as we know it on the grounds that “only church shelters will survive and pilgrims will stop coming” (quoted in Almanza 29/01/2010). His views of the *Camino* are a clear reflection of the market logics. The *alma mater* of the *Camino* – as a tourist product, of course – are the shelters offering ‘quality services’. In addition, there are social segmentations in relation to legitimate individuals who can or cannot do the *Camino*: homeless people should not be allowed. It remains to see what he considers to be a homeless person, as he might be including in his definition many ‘alternative’ travelers not willing to pay for expensive residences, and not only people who do not have a home. This contrasts with the approach of most people I have interviewed, working in shelters or shops, for whom “all pilgrims are pilgrims, disregarding their social condition” (Interview 69, July 2010). They underscore the idea that in the *Camino* everybody is welcomed, and that an equalitarian ethos should prevail among pilgrims disregarding social origin. Nonetheless, the market logics continue to prevail, and even the measures put forward by the Regional Government have only been superficially applied.

⁶⁴ The shell is one of the symbols of the *Camino de Santiago*.

However, the market logics are not neutrally applied to the *Camino*. Normally, entrepreneurs settled in the *Camino* have had a special relation with it in some way, which makes things more complex. The case of a shelter in Murias de Rechivaldo provides a good example of these complex entanglements⁶⁵. There, I spent some days observing the workings of the shelter, coming back to visit in different occasions for three years, and interviewing the owner and different volunteers who worked there. One of the volunteers hired the shelter to the owner for six months and then gave it back to him. The story of the owner is one typical of the ‘Camino world’:

“I got the drug of the Camino, the healthy drug. I did it three times, first from Astorga by myself, then with a church collective and then again alone from Roncesvalles. I liked it so much that I was hooked, I wanted to keep living in that world, and I became hospitalero [volunteer]. I had been treated well and I wanted to give it back to the Camino, and that is how I started. First, I stayed in Burgos for some years, then in Logroño, and then in Hospital de Órbigo... Then, after many years of living that way, my sons wanted to build a shelter for me to attend. They said to me: ‘why don’t you stay here, close to your wife and close to the Camino?’ And then they bought this maragato house, and we got a subsidy from the LEADER to restore it. And it has been five years since then already. And thanks for the support of the volunteers, here we are, struggling to endure in the Camino” (Interview 70, August 2009).

He had established a sort of ‘School for Volunteers’, and thus people worked in his shelter in exchange for a bed, food and drink. However, they did not last long there. An ex-volunteer from Astorga bitterly complained that “he used to give me food and drink, but then he said I could only have water, not even a coke. All this even though I play the violin and the bagpipe, and played all nights for the pilgrims for free while they were having dinner, and they were all happy and leaving good comments online and in the visitors’ book. And I was actually running the place: he wouldn’t even pass by, and I know that in July and August he was making a lot of money there... So I said: man, go to hell, and I left” (Interview 68, February 2009). However, volunteers abound and others would come after him. During another interview with the owner, two volunteers were present. He had ‘recruited’ one of them in Hospital de Órbigo, and the other from the public shelter of Foncebadón. The latter had made the *Camino* for the first time after making a promise when his father died from meningitis: “that is, to do the *Camino* without money. Then I was hooked and came back to Bilbao on foot and back again to Santiago though the Northern Route. Then I was running the local refuge in Foncebadón for a while, at the time when there were only a shepherd and his mother living there... for me there are no differences, the homeless and the bishop, they are all pilgrims” (Interview 71, July 2010). The owner of the shelter talked in similar terms: “I do not care whether they are hippies or priests, I attend everyone equally, and that is the key of the Camino: everything must be the same for all” (Interview 70, August 2009). This contrast between an overtly progressive discourse based the values of solidarity and fellowship, and microfascistic practices in terms of shelter management, is surprisingly common in the *Camino* among shelter owners. However, the overall positive attitude of the owner changed when I asked about the independent shelter projects going on around the *Camino* in Foncebadón and Manjarín. The volunteer who had worked in Foncebadón talked positively about the relations between the ‘hippie’ community of Matavenero, the restaurants, and shelters in Foncebadón, and about the Templar

⁶⁵ I will keep the identities of the place, the owner and the volunteers secret as it still exists.

Knight's settlement in Manjarín. However, the owner angrily took the word cutting him off, and explained his viewpoint on the whole issue arguing that he 'knew more' than the volunteer because Tomás – the Templar Knight and leader of the project in Manjarín – was from his village (Murias de Rechivaldo):

“This guy, he got to Manjarín in 1993. And he does not charge anything for sleeping in his shelter. He saw a bunch of abandoned stables and moved into them. He says he is a templar knight, and does templar weddings, he does all he wants. He is not registered [as a self-employed entrepreneur], he does not have running water or anything and they have repeatedly tried to get him off the Camino. All he has is for pilgrims, yes, but if he gives you a glass of water, you cannot tell whether it is black or transparent, I mean, cleanliness is conspicuously absent there... and he lives from donatives! And it has been repeatedly demonstrated that the Camino cannot work through donatives!... and I have seen these people [the ‘hippies’] serving meals in Foncebadón, in that place... Gaia, the tavern of Gaia... and just looking at their nails you can tell how they live” (Interview 70, August 2009).

In his view, notions of ‘dirtiness’ are conflated with ‘illegality’, which results in claims against the legitimacy of certain social actors to be part of the *Camino*. Despite the projects in Foncebadón and Manjarín are different, and they have nothing to do with the ‘hippie’ village of Matavenero, they are also related with the ‘hippies’, which are the paramount representation of the illegitimate others (atheists, dirty, hybrid, impure, etc.). He feels outraged because Tomás lives on donatives, a fact that makes him more authentic within the scale of values of the ‘Camino world’ in which he would like to be valued as well. When he affirms that it is not possible to live on donatives he is contravening himself, because Tomás lives on donatives since 1993, and he was actually telling me so. But he is referring to market logics, not to the logic of the *Camino* ethics: it is not possible to make profits on donatives. Thus we should add that the *Camino* does not work on donatives, when ‘work’ means to make money. He was not alone in his views of the *Camino*, as other shelter owners in El Ganso and Santa Catalina held similar views about the shelters in Foncebadón and Manjarín, although they were less explicit in their statements.

Minor Territories in the *Camino de Santiago*.

Since the 1960s, Foncebadón and Manjarín had been abandoned during the rural exodus to the urban centers in Spain. Today, they have been revitalized to a certain extent. When Enrique Notario, an ‘organic local intellectual’ (Jones 1970) started to visit Foncebadón in the middle 1990s, *“There was only an ancient woman and her son there. They had done as other farmers in Maragatería in abandoned villages: they had transformed the houses into stables, and the church as well, which I tried to buy... I started to discover the magical character of the place and that Foncebadón was the Monte Irago, a sacred place where one of the mythic geese of the Camino was situated. I thought I wanted to build something there, a place where people could gather and talk. And I decided to create a medieval tavern”* (Interview 28, May 2010).

He had knowledge as a wood and stone artisan, and started to build the place slowly and alone, digging the foundations, working the oak beams and the stones and raising the structure bit by bit.



Image 58. One of the buildings of the *Taberna de Gaia*, in Foncebadón (left), and Enrique Notario (right), who created the place on his own and started the process of repopulation of the abandoned village. Source: author.

He did all by himself without any public or private subsidy, because he wanted to preserve his independence. “Subsidies? I do not want them! No one ever helped me, and I do not want it. I’m not an NGO you know? I have a business of medieval hostelry, and I want it to be as it is. I haven’t done it for the *Camino* or for the pilgrims; I’ve created it for people, for human beings” (Interview 28, May 2010).

When the farmers left Foncebadón he remained alone, but during the 2000s, some people started to think on the business possibilities of the place, and two private hostels were created next to his tavern. Also, some people rebuilt houses and live there now, especially in summer time. Notario complains about the lack of respect for the environment and for the symbolism of the place that some recent projects subsidized by E.U. have. He does not condemn a business approach; he considers that everything is business today in a world permeated by capitalist relations, what matters for him is how and for what those relations are constructed. That is, he thinks that there are different kinds of businesses.

“I don’t like how Foncebadón is changing. My approach [to building and business] is one that respects the symbolism and the surrounding landscape, the past of the place. Look around and see if the new things created have something to do with the local stuff. All this is just done for the hell of it, around an alleged business that is called Camino de Santiago. When people say: ‘the Camino de Santiago is becoming a business’... well, look, that is not the problem. The problem is what kind of business: this is becoming a tricky business, a business with cheaters, and that is the negative side of it. This has become an issue of eating cheap, sleeping cheap and walking fast.... People say: ‘we are going to recover a medieval route’. That is not true. That [the past] has nothing to do with this. This has simply become a seedy business” (Interview 28, May 2010).

The epistemological shift implied by Notario’s viewpoint on the *Camino* is clear. The problem is not commoditization, a reality that is all encompassing today, but the kinds of relations

established with the *Camino*. And the behavior that those relations promote. That is, what kind of pilgrim and what kind of *Camino* is being created by this novel configuration of it.

“What does it mean to ‘be a pilgrim’? If you want to walk, you can walk all over, and wherever! No, no, people say: ‘I go to Santiago!’ Well, what is it about, what is the point, getting to Santiago, or absorbing the Camino? Is it about learning or about reaching some place? If it is about getting to Santiago, you can go by plane, by car, as you want. In the past, people went to Santiago as quick and as comfortably as they could afford. Bishops would never walk the Camino centuries ago. They would go in chariots or whatever, and if they would have had a Mercedes, they would have gone with it” (Interview 28, May 2010).

From his standpoint, the *Camino* has an autonomous and independent status, it is something that can be learnt and absorbed, rather than something that can be merely walked. Therefore, his view of the *Camino* inverts the vision of public institutions: it is an spiritual journey rather than a physical one. But, at the same time, he also criticizes that the *Camino* has become a sort of postmodern internal journey permeated by neoliberal logics of individualism. He goes beyond the tourist-pilgrim dichotomy to show that even pious travelers are pervaded with the same logics of neo-Puritanism (see Hitt 2005) that stress the virtues of physical pain (Egan 2010), the rational and individual achievement of some goals (often through an ‘internal journey’), and ultimately the values of privation and exclusivity. He does not define the real pilgrimage as a search for spiritual or internal enlightenment, a kind of self-discovery (Slavin 2003), but as the creation of a symmetrical relation of respect among pilgrims and with the *Camino*. He refrains to define an archetypal pilgrim, as he does not consider this subject to exist because the present *Camino* is not the *Camino* of the past. Thus, for him the central problem of the *Camino* is not the much talked and insisted upon dichotomy between tourists and pilgrims (Smith 1981), but the sense and meaning of the *Camino* as a whole. Eade and Sallnow (1991) consider that pilgrimage cannot be set outside social structures. Alternative discourses of the *Camino* are concerned with establishing alternative sets of acceptable values that oppose the official ones. Despite this argument is broadly accurate, it remains too tightly tied to a hermeneutic reading of the process. We must consider discourses and statements as signs that trigger material processes in the social field (Protevi 2006). Thus, what matters is not that much the *cultural representations* of the *Camino* and the pilgrims that both discourses establish, but what kind of social segmentations and striations generate *in practice*.

The market logics promote a rationalization and individualization of the *Camino* that leads pilgrims into rational calculations (how to *plan* the *Camino*) and economy-mediated relations that become exclusivist. Segmentary exclusions are enacted: not everybody is or should be a pilgrim or be in the *Camino*, neither hippies, homeless, poor or ‘weird’ people like Tomás. That is, those who have low economic resources are not ‘desired subjects’ in the *Camino*. On the contrary, the alternative sets of values supported by people like Enrique Notario do not entail exclusions, but open-ended inclusions aiming at the affirmation of an imagined landscape where a communitarian ethos prevails. The axis of the fundamental terms of the debate shifts from the dichotomy between pilgrims and tourists. Scholars like Smith have developed typologies (1981) where they equate pilgrimage with piety and a sacred character, while tourism was considered a profane and secular activity.

Religious product	Dominant religious meaning	Tourism modification of religious meaning
<i>(a) Visiting the shrine and its ceremonies</i>		
Santiago de Compostela	Pilgrimage destination	City of culture
Cathedral of Santiago	Prayer: worship	Heritage attraction
Feast Day of St James and the <i>botafumeiro</i>	Ritual	Special event tourism
Holy Years	Prayer	Themed tourism
Relic touching	Devotion	Good luck/the 'wishing well'
<i>(b) Travelling the routes</i>		
The Compostela	Expiation	Certificate of achievement
Pilgrim ways	Penance, punishment	Self renewal, off-road adventure trails
Pilgrim shrines	Prayer, expiation	Architectural heritage
Pilgrim hospice	Sanctuary	<i>parador</i>
Scallop shell	Pilgrim	Product branding logo

Image 59. Tourism and Religious meanings in the *Camino de Santiago*. Source: Graham and Murray (1997).

Graham and Murray (1997) argue that “the difficulty with this scheme lies in the nature of piety and the multilayered meanings of pilgrimage in a secular age in which ‘holy’ and ‘pious’ no longer define the ‘spiritual’. Thus the search for personal consciousness and meaning far transcends the realm of the religious and pilgrimage becomes the product of a multiplicity of motivations, attitudes, and behavioral mindsets” (Graham and Murray 1997: 401). The problem for me is that his account deals with the ‘composed’ form of the pilgrim as a stable character, and not as a changing and hybrid identity. As Tomás puts it, “pilgrims do not exist, they are forged during the Camino” (Interview 29A, January 2012). That is, the pilgrim subjectivity emerges relationally along the *Camino*, in the interplay between policies, politics, shelters, volunteers and many other factors. The ‘forging’ of a pilgrim has nothing to do with some ‘rite of passage’ as some scholars would have it (e.g. Feinberg 1989), but with issues of agency and empowerment: what kind of interactions are at work in the interplay between the *Camino* and the walkers and what kinds of subjectivities emerge in the process? In Deleuzian terms, this would mean that we should analyze not the composed forms (the pilgrim) but the composing forms behind the construction of pilgrims. Pilgrims invest their energies and desire – their will to connect with other forces and subjects– in the *Camino*, but the *Camino* is a structure that can redirect these energies towards bounded market relations of exchange, or towards open-ended relations of solidarity and commonality.

Here again we must move back to the contact zones of the *Camino*, the shelters. Those are also the contested sites of the pilgrimage (Digance 2003). In this regard, Enrique defends Tomás from those criticizing his project of developing an alternative shelter:

“Who these people think they are to judge Tomas? Tomás is authentic; he is a person who believes in what he says and keeps his word, when he raises his sword, when he does Templar weddings and when he sees the Virgin. The others [shelter owners] affirm say the same. They are in the Camino because they thought they were going to do a great business, and everything they do is subsidized” (Interview 28, May 2010).

The situation in Majarín differed slightly from Foncebadón because it had been completely abandoned. The village is situated at 1.450 meters of altitude and the soils are frozen during nearly half of the year. Life was difficult there and the road only arrived during the 1970s when a military base was established nearby. When the road was built, the village underwent a looting that left the abandoned but locked houses devoid of furniture, doors, beams and any valuable material. In 1993,

Tomás decided to open a shelter in Manjarín. He had been a trade unionist during the democratic transition in Madrid. Also, he had recently become a member of the ‘Renewed Order of the Temple’, an organization with hundreds of members throughout Europe. He visited Manjarín and found a half-ruined shelter (not a bunch of abandoned stables as people say in the area) in a place where many pilgrims struggled during winter. “I thought it was necessary to be there to give them a coffee, shelter, and heating” (Interview 29B, July 2009). He proudly states that his initial investment of 8.000 pesetas in 1993 has already served to provide shelter, breakfast, lunch and dinner for more than 52.000 pilgrims. Tomás reconstructed the site bit by bit, working the land and living on donatives. Some people started to join him and built attached houses to provide more services for pilgrims: toilets, dormitories, and so on.



Image 60. On the left, some pilgrims leave their stone in the *Cruz del Ferro*, a benchmark in the *Camino de Santiago* located between Foncebadón and Manjarín. According to the tradition, each pilgrim should leave a stone in the cross mound. Today, however, people leave all kinds of objects: letters, pictures, shoes, love letters, company or personal ads, etc. Tomás, the Templar from Manjarín, affirms that he removes kilos of rubbish each fortnight from the cross. Source: Author.

I stayed with them in many occasions and visited them frequently between 2008 and 2012. The place has a friendly and cozy atmosphere, with a large kitchen and a dormitory for the ‘knight-monks’ and a covered common area for pilgrims. Alcohol and brand drinks like Coca-Cola are forbidden. The site is managed like a convent with strict timetables: working the land, taking care of the animals, and serving breakfast in the morning, praying and meditation, cleaning, serving lunch, and so on. People in the place oscillated between four and eight. Some of them were from the Templar’s Order, others would just love the place and stay for a while helping Tomás, or were just homeless people in need of a shelter. The ‘second in command’ is a person from the Basque Country who treats Tomás as a teacher and spiritual leader. He is a mason and is absent during long

periods in which he builds churches and refuges throughout Europe. Other two stable members of the community are a cook and an artisan. The cook normally stays in the background and is not a full-member of the community because, as Tomás argues, he is doing penitence from some sin he did in the past. They all live there during winter, “reading and doing life like in a monastery, living with the minimum” (Interview 29C, August, 2010). They are Universalist Catholics, that is, they tolerate all religions and people of all kinds in their refuge. Meals and beds are free. They live on donatives and on the support provided by the members of the Templar’s Order, and from people who subsidizes them to “give back what they were given here” (Interview 29C, August, 2010). What they do in Manjarín goes beyond the shelter activities.

“Apart from the shelter there is agriculture, animals, and the Order of the Temple, whose fundamental objective is to protect the pilgrims above all without asking anything in return, contrary to the savage commercialization that prevails today; if they want to leave donatives they can. In fact, it is precisely those who cannot leave the donatives that are in need of more attention and care. And as the institutions have included the Camino in their tourism marketing campaigns, this is now crowded of people who are not pilgrims, they may only learn to be so when they reach Santiago. They might come with the car and stop by before reaching the shelter, and come here walking and spending the night here for free, thus taking a bed away from a real pilgrim... Most people today do the Camino stopping only in restaurants and bars, and many volunteers do this to earn money as well” (Interview 29B, July 2009).

He is well aware of international, national and county politics, analyzing them in detail and harshly criticizing all things related with the *Camino*. He knows that “people in the lower Maragatería say that our place is full of crap in order to encourage pilgrims to stay in their shelters. Those people should be wiped away from the Camino, because all these shelters treat pilgrims badly and have people working for them for free. They are undercover businesses... The Church could have prevented this state of things by encouraging the control and management of the *Camino* by associations; that is how it should work. But you know, the Church also wants to line its pockets. And that is how it goes. They are creating a showcase rather than supporting a concrete reality. But if they want to invest millions in tourism they should go to the Costa Brava and go away from the Camino” (Interview 29C, August, 2010).

His knowledge on the *Camino* is vast, and he recounts dozens of stories of pilgrims going through pains during the winter due to the lack of shelters. “In 1993 it was authentic; pilgrims would be sheltered in churches, in houses, by the local councils. But now these does not happen anymore, local people do not see it anymore as a human issue, as someone needing a shelter, but as a business and thus something alien to them” (Interview 29B, July 2009). He is convinced that the crisis and the new policies of the Regional Government on shelters will work as a sieve, that most undercover tourism business will have to close and that the *Camino* will recover its authenticity. The values of competition and corporatism are eroding this authenticity, but “the *Camino* has a life on its own, and it will be sooner or later managed by pilgrims again” (Interview 29B, July 2009). He repeatedly asserts that the authentic pilgrims are those who are ‘spiritual’. It is to help those pilgrims that he considers worth suffering in Manjarín during winter and keep going with his refuge. He complains about people who come searching for a miracle, thinking that the *Camino* will solve their problems just for the sake of it, as an external redemption. He underscores that

'miracles' only occur through effort, solidarity and reciprocal support. However, 'spiritual' does not straightforwardly relate here to intended divisions between sacred and profane sites. Spiritual relates to an attitude, to the pilgrims' 'being open' to receive and give back, to be willing to share and cooperate. Only by following this 'ethical-political' stance can people become pilgrims on the way.

He observes that in his place pilgrims are happy, away from superficial commodities. "Here there is spirit, there is a space for sharing... look at them [the pilgrims], there is no television, no rock music, no computers, nothing. But they are sitting there, chatting, knowing each other, just calm. That is it!" (Interview 29D, June 2011). In fact, the visual economy and structure of the place leads pilgrims to share place and time. They are normally received by some member of the shelter and invited to join them for a drink or for a meal. There are no individual tables, just one big, squared table where people sit down while chatting, drinking or eating. Those few who have not read about Tomás and his place in their guides – paradoxically, he is marketed as one of the 'spiritual' cornerstones of the *Camino* in connection with the *Cruz de Ferro* site - start asking him about his history and the history of the place. His templar masses have become a tourism attraction and some pilgrims adjust their timetables to get to Manjarín early in the morning and see them. Tomás is well aware of his commoditization for tourism purposes and does not like it. He has prohibited taking pictures or videos during the mass. Also, everyday he tries to break the consideration of 'spectacle' (Beeman 1993) that his masses have achieved. This transformation is related to the tourism promotion of the *Camino*, as tourism tends to transform real places into images (Knudsen and Greer 2008). Also, it has to do with the modern and western insistence of the visual and the separation between object and subject. In fact, for the spectator "the spectacle is made distant from the self, since color and images are objectified "out there" by the seeing eye" (Herzfeld 2001: 269). The transformation of real life into images tends to homogenize them, as spectacles "reproduce the bureaucratic concern with the outward replication of order" (Idem: 269). In fact, spectacles "are declaratives, sometimes imperatives, but rarely interrogatives" (Handelman 1990: 41-8). Tomás tries to break with this state of things by breaking the separation between he and his colleagues and the public. Thus, during and after the mass, members of the community start hugging spectators, drawing them into the event and forcing them to abandon their passive attitudes to join the event.

That people keep good memories of the place is confirmed by the large amount of postcards and letters Tomás receives. He proudly affirms that more than thirty-five marriages originated in Manjarín, and showed me the letters with the photos sent by the couples who had met there, during the long nights spent chatting in the shared spaces of the shelter. Even two of those couples decided to get married in Manjarín as a symbolic gesture towards Tomás. During my fieldwork, I interviewed many pilgrims. Most of them complained about the apparent commoditization of the *Camino*, that they felt they were being treated like commodities and that if the situation carried on like that the spirit of the *Camino* will be destroyed. They emphasized the shifting perceptions and internal transformations that walking the *Camino* imply. Most of them refer to the multiple temporalities and rhythms. When asked about their best moments during the *Camino* they normally refer to situations in which their 'standard' patterns of behavior are truncated by unpredicted situations. This is what Deleuze and Guattari conceived as 'lines of flight', situations in which changes in the self and in the affective environment are likely to occur (1987: 55). For Connolly,

different rhythms and temporalities generate different territorializations. Therefore, the preservation of those variable times and spaces guarantees sociodiversity and facilitates the advent of productive encounters between people. These “dissonances between zones of time help to nourish a certain modesty about what you are and a spirit of presumptive generosity toward other constituencies” (2007: 142-3). The affective responses of pilgrims in both Foncebadón and Manjarín, their behavior and attitudes during interviews and informal chatting, the comments they leave online and the feedback they send by post are a clear sample of this. However, the Templar settlement of Manjarín is viewed as a hindrance by public institutions and other shelter owners, who consider that he is ‘breaking the laws’ of the *Camino* and that he should be expelled from it.



Image 61. Some details of the *Encomienda del Temple* – Templar outpost – in Manjarín. The growing community of Manjarín revolves around the figure of Tomás. They follow a form of monastic rule, considering themselves Universalist Christians, open to people from all races and religions. Staying in the shelter and meals are free for pilgrims. The shelter survives on a donation basis, demonstrating that other forms of managing the *Camino* based on solidarity and not on individual profit making can work. Source: Author.

Tomás bitterly complains about the huge public investments made in tourism business and infrastructures in the area, while he has to carry on without running water. The municipality of Santa Colomba de Somoza refuses to provide them with a fountain or to purify the water of the existing Roman fountain. “The only thing they have done has been to put a signal in the fountain saying ‘Non-Potable Water’. People have been drinking that water for centuries, but well..., now we have to spend most of our resources in buying mineral water. And this implies taking a car, paying the fuel, and so on... they did not want us to be inscribed in the municipal census, and only did that when a judge on duty [who did not know who they were] worked for a few days in court” (Interview 29B, July 2009). When the municipal government started procedures to expel them from

the Camino, they even wrote the Royal House, which supported their rights to be there against the city council. Tomás proudly shows a letter from the Royal House that he wedges against the municipal government of Santa Colomba de Somoza to ground his legitimacy to be in the *Camino*. Some of his claims are framed in terms of heritage, for instance when he refers to the old communal lands of the villages, the houses and its materials. That is, heritage has for him the traditional and literal meaning concerning communal and familial inherited properties. In his opinion, this ‘heritage’ has been ransacked in the last decades without the municipality taking care of it. He is trying to recover the *Junta Vecinal* as a legal figure for Manjarín, but the city council of Santa Colomba refuses to do so. These struggles for ‘minor’ heritages are ontologically different from those of the Authorized Heritage Discourse (Sensu Smith 2006), and thus not included in the official plans of the *Camino*. Institutional guidelines are still bounded to traditional notions of heritage, and the inclusion of Manjarín in the tourism guides must be considered as an attraction or a marketing strategy rather than an acknowledgement of his work.

This situation is paradoxical from the point of view of cognitive or postindustrial capitalism (Lucarelli and Fumagalli 2008; Vercellone 2007). Tomás and the Templar settlement generate a value that is profited and captured by the parasitic political economy of private shelters. A parasite extracts value without giving anything in return, and without being able to create the basis for its own survival (Serres 1982). In Hardt and Negri’s terms, capital extracts value from the creative capacities of the multitude (2004). And, in fact, the fame Tomás has achieved in sites like Youtube and *Camino* blogs attracts more people and has a greater media impact than most institutional marketing campaigns. However, institutions and the market logic *cannot create Tomás*, that is, they cannot plan creativity within the rational framework under which official heritage operates. Institutions in Spain are far from being able to develop policies of ‘official informality’ (Johann Scharfe, 2012, personal communication) as those deployed in Berlin whereby the administration promotes the proliferation of difference and alternative discourses and practices for the sake of tourism. Here, heritage is something serious and it is concerned with fixing, stabilizing and homogenizing cultural processes. This leads to machinic processes of purification (Saldanha 2007), a filtering out of undesirable bodies from the *Camino*, from local communities to new age pilgrims and poor people, among others. This is achieved through different means: their social construction as dirty and illegitimate, the implementation of active policies against them, and their constant overlooking in decision-making and the distribution of economic resources.



Image 62. Two moments during the Templar mass by Tomás in Manjarín. Source: Author.

Thus, Manjarín is still not recognized legally as an inhabited place. Tomás subsists within the network of ‘informal economy’ that characterizes the area, living in a village that does not exist officially. Curiously enough, in the context of crisis his initiative is attracting more and more people. He constantly emphasizes the need to ‘return to the rural’ to avoid the superficial character of contemporary capitalist society in urban centers. He argues that these areas should be repopulated through a tax-exemption policy and by giving land to people willing to work it. In fact, next to the Templar settlement, a number of wood houses have been raised in recent years. My estimations are that people living in Manjarín oscillate between thirty-five people in summer to fifteen during winter. These people are officially non-existing, and their initiatives are curtailed and even sabotaged. The dogs of Tomás have been poisoned and killed twice in the last ten years. During 2008-2009, the community started a project to rebuild the church of the nearby deserted village of Labor de Rey in order to pave the way for the reoccupation of the site. However, when the reconstruction was nearly finished someone burnt it. These ‘minor’ territorial struggles are sustained by people striving to achieve real sustainable patterns of life, far away from the empty signifiers of sustainability discourses promoted by the LEADER project *Montañas del Teleno* and other institutions.

What would happen if these ‘minor’ processes were supported rather than eradicated? This is actually one of the fundamental questions I wanted to answer when I started my research. However, in an occasion I was asked this by an English painter called Lucy. She is living now in San Martín del Agostedo and is part of a expanded network of international and national people who have settled down in Maragatería in recent times, in village such as Requejo, Lucillo, Rabanal, Manjarín, Foncebadón, Santa Colomba de Somoza, Pedredo, Castrillo de los Polvazares or Santa Catalina de Somoza. Accounting for these different territorializations that have occurred in all these places goes beyond the scope of this chapter. However, I am interested here in the ‘abstract machine’ that explains their arrival and settling down in the place. Despite their social, national and class origins differ; their stories share a similar pattern: a relation with the *Camino*. In this relation the names of Foncebadón and Manjarín always come up, and Matavenero as well. Most of them passed through Maragatería as pilgrims and decided to stay for a few days in Foncebadón or deviate towards the ‘hippie’ village of Matavenero – some kilometers away from the *Camino* through a path. Others would stay with Tomás and then decide to be around for a while. The permeability of the *Camino* to these people is provided by the existence of ‘hinge subjects’ like Tomás in Manjarín or Enrique in Foncebadón, which serve as relays where newcomers can find support.

People might arrive to Foncebadón, stay there for a few days, and then be redirected to the English community of Lucillo, where I have met many pilgrims spending a few days. Then, they might decide to stay, follow their way or, most commonly, spend short periods in the area and move back and forth from their places in Germany, France or northern Europe. The story of a couple of a Dutch man and a Swedish woman living in Pedredo illustrates the process. Both had wealthy origins and lives working in the audiovisual sector in their countries. They met walking the *Camino*, fell in love, and decided to start a new life together away from the urban world. By chance, they participated in the activities that Lena, a German woman from Matavenero, organizes in Foncebadón for pilgrims and locals. She invited them to Matavenero, and they realized that they wanted something different from that. Then, they were redirected to Lucillo to see the English community. They spent a few days with them, and finally the English let them live in an abandoned

house they had bought in Pedredo. After that, they started to seek the way to make a living in Maragatería. They consider it to be an amazing region for its “ruins, beauty, freedom and for its people” (Interview 6, September 2010). However, they complain that institutions are not willing to support any kind of activities or promote the kind of networks they want to build – some of those related with the *Camino* – based on working the land, arts and crafts, music performances, and so on. Now, it is common to see them in the Camping of Santa Colomba, in Lucillo, or in the markets of Requejo and Astorga. Also, they spend half year in their countries to make money and be able to live their dream during six months in Maragatería, trying to live their non-materialist and self-sufficient lives. The English community finds similar problems to settle down. They have spent years building a rural hostel by themselves without receiving any financial support, but now the Regional Government refuses to let them register it legally and opening it. These and many other situations reveal the workings of the market and State logics, which promote certain subjectivities while excluding and marginalizing others. Again, what would happen if these alternative networks were promoted rather than eradicated? Would not the *Camino* and Maragatería as a whole gain in vitality, creativity and livelihood?

Conclusions.

The *Camino de Santiago* as a heritage object is being constructed as an exclusivist ‘striating machine’ that marginalizes local communities and excludes people who follow logics that differ from those put forward by institutions and market relations. The territorializations enacted by the *Camino* heritage machine in Maragatería create a fascistic ‘regime of signs’ guided by a set of institutions, trajectories and tendencies (Bonta and Protevi 2004: 174). The power of the State and market logics has tended to create a framework for the exploitation of both labor power and of the pilgrim-consumer to enable the creation of surplus value. In parallel, those forces strive to impose their views of the *Camino* and of the legitimate pilgrim. Clearly, these cultural representations have political consequences “in terms of what should be visible and what should not, who is a legitimate user and who is not, and concepts of order and disorder”, therefore, “the struggle over representations is equated with social conflict between urban classes, ethnic groups, majorities, minorities, gender, and other forms of social differentiation” (Fariás 2008: 251). For the different social actors populating the *Camino*, it is the power to impose a vision on it which enables them (or not) to claim their right to inhabit it. In this process the State is not a neutral and transcendent entity that occupies “a higher, sanctified plying field where it operates to ensure a just and equitable outcome for all involved” (Imrie and Thomas 1995: 5). Rather, it is a set of discursive and physical institutions (Delaney 2001) that try to ‘de-culturate’ law and ‘de-legalize’ culture (Burgess 1997: 13). In doing so, institutions impose apparently neutral ‘signifying regimes’ where certain master signifiers like ‘heritage’ become fundamental operative functions to organize the social field in ways acceptable by social actors in the public sphere. This is how the *Camino* becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy, which resembles the projection made of it by the most powerful stakeholders.

Certain subjects in Maragatería follow a strategy of becoming-minoritarian (Deleuze and Guattari 1987). They do not explicitly judge how people or pilgrims should be, enacting social exclusions. Rather, they are open to people with all kinds of religious beliefs, national and social origins, although they might prioritize some forms of being over others. In doing so, they hoist the

anger of institutions and other social actors in the ‘Camino world’ because they evince how enmeshed in the market logics they are. From their situated viewpoints in Foncebadón or Manjarín, the UNESCO, the State and even the Regional and Provincial governments seem to be too far away. Also, they see the activities of the LEADER *Montañas del Teleno* funding group and of the municipality of Santa Colomba de Somoza *negatively*. The ‘heritages’ they talk about differ sharply from the official heritage objects comprised in the Regional Plan for the Camino de Santiago. Meanwhile they refer to ways of life, respect for the past and the surrounding environment, the return of communal forms of property and management, institutions talk about pathways, signals, sidewalks and a ‘band’ of one hundred meters at each side of an invented path.

These ‘minor’ assemblages bring together many pilgrims, volunteers and social actors from associations and religious communities who have differing views of the *Camino*. They all share a more or less similar set of values and views on how the *Camino*, and ultimately the society as a whole, should work. An Italian pilgrim Marco expressed it perfectly:

“quotidian life is influenced by that which was before, there is a kind of flow, everything is influenced by that which the others ahead of you have left behind, and then those things that you leave influence those who come after you... it is the first time in my life that I’ve felt a collective consciousness... Just looking into the eyes we understand each other, there is no need to talk, and this makes me think that, I don’t know, maybe we should have it in society broadly” (Interview 30, July 2010)⁶⁶.

In relation to this, people underscore the different temporalities at work in the *Camino*, and the threat that the homogenization and rationalization of the route pose to this reality. Also, there is a widely held conception of the *Camino* as something ‘out there’, with its own life, to which one can become hooked, that one can ‘absorb’, etc. This leads many people to consider that it is necessary to give something back to the *Camino*. These observations go beyond the religious-sacred and tourism-profane dichotomies (Turner and Turner 2011 [1978]). For, as Enrique Notario pointed out, today these divisions have faded and being religious does not entail a higher degree of authenticity, as if there was a somewhat ‘essential’ notion of what the *Camino* is in reality. When Enrique Notario or Tomás refer to the ‘spirit’ of the *Camino*, and refrain to define it, they are leaving an ‘open space’ for inclusion that escapes reification and fixation: in the end, the ‘Camino is the Camino’. This seems to counter Graham and Murray’s claim that both official and non-official discourses retain a similarity with past representations that continue to shape the present *Camino* (1997). Neither institutions nor the Church claim a connection with ‘Santiago Matamoros’, as the authors seem to suggest, nor non-official discourses are appealing to a revolutionary logic. Both groups of actors are simply engaged in very different dynamics. We could equate the ‘minor’ initiatives with a sort of re-sacralization or remystification of the *Camino*. To the prevailing enlightenment logics of rationalization and objective perception of the world, they oppose romantic values, imagination and creativity. The conflict between different representations of the *Camino* can be related with the dialectic between ‘logos’ and ‘mythos’ (Cerezo Galán 1997). However, as I have

⁶⁶ Translated by the author from Italian: “Tutto quello che si fa quotidianamente e influenzato da quello di prima, c’è un flusso ... e influenzato da quello che hanno lasciato quelli prima, e quello che lasci pure tu... e per la prima volta ho sentito una coscienza colectiva nella mia vita... Guardando negli occhi, ci si capisce, non c’è bisogno di parlare, a volte c’è questa coscienza colectiva, c’è un mondo di consapevolezza di una coscienza colettiva che io credo dovremmo avere anche in società.”

tried to show, those extremes must be conceived as attractors or virtual poles and not as realities, as none of them can be actualized in reality. When the ‘logos’ or rational viewpoint aims to become absolute, it poses itself as a myth that can provide a fundamental and total explanation of everything. Conversely, when Tomás or Enrique want to express their somewhat mythical understandings views of the *Camino*, they strive to develop a rational argumentation that justifies it, a logos. Instead of falling into ‘who’s right’ scenarios (Hillier 2008), we should understand that both the poetic and the rational *Caminos* can understand and coexist, as not only ‘completely rational’ or ‘completely poetic’ pilgrims exist. However, the problem comes when the rational modern gaze aims to rationalize the poetic, and to subsume under its own logics.

Consequently, the overlooking of ‘minor’ logics and their ethical-political understanding of the *Camino* by institutions and social actors operating within the market logics, define a heritage regime in which both local people and pilgrims are considered resources (see Sánchez-Carretero Forthcoming, for a similar situation in Galicia). Moreover, by undermining the poetics of the *Camino*, the machinic heritage processes activated by institutions and market logics favor the marginalization of potentially positive territorial initiatives for the repopulation of Maragatería. This reveals the gap between signs and signifiers, discourses and real practices, and demonstrate that the master signifiers of sustainability, endogenous development, and similar ones, are no more than empty signifiers used as rhetoric devices (Gunder 2010). Today, however, the socio-economic framework that sustained the heritage machine that strived to stabilize the *Camino de Santiago* as a reified heritage object, and to promote the creation of hybrid pilgrim-tourists, is under threat. The economic crisis hitting Spain and the subsequent decrease in the number of national pilgrims has led many private shelters to unsustainable economic situations. In turn the Regional, Provincial and municipal governments are lacking funds, and the LEADER project *Montañas del Teleno* has come to an end. Probably, what Tomás foresaw as early as 2009 may come true sooner than expected: “I am sure that the Camino will change again. It will wiggle a bit and will get rid of all these parasites. It will return to be what it always was: a route for pilgrims managed by pilgrims” (Interview 29B, July 2009).

12. Returning to the Rural in Prada de la Sierra: from Imagined to Real Communities.

Introduction

Since the beginning of the economic crisis in Spain in 2008, a growing number of people and collectives are promoting, in discourse and in practice, a ‘return to the rural’. This phenomenon was captured with the concept of ‘counter urbanization’ in the U.K. and U.S. It described a drastic demographic shift occurring since the 1970s in those countries that witnessed an increase of the population in rural areas, both marginal and those nearby urban centers (Beale 1981; Bolton and Chalkley 1990; Lele 1981; Voss and Fuguitt 1979). In Spain, the transition from depopulation to repopulation is feeble and, in general, the demographic patterns show an enduring tendency to the increase of urban population (Hoggart and Paniagua 2001). Notwithstanding this, repopulation

projects of all kinds are being developed by multiple social actors and from different perspectives⁶⁷. These initiatives aim to reoccupy abandoned or nearly abandoned villages and, in doing so, envisage multiple forms of building community from the grounds. Thus, different territorializations reflect different worldviews, social and class origins, and cultural levels. Novel territorializations imply a certain discursive construction of a relation with the past, with nature, with space, and with other groups (Bonta 2005). ‘Returning to the land’ can have many meanings for each social actor: returning to agriculture and farming, living a non-stressful and non-materialist lives in balance with nature, being self-sufficient and independent, and even as a form of resistance against the State and market forces.

The peripheral character of Maragatería led to the depopulation of a series of villages that are being repopulated today in different forms. This is the case of Andiñuela, Matavenero, Fonfría, Poibueno⁶⁸, Foncebadón and Manjarín. In the case of Andiñuela, a farmer and his wife have retired there and rebuilt a house where they live. Matavenero, Fonfría, Poibueno, and the recently created settlement of Matabueno have been repopulated by eco-rural communities coming from northern Europe and Spanish urban centers. Foncebadón and Manjarín, (Rabanal del Camino could also be included, although it was never completely abandoned) have been repopulated in relation with the revitalization of the *Camino de Santiago* and thanks to the will of some particular social actors. In this chapter I focus in the case of Prada de la Sierra. The village was abandoned definitely during the late 1970s. In 1992, it disappeared as an official administrative entity, technically becoming ‘rural land’. However, a farmer and his wife have been living in Prada de la Sierra since the early 1990s. Then, in the middle 2000s, the *Asociación Nueva Prada de la Sierra* (ANPS) – ‘Association New Prada de la Sierra’ – was constituted by ex-neighbors of the village who wanted to return to their village. Over the last seven years, there has been an ongoing conflict between public institutions, the ANPS, and the farmer. Beyond the conflict between institutions and the ex-neighbors, the substantial question that interests me is the image of rural area that social actors envisage. Whereas the farmer maintains an immanent and functionalist view of the territory, the members of the ANPS ground their claims on transcendent notions of heritage, private property, familial lineage, memory, and their rights to spend their leisure time in their village.

The chapter aims to explore issues of social change in rural areas and the discourses that emerge from this process of change. I tackle the role of urban neo-rurals in these novel territorializations, comparing them with their views with those of non-urban population. Moreover, I aim to further analyze the frictions that arise between these social actors and public institutions, along with the construction of specific discourses with which actors aim to gain legitimacy for their actions and intentions. My methodology has involved a long-term ethnographic engagement with the situation. I started tracking the process in 2008, assisting to the meetings of the ANPS and interviewing its members.

⁶⁷ See for instance the movement “Repoblación pueblos abandonados (El regreso al mundo rural“ in <http://repoblacionpueblosabandonados.jimdo.com/> and in the Facebook group “Repoblación pueblos abandonados” <https://www.facebook.com/Repobladores>.

⁶⁸ Manjarín, Fonfría and Poibueno are technically part of El Bierzo but are in the border with Maragatería.



Image 63. Recovering old traditions: a *facendera* held in Prada de la Sierra. The *facenderas* used to gather together most members of the local community to carry out manifold tasks necessary for the preservation of the villages: cleaning the paths or the rivers, supporting a family to build a house, etc. Source: www.pradadelasierra.es.

As they are scattered throughout Spain, the forum and Webpage of the Association, along with journal news about the process were fundamental to keep tracking their movements and actions⁶⁹. The research also involved interviewing the mayor of Santa Coloma de Somoza, the municipality under which Prada de la Sierra is located. Finally, I visited and interviewed in different occasions Carlos, the farmer that lives in Prada. Apart from him, the first settler with a stable residence arrived to stay in Prada only in 2011. Soon afterwards, the new inhabitant became the president of the ANPS, provoking a shift in the approach to the repopulation project. Today, the farmer and the settler share a physical space in the village, but they still inhabit different mental territories.

Minor Territories.

The transition towards an industrialized economy in Spain accelerated the process of depopulation of rural areas during the 1960s and 1970s (Aceves 1978). Now, the slow transition of the country towards a post-industrial economy has led to an increasing tendency to return to the rural. This process is not as pronounced as in the U.K., the U.S. or Canada, but it can be intensely perceived in the conurbations of Madrid and Barcelona (Rivera Escribano 2007). The explanation of this process is related to a multiplicity of economic, cultural and social changes. It has been argued that the rural offers new economic possibilities and is a cheaper option for companies and entrepreneurs. Cultural factors are connected to changing perceptions of the rural, which is now related in the popular imaginary with well-being, contact with nature, health, peace and safety. Also, the process has been linked to the financing of the retirement of large middle classes by

⁶⁹ See their Webpage: <http://www.pradadelasierra.es/>, and their different blogs:

- http://www.mispueblos.es/castilla_y_leon/leon/prada_de_la_sierra/noticias/
- <http://www.foro-ciudad.com/leon/prada-de-la-sierra/mensaje-823381.html>
- <http://www.todopueblos.com/prada-de-la-sierra-leon/noticias/>

welfare states (Bolton and Chalkley 1990). In fact, some scholars consider that the phenomenon of ‘counter urbanization’ is intrinsically linked with the increase of the middle classes working in the service sector (Lyson 2006; Woods 1997). A literature review on the topic shows that scholars have tackled the issue as a consequence of the shift in occupational tendencies in rural areas (Fielding 1989; Gorton et al. 1998). Clearly, the lifestyle of these middle classes returning to the rural is characterized by an emphasis in environmental values (Urry 1995b). In addition, they normally embody ‘heritage subjectivities’. Their lives are marked by a will to establish a connection with the past, based on an attention to issues of memory, the evocation of ancient forms of community, and the willingness to live in rustic style houses that they restore and heritagize (Rodríguez Eguizabal and Trabada Crende 1991).

Different authors point to the ontological and epistemological rupture that the arrival of these people entail in rural areas. I frame this disruption in terms of a deterritorialization, or a disruption of the immanence of local communities, which are superseded by transcendent notions based on urban assumptions about the environment, the past, and so on. Also, it can be framed as a shift from a functional engagement with the rural and an urban approach characterized by immaterial values. Thus, Halfacree (2003) suggests the existence of a bi-dimensional rural world comprising a material and a cultural environment. The material includes the physical and aesthetic elements related to cleanliness and purity, while the cultural sphere is related to perceptions of safety, community, peace, and so on. However, Halfacree is looking at the values held by the neo-rurals coming from urban areas and not to those of other rural actors that, for different reasons, move to other rural areas. This is the case of Carlos, the farmer living in Prada de la Sierra. For him, the high quality pastures of the area offered him the opportunity to expand his business of high-quality cow and horse meat.

Furthermore, Halfacree underscores the need to distinguish between core rural areas and peripheral regions like Maragatería (2001a). For him, the situations in these extreme peripheral areas differ from the core. In Spain, the overall lack of scholar and institutional works to processes of counterurbanization, and to marginal contexts in particular (Paniagua 2002a), leaves us devoid of comparative frameworks. As Paniagua argues, this absence might be explained by the limited widespread of the phenomenon (2002b). However, the context of crisis is pushing forward this tendency, which is becoming widespread in marginal rural areas in the north west of Spain. This is especially so in regions where little villages abound such as Asturias, Galicia and Castile and León, which share similar patterns of sociodemographic and economic decline as well (Paniagua 2008).

As a result of these processes or low-intensity repopulation and territorialization, there is an increase number of ‘minor territories’. Those are characterized by their partial or total isolation from the hierarchical and striated spaces defined by institutions and the market, and the establishment of ‘flat’ or rhizomic relations among different peoples and territories. In these areas, ‘informal economies’ arise (Castells and Portes 1989), which are not “registered with the agencies of the state that control commerce, make health inspections, compile statistics, collect, taxes, and so forth” (Kearney 1996: 60-63). In this sense, informal economies are subversive by defying official definitions of identity and citizenship: informal rurals tend to become rural others (Milbourne 1997). These kinds of networks work through partial and information connections. For instance, eco-rurals from Matavenero sell throughout Europe objects and artisan made by old craftsmen in Maragatería, they buy sheep from the farmer who lives alone in Argañoso, producing milk and

eating sheep milk without undergoing any kind of inspection. These areas form complex assemblages of informal political economies where countercultural discourses and perceptions thrive. This renders them ‘others’ for public institutions that refrain from intervening in these areas (when there are no economic interests at play of course).

Also, alternative frameworks of justice and behavior arise aside from the validation of any ‘public sphere’.⁷⁰ These areas rarely appear in the news. When they do, it is in reports portraying ‘extreme’ or ‘weird’ ways of life, or because something unusual has happened that demands the intervention of public institutions. For instance, a common situation in these ‘minor territories’ is that whole herds of domestic animals (sheep, cows, etc.) return to a state of wilderness because their owners die and no one claims them. In Argañoso, the farmer complained to me that he could not manage a huge herd of 150 sheep that he was taking care of after a shepherd living nearby died without heirs. Sheep were dying daily and public authorities were not willing to help him. Thus, he finally had to call the press to claim attention and force public institutions to intervene and proceed according to the law. In Prada de la Sierra, 60 wild cows had become a problem for other farmers and local communities. Carlos, the farmer, proposed the authorities to capture them. He only asked to keep them in property in return. The Regional Government rejected the proposal as he was not an ‘official farmer’. To the astonishment of local communities, who know how valuable cows are, the Government decided to kill them all from a helicopter with hunting rifles. The issue became news at the national level. These examples reveal the extent to which the institutions consider these areas and their social actors to be nearly non-existent and to live in a quasi-savage state. The study of minor territories poses a challenge for the researcher, as they ‘do not exist’ in the statistics, and theoretical frameworks applied to ‘core’ rural areas do not apply here. Thus, I follow Philo’s (1992) call to bridge the combine the approaches of Marxist political economies with the ‘cultural turn’ and the qualitative interpretation of data to tackle the situation in Prada de la Sierra.

Between Community and Individuation.

It has been common in the field of rural studies to conflate rurality with ‘authentic’ communities (e.g. Gilg 1985). Community and familial life are in fact two prominent social representations that sustain the cultural representation of the rural myth in Western Europe. With their emphasis on community and family values, scholars have furthered the social construction of the rural in these positive terms and influenced institutional approaches to it (Robinson and Gardner 2004). Studies of rural social contexts dealing with the lives and viewpoints of individuals have been relatively few. Usually, those regard individuals living outside community bonds in terms of ‘outcasts’ (Sibley 1995) or as isolated farming families (Bryant 1999).

The case of Prada de la Sierra necessarily has to combine an approach to both a community and to an isolated individual living in the rural – sometimes completely alone, sometimes with his

⁷⁰ For instance, a group of people from Matavenero told me that they tried to settle down in Prada de la Sierra and the farmer received them with a shotgun and one mastiff on each side. Similarly, attempts by Tomás to settle down in Labor de Rey were frustrated by someone who burnt the church he was reconstructing. Different explorations and attempts to territorialize spaces occur without any mediation of the institutions or official authorities. No one thinks or cares about denouncing these activities to the police. Similarly, the presence of the military police, in charge of rural areas in Spain, is rarely felt: I only saw them once during my long years of visits and research in Maragatería, and they were escorting a group of monks escaping from the violent menaces of people from Rabanal del Camino in summer 2010.

wife. Moreover, the situation must be framed within the context of depopulation-repopulation processes. Clearly, the idea of the ‘return to the rural’ is associated with a return to a life in community that has been supposedly lost in urban centers (Clout 1972). However, the mainstream values of post-industrial societies do not perceive living alone in the rural as a positive social achievement. The reasons why people live alone in the rural are related with issues of attachment to specific territorial locales (Valentine et al. 2008) and are usually explained by biographic and socioeconomic interests (Smith and Holt 2007; Söderström and Philo 2004). The life stories I have documented from people living alone in villages in Maragatería resemble those reported by Paniagua in the province of Soria (Spain) (Paniagua 2008). The relation between the farmer of Prada de la Sierra, Carlos, and his wife María (a couple in their fifties) with space and with the rural is ambivalent. While Carlos spends most of his time in Prada, María only comes from time to time and prefers to stay in their house in a village situated in the neighboring region of El Bierzo, where Carlos was born. He owns a relatively large herd of cows and horses that graze freely in the valley and live within the different ruined buildings of the village. He has rebuilt a house for himself, but the rest of the houses are partially or totally ruined, including the church. There is no running water, sewerage system, electricity, nor an asphalted road to reach the village. He came to Prada in the early 1990s when the urban land of Prada was reclassified by the Regional Authorities as rural land. At the time, he hired those lands through a public auction held by the municipality of Santa Colomba de Somoza, which had taken over the communal properties of the demised *Junta Vecinal* of Prada de la Sierra. For him, the decision to come to Prada was perceived as a business opportunity. Moreover, he likes to be alone: “life is good here... life is good. Well, sometimes one misses the noise, the buzz of the city and all that” (Interview 31A, July 2009). Despite he has always lived in the rural, he is proud to show that he travels a lot around Europe, and that he has extensive knowledge on international issues of economy in the field of agriculture and farming.

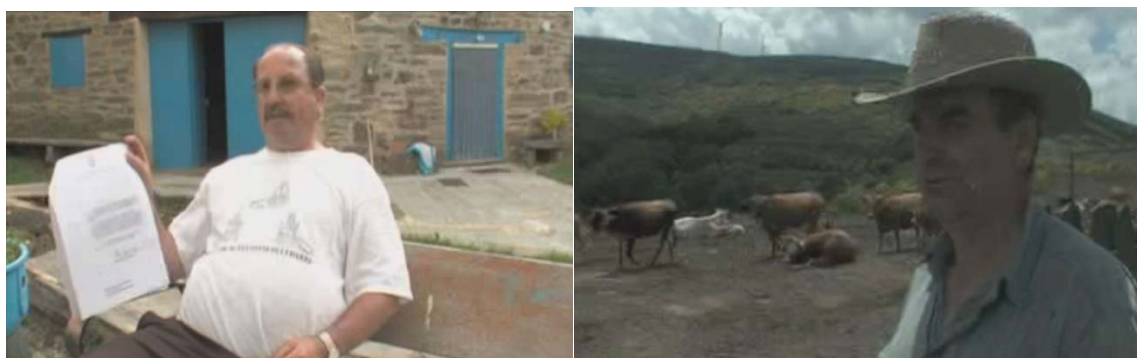


Image 64. The former president of the *Asociación Nueva Prada de la Sierra* and the cowboy living in the village. Source: Author.

He establishes a clear-cut dichotomy between ‘the city’ and ‘the village’. For him, the world ‘out there’ is controlled by multinationals that are taking over the seed market and are “changing the tastes of the people. People do not make the difference between pig, cow and chicken meat anymore. They are forgetting that we all come from the land, and that we need animals, these are our roots” (Interview 31A, July 2009). For him, the rural is equated with agricultural production and farming, and with a low social and economic status. The spatial category of rural has been for long

opposed to the urban and regarded as a synonymous to agriculture (Saraceno 1994a; Saraceno 1994b). However, I do not agree with scholars arguing that we should overcome these dichotomies in our accounts (e.g. Champion and Hugo 2004). We must acknowledge that those ideas are social constructions, but also that social actors and institutions in the field commonly employ and apply them with real consequences. From a symmetric standpoint, we cannot avoid or try to overcome what the actors think and do in the social field through an epistemological *salto mortale* (Latour 2007), as if we, as researchers, had a God-eye view that enables us to see what actors in the field do not.

Carlos considers that urban people and public institutions are marginalizing the productive activities of the first sector, and this has led to a decrease in the social perception of rural people and especially of farmers. When I came to know him better, I started my inquiry into his views on the arrival of urban people to the village and about the conflicts he had with them. Members of the ANPS claim that the village is theirs because they are still the owners of their houses and of the pastures. According to them, the farmer has no right to be there: he does not legally own his house as he has never bought it, and his animals have invaded their properties. For Carlos, they are urban hypocrites that have no right to be back to the village for many reasons. First, he claims that they consider themselves superior because they went to the city and now they want to go back to the rural and impose their terms: “the most curious side of it is that these people grew among cow crap, yes, cow shit! And now they want to come here for holidays and they do not want to see animals or anything” (Interview 31A, July 2009). Second, he considers that they just want to use the village as a place to build their second residences, instead of promoting productive activities that are the ‘right’ thing to do if they want to recover the livelihood of Prada. He thinks that, contrary to them, he spends most of the year in the village and thus they do not have the right to expel him. Third, he thinks that their claims are illegitimate in ethical terms. He considers their claims to have deeper emotional connections with the village in terms of memory, affiliation and familial heritage to be groundless: “they left the village and now they want to come back. They did not claim anything when it disappeared officially in 1992; they were making money in Madrid. Why did not they stay here if they like the village so much?” (Interview 31B, August 2010). Finally, he considers that their discourses conceal their economic interests. They want to recover the local council and their communal properties to hire the pastures and the hunting ground. Especially, he argues that they aim to benefit from the revenues that the installation of windmills for the production of electricity in the village’s lands would bring them. Finally, he considers that they cannot argue that he is not the legitimate owner of the house as, in legal terms, neither the house nor the village exist.

He opposes the lack of legitimacy of urban newcomers to his rooting and living in the village. Also, he argues that all he does is legal and sanctioned by public institutions, and that he produces and works the land and does not come ‘for leisure’. For him, the ‘natural’ role of the rural is to produce food, whereas leisure activities are just the consequence of people’s boredom in urban centers. The connection of land and work with legitimacy is strong in the villages of Maragatería, and supersedes claims to legal property in many cases. Most local people, especially elders, consider that those who work the land are entitled to own it. This situation is evinced when eco-rurals settle down in villages where local elder population prevails. People are willing to let them their lands for free provided that “they work it”, and consider legitimate the appropriations of the villages of Matavenero or Poibueno on similar grounds. Moreover, Carlos considers that the

connection with the material landscape of the village is not something 'given' but rather must be physically performed. Thus, he argues that no one ever came to take care of the church, the cemetery or the houses for decades, and now they complain that his cows have invaded those 'sacred' spaces. Furthermore, he also frames his situation in broader terms in relation to institutional and European rural development policies. He critically considers that those policies are aimed at the transformation of Spanish rural areas into leisure spaces devoid of productive activities and peasants. Actually, his view would be in tune with one of the two approaches to rural development in Europe (Van der Ploeg et al. 2000). Some stakeholders consider that rural development will result to the end of peasants and agricultural production in rural areas of the developed economies. Accordingly, peasants will be progressively replaced by alternative social actors from different backgrounds. A different perspective on the issue sees rural development policies as a form of empowering agricultural production and the 'repeasantization' of Europe (Van der Ploeg 2008: XVI-7).

Thus, Carlos is well aware of his subaltern position in relation to institutions and urban newcomers. Accordingly, he considers a threat to his way of life the will of urban neo-rurals to transform Prada de la Sierra into a non-productive space. When he argues that it "would be a pity to lose this heritage [*patrimonio*]" (Interview 31B, August 2010), he is referring to the symbiotic relation between animal life and the pastures that he considers to provide high-quality food and reproduce a productive activity that is being lost. The imposition of an urban view of the territory would entail the removal of the territorial bonds that keep a connection between a human settlement and the environment. Of course, this idea of heritage largely differs from the one held by urban newcomers. Carlos' view is more related with what Magnaghi calls the loss of the 'history of places' (2010: 30-31), that is, sites of eco-human coexistence that are being deterritorialized. The immanent relation between nature and culture is being, and places are measured in terms of cultural or economic 'values' accorded by external observers. This objectification of the relation between humans and nature works to produce the uprooting and loss of identity of individuals and places (Rizzo 2012). In this context, the individual experience of a self-aware and reflective rural subject as Carlos should be conceived as an assemblage of external references to the rural and his own rural experience (Dewsbury 2003). The way he understands his own subject-position in the rural interweaves power relations and discourses, social evaluations and institutional frameworks that are constantly rearticulated to produce different outcomes. He lives in a 'minor territory', but this denomination does not refer to scale: 'minor' territories are specific geopolitical coagulations of global and local flows in constant interaction (Massey 1999). From these minor territories, self-aware 'peasants' like Carlos make sense of their own lives and wield struggles against forces which are global and have impacts even in the most remote areas of regions like Maragatería.

A Return to the Past? The New Prada de la Sierra.

The ANPS was born in 2005 with the fundamental aim of revitalizing the village. The broad scope of the ANPS comprises many aspects, and therefore the perceptions of what objectives are should achieve and the means to do so differs from one member to the other. The number of associates has steadily increased since its foundation in 2005 then to reach the 73 members in 2011. The association normally meets once yearly in the municipal library of Astorga, where I have

attended to three meetings, held in November 2009, December 2011 and April 2012. These events normally gathered between 20 and 40 members coming from different parts of Spain. I also attended the summer celebrations of the village twice and met some of the villagers, especially the former president of the association Ernesto Morán, during my sporadic visits to meet Carlos in Prada. The activities of the association have been geared towards some fundamental objectives, which are discussed repeatedly, and raise different levels of interest among the members. Some objectives are pragmatic. Those are concerned with issues of livability and accessibility to the village. Thus, the ANPS aims to asphalt the soil path leading to the village, implement running water, electricity and sewerage. In relation to this, they want to secure their claims over their properties, specifically over houses and lands. However, most of these houses are ruined and normally occupied by animals and vegetation. Moreover, those properties do not exist technically for the administration. This is so since the local council was suppressed in 1992 and Prada de la Sierra stopped existing as an urban center to become rural land. Thus, their property claims remain in an ambiguous status. Only three or four families who have physically started to rebuild their houses, without bothering to seek legal recognition, have actually guaranteed their property claims.

They also claim the communal properties held by the suppressed *Junta Vecinal* in 1992, which are now in hands of the city council of Santa Colomba de Somoza. These properties would include the hunting ground, some woods, pastures for rent, and the property of the area where the windmills are located. Ultimately, this would imply reinstating the local council as a working institution and thus achieving official recognition for the village as an urban center. Moreover, this would imply that the area where the village is located would not be rural land anymore and thus animals (and the farmer) could be expelled from it. Finally, the recognition of a site as urban center implies that public institutions must afford sewerage, asphalted roads, electricity and running water.

Beyond the pragmatic concerns, there are also symbolic objectives in their endeavor. For instance, the reconstruction of the church has been a priority for the ANPS. Money to this purpose is being collected from the very beginning of the association. They also strive to recover the old bells of the church, now kept in Andiñuela and Villar de Ciervos. Furthermore, another project has been set out to rebuild the old communal schools. These initiatives have not been successful overall, and the contributions of members remain low: by April 2012, the treasury of the Association had €4.000. Of those, €2.145 were intended to restoring the church. However, the estimated initial expenditure for the church would be of €12.000, while it would be of €1.200 for the schools. Other activities include calls for literary and photography contests held in the village, and the *facenderas*, communal works performed during summer time to clean the streets and organize the feasts.

The ANPS is a multiple entity whose members have different viewpoints on the recovering of the village. Thus, it would be unfair to consider that they are only moved by economic interests, although those are undoubtedly fundamental. For many of the members there are emotional issues involved in the recovery process. Those feel a real emotional attachment to the village. Most of the members are older than sixty, and their memories of the village are associated with their childhood, which always implies a connection with happiness and lack of responsibility (Schama 1995). An eighty-year-old woman living in Madrid nostalgically told me: “May be we are just a bunch of utopian dreamers. But whenever I am in Prada, and I see how it is now, all ruined... I cannot avoid imagining the roads and houses back to life again. I will not probably witness it, but we must look back and think that someone, some time, settled down in Prada, and our ancestors carried on living

there for some reason... Now it is time for us to pick the slack and carry on with this task to prevent all this from falling into oblivion” (Interview 32, April 2012). In this sense, Prada de la Sierra remains as a mental landscape that each member of the association frames in different ways (Miształ 2010). What they have created, and are still creating, is an imagined community without any counterpart in the real world. An imagined community differs from standard communities because it is not based on a daily basis, face-to-face interaction between its members. What those share is a mental image or idea of their perceived affinities (Anderson 2006). The members of the ANPS share the common will to invest their affective energies and their capital in the village, while imagining that it should take the form they imagine eventually.

However, the ways in which the community is actualized are not shared. For instance, the combative approach against institutions held by the former president, Ernesto Morán, was not shared by all members. He mobilized many resources and was in contact with the regional, provincial, municipal institutions, and with the ombudsman. He even wrote a letter to the Royal House explaining the case of Prada, to which he received a positive reply signed by the King Juan Carlos supporting his claims. However, those were unfeasible in real terms. Morán aimed at restoring the local *Junta Vecinal* of the village, and his actions resulted in a spiraling conflict with the city council of Santa Colomba de Somoza. Moreover, he wanted to be registered as an inhabitant of Prada in the official census. This was problematic because Prada does not technically exist, and because the mayor of Santa Colomba curtailed the initiative. In any case, Ernesto was somewhat putting the cart before the horses because no one was actually living in Prada (not even him), aside from Carlos, the farmer that he considered to be an intruder.

According with current legislation, the constitution of novel *Juntas Vecinales* as legal institutions requires the approval by the Regional Government of a proposal issued by a city council whereby the latter agrees to undertake the task of conditioning the village. This entails providing electricity, roads, sidewalks, sewerage, running water and water treatment, which would cost an estimate of €2.000.000, twice as much as the yearly budget of the city council of Santa Colomba de Somoza. Moreover, even if the city council agrees to do so, the Regional Government would most likely reject it, as it happened in Busnadiago in December 2011. Against the will of the neighbors of Busnadiago to recover their local council, the Regional Government argued in *the Boletín Oficial de Castilla y León* (BOCYL) that “the difficult territorial articulation of our Autonomous Community owing to the excessive number of nuclei with legal status (2.248 municipalities and 2.230 minor local entities), and the low population of the interested locality, forces the Junta de Castilla y León to rethink the creation of new entities” (11/12/2011).⁷¹ Thus, contrary to La Maluenga or Foncebadón, where the *Juntas Vecinales* were preserved, no one ever claimed against the suppression of the local council in Prada and now it will be rather difficult to recover it.

The will of the president and some members to register in the census in Prada de la Sierra brought the conflict to court. In a letter sent by Morán to the ombudsman of the Regional Government of Castile and León, he signaled that they had been forced to abandon the village during the emigration process of the 1970s. However, they were now entitled to go back and live there, pointing to the negation of this right by the city council and to the ‘invasion’ of their lands by

⁷¹ “La difícil vertebración territorial que supone el excesivo número de núcleos dotados de personalidad jurídica existentes en nuestra Comunidad Autónoma (con 2.248 municipios y 2.230 entidades locales menores), unido a la escasa población del núcleo interesado, debe hacer replantearse a la Junta de Castilla y León la creación de nuevos entes” (BOCYL, 11-12-2011).

the farmer's animals. He also requested legal coverage and licenses to undertake the restoration of his house in Prada. The city council of Santa Colomba denied them, and sent the military police to seal his house and declare it illegal. The conflict became of provincial interest and appeared in the news (Argüello 28/08/2009). When I asked José Miguel Nieto about the events, the mayor of Santa Colomba, he stuck to a technical discourse, and declared that he was just following the legal procedures, denying any kind of personal conflict with the ANPS. Finally, the judge ruled in favor of the members of the ANPS: they could register in the village if they were living there, and the city council agreed to abide to the court's decision (Almanza 13/12/2010; Almanza 16/07/2010). However, as the members of the ANPS were not actually living in the village, the city council again refused to register them legally.

The way the ANPS has framed the territorialization of the village differs from other repopulations in nearby villages. Whereas other social actors started their projects by themselves, aside from State institutions, the ANPS has continually sought recognition and support from the State institutions. Instead of following their own path and start reconstructing the village on their own, they strived for recognition and support at the municipal, provincial, regional and even national levels. Moreover, instead of trying to establish a dialogue and reach agreements with people living in the area, they aim to wipe out other forms of existence to impose their imagined community upon the village. Thus, they wanted to be official dwellers of Prada even before residing in the village. Equally, they wanted official recognition for their village despite it does not exist in reality. Curiously enough, the 'hippie' village of Matavenero has attained legal status as an urban center and functions now as a *Junta Vecinal*. However, they never sought recognition nor status for their village desperately: first they built the community; the legality came fifteen years later. In contrast, the constitution of Prada as a political community is based on a microfascistic investment of energies and forces. Instead of a positive will to connect with other ways of life, we could argue, borrowing from psychoanalysis, that their claims are based on a 'lack' of a community that is missing and they want to recover, and upon which they want to impose a fixed and coded use and meaning (Parr 2008: 5). They do not actually want to live there, but they want to have it as a second residence during summer time to regain their attachment with their roots. In doing so, they overlook that they are imposing a certain view of rurality from an urban, middle-upper class perspective that can afford to invest in restoration, travel and leisure time. Moreover, this territorialization of the village involves the sanitization of a past based on discourses on heritage, landscape and nature, where productive activities are wiped out.

The multidimensional approach to the case study demonstrated its functionality when I asked the president of the ANPS to include Prada in my documentary about the region. I asked him to feel free to talk and walk around the village as long as he wanted in front of the camera. His performance revealed the self-conscious attempt to convey the meanings that he thought were most important to the public. His discourse was aimed at the legitimization of the objectives of the ANPS via a connection with certain heritage elements and the memories of the community. In all this, he showed a marked urban understanding of rurality. The walk lasted one hour and a half. During that time, Morán explained the Roman origins of the village, and provided an in-depth account of its heritage values: the unique character of the church, the old fountain, the house of the priest, the overall quality of the labored stones of the houses, etc. All these heritage elements were connected with the will of the ANPS to restore and take care of them, in contrast with the destruction they

have undergone under the aegis of the farmer. The abandonment of the village for nearly thirty years without anyone ever caring about it was explained as an inevitable fact linked to the broader emigration process towards urban centers at the time in Spain. Furthermore, in order to establish a symbolic continuity between members of the association and the village, and to provide legitimacy to the claims of the association, he spoke at length about his ancestors. Those were buried in the village's cemetery, which was in a bad condition. Accordingly, he linked the need to take care of the cemetery with the recovery of a link with his ancestors.

His discourses on rurality resembled those of middle urban classes throughout Europe (Halfacree 2003). For him, "during the last fifty years people has lived in a certain way, but now this must change. Life is good in big cities when the economy is doing well, but when the economy decays, only the villages guarantee an economic solution [*"donde se come es en los pueblos"*]. People will need to take refuge in the villages... Here, Prada, is a haven of peace, if you arrive stressed from the city you can heal here, just with a cask of wine, a hunk of bread and chorizo you can be happy. Without so many luxuries, without so much crap we have today in the city that only stresses us and makes us fall sick" (Interview 33, July 2009). His views can be equated with what Rivera Escribano (2007) calls the 'utopia of the refuge', in which the rural is socially constructed as a shelter where we can carry out peaceful and simple lifestyles away from the harshness and complexity of the city. However, as Carlos told me, not a single member of the ANPS comes to the village during winter times when the soil is frozen and snow covers everything. For him, the 'return to the rural' is flawed: "people would have to go through real hardships to come back and settle down in villages like this. That might happen in villages down there [lower Maragatería], with running water, electricity, roads, and so on. But that will not happen here. These people, they only want to come for holidays" (Interview 31A, July 2009).

However, things changed in the ANPS in the end of 2011. Finally, a person appeared that actually wanted to settle down in Prada. Also, in the elections held yearly, Antonio Santos prevailed over Ernesto, the former president. He was a construction worker in his fifties with a son, who lost his job in León and decided to settle down in Prada. Immediately, he took a more pragmatic and realist approach to the issue (because he was going to live there, of course). As he could not register in the village, he did so in Foncebadón. He started a dialogue with the farmer in Prada and with the city council of Santa Colomba, trying to reach agreements and to avoid conflicts. As he said during his opening discourse during the ANPS meeting in 29 April 2012, "confrontation does not work, only dialogue" (Interview 34, 29 April 2012). For him, the productive activities of Carlos could be combined with life in the village without problems. The issue of achieving legal recognition moved to the background, and the approach to symbolic objectives to be achieved changed. For instance, he shifted focus from the rehabilitation of the church to the reconstruction of the schools. When I asked him why, he straightforwardly replied: "it is simple, why spending money in a building which is not yours? The old schools were communal property, and they shall become so in the future. The church will always be property of the Church" (Interview 35, 29 April 2012).

Antonio could be considered as one of those coming to the rural with an attitude of 'pragmatic dystopia' (Rivera Escribano 2007). They do not conceive of the rural as a utopian place, but rather as a better or more functional place to live in practical terms. However, his reasons for settling down in Prada were not only economic, as he could have stayed in León living on unemployment subsidies. His arguments comprise the will to live in harmony with nature, the avoidance of urban

stress, and a sort of return to his childhood when he lived in a tiny village. During the meeting in April 2012, it became clear that his novel approach to the repopulation of Prada caused distress among some of the members. Especially, among those who were more concerned about seeking legal recognition for the village to take over lands and their associated rents. Some of them requested him to carry on with the task of seeking legal recognition for the village. Others argued that the church had always represented the ‘spirit’ of the village, and its reconstruction should remain a primary objective. Instead, he was speaking of working the land and starting projects related with crafts to attract young people willing to actually settle down in Prada. The split between both approaches to the rural became clear. In the end, he was a person from a low class origin, and mistrust towards his approach to the project among many members could be felt in the heated discussions that took place during the four-hour meeting.

Therefore, as long as the community remained in a ‘virtual’ or ‘imagined’ state everything was fine; now that it was being actualized in a certain fashion it caused rejection: of course, it was not fulfilling the virtual expectations created by each member. This situation stood in sharp contrast with the former meeting held in December 2011, when Antonio was regarded as the opportunity they had been awaiting to legitimate their property claims as a community. Issues of ownership, memory and heritage, mix constantly with multiple ideological conceptions of the rural. Also, it became clear that the ‘imagined community’ of Prada de la Sierra was an ontologically different reality for different groups of members. Antonio brought with him a different form of common sense (*sensu* Herzfeld 2001). His emphasis on issues of production and restoration of functional buildings was regarded by many as a way of putting aside issues of heritage and memory preservation deemed fundamental. What about the cemetery and the church? Those were for most people the sites where the ‘spirit’ of the village was to be located, and the heritage to be preserved. However Antonio’s approach considered fundamental to connect the life in the village with production rather than with leisure, as “people need to make a living, including me” (Interview 34, 29 April 2012).

The current situation in Prada is paradoxical. Antonio and Carlos do not talk to each other. Therefore, despite sharing the same space they inhabit different territories. Both are individuals-without-community, although Antonio is related to an imagined community to which he is accountable, as long as his house is property of the association. Thus, despite both Carlos and Antonio share more or less similar views on the rural, they remain bounded to different socioeconomic and cultural assemblages. The question here is not about a loss of identity, a place or a community that never was (Cloke 2002), but rather of what kind of places and communities might arise from different territorializations. Some members of the association consider a ‘return to the rural’ associated with productive activities as a defeat: their commonsensical ‘return’ would imply the urbanization of the village and the establishment of contemporary – modern and urban – standards of living upon the present rural, backward and primitive Prada.

Conclusion: what Territories for what Rural Subjects?

‘Minor’ territories are spaces where social actors deploy strategies of escape from state and market forces. This does not imply that they are directly subversive or revolutionary. ‘Minor’ territories work by the establishment of social, political and cultural relations, of place building and

production, where different identities, values, traditions, symbols, causes and interests are privileged (Frouws 1998; Salvato 2006). Minor territories are ‘multiple’ rural areas characterized by the “co-presence of multiple spaces, multiple times, and multiple webs of relations, tying local sites, subjects and fragments into globalizing networks of economic, social and cultural change” (Amin and Graham 2004: 417-8). Clearly, power relationships are involved in its configuration as in any other territory, and their existence is provided by being sites of low-economic interest (Storti et al. 2004: 5).

Some social actors deploy visions of rurality that consider those spaces illegitimate and aim to appropriate them by resorting to the power of public institutions. In Prada, however, public institutions were not responsive to the claims of the ANPS that aimed at the reterritorialization of Prada in urban terms. This clearly shows that ‘minor’ territories are not only free and subversive spaces, but rather specific configurations made possible by the lack of interest and will to control them by market and state forces. In fact, global and national socio-economic flows have only indirect relations with ‘minor’ territories. When the economy grows and shifts towards a post-industrial model where middle classes working in the service sector increase, their high mobility capabilities and their urban origin lead to the ‘urbanization of the rural’. This process is normally materialized in the establishment of large amounts of second residences in the rural (Rizzo 2012). When the economy stops growing or collapses, as in the case of contemporary Spain, the ‘return to the rural’ is framed in terms of seeking refuge in the village and returning to the roots, symbolized by productive activities and ‘nature’. Different collectives in Spain are now challenging rural development policies and asking what kind of rural spaces and subjectivities are being favored by them⁷². The claims of Carlos, the farmer, echo those of many other farmers and agricultural producers that observe similar patterns of change in their areas: E.U. and national funds for development encourage the establishment of service sector economies in the rural while marginalizing local producers. However, the lack of research on the issue in Spain precludes the possibility of understanding how these processes are taking different forms and social grip in different areas of the country (Hoggart and Hiscock 2005).

The case of Prada shows the complex interactions between class, urban and rural discourses and cultural representations of the rural, and institutional policies and practices. In this regard, it is curious to note that the territorializations enacted by other social actors in the area (eco-rurals and people inhabiting the *Camino de Santiago* for instance) have been more successful. This is so even though, or precisely because they act aside from institutions and simply ‘become minoritarian’ (Deleuze and Guattari 1986), while the constant search for institutional support and recognition by the ANPS engendered conflicts and slowed down of the process.

Different cultural imaginations of the rural entail differing conceptions of heritage, of things valued, and different relations with material culture. Heritage is, for Carlos, the productive assemblage generated between cattle and the valley. His legitimacy comes from the fact that he works the land and produces quality food away from multinational corporations and chemical products. The way he has arranged his house is not in tune with the urban heritage discourse. It is functional and uses modern materials such as plastic, bricks, tiles or metal when necessary: it has

⁷² The discussions held in the MediaLab Prado in Madrid are fundamental in this regard, especially the meeting “*Procomún y medio rural*” in March 2012: http://medialab-prado.es/article/reunion_general_labouratorio_procomun_marzo_2012_?utm_source=twitterfeed&utm_medium=twitter.

not been constructed to compete for cultural capital within a striated visual economy, or to attract the gaze of tourists (Poole 1997). In turn, the members of the ANPS grounded their legitimacy in the fact that they were ‘the sons’ of the village, that their ancestors were buried there, and that their private properties were unalienable. Heritage is framed by them as an immaterial set of values where memory, aesthetics and cultural assessments of distinction (Bourdieu 1984) come into play. This is related to the necessity of ‘having a heritage’ in order to be modern (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett et al. 1991). In their virtual image of Prada, the past involves maintaining a similarity with past objects and materials that are devoid of functional uses. Heritage is the church, the fountain, and the rustic and ‘authentic’ character of the houses, which differs from their modern lives in urban centers. This is the kind of reterritorializing memory deployed by the community that codes and fixes meanings and uses, reifying the past and precluding change and the emergence of novel processes. This ‘archaeological conception’ of subjectivity (Thrift 2008: 118) is quite connected to psychoanalysis, which “establishes a profound link between the unconscious and memory: it is amemorial, commemorative, or monumental conception that pertains to persons or objects, the milieu being nothing more than terrains capable of conserving, identifying or authorizing them” (Deleuze 1997: 6). This subject-position embodied by most members of the ANPS precludes the possibility of a present-oriented conception of the world and life. Therefore, it turns every social investment into “a matter of searching for an origin” (Idem: 6). As Parr puts it, “as the social field remembers, grieves, mourns, weeps over, and shares a sense of collective trauma, a political community emerges” (2008: 5). Moreover, the existence of this political community can imply the disappearance of other constituencies when exclusive claims to origins and memory are enforced.

The investments of ANPS in the restoration of houses are high: rustic and local materials are employed and the old forms are imitated to the detail. Debates arise around what kind of wood their ancestors used to build the doors for instance. This approach is paradoxical in two senses. On the one hand, by trying to establish continuity with a socially constructed image of the past, they are just enacting a temporal and cultural break with that past. In other words, they are ‘otherizing’ the past. This operation is characteristic of heritagization processes and is normally accompanied by the sanitization of the past, getting rid of the potentially disruptive elements such as poverty, past hardships and so on (Lowenthal 1986). The abandonment of the village and their absence for thirty years is justified by the socioeconomic context of the time, a period in which, it seems, their emotional attachment to the village was not that high. On the other hand, they emphasize rural values and forms of life while at the same time imposing their urban values upon it. This implies getting rid of the animals and all the savage elements: ‘nature’ must be contained and remain as a social construction to which one can become symbolically but not physically linked. These processes entail segmentations, as urban subjects tend to enact exclusive appropriations of the more attractive rural areas (Bridge 2003), while at the same time overlooking that their presence might disrupt the sustainable values of landscape, culture and economy that they are supposedly striving to preserve (Shucksmith 2000).

We should ask at this point whether scholarly claims to get rid of the distinction between rural and urban (Philo 1993) are useful in our context. Surely, the epistemological abandonment of the dichotomy will not prevent social actors and institutions to carry on operating and using them in reality. It is important not to see rural and urban as essential categories, or trying to create partial concepts that do not clarify the issue, such as ‘ruruban’ (Ghurye 1963). All social actors involved in

the repopulation of Prada de la Sierra clearly opposed rural to urban, relating this opposition to varying perceptions of place, agency and overall different conditions of experience. Moreover, Carlos, the farmer, Antonio, the ‘first’ settler, and the members of the ANPS shared more or less similar cultural representations. In their narrations, the rural was related with peace, harmony and nature and the urban with stress, pollution, and low food quality, among others. However, from these fundamental oppositions depart different forms of envisaging political constituencies, communities, and ways of life that are conditioned by class origins and cultural backgrounds. The interaction of these multiple elements will most likely lead to the construction of a “space midway between the city and the village” (Paniagua 2008; see also Wynne 1998). Today, the announced suppression of the local *Juntas Vecinales* as legally recognized institutions leaves the ANPS devoid of its fundamental instrument to reclaim their communal lands and houses in Prada de la Sierra. Therefore, whether their intention to revitalize the village was driven by economic or affective and emotional interests will become clear in the near future.

13. The ‘Stone Fever’: Heritage Knowledge Practices and Pseudoarchaeology in Maragateria.

Introduction

What is a heritage entity? What kinds of networks, connections and assemblages are needed for it to emerge as a distinct reality? This chapter focuses in the process that transforms certain elements into heritage objects. This transformation necessarily entails a reduction of the complexity of the social field (Smith 2008) and the creation of something new through the establishment of novel connections between materials, discourses and social actors. Such transformations of certain entities involve not only epistemological shifts, that is, a change in the way we perceive and represent the real, but also an ontological variation that affects how the structuring conditions of experience of people vary in relation to materiality, space and time. I develop a theoretical conception of heritage entities based on the discussion of different knowledge practices surrounding them, providing an empirical account that considers heritage objects as social co-creations. This model is based on Latour’s description of knowledge as performance (2007) and goes beyond models conceiving of transcendent agencies that ‘create’ heritage objects from the top (e.g. Smith 2006) or that oppose top-down with bottom-up approaches (e.g. Harrison 2010), to show that the creation of a heritage element involves complex interactions between social actors. In particular, I will explore the intersection of academia, institutions, pseudo and aficionado archaeologists, local people, and their performative interactions around a heritage site.

These reflections are based on the ethnographic research carried out since the discovery of the *Petroglifos de Peñafadiel* – prehistoric carvings – in the area between Filiel and Lucillo by an aficionado archaeologist. The relevance of the discovery forced academic archaeologists and institutions to intervene, and spurred a wave of pseudoarchaeology that has even permeated political discourse in Astorga and Maragateria. The case of the *Petroglifos* resembles the situation underwent by Stonehenge during the 1990s and 2000s, but at a lower scale and in a ‘minor territory’ where the intensity of institutional control and academic research is low. It has become a site of multilocality (González-Ruibal 2008), where eco-rurals perform rituals in the site and pseudoarchaeological

discourses proliferate, while the perceived social and physical presence of academia and institutions remains feeble. Thus, my objective here is to discuss the knowledge acquisition pathways that lead to the construction of heritage objects, showing how their constitution in the social field is difficult and always remains partial, owing to the particular sociopolitical and economic circumstances where they happen to be. Moreover, I aim to show that debates between pseudoarchaeological discourses and academic archaeology should not be framed in epistemological terms but as ontological problems. In other words, each social practice develops different assemblages with the material culture they aim to bring into them. Therefore, archaeologists fall in a disciplinary impasse when they criticize pseudoarchaeologists for their alleged lack of rigor or representational accuracy in relation to a ‘clear and distinct’ past that only they can represent scientifically. Disciplinary archaeology and pseudoarchaeology remain linked by an epistemological concern with the past; both are two distinct ontological realities. Methodologically, I have carried out interviews with most of the protagonists of the events, followed online debates and news, analyzed the publications made by the actors, and interviewed local people from Filiel and Lucillo to know their views on the issue.

The ‘Stone Fever’.

*“Although this blog has been created with the aim to disclose the archaeological values of Astorga and its surrounding areas, no one should expect to find here an account worthy of a scholar, because I am not. I am just an apprentice of all which I ignore, which is mostly everything. Having said this, I guess and hope that purists will excuse my inaccuracies...”*⁷³ Juan Carlos Campos, first entry to his blog *La Tierra de los Amacos* (03/02/2008).

Juan Carlos Campos is a plumber from Astorga who enjoyed trekking and walking around Maragatería. Due to the nature of his work, he was also well known and appreciated by people in the area. He used to visit archaeological sites like mining areas and hillforts, using aerial photography and drawing on local knowledge to explore new sites. The presence of what seemed to be two parallel lines of dots of around fifty meters long drew him to the area of Peñafadiel, where he discovered the rocks with the prehistoric carvings in January 20, 2008. This was the beginning of what he calls the ‘stone fever’, the spread of an interest in all things past in Maragatería, and his own increased interest in the discovery of more archaeological sites. The prehistoric carvings are located in the lands of Filiel, close to the border with the lands of Lucillo, in a site called Peña or Pena Fadiel. The site is placed in an outcrop of diabase rock, informally called *moraliza* in the area. The carvings are located in two separate stones with different inscriptions, from labyrinths to human forms, shepherd carvings and round holes. Knowledge about prehistory in the area was almost non-existent aside from the well known presence Iron Age hillforts (Neira Campos 1991). However, the relevance of the discovery went beyond the local to become of national and international relevance, with different scholars from all over the world coming to visit them. The lack of knowledge about the prehistory in the area is due to the low intensity archaeological surveys and research carried out hitherto. This is a consequence of the absence of academic research and investment in archaeology and heritage in the province of León when compared to other

⁷³ <http://tierradeamacos.blogspot.com.es/2008/02/petroglifos-en-maragateria.html>

neighboring regions like Asturias or Galicia. In addition, this is related to the enduring weakness of the archaeology department of the University of León. The Authorized Heritage Discourse described by Smith (2006) to account for the expert and institutional assemblages of power and control over heritage and past remains is here almost absent.

In this context, Campos decided to publish online photos of the site without revealing their geographic location. However, many people could locate them just by seeing the photos of the surrounding area. Then, their existence became public and reached the provincial and regional journals. He tried to contact the experts at the University of León, but, as he says, they did not put much interest in them at the beginning. Although today he collaborates with them are their relations are good, Campos, as many other people outside the academic world, considers that ‘experts’ are unreachable individuals hiding in their offices and departments: “it has taken me a while to get used to e-mail them and go visit and talk to them” (Interview 36, 18th June 2012). This simple fact reveals how far from the public is academic knowledge and how feeble the reach and permeation of archaeological discourses among the public.

After the discovery of the Petroglifos, others started to appear in Chana, Lucillo, Quintanilla and other sites, although of lower significance. Those were normally carved in the same kind of stones (diabase) and in many cases, they could be found within villages, in benches, fountains or houses. Local people would call Campos whenever they saw something strange or they remembered the location of some site they had seen time ago. People did not call the institutions or the University, they called Campos. In 2012, four years after the discovery, the social construction of the Petroglifos as heritage is still an ongoing task. Also, if its construction continues is mostly due to the efforts of Campos to protect and enhance them, as they have not even been declared Good of Cultural Interest by the Regional Government of Castilla y León. Many parallel processes stem from this situation.

Social Reactions and Knowledge as a Social Assemblage.

One interesting phenomenon that occurred during the outburst that ensued the appearance of the Petroglifos was the rediscovery of heritage elements. Basically, people would ‘discover’ certain elements that they considered to be relevant, analyze them, take pictures, and send the information to provincial newspapers to ‘claim their discovery’. The paramount example was the ‘discovery’ of the carvings of Andiñuela by the *Carrubueis* cultural association, and their publication in one of the provincial journals as an original discovery (Gancedo 05/03/2008). I interviewed the members of the association and told them that the site had been already documented during the archaeological survey chart of the Regional Government carried out during the 1980s, and that they had been published in *Historia del Arte en León* (V.V.A.A. 1990). A similar event occurred with the carvings of Quintanilla. Those were announced again as a discovery even though they had already been published by José María Luengo: “Moreover, Mr. Perandones referred me to the existence of a place, close to Quintanilla de Somoza, where some rocks are carved with little circles that lead us half kilometer further, to another rock, where they had found coins...” (1990).

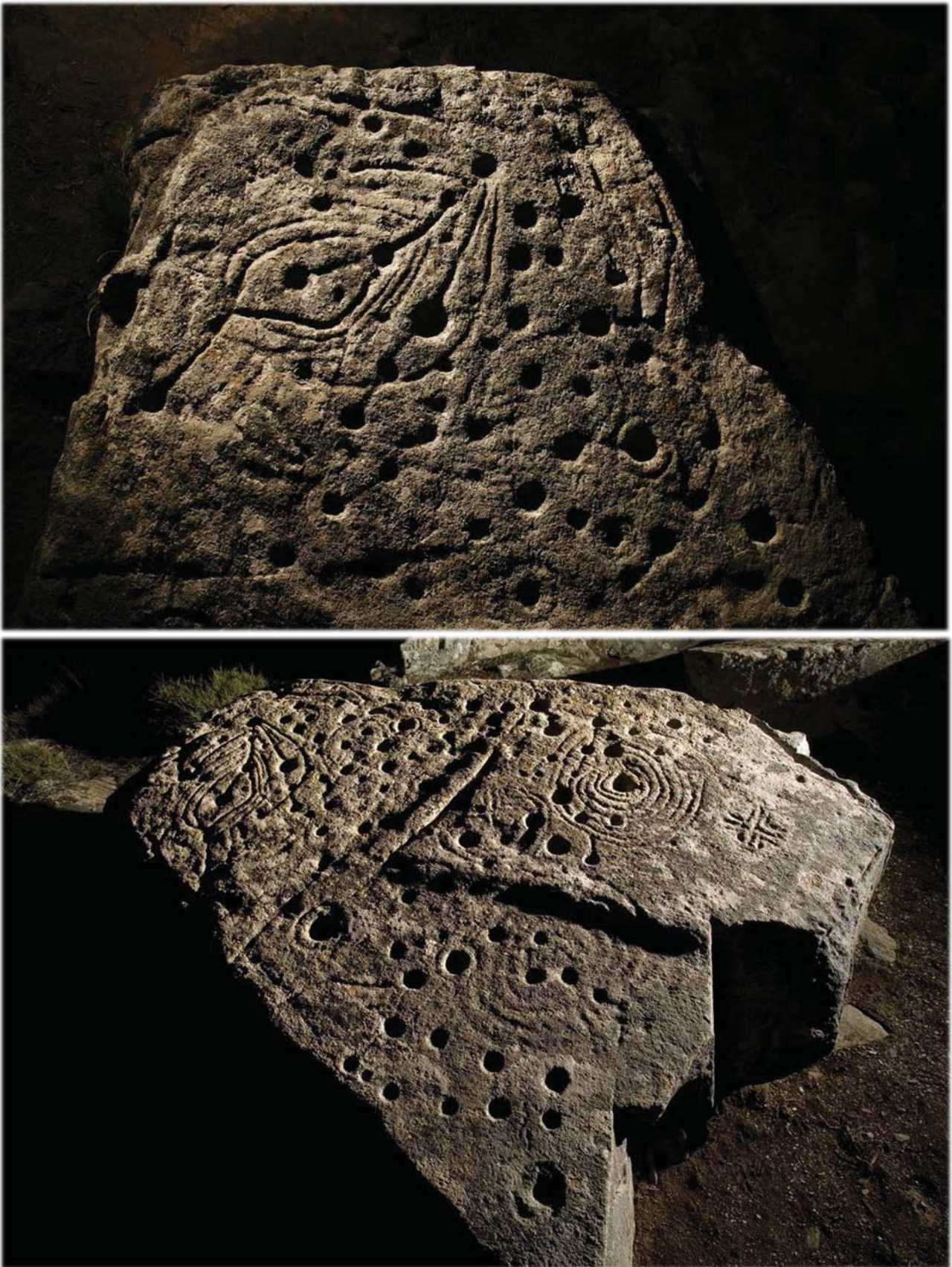


Image 65. The *Petroglifos de Peñafadiel*, at night. Source: Juan Carlos Campos.

These situations are significant in two senses. First, they show that expert and institutional knowledge do not reach the public. All members of the association who rediscovered the carvings of Andiñuela held University degrees, were studying a Masters and a PhD respectively, and knew well the territory. However, they did not know about the existence of an archaeological survey or the works of local archaeologists and intellectuals. Partly, this is so because the archaeological survey is not made available to the public and is located in León, where permits are necessary to consult it. This is not only an antidemocratic situation, as those surveys are paid with public money, but also goes against the advancement of knowledge as people puts their effort and curiosity in already known and discussed elements. In addition, as the public does not resort to experts or academics but rather to newspapers or radios at the provincial level, there are no authentication processes nor a previous assessment of the risks involved by the revelation of the location of heritage sites. The ‘politics of discovery’ prevail, and no one is willing to let others announce their discoveries first. For instance, Campos has been hesitant in many occasions about revealing his discoveries to the public because he was concerned for the preservation of the sites. However, on the other hand, he did not want others to claim the discovery of some remains before him and gain social recognition.

The ‘politics of discovery’ comprise social reactions concerning past remains as well. Today, local people in Maragatería have reached a further level of awareness concerning the carvings. Not only do ‘stones matter’, but also people think now in the consequences that having them recognized by public institutions might entail. As archaeologists know well, local people tend to overestimate the capacities of institutions and many equate archaeological findings with trouble: expropriations, accountability, control signals, public coming into their properties, and so on. This is so “even if they [institutions] have not taken any measure or done anything even in the most important archaeological site of Filiel..., go figure if the institutions are going to do something in the others...” (Interview 36B, July 2009). Recently, a friend of mine called and asked me to go to his village to see some ‘stones’. Her mother, a shepherd, thought that she recalled having seen stones that resembled those that were appearing in the journals some years ago in a slope nearby. Indeed, they took me to the place, which was covered with vegetation and soil. Before I could tell them that we would need a permit to dig it, they did so and the carvings appeared just below a thin layer of soil. Then, they asked me not to reveal their location. I asked why, and the mother plainly replied: “people here are rough. If they think or know that there is something here, they will destroy it” (Interview 37, November 2011)⁷⁴. Equally, Campos recounts the story of a man who called him to show him a site with carvings that was close to a group of beehives to which he was attached emotionally and economically. The finder, a local peasant, made him promise that he would not reveal their existence because he was afraid that someone “would get rid of the whole area with a bulldozer, to dig, or fence it, or something” (Interview 36A, 18th June 2012). Campos agreed because, as he argues, there are enough prehistoric carvings all around, and adding a new site would be unimportant.

⁷⁴ “La gente aquí es muy burra, como vean que hay algo aquí vienen p’acá y se lo cargan”.



Image 66. Juan Carlos Campos showing different sites with carvings and inscriptions. Someone had recently got rid of half of the stone with the carvings (right). Source: Author.

These examples point to two important provisional conclusions. First, those characters like Campos, which I call ‘hinge subjects’, are fundamental to establish a symmetric dialogue with local communities. They are not perceived as ‘experts’, they talk plain language, are not patronizing, are open to negotiation, and thus are not considered as a threat but rather as trustworthy subjects. Thanks to them, the flux of information increases exponentially: the ‘common’ knowledge of the people can be gathered and made public, a possibility that the bureaucratic-expert system currently precludes. Second, that what ‘becomes heritage’ in the public sphere involves a complex process of negotiation. Specific social perceptions about the role and performance of experts and institutions curtail the possibility of an improvement of relations with local communities. This already points to the fundamental importance of developing public archaeology projects and the inclusion of local communities in them. Not only to be consistent with a democratic and publicly funded and managed archaeology, but also for pragmatic research and knowledge growth. However, ‘including’ the local communities implies establishing trustworthy relations that the bureaucratic and disciplinary ethos preclude: Campos (correctly) judges that it is unnecessary to reveal the location of a further rock with carvings if that would hinder someone’s life, but this ethical stance cannot be assumed under current legislative and scholarly frameworks.

In connection to this, the re-discoveries of archaeological sites show that the construction of heritage relies on certain conditions that are external to the processes of academic knowledge building. Academic and institutional knowledge consider the construction of heritage as an epistemological operation that matches certain representations with physical realities through the application of specific methods of verification and consolidation. However, the permeation of the ‘heritage discourse’ in the social sphere is more complex, multidimensional and gradual. Building a heritage object with a solid presence in the social sphere involves assembling different materials, techniques and discourses that bring together local communities, academics, technicians, politicians, journalists, etc. Here we can draw on Latour’s pragmatist approach to knowledge construction. He draws on an exhibition in the Natural History Museum of New York called *A Text Book Case Revisited* (Latour 2007), which showcases two separate rows with different displays. The first presents the story of the evolution of horses according to the latest scientific knowledge, the second the story of the evolution of our knowledge about horses. He assumes the notion that all knowledge produced is dependent and inclusive of context (King and Horrocks 2010: 22). In other words, knowledge never develops in a vacuum but is always embedded in social practices and we

can more fully understand the former (knowledge) if we know the latter (context) (Sayer 1992: 43). Latour goes beyond this argument to show that the history of science is not only the story of our knowledge about the world, but rather about the world as it was for us at each given time (Latour 2007: 84). Therefore, he moves from epistemology to ontology. From this ontological standpoint, knowledge is not something given, but rather a trajectory or a vector that projects retroactively its validating power. This capacity to validate or certificate knowledge can only occur as long as objects and subjects engage in certain ‘chains of experiences’, which entail translations and substitutions.

These chains of experiences involve different performances by different social actors. These performances have differential degrees of agency and validation accorded in the social field: for instance, a knowledge claim by a shepherd is not taken as seriously as it is by an academic. Campos has carried out a tireless task of heritage construction with the *Petroglifos*, contacting academics, politicians and newspapers. However, he has put much effort in working with local communities. One month after the discovery, he visited the surrounding villages to inform the people about the *Petroglifos* and talk to the major of Lucillo. Since then, he has kept searching more sites and talking to local people in bars and in the benches where they sit to chat. I have witnessed some of these conversations where issues of cultural values and worldviews are negotiated and, paradoxically, imposed in some cases by the knowledge power of modern scientific discourse (as mediated by Carlos, the ‘hinge subject’). Normally, local people do not care much about the discovery, and only a few of them have visited the site. For an old woman, the site is just “a bunch of stones... I am fed up of seeing stones you know? Bah..., stones. I do not know why people make such a fuss about stones!” (Interview 7, June 2009).

Furthermore, old local people find it difficult to include the narration of the *Petroglifos* in their spatial-temporal coordinates, which do not present definite periods and only served to structure their understanding of the surrounding landscape in pre-industrial societies (Hernando Gonzalo 2002). Accordingly, they consider the carvings to be the work of shepherds. However, they consider that the memory of those shepherds must have been lost. Thus, they consider them ‘recent’, but prior to their knowledge of reality acquired via oral transmission. As Campos says, it is common that “old people, may be in the bar, look at you straight in the eyes, and tell you that in reality they did the carvings when they were young shepherds” (Interview 36A, June 2012). The second strategy they use is to attribute the carvings to those characters that populate their mythical landscape, the *mouros* or *moros*. This fact can be summarized by a conversation held in Chana de Somoza between Campos and a group of six local elders about the *Petroglifos* and other sites with carvings, which I reproduce at length (Interview 38, September 2010):

- (Person 1): “Yes, we used to carve the cups [cazoletas], just not to be looking at the sheep all time.”

- (Campos): “Yes, of course... and you tell me that you did it exactly in the same way as people in Galicia and Northern Europe... Instead of writing your initials, your name or the name of your girlfriend, you were doing cups!”

...

- (P. 2): “And what about the ‘cauldron of the *mora* [*caldera de la mora*], did you find it? Now the forest is clean to go in and see.”

- (Campos): “Yes, that is the fountain with the horseshoes of the *Patrón Santiago* [Saint James], yes, that is one thing, but that other stone up there, with more than fifty horseshoes carved in it is different. One thing is the thing there, in Chana, where the sign of the shepherd is easy to see. But it is clearly different, you know, what the shepherds did some years ago from what people did thousands of years ago. No one now would carve a circle with a point in the middle, I suppose... Or yes, may be it was a shepherd, but a shepherd who did it four thousand years ago, our ancestor.”

- (All laughing): “Come on! No, no, no... come on man!

- (Campos): “Then how do you explain that people come visiting, and instead of coming to see the church, they go to see them [the carvings]?”

- (P. 2): “Well, if they are not Christians, it is understandable that they do not go to visit the Church...”

...

- (Campos): “And what about the *Piedra de la Medida*⁷⁵? Who did that?”

- (They all look down and remain silent for a while. Finally, Person 4 speaks): “Well no, it is true that a shepherd would not do that... But you know, they say that the *mora* used to come down to that place and wash her clothes... I do not know.

- (P. 3): “Yes, yes, that is the laundry of the *mora* [*lavadero de la mora*].”

- (Campos, *sarcastic*): “Of course, the *mora*... for sure it was the *mora* who came down and did it.”

The dialogue is revealing in many ways. Local people remain tied in all possible ways to their views, in which ‘the past’ and ‘heritage’ do not exist ‘out there’, nor have any intrinsic value. In fact, most people I interviewed in Lucillo refused to make sense of the *Petroglifos* and only sought to include them within their utilitarian and functional frameworks. In other words, they tried to estimate the economic value they might bring to local businesses in case tourists or investments would come. On the other hand, Campos naively but plainly speaks to them and imposes his modern ‘scientific-mediated’ or ‘semi-scientific’ views about the past over ‘peasant’s’ discourses, which he considered inferior and not valid. This process could be subjected to a critique from the point of view of cultural hegemony and the lack of respect for popular culture, which is only tolerated in contemporary societies in the form of folklore (García Canclini 1993). Could a modern epistemological framework tolerate and speak with those who do not share a scientific worldview without relegating them to the museum? Probably not. However, Campos talks to them in more or less symmetrical terms, without arrogating himself any sort of privileged or dominant position in their regard. Consequently, people react positively to his opinions. I never told him my doubts about how he was going about the issue because I considered that it would have been a patronizing attitude on my part. In any case, Campos considered this relation with local communities to be part of his task to raise the consciousness about the value of these objects. In fact, he was so enthusiastic

⁷⁵ A site a few kilometers away from Lucillo, one hundred meters away from an Iron Age hillfort. It is a stone carved in such a way that it seemed suited for people to lay in it. People from the village used it to measure themselves and that is why it is called the *Piedra de la Medida*, the stone of measuring. The existence of cups and little conductions carved in the stone has spurred the most diverse interpretations, and fringe archaeologists affirm that it was used to perform human sacrifices.

because the *Petroglifos* suffered a number of physical aggressions soon after the discovery was publicly announced.



Image 67. Campos engaged with a group of local elders in Chana de Somoza. Source: Author.

Therefore, little by little, “people start looking at the stones with a different viewpoint. Local people start thinking of them as different, you know. First, they said *it was a matter of moros but now they know it is going to appear in the news and cause a fuss...*” (Interview 36A, June 2012, italics mine). As Campos notes, people started to associate certain objects and discourses with specific events, attitudes and reactions with a counterpart in the real world. The *Petroglifos* were not only an ‘individualized’ site constructed epistemologically by scholars or official heritage practices (Harrison 2010), a site deterritorialized from the local landscape. More importantly, the carvings were being related with different chains of experiences empirically. Thus, Campos recalls how Franco, an inhabitant from Lucillo, had told him the following: “the other day I did as you said, I went there [to the *Petroglifos*] during the sunset, and that I tried to look at them with your eyes, and yes, I thought that they were beautiful” (Interview 36B, July 2009). Later, I interviewed Franco and he told me the same story, adding that he used to make contests with other shepherds to see who could fill more cups carved in the stone with pee (Interview 38, August 2011). Again, a local person engaged with different ‘ways of seeing’ (Urry 2002). A new way of seeing them involves a different relation with the object. Thus, people started looking at the rocks not only in functional terms, but also in aesthetic and symbolic terms. The heritage object then becomes ‘special’ and gains definition as a ‘distinct entity’. Thus, knowledge about heritage entities finally emerges, “but only at the end of a process which is oriented as vector, which has to be continuous, which has to trigger a chain of experiences, and which generates as a result a thing known, and an accurate representation of the thing, but only retroactively. The point of James... is that knowledge is not to be understood as what relates the idea of a dog and the real dog through some teleportation but rather as a chain of experiences woven into the tissue of life in such a way that when time is taken into account and when there is no interruption in the chain, then one can provide a) a retrospective account of what triggered the scheme, b) a knowing subject – validated as actual and not only virtual - and finally c) an object known- validated as an actual and not only virtual” (Latour 2007: 89). Thus, the question emerges of what ‘representation of the thing’ arises and is imposed

over others, filling the social space. Here, multiple competing discourses populate the social field: academic, pseudoarchaeological, vernacular, as well as hybridizations of all them, as the one deployed by Campos. Each social actor assembles specific objects with certain chains of experiences – scientific methods, fictional narrations, digital outreach information, etc. – that produce certain discourses. We will return to this issue later.

What matters to me here is to underline the construction of heritage objects as complex assemblages in ‘minor territories’, where linear, causal or transcendental explanations based on the individual or ‘official’ institutional agency are not valid: heritage is not only constructed by individuals or by institutions in an epistemological *salto mortale* or teleportation process. Heritage is assembled through chains of experiences. And those involve many other pre-existing assemblages: an educated population interested in cultural issues, informed journalists and politicians, a welfare state that creates large educated middle classes with leisure time, etc. The re-discovery of certain heritage elements demonstrated that the ‘breeding ground’ for the spread of heritage was not mature or ready when they were originally discovered during the 1980s: they did not exist in the social sphere although they existed in institutional documents and scholarly works. Thus, object (the element that could be considered as heritage) and subject (the transcendental cause that ‘sanctions’ heritage), “are not the adequate points of departure for any discussion about knowledge acquisition; they are not the anchor to which you should tie the vertiginous bridge thrown above the abyss of words and world, but rather they are generated as a byproduct – and a pretty inconsequential one at that – of the knowledge making pathways themselves. Object and subject are not ingredients of the world, they are successive stations along the paths through which knowledge is rectified” (Latour 2007: 91-3).

The ‘heritage event’ or encounter between Campos and the *Petroglifos* created both of them as a knowledgeable subject and a to-be heritage object. Local people knew that a rock with carvings existed, but they could not link it with modern archaeological or heritage discourses, nor could relate it with a past ‘out there’, that is, with a temporal dimension extricated from the present that modern knowledge generates. In turn, Campos would have not become famous, published a book, started a blog, or carried on visiting Maragatería with such enthusiasm, if he had not encountered them. Campos did not readily think that they *Petroglifos* were ‘right’, old and valuable objects. Rather, he sought professional advice and then discussed with many people to try to convince them that they were old. And he did so not only local people but also with experts and scholars. He was ‘constructing heritage knowledge’. In relation to this, it is worth to follow again Latour, who quotes Fleck:

“It is also clear that from these confused notes Wassermann heard the tune that hummed in his mind but was not audible to those not involved. He and his coworkers listened and “tuned” their “sets” until these became selective. The melody could then be heard even by unbiased persons who were not involved” (Fleck 1981 [1935]: 86).

Latour adds that the experiments that the protagonists of the story were carrying out “could not be called correct”, but “Fleck’s originality here is in breaking away from the visual metaphor (always associated with the bridge-crossing version) and in replacing it by the progressive shift from an uncoordinated to a coordinated movement” (Latour 2007: 94-96). Similarly, Campos has effected a large coordination movement assembling many different actors into a certain understanding of the *Petroglifos*. The process by which those have been constructed as heritage

objects can be understood as a complex work of translation and networking. He did not ‘discover’ the *Petroglifos* but rather enacted a certain set of connections and link of chains of experiences. The question emerges of what ontological status should be accorded to the *Petroglifos* before they were discovered, that is, during their ‘pre-heritage’ moment. This can be equated with Latour’s famous question about the way of life of microbes before Pasteur “engaged them into the pathway of nineteenth century microbiology” (1999: 145-170). If we consider that the *Petroglifos* were always what they are, waiting to be known by a transcendental subject of enunciation, we are reopening the epistemological gap between humans and their object of knowledge. If we think that the *Petroglifos* date from, or emerge when scientists or someone designated them as such, we are falling into the trap of relativism. In a somewhat similar approach than Law and Mol’s multiple ontologies (2002), Latour proposes a way to escape this deadlock. He argues that we should not accord a different epistemological status to the *Petroglifos*, but rather two different ontological status, that is, two or more forms of being depending on the pathways and assemblages they engage with. The two fundamental ones are the ‘mode of subsistence’, by which the object preserves its more or less stable material being, and the ‘mode of reference’, by which different forms of knowledge are produced from the object and different tasks performed upon it (Latour 2007: 101). Therefore, the *Petroglifos* are not only a social construction, but rather a construction as such. That is, a novelty or a creation that is added to the world and that is entrenched within a new chain of experiences that enables social actors to deploy new sets of relations with certain elements: “knowledge is added to the world; it does not suck things into representations or, alternatively, disappear in the object it knows. It is added to the landscape” (Idem: 104).

Thus, Campos’ actions can be as the necessary relay for the transition between embodied and disembodied reason. In epistemological terms, it could be equated as a ‘hinge subject’ that enacts the transition described by Foucault (2002a) from *savoir*, (implicit knowledge, everyday opinions, etc.) to *connaissance* (formal bodies of learning and academic disciplines). It can also be framed as a work of translation. In order to find the *Petroglifos* and other similar sites, he translates vernacular knowledge into clues for potential discoveries. When shepherds talk about strange rocks and relate them with stories of *moros*, or when they say that there are ‘signs’ in them, Campos aligns these discourses within the scientific pathways where they make sense. He connects chains of experience with knowledge and objects. Thus, ‘stones’ are translated and become heritage or archaeology. Archaeological experts enact further translations and create compartmentalizations and chronologies: the *Petroglifos* might be chronologically located between the Neolithic era and the Iron Age. Through the establishment of comparisons with other contexts like Galicia, their uniqueness is asserted. Further translations are then necessary for politicians to make sense of the process. The site has to be made significant, simplified, packed as heritage or as an object of tourism consumption, and it is necessary to show them that people are concerned about it, and, more significantly, that this concern might have an impact in the media. Thus, politicians must be convinced that it is worth investing in the *Petroglifos* and that if they do something about it, their public image will improve and that will have an electoral payoff.

Thus, processes of heritage construction must not only take into account the local communities, similar tasks of consciousness raising must be performed with the political community for the site to gain relevance and stop being a ‘quasi heritage object’ (Serres 1982). This involves putting pressure on institutions by denouncing the situation of the archaeological sites,

both online and in newspapers. Also, it implies requesting local political representatives to ask in the regional court about the site, in a process that involves local city mayors, provincial and regional political representatives. Seemingly, this happened one year and two months after Campos made public the existence of the *Petroglifos* (March 2009). The Regional Government's 'provisional' preservation plan, which turned out to be provisional for more than three years, materialized in the implementation of two seedy informative panels. From the local perspective, the actions of public institutions at the provincial, regional and national levels seem alien in most cases. For instance, the mayor of Lucillo was strike by how the implementation of the panels took place. Two handworkers arrived to the city council asking for the exact location of the *Petroglifos*. One local inhabitant accompanied them to the place. They carved out holes in the archaeological area and fixed the panels to the ground with concrete, and then left swiftly. They worked for a signage company, had no archaeological knowledge, and no archaeological supervision. The fact that carving holes in archaeological areas without the control of an expert in archaeology is illegal according to the Regional heritage legislation does not matter because the commissioner of the project was the Regional Government. Also because no one in the area, not even Campos, knew what was going on nor had been informed. The panels were not only of a rather shabby appearance, but were misleading and confusing. Their schematic representations of the carvings were wrong. Finally yet importantly, they stated that the *Petroglifos* were located in Lucillo rather than in Filiel, which caused conflicts between both villages. To put an end to the contentious issue, a week later someone added a sticker on the signals covering the previous names and renaming the site with the ambiguous designation of '*Petroglifos* of the Teleno'. The ongoing processes of constructing the *Petroglifos* carried on when new panels were added in April 2012. Their appearance is slightly better, and at least they are no invasive, wrong or illegal. However, they speak about the neighboring region of Galicia without explicitly referring to the local context.

Additional knowledge translations can occur secondarily. For instance, Campos comes to acquire new knowledge from local communities about a certain object. Then, he attributes a new meaning to it in relation to particular scientific discourses, coming back to the community with the object wrapped in a new form: the *Petroglifos* were made by shepherds but thousands of years ago, they are valuable because they are old and because they are visited by more people than the church. This contrasts to the pre-industrial mindset that, in the transition to modernity, considers 'old things' to be negative rather than positive.



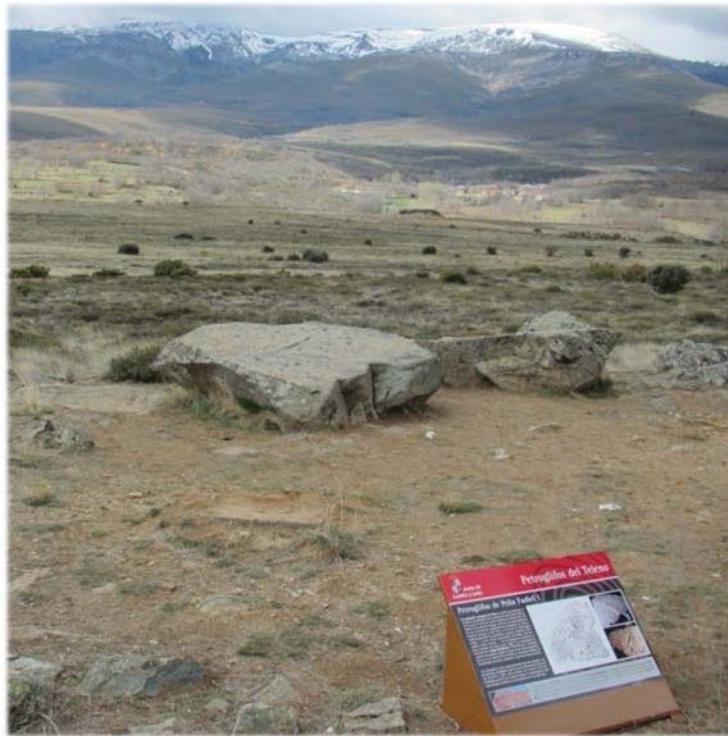


Image 68. Signposts in the *Petroglifos*. Above: a man from Lucillo that witnessed the implementation of the signposts shows them to me. Source: Author. Below: the new signposts, the *Petroglifos* and the Teleno Mountain in the background. Source: Juan Carlos Campos.

In addition, for those communities local church is in most cases the only ‘distinct’ and valuable construction or object. The relations of Campos with the local communities can be regarded with more or less ethical reserves, but at least he dares dealing with them. Also, he has entries in his blog dedicated to the shepherds, their beliefs, and to the people that help him in his findings. As he says, “the maragatos are noble but distrustful people. They can give you everything you need or want to know, but if they think that you have somehow taken advantage from them, they will not call you anymore” (Interview 36A, 18th June 2012). Campos works as a ‘hinge subject’ that translates what other curious people find throughout the region. For instance, Mark, a Belgian who settled down in Maragatería after walking the *Camino de Santiago*, discovered a menhir with inscriptions thanks to the indications of a shepherd. Of course, he did not call the provincial, regional or local experts, the University of León or the newspapers: he called Campos. Both agreed to keep the discovery in secret and then inform the experts. Campos’ entry in his blog on Thursday, 11 June 2009 explains what came next:

“Although Mark’s intention was to divulge his discovery as soon as possible, we agreed to wait some weeks, as the outcomes of the study about the maragato carvings [the Petroglifos] seemed to be imminent and it seemed logic to wait for the experts to come and see it. However, some months have gone by without any news from them, and thus Mark has decided not to wait anymore, and that is why you can see these photos here” (Campos 11/06/2008).

Mark and Campos tried to follow the ‘standard’ procedure with the remains: let the experts know about it, visit the remains with them, and then render the news public after having gone through the filter of experts and scholars. As they cannot convince the experts of the significance of these

findings (either because they are not conceived as ‘legitimate’ subjects for the construction of knowledge, or because expert’s disinterest on the matter), they establish a direct rapport with the public and communicate their findings straightforwardly.

Campos’ attitude of being willing to listen and willing to give back, which resonates with the most recent theoretical accounts of how to deal in non-hegemonic ways with local communities (e.g. Haber 2011c), is rarely held by institutions and professionals in the area and broadly in Spain. This is evinced not only by the kind of interventions and social relations they establish, but also by their representational practices. Thus, despite the rocks with carvings are palimpsests with different signs of different chronologies, what is prioritized is the ‘original’ and ‘old’ part of it, which is deemed ‘authentic’ and the true focus of attention. Shepherds are implicitly considered as backward and ignorant, and thus are there only to provide information about the location of things past and to be enlightened by and taught a certain scientific discourse afterwards (on heritage, on archaeology, etc.). However, their stories and material remains are uninteresting and even ‘contaminating’ of the pure heritage object. Accordingly, despite their traces, signatures and signs are there, no reference is made to them in academic or museological discourse. They are neither taken into account in the academic interpretations of archaeological or heritage sites, despite they would have many things to teach archaeologists to understand prehistoric territorialities and logics (González Álvarez 2011).

The way Campos and other local aficionado researchers conceive the experts reveals the way power articulations work in the territory as well. Among him and many others, a vision of academics and experts prevails that mixes respect and fear, fear of being wrong or of not being prepared or knowledgeable enough. They are considered as ‘the people who know’, or the ‘people who think they know’, including institutional technicians, museum staff and academics. For instance, Campos is proud of having the e-mail and telephone number of some of these people, and considers that, “at the beginning, I would have never thought that I would have them one day, that they would take me seriously into account” (Interview 36B, July 2009). In fact, he recalls his first visit to some sites with the University experts in charge of the project “Diagnose, cleaning, documentation, study and preservation of the rock carvings in Maragatería” (Bernaldo de Quirós Guidotti et al. 2011). When he was showing them a stone with horseshoe-shaped carvings and some shepherd signs, one of the experts told him that it was evident that the rock was contemporary because there were shepherd signs. Campos had looked at them in detail and had performed a commonsensical stratigraphic reading. He had noted that the recent signs were carved over the horseshoes, and that some horseshoes were older than others because some were cutting the others. However, he did not reply to the expert, and thus the rock has been left out of the sites considered of research interest.

In different interviews and in his blog, Campos expressed his concern about the lack of attention paid by academics and institutions to the *Petroglifos* and the numerous other sites that are being discovered. In fact, despite the Regional Government affirmed in October 2009 that they had adopted measures for their preservation and study, the only noticeable change has been a change in the panels after four years. The aforementioned project for their study commissioned in 2009 resulted in a conference presentation in 2011 that was published in 2012 (Bernaldo de Quirós Guidotti et al. 2011). Their research did not involve the local people and shows how the academic conception of knowledge acquisition equates preservation with ‘saving the data’. Thus, there was no local involvement and the paper dealt fundamentally with methodological issues related to

documentation techniques. Both documentations techniques and ‘data’ are at the far side of the social interest on the *Petroglifos*, whose materiality and potential for tourism attraction are valued most. Also, Campos and others were expecting from the academics some chronological data, a discussion of the potential interpretations for the site, or some perspectives for a future museological project. However, the paper deals exclusively with technical questions in its different subsections: photography, planimetric drawing, diagnose, cleaning, photogrammetric laser scan, ‘frottage’ techniques, night photography, direct conservation and cabinet research (Bernaldo de Quirós Guidotti et al. 2011).

Campos was happy to know about the cleaning, but he considers that the €18.000 of the project might “have been enough to carry out a little excavation in the surrounding area, as the bedrock is near the surface” (Interview 27A, June 2012). His ideas are also in tune with the most recent developments of public archaeology (Ayán Vila et al. 2011; Merriman 2004) as he considered that “it would be good to involve local and interested people, especially children, working under the supervision of a professional archaeologist, who should be paid of course. If children learn to value what they have here, the preservation of the remains will be assured in the future” (Interview 27A, June 2012). Of course, this situation paves the way for the proliferation of pseudoarchaeological discourses. Those can provide what academics do not: some interpretations of the sites to satisfy the curiosity of the public. Indirectly, those discourses avoid the realization of illegal explorations and damages to the site, as they gain a meaning for the public. Instead, the academic epistemological fixation with the generation of accurate representations of reality, emphasized within positivist and processualist paradigms (see Shanks and Tilley 1987; Shanks and Tilley 1992), disregards the local population and creates discourses that can difficultly circulate and be adopted by the public. The ‘chains of experience’ that scholars create link the object with an abstract and accurate representation through a set of more or less complex technologies that supposedly offer us a bridge to a ‘real past’ (Kristiansen 2008).

In any case, it would be an error to conflate the roles of academics and institutions. The translation of institutional into academic objectives and vice versa is a complex and problematic process as well. Thus, when in 2012 complaints endured in the newspapers and in the Regional Parliament about the lack of conservation measures adopted by the Regional Government, the authorities replied that they had “done their homework” (Burgos 11/04/2012). They argued that they had already invested nearly €20.000 “in a set of actions geared towards the preservation and promotion of those carvings, among which we find cleaning tasks, the elaboration of a scientific study, the delivering of leaflets, and the signaling of the site” (quoted in Gancedo 15/03/2012). Therefore, when the Regional Government commissioned the project to the academic group and included a reference to the necessity of preserving the *Petroglifos*, they were referring to a certain view of preservation that could differ from that of local actors and academics might have others. Academics straightforwardly linked preservation to the creation of accurate representations that would save ‘data’ (which is implicitly equated with knowledge) from destruction, a deterritorialized form of knowledge detached from the actual site. For Campos, the mayor of Lucillo and other local researchers, preservation means taking care and enhancing the site, promoting local awareness and involvement, and tourism

We can draw some conclusions from this. First, that local actors and aficionado researchers perceive that money is spent randomly and with rather little accountability, and not for the

protection of their interests or of the site itself. Therefore, they regard the expert-bureaucrat system as something alien and exclusive, rather than an open public institution working for citizens. Second, that heritage sites are multidimensional places with different ontological realities (Law and Mol 2002). That is, there are not different views on them depending on the epistemological lens of each actor, or different representations of them. Rather they are perceived, experienced and lived as different ontological realities, and thus different actors develop diverging future expectations from them. What the administration means with ‘study and preservation’ stands somewhere halfway between public and academic concerns. The State machine needs to follow the modern procedures of rational ordering and categorizing that underpin its legitimacy (Bennett 1995), but also to satisfy social demands and concerns. Probably, their aim is to construct a heritage object, but they do not know enough what they want to plan its construction. In turn, academics are interested in their own research agendas and the accumulation of scientific capital (Bourdieu 1990), and they do not know exactly what is the will of institutions neither, what do they want to create⁷⁶. The variable perceptions of different social actors of ‘what is good’ varies and is rarely agreed upon beforehand (Boltanski et al. 1991). This is partially due to the prevalence of a more or less ‘accepted’ official heritage discourse whose rhetorical character and pervasiveness of empty signifiers (such as sustainable development, excellence, quality, and so on) conceal what is to be implemented in reality. Also, because the social field is fragmented and multiple, there is no single epistemological ‘plane of reference’ or homogenous subjectivity. Especially in minor territories, the social sphere is configured as an *oligopticon* as opposed to a *panopticon*: people and institutions see and control too little of what others think or do (Latour et al. 1998). In fact, the reason why analysis of heritage contexts usually focus in processes where transcendental actors impose their power upon reality (the State, experts, the UNESCO, etc.) is partly due to the prevalence of Foucauldian explorations based on the concept of the ‘panopticon’ (Foucault 1977). However, as my study in Maragatería shows, this is rarely the case, and even when strong actors strive to impose their will, multiple mediations and translations must occur before a heritage entity can be constructed as such.

This is why the *Petroglifos* remain partial objects; they “cannot yet be qualified as either social relations or things. Objects exist or not depending on the ability of humans to gather around them, but humans gather around objects whenever those objects have the ability to reconcile them” (Latour 1996: 1). In fact, it is in the process of negotiation between multiple stakeholders and during the different transactions that occur between them, that the interests of actors shift, take shape, gather around certain objects, or transform them. Similarly, it is the social process of doing and performing archaeology what matters, and not that much the establishment of scientific analogies between the a past ‘out there’ and its representation (Holtorf 2005b). This implies rethinking the social constructivist paradigm in the social sciences. What social constructivism never explains is why human beings and society “constantly needs to be projected onto new objects... if religion, arts, styles are necessary to reflect, reify, materialize, embody, society, then are they not, in the end, its co-producers? Is not society built literally, and not metaphorically, of gods, machines, sciences, arts and styles?” (Latour 1996: 19). Thus, to do without the last remnants

⁷⁶ These contradictions become clear when academics and institutions must cooperate to take forward a project, or when institutions assign academics a project. Institutions and politicians mistrust academics because they consider that they want to use funding and resources for their specific research interests. This can be summed up in a phrase that an academic interviewee was told in the context of a LEADER project: “we want projects to be implemented; we do not want to write or publish books”.

of essentialist thought, we should start thinking on ‘heritage assemblages’, emergent processes where subjectivities and objects are co-constituted relationally. In these processes, segmentations and exclusions are performed, money is invested, values are assessed, and agency and power positions negotiated.

From this standpoint, a new scope for the discipline of critical heritage studies arises. For Harrison (2010), heritage studies should critically analyze the relations between bottom-up and top-down approaches to heritage. From a standpoint that acknowledges the situated existence of multiple heritage ontologies, the role of critical heritage studies should also have an instrumentalist task to accomplish. That is, to act as a mediator between humans and non-humans, culture and technology, in specific matters of concern. This enables researchers not only to criticize what others do from an external God-eye view, but also to engage practically in the transformation of reality operating as critical agents while at the same time reflecting and evolving their own disciplinary codes (Zaera-Polo 2008).

The ‘Stoned Fever’. A Stonehenge in Maragatería.⁷⁷

Maragatería has always been praised and studied by many researchers owing to its mysteriousness and unexplained secrets. From the ethnic roots of the *maragatos* to the different social practices and rituals enacted in the area until not long ago, researchers have been interested in Maragatería and have felt compelled to put forward all kinds of theories on every single aspect of its existence. However, until 2008 archaeological sites and the ancient past had been rather left alone as uninteresting fields for public and academic speculation and enigma. Only some advocates of the Leonese political claims used to the past to generate legitimizing discourses in the area for political reasons (González Álvarez and Alonso González Forthcoming). Since the discovery of the Petroglifos in 2008, it has been open season for speculation and pseudoarchaeology in Maragatería. While on the side of scientific archaeology only one short paper has been published, at least four books and one paper have been published by non-professional or academic aficionado archaeologist or enlightened people. Moreover, some blogs have been created with a focus on pseudoarchaeological topics and dozens of online forum sites are filled with issues related with Maragatería. Not to talk of the many news appearing in provincial newspapers, and national television and radio programs such as *Cuarto Milenio* or *La Rosa de los Vientos*, characterized by their nightly schedule and predilection for enigmatic and esoteric topics. These discourses have even permeated political discourse. The mayor of Astorga recently encouraged the people from the city in the official and traditional ‘Greeting from the Mayor’ during the carnival celebrations in February 2012 to “dance well into the day, seeking liberation and the encounter with music and revelry... *As our ancestors did before Carna, the Celtic goddess of beans and bacon*” (Italics mine). Moreover, my ethnographic work with eco-rurals in the area revealed that they are performing rites and overnight gatherings in the *Petroglifos* site. They are up to date with pseudo-archaeological publications and draw inspiration from them in their celebrations. However, the *Petroglifos* are not

⁷⁷ The title refers to the influential article by Chris Chippindale Chippindale, C. (1986). "Stoned Henge: events and issues at the summer solstice, 1985." *World Archaeology*, 18(1), 38-58. on the druid celebrations and their conflicts with the British Heritage authorities around the ownership of Stonehenge, called *Stoned Henge: events and issues at the summer solstice*.

Stonehenge, and there are no conflicts for space or use: there is place for all, and these performances do not usually go public as well.

Pseudoarchaeology... or Something else?

The issue of pseudoarchaeology has spurred a great debate in the field of archaeology that has reached Spain recently (Domínguez Solera 2010). The different definitions of pseudoarchaeology have led to multiple terminologies: cult (Cole 1980; Cole et al. 1990; Stiebing Jr 1987), alternative (Holtorf 2005a; Moshenska 2008; Sebastian 2001; Wallis and Lymer 2001), fringe, fantastic or even bullshit archaeology (Daniel 1979). Pseudoarchaeology refers in general to the interpretation of archaeological data and the past outside the academic or professional archaeological community. It is in tune with other pseudoscientific approaches that supposedly profit from the relativism defended by postmodern authors (Sokal 2006). As pseudoarchaeology stands outside the scientific method, it has been considered as belief by some, and thus interpreted as a psychological phenomenon that does not need to be rationally grounded on empirical evidence (Fritze 2009). Pseudoarchaeological interpretations are multiple, and it is impossible to lump them all together. Normally, those authors oppose and mistrust academics and present themselves as underdogs that work for love to what they do outside any establishment, without marrying anyone. When academics criticize pseudoarchaeologists, those consider it to be a further proof of the will of academics to preserve their privileged status (Fagan 2006b).

These discourses normally share a series of distinctive traits. Stiebing Jr. summed them up to three characteristics: their tendency to provide simple answers to complex questions, to present themselves as being prosecuted by the academic establishment and to apply unscientific methods (Stiebing Jr 1987). As they do not apply the scientific method, they tend to force the data to fit their interpretations and to draw broad cultural comparisons without any rational or empirical support. Myths are mixed with historical facts whose chronologies can be altered to fit the data. Fagan further analyzed pseudoarchaeology to consider it a predominantly interpretative endeavor that eschews scientific methods and approaches and rejects context and complexity. For him “it is a different animal altogether” (Fagan 2006b: 27). He divides the defining traits of these pseudoarchaeological discourses into issues of procedure, of method, and of attitude. Fundamentally, he argues that they stick to outdated theoretical methods such as hyper-diffusionism and catastrophism. Also, that they share a contempt towards academia. Moreover, issues of presentation prevail over detail and analytical depth, and thus they tend to make huge claims while at the same time distorting, selecting and de-contextualizing what they present. Research questions do not exist and definitions are scarce, vague and loosely related with other concepts. Their comparisons and capacities for making connections is “as impressive as it is pointless” (Fagan 2006b: 36), and are normally geared towards the demonstration that disparate cultures shared some similarities. There is an emphasis on ‘reading’ and ‘decoding’ mysteries and esoteric elements, which tends to convey the idea to the reader that matters of deep relevance are disguised as superficial mundanities. The constant use of rhetoric language serves to convert suggestions into established facts, vague analogies are grounded on common sense, and sometimes the invocation of hard sciences serves to underpin certain claims. Furthermore, different authors point to the connections between pseudoarchaeology and nationalist motivations (e.g. Arnold 2006a; Arnold

2006b; Marín Suárez 2005). However, this latter point can be also applied to uncritical academic archaeologies that were born with XIX nationalisms, and which in many cases still today work under nationalist agendas (Baram and Rowan 2004; Diaz-Andreu and Champion 1996; Kohl 1998; Meskell 1998).

Different academics have contested pseudoarchaeological theories (e.g. Renfrew 2006). Normally, these responses emphasize the scientific methodology of archaeology and the existence of a 'real past' out there that can be discovered: "we deserve a veritable past, a real past constructed from the sturdy fabric of geology, paleontology, a archaeology, and history, woven on the loom of science. We deserve better and can do better than weave a past from the whole cloth of fantasy and fiction... the veritable past is every bit as interesting as those pasts constructed by the fantasy weavers of frauds, myths, and mysteries" (Feder 1990: 201). Contrary to pseudo science, in the archaeological endeavor "new evidence or arguments have to be thoroughly scrutinized to secure their validity" (Fagan 2006b). Renfrew emphasizes that the study of human origins is a serious matter trivialized by pseudoarchaeologists (2006). For Fagan and Feder, dialogue with pseudoarchaeologists is impossible due to the different approaches to research and the past, and their lack of rationality in their investigations (2006).

Holtorf (2005a) has provided a more inclusive attitude towards alternative archaeologies. He argues that some interpretative tools like archaeo-astronomy, which were characteristic of pseudoarchaeology in the past, are now being adopted as legitimate methodologies in the academic world (In Spain see Burillo Mozota 2010; Cerdeño Serrano and Rodríguez Caderot 2010; Mejuto González and Torres Martínez 2010). Furthermore, he argues that the attitudes of academic archaeologists are overall paternalistic and patronizing, and that this damages the public image and social perception of archaeologists. His anti-elitist position considers popular culture to be "how people choose to live their own lives" (Holtorf 2005b: 8). From his standpoint, material culture and archaeological sites are important for allowing the past to be experienced as such, rather than through the experts' cold understandings of it (Idem: 127). Ultimately, he argues that "if archaeology is popular culture, then we are all archaeologists" (Idem: 160). In his account, he conflates the boundaries between amateurs and professionals, educated and enthusiast people (Cusack 2012). If we frame pseudoarchaeology as popular culture, it supposedly deserves recognition from archaeologists that should engage in dialogue with them "in an era of community archaeology, transparency, and collaboration" (Blain and Wallis 2004: 318). Ultimately, Holtorf's claims rest on the argument of democracy and the individual right to choose in a free society. Moreover, he argues that alternative interpreters of sites are more successful than archaeologists in building stories that are meaningful for a non-expert public (Holtorf 2005a: 547).

Kristiansen has recently mounted a harsh criticism of Holtorf arguments (2008). His broad argument is that Holtorf's view "represents a dangerous attempt to deconstruct archaeology as a historical discipline in order to allow modern market forces to take over the archaeological heritage and the consumption of the past as popular culture" (Idem: 448). As a result of Holtorf's views, "there is no need of academic archaeologists, as we do not need to know about the past as past, only as popular culture in the present" (Idem: 448). Kristiansen conflates Holtorf's views with a "world of free market consumption of the past", and opposes to it a "democratic-political framework of legislation and academia" that works to shed light on a "real past" (Idem: 449). Ultimately, Kristiansen argues that Holtorf "wants to undermine the very foundation of archaeology's

popularity in popular culture – archaeology itself” (Idem: 490). From my viewpoint, Kristiansen’s arguments raise more questions than they solve: what is the ‘real past’ archaeologists are trying to unveil? Can we straightforwardly conflate popular tastes with ‘the market forces’? Is the ‘democratic-academic’ framework really democratic and devoid of power inequalities? How should we go then about pseudoarchaeology? Should archaeologists from a democratic standpoint censor pseudoarchaeologists for confusing the public about the real past that they are able to represent?

From my standpoint, what Holtorf is arguing is that in archaeological practice the analogy between facts and epistemological representations is desirable but not the only relevant matter to take into account. In fact, scientific representation is only one of the ‘systems of representation’ by which meaning is created as a cultural process. As Hall argues, it “enables us to give meaning to the world by constructing a set of correspondences or a chain of equivalences between things – people, objects, events, abstract ideas, etc. – and our system of correspondences between our conceptual map and a set of signs, arranged or organized into various languages which stand for or represent those concepts. The relation between “things”; concepts and signs lies at the heart of the production of meaning in language. The process which links these three elements together is what we call representation” (1997: 19).

This is what academics tried to do with the *Petroglifos*: seek coherence between reality and their representations. Scientifically, I guess the best way to know the *Petroglifos* would imply an in-depth archaeological survey of Maragatería, an extensive excavation of the surroundings of the site, the analysis of the typologies of objects, bones, seeds and pollen found, and the radiocarbon dating of samples to ascertain their chronology. But what difference would it make for people to know that they are from one period or the other? Holtorf’s answer is that, most surely, not much. This is why, he argues, archaeology is basically about the present and part of popular culture, which he distinguishes from mass and low culture. He embraces Williams’ definition of popular culture as the culture people produce for themselves (1991), and also Maltby’s conception of popular culture as a form a dialogue society has with itself (1989).

Thus, Holtorf is not arguing that it is unimportant to validate data or embracing an anti-scientific stance, but he emphasizes the significance of the present task of investigating the past and the meanings that emerge in the process. As I have tried to demonstrate, the process of construction of heritage and archaeological sites is complex and the ways social actors will perceive them and the meanings they will associate with them will be partially determined by that process of construction. Moreover, something that Holtorf’s account hides is the increasing public demand of rigorous scholar accounts, from local communities to pseudoarchaeologists and institutions. If Campos had satisfied with scholarly interpretations of the *Petroglifos*, he would have not dared publishing his own book on them. However, I think that Holtorf’s account can confuse more than shedding light on the relation between archaeology and pseudoarchaeology by creating different categories of culture: ‘mass’, ‘low’, ‘popular’ and so on. In which category should we include the mythical worldviews of peasants or the pseudoarchaeological narratives of dowsing experts? By centering the debate around the discipline of Archaeology, locating in the center what is probably just one of the multiple vectors of social relation with the past, Kristiansen and Holtorf’s approaches remain bounded to a disciplinary view that curtails the possibility of accounting for pseudoarchaeology.

If it is useful to widen our analytic scope and see how anthropologists, psychoanalysts and philosophers have strived to account for ‘the outside’ of scientific positive knowledge. Rof-Carballo provides one of these views in his defense of psychoanalysis against charges of unscientificism made by positivism and the hard sciences. He argues that positive science only tolerates the practices that enable the reproduction of its self-image, being unable to provide an answer to the question of the reason why science is done (Rof-Carballo 1983). Ultimately, positive science is a knowledge practice based on domination, which situates the modern individual subject as the only site of enunciation (Idem). Positive science cannot account for this individual site of enunciation, as psychoanalysis has shown that individuality is just a modern abstraction (Hernando Gonzalo 2012). The opposition between pseudoarchaeological and scientific narratives can also be equated with the tension between myth and logos, romantic and enlightened thought, and objective and revealed truth. As has been stated earlier, whenever mythical worldviews and rational thought aim to take over the social sphere, they intertwine in a “curious travestism” (Cerezo Galán 1997: 33-34). That is, when “the logos aims to stand as an absolute, it becomes a myth of an all-encompassing and fundamental rationality. Conversely, when the myth wants to prove its absolute power it secretes a logos that precipitates its secularization. Every myth is thus implicitly mythology, an aspiration to account for its own mythical substance as an all-embracing interpretation, and every logos, when it does not acknowledge its internal boundaries, re-mythifies its contents and absolutizes its position” (Idem: 34). Also, we must take into account that “most anthropological definitions of myth can be applied quite directly to western history-making, especially of the official varieties: as a charter for the present (Malinowski), as an exploration and obliteration of social contradiction (Levi-Strauss, Leach), as an explanation of origins (Eliade)...” (Herzfeld 2001: 85).

Therefore, it is precisely when archaeology claims ‘scientific and rational positive knowledge’ as the only form of constructing legitimate discourses and representations about the past when it is opening the door for the proliferation of pseudoarchaeological narratives. This affirmation, which might seem counter-intuitive and even paradoxical, has recently been explored by Meillasoux in *After Finitude: an essay on the necessity of contingency* (2008) and in a conference at the *École Normale Supérieure* entitled *La finalité aujourd'hui* (24/09/2008). Meillasoux takes issue with the current proliferation of teleological and finalist⁷⁸ narratives such as creationism, which challenge and oppose the fundamental assumptions of modern biological and physical scientific knowledge. Despite in our case study the sciences involved are humanistic and social, the problem remains the same and thus his reflections can be brought to bear with the issue of pseudoarchaeology. First, instead of conflating all kinds of finalisms under the same umbrella, he differentiates between those finalists willing to ground their claims scientifically and those who do not, a similar situation to what we find in the field of pseudoarchaeology. In summary, his argument unfolds as follows. Meillasoux considers that finalist thought does have a complex core argument which cannot be reduced or conflated with outreach literature and propaganda about it. Second, he argues that it is necessary to contest finalism with rational arguments, rather than with other opposing sets of beliefs. Third, that science is incapable of defeating finalism, and thus the task of countering finalist narrations is philosophical. Fourth, and this is fundamental for us here, that the

⁷⁸ “A teleology is any philosophical account that holds that final causes exist in nature, meaning that design and purpose analogous to that found in human actions are inherent also in the rest of nature”, from Wikipedia: “Teleology” , in <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Teleology>, accessed 05-11-2012.

belief in the necessity of physical laws is precisely which gives its strength to finalism. Meillasoux affirms that there are physical constants in nature, but those are contingent rather than necessary (Meillassoux 2008). It is precisely the affirmation that these laws are necessary that prompts the proliferation of ‘belief’, because this affirmation generates a fundamental mystery: nothing can demonstrate why such laws are necessary (Meillassoux 24/09/2008). The existence of a mystery leads to superstition, and the scientific belief in the necessity of certain laws accentuates this tendency. Similarly, the more archaeologists affirm their disciplinary core and the necessity to generate accurate representations of the past through scientific means (e.g. Fagan 2006a; Kristiansen 2008), the more pseudoarchaeological narratives proliferate. Accordingly, the answer to pseudoarchaeology is not to be found in the reaffirmation of the epistemological solidity of the discipline, nor in claiming ‘the past’ as its private property, or by criticizing pseudoarchaeology because it does not comply with scientific laws. Rather, we must search the answer in the shortcomings and limitations of archaeological discourse and the mismatch between public demands and archaeological knowledge practices.

Therefore, following Meillasoux, we should move from an epistemological to an ontological and pragmatic stance to better account for these issues. With Latour, it is necessary to follow the chains of experience to which discourses about the past are linked, and the knowledge pathways they are enter. Fanon’s argument that pseudoarchaeology is a different animal altogether provides the best starting point to tackle these issues. Drawing on my research in Maragatería I will point to some issues for reflection in this regard. First, contrary to Stiebing Jr., there is no ‘single pseudoarchaeology’, but many different subject positions with different agencies and relations with ‘real-world’ assemblages: academic, institutional, within communities, etc. Second, in my case of study it is clear that pseudoarchaeology better satisfies the public curiosity about the past than academic works. However, this does not imply that the past and its representations are subject to market forces, or that pseudoarchaeological accounts do not hold critical views. Actually, most people would prefer to have empirically grounded accounts. Finally, I argue that the affirmation of the existence of a ‘real past’ is an epistemological claim made by certain strands of Archaeology that consider the discipline to be a representational practice where ‘good questions imply good answers’. Also, where priority is accorded to representational accuracy between the past and present realities. In fact, the chains of experiences by which archaeology links materials with discourses imply certain methodologies – documentation, publication, peer-review, and so on – that remain far from public concerns and whose logics are not necessarily more democratic. In turn, pseudoarchaeology connects with the public because they are *part of the public, and creatively play with archaeological practice and data*. They establish chains of experiences that are meaningful and accessible for most people: internet blogs, publications in local libraries, talks in local museums, connections with contemporary nationalistic discourses, and so on. Thus, the proliferation of pseudoarchaeology should be understood as a practice in the real world rather than as a flawed epistemological knowledge acquisition path: pseudoarchaeology does not aim at establishing accurate representations of a ‘real past’ out there, and thus does not compete for the same symbolic nor physical space that archaeology claims for itself. Pseudoarchaeology adds *new things and discourses* to the world, without forcefully claiming epistemological veracity.

Maragatería on the Fringe.

The announcement of the discovery of the *Petroglifos* spurred an intense debate online and a number of newspaper and blog articles. The site ‘www.celtiberia.es’, known to be a gathering site for pseudoarchaeologists and alternative discourses about the past, reached more than four hundred comments on the topic in just three months. Initially, speculations revolved around an situation presented by Campos in his blog as a mystery that he could not solve: the presence of two parallel white dots alignments along one hundred meters that could be seen from satellite photography, but not in the field. In the middle of the discussion about the topic, people started to challenge Campos’ claims to have discovered the *Petroglifos*. For instance, Antonio García Montes argued that he knew the site but had decided not to go public, thus considering that Campos’s decision had been ethically wrong. García Montes, who holds a PhD in Literature and works as a high school teacher, was quick to mount a public claim on the site and to deploy his own interpretation of it. For him, the “perimeter of the site is delimited by a series of 15 dots that are visible from the air, which makes us think and relate the site with cosmic references (a cult to the sun maybe) or religious (a cult to the sacred mountain? To the God Tilenus?). Thus, the monumental complex would be the altar that presides the sanctuary” (Quoted in Gancedo 19/02/2008). These discourses on cosmic forces are intermingled with a quite pragmatic and open criticism to the performance of official authorities regarding heritage issues. Accordingly, García Montes argues that they preferred not to reveal the location of the site because institutions are “usually quite inoperative, as they have demonstrated in other occasions (for instance, the Roman remains were considered ‘not interesting’ by Julio Vidal [Provincial Archaeologist] after the fire in Tabuyo” (García Montes 16/02/2008).

The ‘white dots’ polemic can serve us here to illustrate some of the defining traits of pseudoarchaeology. During February 2008, the Website with the comments on Campos’ discovery was filled with interpretations made by different people who connected multiple traditions and commonsensical intuitions with the *Petroglifos* (see Celtiberia.net 16/02/2008 for comments on the topic). Those discourses are able to build narrations linking mythologies from all over the world with European prehistoric carvings and the Maragato ‘mysteries’. In comment #61, ‘lucusaugusti’ relates the white dots with the *maragato* villages of Piedras Albas and Lucillo because of the etymological relation of their names with meanings of ‘light’ and ‘brightness’ in Spanish. This intuition was sustained and furthered by ‘belisana’ in comment #66 on the grounds that “we are speaking about Maragatería here”, implying that Maragatería is a magical place where everything is possible. Comment #88 by ‘lucusaugusti’ provided the necessary connection with the God Tilenus (the Latin designation to the Teleno Mountain). He argued that the white dots must be related with light, and “Tilenus is the God of the Storm and the Thunder, and, I guess, of bolts as well: that is, white light”. Furthermore, the God Tilenus is, according to ‘belisana’, in direct connection with other mythical sites like ‘Teleña’ and ‘Taranis’. Of course, the connection with the ‘maragato myth’ could not miss. This was accomplished in comment #80 by ‘alevin’, via Sarmiento’s XVIII century theory on the Carthaginian origin of the *maragatos* (Sarmiento 1787). According to ‘alevin’, it would be possible to link the origin of the *maragatos* with the existence of Phoenician tombs in Santa Colomba de Somoza. Unfortunately for them, the white dots mystery was finally solved: the dots turned out to be trial excavations for a quarry. Thereafter, the debate shifted towards other unexplored terrains.

However, it would be an error to lump all pseudoarchaeologists together. Again, it is important to follow the actors, their evaluations and practices, to discover that there are unwritten ethical codes and systems of evaluation among them. The construction of a cultural representation of ‘pseudo’ scientists has become a straw man with no analytical interest: pseudoarchaeologists are different and their complexity must be respected. In their world, different behaviors are deemed fair or unfair. These judgments emerge in relation with some basic questions: the forms of interaction with institutions, academics and the media, the sources of information used, the quality of narrations, the capacity to establish ever more vast and complex connections between different mythologies and worlds, and the ‘politics of discovery’, that is, how to go about authorships claims, revealing information to the public, and so on. During my ethnography, I have come across some of these people and tracked others through their publications and online posts in blogs and forums because I deem fundamental to focus on their practices before judging them as a whole.

For instance, Campos cannot be considered as a pseudoarchaeologist, but rather as an informed aficionado or a ‘hinge subject’ that brings together local communities, institutions, and academic knowledge. Despite he had some initial dabbling with ‘mysteries’ and with the fringe online community, he was quick to seek expert advice. In fact, he has been in touch with international and national experts on the topic such as José Luis Galovart, Antonio de la Peña, Pablo Novoa, Jeff Sawards, among others. He has discussed his views on rock art with them and subjected them to academic scrutiny. The book he published on the topic comprises empiricist descriptions and some academic quotations that provide some clues or potential interpretations for the *Petroglifos*. However, he does not venture with free interpretations or connect the *Petroglifos* with mythical narrations. Moreover, the prologue was written by an academic and was presented in public under the aegis of scholars from the University of León. He has been selflessly and actively involved with local communities in seminars and knowledge transmission practices. In addition, he has helped protecting the site, for instance trying to be always present during visits of large groups of tourists to the site. His unfettered empiricism and humbleness keeps him away from exaggerated and inventive claims: he applies common sense to what he sees and asks ‘those who know’ – as he frequently says – about it.

His good relations with the academic establishment show that dialogue is possible when the relation is framed in cooperative rather than dialectic terms. When asked about his opinions and conflicts with other aficionado researchers outside academia, he is careful. He recognizes that, at the beginning, he was attracted by some of their perspectives. For instance, his opinion on the works on archaeoastronomy by González González (2011b) that interested him at the beginning is clear now: “I have good relations with him. He wanted to approach the *Petroglifos* from the point of view of astronomy. The idea was to connect the orientation of the sun with the ‘half seasons’ of the Celts or the *astures*⁷⁹. However, the problem is that there is always some carving or some stones facing towards the North Star, the Big Dipper or the sunset, so there is always some connection to be made. When I visited the director of the Museum in Lugo he told me to mistrust all this things, and so I do” (Interview 36C, January 2011). In fact, he recognizes that we will never know exactly what the *Petroglifos* meant at all, and dismounts the presentist arguments (sensu Seidman 1983) held by these authors about the Teleno Mountain: “they take the Roman model and think that theirs

⁷⁹ Pre-Roman inhabitants of the area, which, along with the Celts provide the fundamental discursive sources for fictive lucubration and cross-cultural bridging.

was the only way that existed to conceive of the gods. Who knows, maybe the Roman cults are derived from indigenous preexistences, but who knows what the men before the Celts and the *astures* believed. Maybe the gods meant other things for them, or they were many rather than only one” (Interview 36A, June 2012).

González González is probably the only author in the area that fits the model of pseudoarchaeologist described by the literature produced in the English-speaking world. His works mix real data with their inventive and fictive interpretations, which are partially based on anthropological and archaeological research as well. Archaeoastronomy and quotations to hard sciences provide the grounds from which to deploy a narrative where multiple mythologies, calendars, and magical forces intersect with Maragatería. For instance, he frames his in-depth exploration of ‘Who is the God Tilenus?’ and the potential connection of the prehistoric carvings with it in an enigmatic fashion: “the meaning and function of the carvings become ever more enigmatic due to the powerful proximity of the Teleno, the sacred mountain of the *astures*; they seem indecipherable. Why were these stones carved and not others? Was it an ancestral entertainment for shepherds? Are we dealing with sacred sites for ancient and unknown cults?” (González González 2011b: Prologue)⁸⁰. To answer his questions he freely moves from interpretations of the role of the God Mars in ancient Rome, to the exploration of its connections with Indra and the dragon Vritra, Lug and Balor, then to the northern European mythologies of Thor, Odín and Freyr, to finally bond them all with Taranis, Teutates and Esus. He is concerned with establishing a pointless connection between sets of triads that would have some connection with the *Petroglifos*.

He is presented as a ‘researcher’ in newspapers, where he provides solid and clear (unfounded) scientific answers to journalists to the rather complex issues they pose him. For instance, when he was asked to explain to the public what is a ‘sacred place’, he replied that “it is a site that, for some reason, is different from the others and enable men to communicate with those forces that he believes that govern the cycles and ongoing processes of the Universe. Influencing or controlling those forces, through magic or religion, was fundamental to guarantee the survival of human communities” (quoted in Gancedo 19/08/2011)⁸¹. Moreover, he draws on outdated theoretical models and frames his research on the dubious historic region of *Asturia*, which comprises more or less the contemporary areas of the provinces of León and Asturias. The existence and veracity of these geographic denotations has undergone academic critical review since the 1990s (González-Ruibal 2006). But that does not matter: the establishment of connections between the past and the present is a cornerstone of pseudoarchaeology.

⁸⁰ “Sin embargo, el significado y función de los petroglifos, aún más enigmáticos por la poderosa proximidad del Teleno, el monte sagrado de los astures, se antojan indescifrables. ¿Por qué y cuándo fueron grabadas estas piedras y no lo fueron otras? ¿Entretenimiento ancestral de pastores? ¿Lugares sagrados de antiguo y desconocido culto?” González González, M. Á. (2011b). *Teleno, señor del laberinto, del rayo y de la muerte: un enfoque etnoarqueoastronómico para el estudio de los santuarios antiguos del corazón de la Asturia*, León: Lobo Sapiens..

⁸¹ “Lo es aquel emplazamiento «que, por alguna razón, se diferencia del resto, es singular, y permite la comunicación del hombre con aquellas fuerzas que, cree, gobiernan los ciclos y procesos del Universo. Influir o controlar estas fuerzas, mediante la magia o la religión era esencial para garantizar la supervivencia de las comunidades humanas” Gancedo, E. 19/08/2011. Un Dios como una montaña. *Diario de León*..

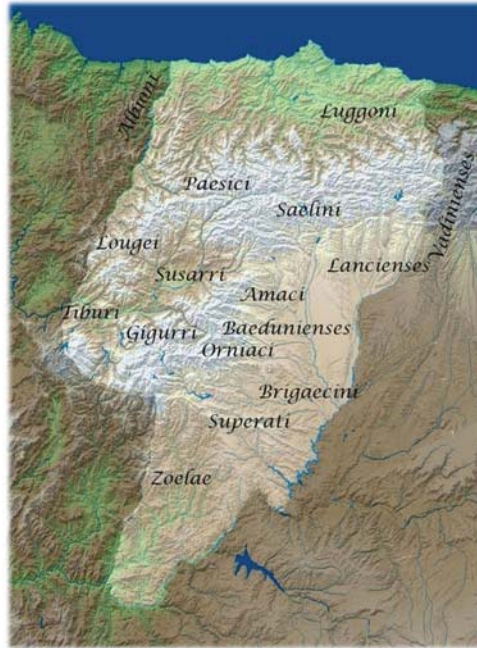


Image 69. The area of *Asturia* according to Miguel González González. The notion of Asturia is a historic-culturalist concept deriving from the colonialist writings made by Latin authors after the conquest of the Iberian Peninsula. Today, some social actors try to establish a obscene genealogy connecting the pre-Roman indigenous peoples, grouped under the ethnic and etic designation of *astures*, the medieval Kingdom of León, and vernacular ‘peasant’ cultures in León and Asturias. Supposedly, this genealogy provides legitimacy for the nationalist-regionalist projects of different parties and social actors in both León and Asturias. Source: <http://asturiense.blogspot.com.es/>

Thus, another defining trait of pseudoarchaeology comes into play here: nationalist discourses. Accordingly, the existence of past rituals, calendars and traditions reaches the present *via* our vernacular ‘peasant’ societies and legitimize the Leonese difference in the face of Castile. The ideological, cultural and political Leonesism had existed at least since the XIX century, but after the democratic transition it gained strength because the Leonese Region was not accorded the status of Autonomous Community. González González does not hide these ideological inclinations. He does not only develop a blog on archaeoastronomy (González González 2011a), but further two on Leonese history and culture: *El Reino Olvidado - The Forgotten Kingdom -* (2006) and *Historia de León -History of León-* (2005). Accordingly, in his book *El Dios Teleno: Señor del Rayo, del Laberinto y de la Muerte* – ‘The God Tilenus: Master of the Bolt, of the Labyrinth, and of Death’ – he sets out his main objective: “drawing on the material, mythological and traditional remains that have come down to us, we will look in depth to the religiosity and worldview of the ancient inhabitants that the Romans would designate centuries after as the *astures*, and which constitute the historic and cultural underpinnings of the present-day Leonese people” (2011a). Aside from the obvious nationalist bent of his claims, he demonstrates the blatant absence of temporal depth in his narration by lumping together all which existed before the Romans under the broad designation of the *astur* culture, disregarding location or chronology. Even if we accept the *astur* culture as a valid term for the indigenous inhabitants of the area before the Roman invasion (see González-Ruibal

2006 for a critical reading of historic-culture concepts in archaeology), it would be difficult to think of them as an homogeneous cultural group from the Neolithic era – when he situates the origin of the carvings – until the Roman conquest. The implicit subtext of his discourse and that of similar authors (see Marín Suárez 2005) is that the ‘authentic’ identity of Leonese ancestors, the *astures*, remained latent after the Roman conquer and reached the contemporary era via our vernacular societies, the ‘peasants’. Seemingly, by establishing a symbolic link between contemporary Leonese people and the existence of some ancestors provides legitimacy for Leonesist claims for Autonomy against Castile. Not happy with this, he also challenges interpretations made by archaeologists about certain sites by establishing implausible connections between different cultural traditions. For instance, he sets out a new reading of the votive plaque of Quintanilla, de Somoza in which he challenges previous readings (i.e. Almagro Gorbea 1956; de Hoz 1997; Gricourt and Hollard 1997; Mangas Manjarrés 1996 among others; Perea and Montero 2000).



Image 70. Roman votive tombstone found near Quintanilla de Somoza in 1876. The inscription made on it reads “*SERAPIS EIS ZEUS IAO*”, which has received various interpretations, such as “One-is-Zeus and Serapis”, “To Zeus and Serapis”, “Zeus the only one and Serapis”, among others.

Today, the tombstone is preserved at the *Museo de León*. Source:

<http://asturiense.blogspot.com.es/2012/02/el-santuario-rupestre-de-quintanilla-de.html>.

He argues that those authors have always considered the plaque to be Roman. Instead, he strives to show that it can be reinterpreted as a pre-Roman inscription or, at least, a Roman inscription with clear indigenous influence. Again, what matters is to show that ‘out ancestors’ (sensu Whitley 2002) were not subsumed under the Roman identity but remained differentiated and ‘authentic’. In his reinterpretation, he connects the plaque with the rook art complex in the surroundings of Quintanilla de Somoza, takes a detour through Celtic calendars, the symbolic

meanings of triangles and hands, a series of mythological triads (Thor-Odín-Freyr, Dagda-Lug-Ogmios, Taranis-Teutates-Esus, etc.) to ultimately take issue with the *Petroglifos* of Lucillo and Filiel. Last but not least, the pragmatic criticism to the praxis of academics and authorities is present: “the counterpoint to the great popular interest for those rock carvings, vestiges of the *astur* past of the Leonese people, is the slowness of the political-administrative and academic institutions in their study, protection and enhancement” (González González 2011a).⁸²

Other pseudoarchaeological strand that is gaining both presence and significance in the region is the dowsing methodology. In *El agua romana de Astorga – The Roman Water of Astorga –* (Marcos Llamas et al. 2011), the authors claim to have detected 21 km of underground Roman hydraulic canalizations. As is usual in the area, the political authorities, rather than academic or institutional archaeologists, were in the presentation of the book and somewhat sanctioned its validity in public. Moreover, their findings contradicted the views on the same issue put forward by of the Local Archaeologist (i.e. Sevillano Fuertes 2006), who did not counter their claims nor during the presentation, nor in the media or specialized journals. They affirmed that the accuracy of the dowsing method reached nearly 90% and communicated their findings to all concerned city councils and regional heritage authorities. The provincial newspapers spread the news without seeking professional or academic advice to seek some contrast or validation for the information received (e.g. Fernández 16/04/2011). Of course, the data and interpretations based on the dowsing method they provide are not confirmed by any archaeological or scientific evidence. As with other similar endeavors, Campos held a critical view on the issue. He argued that he and some friends with expertise on dowsing (he is a plumber) used to do wells as a job. Their experience showed that most times the technique failed, and thus it cannot be conceived as a reliable method.

Dowsing methods are also employed to locate archaeological sites in Maragatería. This is the case of Luis, a successful painter from Lucillo. He took me to visit the *Piedra de la Medida* in his village, and showed me that the lines of hydraulic and telluric energies intersected exactly in the center of the rock⁸³. He told me not to reveal the location of the site to anyone, and expressed his reserves about the way Campos was acting in relation with the prehistoric elements of the area (Interview 40, July 2009). The painter works with García Montes, and both sent an article to the *Diario de León* just after Campos published the photos of the site to claim their authorship on the discovery (Gancedo 19/02/2008). According to Campos, Luis and García Montes sent an e-mail to the director of the Museum of León, arguing that they had discovered a huge prehistoric site (the *Petroglifos*), and attaching the aerial photos where the white dots could be seen. Then, the director replied that the dots were traces of a quarry. In another characteristic response of mainstream pseudoarchaeologists, they angrily replied to him arguing that professional archaeologists always disregarded the views of aficionados and appropriated their works and discoveries, and that they knew well what they were looking for. Soon afterwards, García Montes published an article about ‘the discoveries’ without ever mentioning Campos (2008). During a talk he gave in Luyego de

⁸² “*El contrapunto de este gran interés popular por estos grabados rupestres, vestigios del pasado astur de los leoneses, ha sido la lentitud de las instituciones político-administrativas y académicas para su estudio, protección y puesta en valor*” González González, M. A. 2011a. *Asturiensis Prouincia Indigena*. [Online]. Available: <http://asturiense.blogspot.com.es/> [Accessed..

⁸³ I have to say that the copper rods he employed actually crossed invariably whenever I went through the site in every direction. The same happened to the other four people coming with me, all of them skeptics of the validity of these methods hitherto. However, I am not arguing here for the universal validity of the method as my knowledge on the topic is rather limited.

Somoza in August 2012, entitled *Historia de la actualidad a los límites de lo desconocido* – History of the present to the limits of the unknown – someone among the public angrily asked him to mention that the discoveries that he was presenting as his had been made by Campos. His paper and presentations are fundamentally descriptive although it emphasizes the potential cosmic and ritual readings of the site. Also, as many other archaeological and pseudoarchaeological discourses engaged in the search of the ‘us’ in our ancestors (Whitley 2002), he claimed that the *Petroglifos* were among the most significant vestiges left by our ancestors, that “will enable us to know something else about their customs, beliefs, and rites” (García Montes 2008: 171).

In March 2012, the ‘group of researchers’, as they call themselves, claimed the discovery of a large mysterious circle of unknown origin close to Pobladura de la Sierra in the slopes of the Teleno Mountain. The way they managed the issue is revealing. Instead of seeking professional advice, this time they directly addressed the media to spread their discovery and gain the glory. Thus, Antonio Montes presented his results in *La Rosa de los Vientos* (22/04/2012), a nightly radio program. Even though the discovery was made by Luis, the painter, Antonio did not even mention him. The apogee of the group came with their appearance in a special report on *Cuarto Milenio*, a program exclusively dedicated to esoteric and paranormal events. The ‘group of researchers’ that appeared in the program was composed by the already mentioned Antonio García Montes, Luis Antonio Alonso, and Miguel Ángel González González, accompanied by Emilio Gancedo, a journalist in charge of the cultural section in the *Diario de León*, the main newspaper of the province of León. The report mixed popular legends about the Teleno Mountain with the reading of telluric energies with pendulums and dowsing methods. As could not be otherwise, the circle was compared with Stonehenge on the grounds that their diameters more or less coincided: thirty meters (Cuarto Milenio 04/06/2012). Now, they have extended their explorations to the whole area of the Teleno Mountain.



Image 71. The *maragato* Stonehenge. One of the members of the research group points to the mysterious circle in the Teleno mountain. Source:

<http://tabuyodelmonte.wordpress.com/2012/08/30/circulos-del-teleno-iii/>

Rethinking Pseudoarchaeology.

“Technicians and bureaucrats design projects of enhancement of archaeological sites using the public and the citizenship as a pretext to justify investments and the implementation of archaeological interventions. Once the budget is approved, traditional archaeological activities are carried out with a total disregard for the local communities that supposedly were to be activated and included. Once again, we see here reflected the pseudo-scientific attitude that prioritizes fake erudition over the social role of aficionados and citizens” (Ayán Vila and Gago Mariño 2012: 141).

The words of Ayán Vila refer to the Galician context, where policies of heritage promotion and enhancement are far more developed than in León. I start with them because they anticipate my conclusion: that archaeology must be set in tune with ongoing social processes and contexts. My interest in showing the different kinds of pseudoarchaeological practices is not an attempt to categorize them, but rather to show that we should not take their characteristics for granted. Instead, we should ask what social assemblages they enter and why their discourses endure and permeate the public. Clearly, Campos does not establish a similar set of social relations with local communities and academics as other aficionados do. He does not contact esoteric television programs to spread his discoveries, nor creates fictive narratives and interpretations of the past. However, he complains about the absence of academic narratives, and those existing do not satisfy his curiosity to interpretation. As I have noticed in different book presentations, this feeling is widespread. Therefore, the social interest in non-academic narratives stems from an absence of scholar works where they can find their answers or satisfy their curiosity. This curiosity is geared towards interpretations of the past and their relation to the present, rather than with hyper-scientific accounts, chronologies, statistics and methodologies: those should be instruments used by scholars to build their interpretations rather than objectives in themselves. We should ask whether the fact that cultured journalists have joined the ranks of pseudoarchaeology is something to be criticized in a patronizing fashion, or rather an issue for concern and academic self-reflection, to look at our own backyard of academic archaeology (Andrews 2012). As Urry has noticed, consumers have the power to transform the forms of cultural production (1995a). The public demands more ‘stories’, but this does not give academics the legitimacy to conflate public interests with market forces, as Kristiansen does (2008). In this regard, pseudoarchaeological narratives are ‘co-creations’ that emerge in the coalescence of certain groups of people who share similar interests. Those narratives differ in their social appraisal, scope, and methodologies: someone are openly fictive, others present a blind trust in some awkward methodologies, others are rejected even by the public. I concur with Fagan and Feader (2006: 721) that criticizing them is a flawed strategy. Unlike them, however, I do not consider that critique is useless because pseudoarchaeological narratives are ‘irrational’ or that do not comply with the epistemological requirements of modern science. Rather, I consider that critique is overall futile whenever there is a vector of social desire to be filled which is not being satisfied by modern science. As Deleuze argues, “no book against anything ever has any importance; all that counts are books for something, and that know how to produce it” (1953). Thus, archaeologists should devote less attention to criticizing and deconstructing successful

pseudoarchaeological narratives, and instead start looking at that ‘something’ that the public is demanding and learn how to produce it, if they are willing to do so. May be, as Campbell argues, “‘scholarly’ against ‘popular’ is nothing more than a prim vigilance about etiquette. And the main reason why ‘scholars’ don’t write popular work is not that they have some sort of conscientious objection to it. It’s that they can’t do it.” (1996: 80).

The disciplinary change in the approach to pseudoarchaeology can be framed as a shift from epistemological to ontological concerns, both in the conception of pseudoarchaeology and of archaeology as such. When the issue of pseudoarchaeology is framed in epistemological terms, critics tend to seek refuge in the affirmation of the existence of a ‘real past’ out there. Then, they argue that pseudoarchaeologists do not develop verifiable and accurate representations of that ‘real past’. Ultimately, archaeologists are defending their own space and claiming the ‘real past’ to be their only and exclusive concern. To ground such claims, they argue that material culture enters certain pathways that produce knowledge retroactively: survey, excavation, documentation, representation, peer-review, and so on. Significantly for their relation with the public, they publish in journals that are not freely or broadly available due to largely undemocratic academic editorial practices⁸⁴. Changes in paradigms occur, and, as Latour shows with his example on the horses and the history about their knowledge, what is held as ‘objectively real’ varies in time as well (2007). To counter this potential criticism, Fagan argues that those changes are gradual and subjected to great critical inquiry among the academic community (2006b).

On the contrary, pseudoarchaeologists do not claim the ‘real past’ as their own, they mount discourses on material data and follow different pathways to establish multiple connections. They publish in blogs, call television and radio programs, and seek feedback and evaluation from other social actors. Thus, even the seemingly opposite stances of Holtorf and Kristiansen rest on a similar way of assessing pseudoarchaeologists on epistemological grounds. Kristiansen grounds his claims on a positivist and modern version of truth, and thus he argues that pseudoarchaeologists fail to provide an accurate interpretation of the real past. Holtorf’s account proposes a postmodern relativism of truth, considering that everyone is an archaeologist as everyone is engaged in the interpretation of the past as popular culture. Again, issues of objectivity and subjectivity enter the discussion. It is worth quoting Latour at length:

“If by epistemology we name the discipline that tries to understand how we manage to bridge the gap between representations and reality, the only conclusion to be drawn is that this discipline has no subject matter whatsoever, because we never bridge such a gap, not, mind you, because we don’t know anything objectively, but because there is never such a gap. The gap is an artifact due to the wrong positioning of the knowledge acquisition pathway... All its interesting questions concern what is known by science and how we can live with those entities but certainly not whether it knows objectively or not” (2007: 94).

Again, Latour is arguing that knowledge is intrinsically ontological, productive of new relations, connections and truths. These enter the social field through different vectors, and then the question is whether ‘we can live with them or not’, that is, the way these discourses permeate a social field structured by markets, technologies, institutions and so on. That the bureaucratic-

⁸⁴ Regarding this issue, see information collected in:
http://michaelnielsen.org/polymath1/index.php?title=Journal_publishing_reform

academic establishment provides a democratic framework that stands in sharp opposition to the market, as Kristiansen tries to show, seems a somewhat naïve and weak argument (2008). May be that opposition has some analytical value in the Scandinavian area where strong welfare states provide a protective filter to market forces. However, as Ayán Vila's initial quotation shows, the academic-bureaucratic establishment, in Spain cannot be considered as a democratic assemblage opposed to the market. Issues of public archaeology, sustainability and outreach are used as pretexts to legitimize interventions and granting funding for research groups and private companies, but in the end archaeology remains tied to its traditional epistemological self-image. This was clear in the case of the *Petroglifos*: academics were concerned about providing an accurate representation of the past, which equated saving the data and perfecting *methodologies of representation*: scanners, designs, photographic technologies, and so on.

Surprisingly, the much-debated issues of public archaeology and community involvement are represented by what Campos, a plumber without University formation, does in the field. This comprises manifold tasks: informing and spreading knowledge among local communities, establishing connections with and between different social actors through different vectors, engaging in outreach tasks online, in newspapers and talks, lobbying institutions by demanding attention, and many other similar practices. Campos is neither an academic nor a pseudoarchaeologist: he is a 'hinge subject' that fills the space left between society and disciplinary knowledge that a public archaeology should fill. This involves engaging with different knowledge pathways that have nothing to do with representational or methodological accuracy. Classifying those practices and knowledge pathways as pseudoarchaeological discourses would be an error. In fact, the work of people like Campos precludes the proliferation of those discourses in practice. Also, they do more for the construction of the *Petroglifos* as a heritage object than all institutional designations and statements or academic representations of them.

Conclusion.

The construction of the *Petroglifos* as a heritage object remains an ongoing task. As most heritage entities, it is a site of contestation and negotiation (Herbert 1995), an arena where different social actors perform and negotiate their agencies and power positions. My account shows that Maragatería remains a peripheral and low-intensity heritage area for the concerns of the administration. The *Petroglifos* site has not even been designated as a 'Good of Cultural Interest' four years after the discovery. Thus, the construction of heritage objects is gradual and left in the good will of certain social actors. Complex assemblages emerge around the *Petroglifos* that create new socio-cultural, political and economic networks in the area. As usual, local communities are disregarded by both academic and institutional actors, both in the 'poetics' and 'politics' of heritage (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett et al. 1991). On the one hand, local communities are not involved in decision making, the development of the projects – leave aside participating in them –, or even informed about which are the future prospects or what is going on with their heritage sites. On the other hand, the representational or museographic strategies deployed in the site do not even envisage the possibility of integrating the discourses of pre-industrial vernacular societies in their narrations. The fact that elder people in the local community regard heritage discourses and their temporal and cultural categories as something alien which is imposed upon their worldviews does

not matter at all: modern discourse constructs difference but does not tolerate otherness (Grossberg 1996).

The co-evolution of ideas between different stakeholders and the increasing cultural level and public interest in the past and heritage demand from archaeology to keep up performing the conceptual changes necessary as new knowledge emerges (Garnsey and McGlade 2006). The existence of a growing community of cultural consumers of heritage and archaeology creates a social space of knowledge-consumption that must be filled. When archaeology does not do so, pseudoarchaeology takes over this space and starts producing discourses that can be connected with political ideologies and common sense ideas that naturalize the past and are devoid of solid rational and scientific underpinnings. These discourses, which cannot be equated with popular culture, thrive in the dearth of critical spirit among the public and the absence of academic physical and discursive presence. The good side of it is that they might play a role in the defense of heritage and archaeological sites, the denouncing of the abuses or the lack of care by public institutions.

Analyzing the performance of non-academic researchers proves useful in instrumentalist terms as well. The ‘Stone Fever’ arising after Campos’ discovery of the *Petroglifos* and his enduring interest on the issue has led to an amazing quantitative increase in the number of archaeological sites and a significant qualitative growth of public awareness on the issue in Maragatería. Neither an archaeological survey nor an outreach project would have resulted in such a positive outcome, especially if we take into account that no public money has been spent on it. My research has shown that what goes public, what becomes a heritage object or not in the arena of heritage and archaeology, might depend on many issues. People mistrust institutions and academics, and this becomes patent in their choices when communicating discoveries. They never resort to institutions or academics, but rather to Campos, who is considered a ‘human’ figure with which dialogue is possible. This shows that when the common knowledge of the people of an area is ‘tuned’ in a certain way without establishing hierarchical relations and patronizing attitudes, scientific knowledge, heritage cataloguing practices, and the overall level of local communities’ awareness and interest on heritage-related issues can grow exponentially. Probably, archaeologists should not limit themselves to develop accurate representations of a past-as-knowledge, but also to engage in the messiness and complexities of the competing discourses and claims that circulate in the social world. This does not only imply an epistemological shift but also rethinking of the discipline as a whole. This is fundamental, as the future survival of archaeology in Spain rests precisely on filling a social space rather than in producing ever more accurate representations of a ‘real past’ that will constantly change. This is so because the scientific and human curiosity about the past will never be exhausted.

14. From Reality to Display: the Heritage Haven of Santiago Millas.

Introduction.

The village of Santiago Millas hosted the largest population of rich *maragato* traders before their economic decay and subsequent abandonment of the area in the late XIX century. Two decades ago it was a highly depopulated village and the monumental *maragato* architecture was mostly reduced to the old outer walls of the large squared houses. Even today, only around fifty

people live in the village during winter time. However, during holidays and especially in summer, the village is crowded and most of its 145 houses filled with families. A similar process occurs in the neighboring village of Valdespino de Somoza. However, the declaration of Santiago Millas as a ‘Good of Cultural Interest’ in 1998 attracted more investments by urban people during the 2000s. As a result, the village has become a highly commoditized heritage site where huge *maragato* buildings are restored or built from the scratch. Conflicts have arisen between the local population, including the municipal and local council, and the interests of the urban newcomers who have gathered around a civic association to defend their interests. The visual culture of the village has been organized in order to produce specific visions of social difference and class hierarchies (Haraway 1988). Those differentiations rest on evaluations of ‘what is good’ that are related to the heritage discourse and its claims to universal validity (Herzfeld 2004).

The heritage machine disrupts local ways of understanding community, consuetudinary non-written practices and cultural and aesthetic values, upsetting other possible ways of seeing the world. The situation is related to the emergence of supermodern problems in the social sphere. Within the supermodern paradigm, elite forms of distinction shift towards a differentiation from both mass culture and popular culture through a search for authenticity, tradition and roots (Hall 1981). This transcendent uprooting of the local culture entails a reaffirmation of the folklore – non-folklore differences (Hall 2005). The translation of local culture from the quotidian social sphere to the museum entails a temporal displacement of difference: the supermoderns affirm their difference in both spatial and temporal forms (Grossberg 1996). The heritage machine and the social actors promoting it try to capture (Lordon 2006) or incorporate (García Canclini 1989) the popular classes into their forms of evaluation and moral norms through a series of processes that reorganize symbolic production under a common logic (García Canclini 1993). In turn, the ways heritage, as a social and symbolic construction, is submitted to and influenced by the historical, political and social frameworks in which cultural meanings are produced and interpreted (Kaplan 2006). The paradox of this process of heritage construction is that the attempt of certain social actors to represent a ‘return to the roots’ is achieved via a temporal and spatial break with the past. Thus, they separate the economic basis of the local community from its cultural representation, and the bonds between individual and community. Then, these relations are rearranged as metacultural production and subordinated to the global hierarchy of heritage values in the museum, in real estate investments and in a moral economy of heritage. As a result, the local way of life becomes ‘tradition’, the aesthetics and tastes of modernity an aberration, and supermodernity a self-affirmation of identity.

This chapter sets out to analyze the representations created in the village as cultural processes where certain social actors have sought to persuade others into accepting their representations as the dominant ones (Hague and Jenkins 2005; Jordan and Weedon 1995). The chapter enquires into the principles of inclusion and exclusion, the ways in which roles and agency are made available, and the constructions of difference and hierarchy that are being naturalized (Fyfe and Law 1988: 1). The methodology utilized comprises interviews with different social actors involved during a long-term period. From this background, I focused in the analysis of the *Jornadas de Patios Abiertos - Visiting Days to the Patios Maragatos* – a bi-annual event organized by the Association of Friends of Santiago Millas in which visitors are allowed into the monumentalized *maragato* patios within the houses. The event is an ideal arena for the performance and enactment of difference and

symbolic power in which the local population does not participate. The analysis of the event is combined with the study of the representations in the local museum of the *maragato* culture, which has been used to display living *maragato* cultural performances as well. Finally, I study the changes in the material culture of the village in recent years to counter the tendency of ethnographic accounts to “lack descriptions and analysis of space” (Atkinson 06/09/2005). The analysis of public spaces is fundamental for the understanding of cultural assumptions that are embodied in material culture, and how heritage and tourism transformations have an impact upon them (Dicks 2000). I perform a sort of ethnoarchitecture (Alouani 2003) that accounts for how built spaces “provide symbolic boundaries as well as physical boundaries” for the negotiation of social roles in space (Atkinson 06/09/2005). Moreover, homes and their external displays are “endowed with emotional and cultural value through the expression of taste and cultural capital, the celebration of historical authenticity or the observance of modern minimalism” (Idem).

The Revival of Santiago Millas: the Internal Image of Folklore.

Santiago Millas is located ten kilometers away from Astorga. The village is split into two quarters, the Barrio de Arriba and the Barrio de Abajo. It hosted a relevant number of rich *maragato* families who built huge houses between the XVII-XIX centuries following a more or less similar style that combines local materials with monumentality and specific functional aims (López-Sastre 2009). The arrival of railways curtailed the economic basis of the *maragato* families that relied in mule trading. An economic crisis ensued that led Santiago Millas to a decline from which it has not recovered hitherto. From around 2.000 inhabitants in the mid XIX century, the village only reaches 370 today (Instituto Nacional Estadística, 2011), while only around fifty people spend the winter in the place. In the late 1980s, the village was characterized by the poor vernacular architecture buildings and the remnants of a glorious past embodied by three-meter high walls used as fences for cattle. During the 1990s, some people started to settle down and restore old *maragato* houses. A Dutch opened a hostel and restaurant in 1992 that gained certain prestige at a regional level. Local people joined the task, like the Diocesan Archivist and expert on *maragato* culture José Manuel Sutil, or another local family who took care of the huge palace of the *maragato* Cordero.

The increasing local self-awareness about the heritage and cultural values of the village led to a series of actions aimed at the reinforcement of those values. I have called this process the construction of the internal image of folklore, as it reflects the growing metacultural awareness of local people that started to implement standard heritage actions in houses and streets. In all this, it is important to mention the fundamental role and interest of the city mayor, who has been so since the start of democracy. He is not only the mayor of the municipality, but also of the local *Junta Vecinal*, and a construction entrepreneur with interests in the area. Thus, has been prone to favor all actions concerning construction, restoration, asphaltting and re-asphaltting streets. He joined forces with local actors and the famous ethnographer from the National Research Center (CSIC), Concha Casado, to endorse the declaration of the village as a Good of Cultural Interest under the category of ‘historic complex’ in 1999 (Interview 41, December 2008). The document of the declaration does not clearly specify the reasons why it was being declared as a heritage site, but the fact remains that it was. In any case, the declaration began to attract people from urban centers who started to buy land and ruined houses in the area to restore them (Interview 42, 12th April 2012).



Image 72. House of Santiago Alonso Cordero in Santiago Millas. An impressive palace that has been preserved as it was without any addition or transformation for functional reasons. Source of general view: Concha Casado (2000). Source of patio view: Author.

In 2003, the urban legislation of the village was approved, establishing the ‘rule of heritage’ in the village. Since then on, every restoration or physical change involving change in the external aspects of the houses had to abide to these rules. In particular, the article 78 specifies that the materials employed have to be local and forcefully employ masonry and stonework in the façades, while roofs must be covered with red tiles. The legislation constantly employs the terms ‘traditional’ and ‘from the area’ when referring to colors, materials, hues and forms. Everything ‘atypical’ and ‘modern’ is forbidden and a detailed list of forbidden elements is provided. For instance, white, red, yellow and blue colors are forbidden, while earthy ocher, dull dark green, dark brown, dark gray and matte black are promoted (SAM and Diputación de León 2003). Thus, ‘Traditional’ means using colors that are commonsensical perceived as traditional, such as ocher, earthy or mate tonalities. The norms are neither good nor bad in themselves; the issue is how they take grip in the social and the context in which they are implemented. The analysis of material culture in Maragatería reveals the overall tendency of local people to use modern materials in their constructions. The reasons for this are complex and involve functional and socio-cultural issues (Alonso González 2010a). Both spheres are meshed in real contexts and it is impossible and analytically flawed for the researcher to distinguish the kinds of reasons that prevail. Whereas the local cultural and economic elites were becoming self-aware of their own values and culture, other peasant or proletarian families who were living in old *maragato* houses adapted them to the symbolic requirements of modern standards, and profited from the commodities that modernity offers.

This gradual process evolved in parallel with the growing purchasing power of these subaltern social groups. Functional reasons explain the substitution of wooden windows and doors for metallic ones, the conversion of the internal balconies of the patios into enclosed spaces with metal balconies to better preserve the heat of the sun, the use of metal or plastic-ceramic roofs, among others. For urban newcomers, who only come in summer, these transformations seem aesthetic aberrations, but for locals means saving energy and feeling safer.



Image 73. The *Museo de la Arriería* in Santiago Millas. Above, displays of arts and crafts and musical instruments from the area. Below, a picture of Maragatería within a *maragato* building in Maragatería: the height of the move from culture to metaculture. It just takes ten seconds to step out of the museum and view a similar image. Source: Author.

The socio-cultural factors involved in these transformation processes are related to the ongoing emigration process since the 1900s, which implied the arrival of modern ideas and evaluations about ‘what is good’ (Boltanski et al. 1991). Gradually, pre-industrial mentalities tended to conceive modern materials like bricks, concrete, metals or plastics as symbols of power and distinction that enabled them to attain growing levels of individualization. It was also a symbolic way of detaching themselves from the poverty of the pre-industrial world.

Both aspects, functional and symbolic are mixed in the preferred site for display: the façade. Local people tend to cover the stone walls and façades with concrete or limestone. When asked,

they invariably reply that they do it for functional reasons, arguing that the stones are too little⁸⁵, that humidity permeates the walls and so on. However, this seems unlikely in houses whose walls are two meters wide. In this regard, the ‘politics of the envelope’ (Zaera-Polo 2008) involve an ideological concealment of what everyone knows but no one speaks about in the village: the fact that stones are linked consciously or unconsciously to poverty and tradition. As Cohen argues, symbols do not carry an inherent meaning, but those meanings are ever changing (1988). Once we understand this, it becomes apparent that the urban legislation goes against the current social tendencies and value regimes of the local community. In addition, the materials it obliges to use are now very expensive and require skilled labor for their implementation. Some people in the village complain about the impossibility of changing anything in their houses due to the high prices and the legal impossibility of doing ‘what they want’. Moreover, those houses whose façades are covered with limestone or concrete have been required by the council to get rid of it. In turn, those whose façades had bricks in sight have been required to cover it. The construction of a place identities implies the imposition of certain regimes of signs upon a social and material field (Degnen 2005; Keith and Pile 1993). It increases the cultural capital of the village and enacts unavoidable segmentations for people that do not, or cannot, join the heritage regime (Lawrence-Zúniga 2003). Also, every law has its loopholes and this implies further inequalities as we will see later.

A fundamental step in the construction of the ‘internal image’ in the community was the implementation of the *Museo de la Arriería Maragata Ventura Alonso* in 2002. The museum is situated in an old *maragato* house. The initiative to create stemmed from Concha Casado, a Leonese ethnographer with significant influence in the provincial decisions concerning culture and museums. In fact, other similar museums have been created in the area following similar patterns thanks to her support: the *Batán Museo* and *Centro de Interpretación Textil La Comunal* in Val de San Lorenzo, or the ethnographic museum of the neighboring region of La Cabrera. All they are infused with a folkloristic and romantic logic that aims to preserve a link with ‘tradition’ (Kearney 1995). The ethnographic works of Concha Casado are in fact an effort to preserve tradition and the cultural roots embodied by the popular classes and cultures. As she argued after the implementation of the museum, progress only exists when it is “rooted in tradition”, whereas other kinds of progress are just “fashions” or forms of “pseudo progress” (quoted in Gancedo 01/04/2004). Thus, the museum exhibits popular objects and customs as remains of an extinguished world, which provides the logical justification for a decontextualized analysis and presentation of it (Baxandall 1991).

The world of the *maragatos* is presented as a set of objects – the chariot, the flute, the dress, the house, etc. – related to some intrinsic qualities, in an openly essentialist fashion (Cirese 1974). There were carpenters, blacksmiths, peasants, weavers and *maragato* traders in an ordered and unchanging world, that vivid image of ‘tradition’. This is a clear example of how the exhibited people become objects of display which mirror the own disciplines that them (Hall 1987), in this case the ethnography of Concha Casado. That many people living in the village used some of the showcased objects in their quotidian lives until recently is not taken into account or mentioned, nor even any potential inequality or power imbalance within the communities. Cultural facts are not established according to their historic relationships and contrasts with other cultural facts, but as

⁸⁵ During pre-industrial times, richer families could afford building their houses with bigger stones that provided homogeneity to the façade. Thus, having a wall with small stones means that it is of ‘bad quality’. Also, it is believed that it is worse in functional terms because it lets humidity and cold penetrate the walls.

essential defining traits (Cirese 1977). The constant resort to quotations from British travelers of the XIX reinforces the museological discourse, as they provide superficial etic descriptions of the *maragatos* as those picturesque, exotic and introverted people populating the roads of the Spanish northwest.

The museum is a clear example of the kind of folkloric presentations common in Europe and Latin America in the late XIX century. According to García Canclini, those were born to fulfill two impulses: the need to root the formation of new identities and the consolidation of the old ones, and the will to rescue the popular sentiments in the face of the enlightenment and modern ‘progress’ (1993). The museum of Santiago Millas subtracts the popular from the massive organization of society, and puts it to rest and fixes it in artisanal forms of production and communication (Hall 1981). Paradoxically, these cultural processes reinforce the break they pretend to bridge: the division between modernity and tradition by the construction of an objectified past, that is, of a folkloric discourse (Prat 1987). Moreover, they open the door to non-linear processes of interpretation that convey different meanings depending on the receptors of the message. For local people, the museum reinstates their feeling that everything exposed there is ‘old’ and related with a poor life they lived until recently, and thus something to avoid. This is the kind of memory work that suppresses cultures and traditions owing to the fact that “memories are conflated and embellished” (Lowenthal 1986: 8). The response by an old woman from Santiago Millas when I asked her why she had not yet visited the museum was clear: “Why would I? Just to see what I saw at home until recently?” (Interview 43, 15th August 2009)⁸⁶. She was referring to the objects and artifacts of the pre-industrial world which are displayed in the museum. In fact, why is this so? For whom are museums being produced and designed? Clearly, not for the local communities, which generally consider them as something alien or just uninteresting in Maragatería. This can be framed the other way round as well: if museums are not designed for them nor want them to visit them, why should they like them? Then, what is the point of preserving in the museum, “or as performance for the tourist, what has been wiped out in the community? (Anheier et al. 2011) Clearly, the strategies of creating tangible inventories and displaying of cultural production are not suitable for the safeguarding of the larger and deeper patterns of cultural life (Kurin 2004b: 74-75).

The Heritage Haven and the Things that Last Forever.

The unstoppable heritagization process of Santiago Millas has attracted many urban newcomers during the 2000s. The census of the village showed the first population increase since demographic records exist between 2001 and 2011. During this decade, real estate prices rocketed. Even after four years of economic crisis and real estate price drops, the cost of *maragato* heritagized houses in the village ranges between €300.000 and €400.000.⁸⁷ These prices are clearly not affordable for all budgets and show the upper-middle class character of the repopulation process. Fundamentally, it consisted in the arrival of individuals or families that wanted a second residence or people willing to retire in the rural. In this regard, it shares most characteristics with similar processes in more developed European countries (Bolton and Chalkley 1990). My

⁸⁶ “¿Pa [para] qué? ¿Pa ver lo que vi hasta hace nada?”

⁸⁷ Prices retrieved from <http://casas.trovit.es/casa-santiago-millas>, consulted on several occasions during July and August 2012.

ethnography showed that social chains and word of mouth were fundamental for the increased interest in the village. A native from the village who had emigrated to Madrid when he was young wanted to restore *la casa del pueblo* – the familial house of the village. He came back to the half-ruined house where his parents had lived. Then, urban friends without rural roots would come to visit him and decide to buy properties: land, ruined houses or already restored houses. Initially, the newcomers were somewhat isolated and did not know each other. However, they started to share social spaces and to meet during their holidays in the village. They realized they were ‘internal others’ within the community. They shared similar life experiences – retirement or second house construction, coming from urban environments for vacations, more or less successful careers, etc. – and cultural and economic interests. Those comprised their active involvement in discussing and trying to impose their views on how the village should be and look like, and be organized. Finally, all these convergences between newcomers coalesced in the constitution of the *Asociación de Amigos de Santiago Millas* – Association of Friends of Santiago Millas – in 2003.

Conflicts with other social actors reinforced their feelings of group identity, although those conflicts remain undercover. Local people call them *forasteros* – strangers – and censure most of their social patterns of behavior as those disrupt the consuetudinary social norms of the community. Most contentious issues I have documented are related with attitudes in the public sphere of the village. Local people complain that they move around with cars within the village, and that they hide their cars in the garage rather than parking in the street. This complaint is related to the constant necessity in the community, so well depicted by Brandes in other context (1973), of establishing mechanisms to control whether people is or is not at home, and especially when someone has high possibilities of geographic mobility. Other contentious issues comprised not greeting or saying ‘hello’ when they passed by in front of locals, not going to mass or condemnations of their sociopolitical activities within the village.

An old couple complained about the way they go around “building houses whenever and wherever they want” (Interview 44, August, 2009). Someone from Madrid had raised a two floor house next to the southern side of their house, thus leaving them in the shade. Usually, these conflicts were solved in the village by reaching consuetudinary agreements that might involve the exchange of land parcels between neighbors or some forms of compensation for perceived hindrances. The viewpoint of the newcomers was radically different. An account by one of them during a celebration in July 2011 is telling⁸⁸: “they say it is us that do not mix with the local community, but that’s not true, it is them that do not want to be integrated with us. We invite them to the many cultural activities we organized, to the snacks in our patios, and many other things. For instance, I started to send ‘Christmas’⁸⁹ to every family in the village” (Interview 45, 15th August 2011). He straightforwardly conceived of the relation between them and locals in terms of integration between ‘us’ and ‘them’, and he took for granted that it was them that should come to the activities that he and his association organized. This evinces the conservative impulse driving their presence in the village. It has nothing to do with political ideologies – although it can be related with it. Marris defines it as “the tendency of adaptive beings to assimilate reality to their existing structure, and so to avoid or reorganize parts of the environment which cannot be

⁸⁸ The names of the people involved will remain secret.

⁸⁹ Postcards that are sent during Christmas time. I confess that it was the first time I heard about them in my life and have to ask the interviewee about them.

assimilated. Changes in structure seem only to be possible gradually, within the limits of what can be assimilated” (1974: 5-6).

Nonetheless, the event that prompted the organization of this heterogeneous group of people into an association was the conflict with the local mayor. The relations between them and the mayor had been tense since their arrival to the village. The mayor was not used to having to deal with a challenging and demanding group of citizens that challenged and criticized his decisions, resorting to other provincial and regional institutions if they deemed it necessary to defend their interests. For instance, they wanted to have the name of the streets made by clay artisans, high-quality design urban gardens, to get rid of the concrete sidewalks, and to bury electric power lines in order to embellish the village. The mayor replied that all this was unaffordable. They again replied that all the money that was being wasted in asphaltting, re-asphaltting and building sidewalks would suffice to pay for their demands. Furthermore, they argued that they were willing to bear all the financial costs.

The conflict broke out when the mayor started asphaltting and building sidewalks in the close-by village of Valdespino de Somoza, where some members of the association lived as well. Valdespino presented monumental *maragato* architecture as well, but contrary to Santiago Millas, it did not possess any legal status as heritage site. Thus, the concrete sidewalks could be built without trouble. This was considered by the house-owners as an aesthetic aberration that also decreased the value of their real estate. Moreover, some doors were made useless as they were partially covered by the sidewalks. Also, despite the village was not a ‘Good of Cultural Interest’ as a whole, some of the affected buildings were protected as monumental architecture in the urban legislation plans. The conflict reached the regional and provincial heritage institutions and courts and was covered by the press (Oria 28/10/2008). It lasted more than two years and the tension increased in that time. A member of the association living in Valdespino told me that ‘someone’ had burnt the pines in her front door, which were actually carbonized still in July 2010, two years after the beginning of the conflict.⁹⁰

As if it were not enough, the mayor exacerbated the conflict by giving part of the communal properties of the *Junta Vecinal* of Santiago Millas to an external construction company for the building of a number of monumental *maragato* houses. This was considered as an aberration by the members of the association, as it would entail the end of the uniqueness of Santiago Millas and a decrease in the symbolic and economic value that having a *maragato* house provided. The double standards of legislation become at this point. Local people must abide to every single rule to abide to the official heritage regime, but those who sanction that official representation are entitled to adapt the law to their own interests. The heritage and preservation discourse serves to conceal the underlying interests of each social actors, who use the new heritage regime as arenas to negotiate their agencies and power positions under new socioeconomic conditions. Thus, it is not possible to use metal, plastic or shiny colors, but it is possible to build new houses that imitate *maragato* standards from the scratch. Moreover, the project of the houses did not even respect a fundamental trait of *maragato* architecture: the fact that houses must be detached from one another. Also, the members of the Association had not only reconstructed houses and raised the ruined ones. By 2008, they had started to build new ones from the scratch as well. But the point for them was different.

⁹⁰ I was taking a shot for a documentary about the area and she thought I was a journalist. I replied, “kind of”, and she explained the whole issue to me.



Image 74. A member of the *Asociación de Amigos de Santiago Millas* shows the consequences of the construction of sidewalks in his house in Valdespino de Somoza: the obliteration of some doors and the break of the aesthetic homogeneity of his house and the surrounding area. The sidewalks are not useless only because just a few cars pass by the village daily, but because most of them are 20 cm. width and no one can use them. Not only were the members of the Association against the implementation of the sidewalks but also most local people. Source: Author.



Image 75. Empty signifiers and abandoned realities. Left: In an obscene paradox, various huge signposts proudly announce that the asphaltting of the villages has been made possible thanks for the Spanish Government fund for employability and local sustainability, under the broader program of ‘Sustainable Economy’ promoted by the State. At the bottom left of the signpost someone has attached a sign indicating that the *Gimnasio Ecológico* – Ecologic Gym – is only seven hundred meters from there. Right: The gym was created with recycled materials by a returned migrant coming from Buenos Aires. Of course, his work was not supported or funded, and the most of the machines in the gym are now rotten and rusty, so it has become dangerous to use it. Source: Author.

Within the value regime of the group of newcomers it is important to have an ‘authentic’ house, but what really matters is the process of place building and symbolic individualization from the rest, of crafting one’s house in a sort of modern craftsmanship mediated by knowledge and technology. In other words, what matters in the self-definition of the elite is the singularization that puts them apart from the standards of mass culture (that the *maragato* houses projected by the mayor implied) and low cultures (the ‘real’ old houses of local people). In the end, there was not enough demand to make it profitable to build the *maragato* house complex due to the economic crisis, and consequently the project was withdrawn. However, the fact remains that a public institution was giving away communal lands for free to a private construction entrepreneur, contravening its own heritage and urban legislation. In fact, as stated in the huge sign advertising the sale of the semi-detached *maragato* houses in Santiago Millas:

“Some things will last forever”⁹¹.



Image 76. *Algunas cosas perdurarán siempre* – ‘Some things will last forever’. The motto of a failed project to build new luxury *maragato* houses in Santiago Millas. Source: Author.

Whenever one visited Santiago Millas in the last six years, there was something being built there. What interested me from the beginning was the recurrence of an image: houses, electricity posts, water distributors, everything was being built with bricks and covered with stone. The apparent falsehood of the process struck me. In Santiago Millas, the “impulse to preserve, the desire to render comfortable, and the sheer need of a place to serve as home” are convergent trajectories (Herzfeld 2010: 259). However, the defining trait of its dominant heritage regime comes down to pushing forward two fundamental vectors of desire characteristic of modernity. The first implies having the most advanced technologies and commodities within the house, like domestic appliances and heating, swimming pool, and so on. The second promotes the preservation of the most rustic

⁹¹ “Algunas cosas perduran para siempre”.

and vernacular aspects in the outside in relation to perceived notions of what are heritage and tradition.

As in other contexts of wide-ranging commoditization (Baillie et al. 2010; Goulding 2000), the heritage regime of the village tended towards the homogenization of certain elements according to common sense. For instance, car entrances to the properties of the members of the Association tend to resemble each other although these elements never existed in reality. In addition, one of the members told me that his house was built from the scratch but he felt proud that almost no one could tell the difference with an 'authentic' one, and he was actually surprised that I noticed it.

The way they are shaping the built space of the village is actually eroding the connection with history (Buchanan 2005). Even though their houses comply with the urban legislation, the whole environment of the village is starting to secrete a fictitious air. This reveals to what extent urban planning is superficial and ultimately fascistic: it does not matter whether your house is original, or whether it is built with bricks and concrete internally. What counts is that its external appearance complies to some elements intrinsically considered heritage in an essentialist fashion: colors, stones, wood, etc. Some houses are real hybrids, with balconies, chimneys, doors and windows taken from a house elsewhere and implanted into them. Another important factor to consider in the physical constitution of the houses is their use of display strategies concerning vernacular agricultural or artisan tools. Mostly, those are found and bought from local peasants in the surrounding villages, as their huge dimensions involve complicated transportation processes. Plows, jokes, threshers, spinning and carding tools, and so on, are hung in the internal walls of every house. Sometimes those even appear externally as 'displays of order' (Herzfeld 2001) that serve to inscribe a regime of signs in the visual economy of the village. The environment and context in which these objects are placed transforms them in visual symbols, and thus it becomes important to consider the "wide range of economic, social and political relations, institutions and practices that surround an image and through which it is seen and used (Rose 2001: 17). As with the stone façades, the way a "visual symbol is received by its audience is largely determined by the current social, economic or political climate. As such, visual icons are paramount to our understanding of relationships within local communities" (McDowell 2008: 39). Therefore, as Forester and Johnson argue, the involvement in the contestation, support, ignorance, rejection or acceptance of specific symbols in the landscape, political and social elites and communities engage with one another through a sort of "symbolic dialogue" (Forest and Johnson 2002). However, in some occasions this dialogue is unidirectional, as the acquisition and display of past objects by the elites implies not only a metaphoric appropriation of the past, but fundamentally a temporal displacement of alterity that transforms it into difference that is characteristic of modernity (Grossberg 1996) exacerbated by supermoderns (Augé 2008). The politics of the architectural envelope are at work here: the monumentality of the building generates a membrane between what remains 'out there' (tradition), and what remains inside (modernity). This entails the establishment of a self-conscious symbolic link with the village devoid of the negative content that its poor vernacular past implies. The politics of the past are here a fundamental arena for the negotiation of agency and power relations.

The members of the Association provide a good example of 'heritage subjectivities' that reinforce their subject positions through the affirmation of their individualized identities.

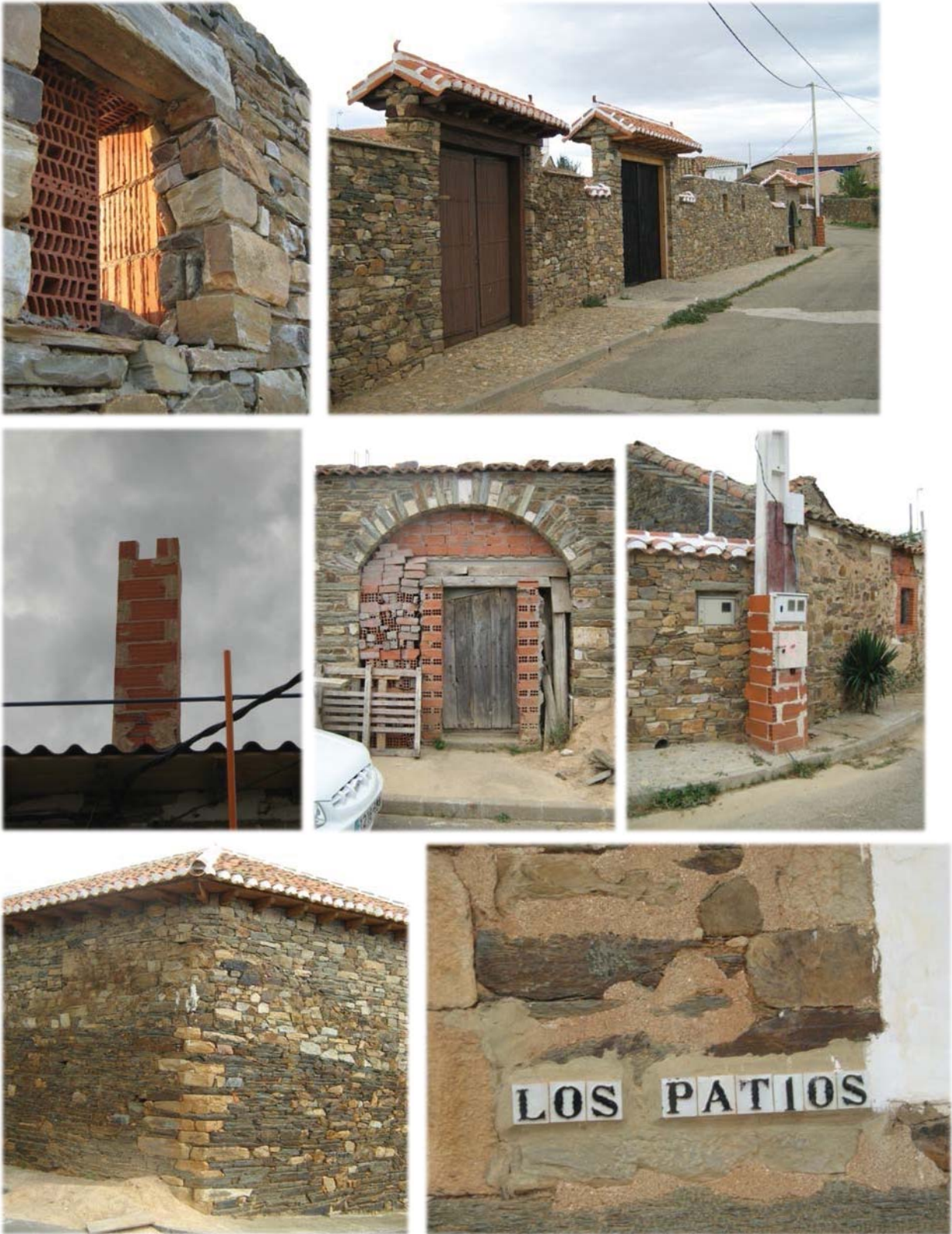


Image 77. The creation of a ‘heritage haven’ in Santiago Millas. Houses and urban furniture are built with bricks and concrete and then covered with a layer of stones. On the right and above, a garage entrance that mixes *maragato* traditions with contemporary functional necessities. Below, on the left, the clear difference between the old and the new wall. On the right, the new ‘artisan’ way of naming the streets in Santiago Millas. Source: Author.

The self does not arise here in a Lacanian fashion as a product of misrecognition or in dialectical fashion (see Moore 2007 for a psychoanalytical understanding of the self in anthropology), but rather as a positive and creative will to connect with other subjectivities and reinforce the value regimes at work within the own group. The 'sense' of the whole heritage assemblage emerges as an affirmation of a specific 'mode of existence' through cultural, economic and political vectors: the social field is infused with the force of desiring-production in Deleuzian terms (Lordon et al. 2010). To affirm is to revolutionize the social field, to trace a difference, to assess, to attribute values and establish hierarchies (Zourabichvili et al. 2004: 44). This process can be considered microfascistic in Deleuze and Guattari's terms, as "Fascism is not conservative but revolutionary. It thrives on people's real desires. It is also inherently paranoid, because the glorification of one's own difference coincides with a deepening fear of being disrupted by others and strangers. Plunging into an obsessive control of selfness, fascism quickly kills off its own possibilities of transformation and becomes suicidal" (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 230).

Consideration of place is important here because it serves as a reference to construct identities, both individual (the house) and collective (a virtual idea of the village shared by a group of people). Notions of place relate to choices about where to inhabit and where not, what makes people feel at ease, and where and by whom are the own preferred cultural codes understood or resisted (Whitehead 2009). These sets of beliefs can be rendered concretized ideology in the walls and façades of the houses. Place cannot be extricated from memory (Viejo-Rose 2011a). Ways of acquiring more influence and status can rely in the connection of certain subjects to specific pasts and the rejection of others. This is achieved via the recollection and symbolic attachment to certain heritage elements and things, people actively create bonds that solidify the connection with intangible aspects of tradition, the past or culture (Byrne 2008). These sets of connections are sustained by certain economic power positions that provide agency to certain individuals whose capacities to be active in the creation, reproduction or manipulation of a specific symbolic and material order strengthen their own social position (Castoriadis 1997). The situation witnessed in Santiago Millas, but also in many other villages in Maragatería, reflects what Grossberg conceived as the transformation of alterity into difference through strategies of temporal and spatial displacements. These metaphorical and symbolic displacements entail the location of local inhabitants as 'traditional' in relation to their spatial location in the villages and the physical aspect of their houses. Temporally, this displacement is enacted by their ascription as 'older' in a linear line of chronological development and progress, which has to do with the unconscious application of social Darwinist and evolutionist notions (Rosaldo 1995: 13)⁹². Material culture can convey these

⁹² Clearly, the modern ideals of high culture emerging with modernity are fundamental for the subalternization of the 'popular' and the 'traditional', a situation emphasized by supermodern heritage subjects. In the introduction to *Hybrid Cultures* by García Canclini, Rosaldo explains the logics of evolutionism: "Evolutionism argues that social formations at any single point in time can be ordered chronologically from ancient to modern in a way that corresponds to a parallel moral ordering from inferior to superior. From this perspective, the modern becomes all that is secular, innovative, economically productive, and democratic. The process of modernity involves a movement from religion and metaphysics to art, morality, and science. Hence the ideological equation of the modern with the superiority of high culture, and the traditional with the inferiority of popular culture. From Garcia Canclini's viewpoint, the modern and high culture correspond to the hegemonic whereas the traditional and popular culture correspond to the subaltern. In contradictory fashion, he argues, the nation-state ideologically incorporated popular culture into national culture in order to legitimate its domination in the name of the people at the same time that it attempted in its policies to eliminate popular culture in the name of ending superstition" Rosaldo, R. (1995). "Foreword. *Hybrid Cultures: Strategies for*

meanings symbolically, as Bernbeck and Pollock demonstrate in the case of horizontal and vertical metaphors. For them, “superposition, which involves the vertical dimension of space, has a different meaning than horizontal proximity, even if the physical distance between two sites or buildings is the same. Horizontal distance implies a sense of equality or at least lack of inherent distinction, whereas vertical distance confers a sense that what its above is also superior. Meanings attached to superimposed monuments can be used strategically in two different ways. what is underneath is older, and because of this temporal precedence becomes a powerful symbol of the ‘original’, the primordial. on the other hand, the upper layers of buildings are more recent and therefore may be argued to be more ‘developed’ and ‘civilized’”(2004: 344). Thus, whereas the pre-industrial ethos emphasized horizontal and undifferentiated architectural visual landscapes, the supermodern and post-industrial ethos underscores verticality, differentiation and the symbolic overcoming of tradition by its appropriation and public display.

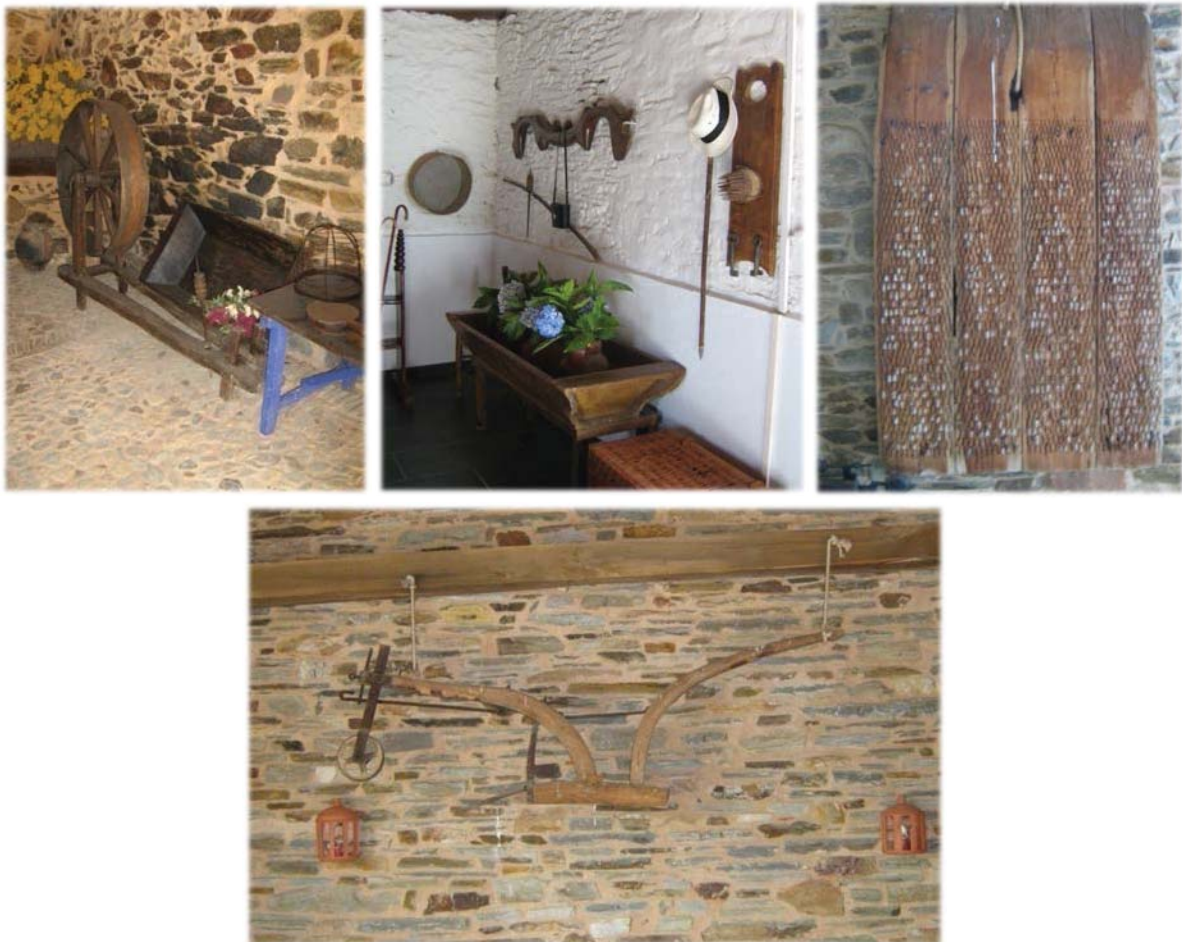


Image 78. Agricultural tools on display. In every process of heritagization carried out in Maragatería the agricultural tools from the past are present and put on display. Extricated from their functional context they become symbols that recreate social hierarchies and enact spatio-temporal displacements. Source: Author.

The question that arises is to what an extent and how those heritage regimes permeate among local people and become the dominant regimes of signs, overlapping the modern and pre-modern mindsets. This raises some troublesome questions, as the participation in the heritage regime requires a wealthy economic position to do so. Thus, assessing the level of cultural permeation requires analyzing the degree of involvement of local people in events organized by the Association and their empirically-grounded aesthetic and functional decisions about their own houses and the village as a whole. The theoretical framework to account for this process cannot be limited to a dualistic scheme that would pose in Gramscian terms an ‘hegemonic’ culture imposing and acculturating a less powerful one (Satriani 1968). It is neither a form of exploitation in classical Marxist terms. In order to make sense of the problem I deem fundamental to follow Gabriel Tarde’s psychological economy that refuses to extricate economy from culture (Latour 2009). In this sense, the constitution of economic and ethical values works in the same fashion and become interchangeable (Lazzarato 2002: 97). A Spinozist conception of domination conceives it as a form of ‘capture’ or ‘enrolment’ by which people not only accept but actively participation in the realization of certain desires which are not originally theirs (Lordon et al. 2010: 21). Spinoza talks of mechanisms of *emulatio* (2005) that work through interpersonal influences and operate to define what is valuable in a specific social field. This enables us to conceive of a materially grounded, immanent theory of replication and cultural permeation in which identities and desires are fixed gradually and in constant relation with material culture. For Spinoza, the perception of the desires of others inducts similar perceptions in the original subject, orienting the tendencies of valuation and assessment within a symbolic realm (Lordon 2006). This viewpoint suggests that domination implies the possession of that which others do not have and will not have, and the attempt to keep the others away from possessing it through multiple strategies. Moreover, the “distributive operation of domination entails withholding certain objects of desire for the powerful, but not before those objects have been forced upon as desirable elements to the subaltern people” (Lordon 2006: 145)⁹³. Those desirable elements are randomly distributed and constructed: they can be bricks, plastic or metal during the modern era, or plows, wooden doors and old looking stone in the postmodern time. As Bourdieu has tirelessly highlighted, the distribution of desires and values is a structure or arbitrary designations operating upon an undifferentiated anthropological field (1983).

Thus, the heritage machine functions in tune with the workings of capitalism, which installs itself as a self-sufficient structure in the social field. In other words, the way heritage is utilized to perform, negotiate and symbolically display social differences, has the property of appearing as its own cause. As Deleuze and Guattari would put it, “it falls back on all production constituting a surface over which the forces and agents of production are distributed, thereby appropriating for itself all surplus production and arrogating to itself both the whole and the parts of the process, which now seem to emanate from it as a quasi cause” (Deleuze and Guattari 1983: 83). Therefore, once the heritage machine is imposed as the legitimate regime of truth and force driving the economy and the framework under which meaning is constructed, it acts as an effect produced by society and its multiplicity of relations and forces of production; yet once produced it functions to unify the disparate social practices into a coherent whole (Srnicsek 2011: 174). This process of

⁹³ My translation from French: “*l’opération distributive de la domination suppose non seulement de réserver certains objets de désir aux dominants mais non sans les avoir fait reconnaître comme désirables par les dominés*” Lordon, F. (2006). *L’intérêt souverain: essai d’anthropologie économique spinoziste*, Paris: Découverte..

change and homogenization is not an imposition of an order from a transcendent, all-encompassing subject (the State, the elite, etc.), but rather it is achieved through the “regulation of social relations in accordance with its image of the whole”. Consequently, “the socius simultaneously comes to organize the productive and cooperative practices it originally emerged from. For example, capital deterritorializes archaic social formations in order to reterritorialize the released material flows in a temporary, but exploitative relation — conjoining heterogeneous flows of labor and capital in order to convert them into quantities from which surplus-value can be extracted” (Idem).

The heritage machine conjoins these flows in ways that produce novel values and meanings, establishing new forms of domination and subjection in tune with the paradoxical processes that capitalism entails. In fact, capitalism demands of individuals to be sovereign and responsible subjects while at the same time entrenching them in machinic processes of domination. For instance, within corporations, employees must be sovereign and independent subjects while at the same time partaking in the mechanism of the company. In mass communication, the person is a subject that chooses between different options while at the same time is part of the input-output mechanisms of the TV network, and so on. Similarly, “the unemployed is considered accountable of his or her situation, while at the same time it is just a variable in the economy. One is always imprisoned in heterogeneous and contradictory devices” (Lipovich and Lazzarato 20/12/2010). Thus, in the constant reinventions and rearticulations of the social field, capitalism works to recode previous social formations and generate new subjectivities and identities. On the one hand, the heritage machine operates through what Deleuze and Guattari defined as ‘machinic enslavement’, by which subjects are imprisoned in complex assemblages and their subjectivity split into parts: intelligence, aesthetics, attention, physical capacities, and so on (1987). Individuals are ‘sucked’ into the global hierarchy of heritage values, in which they, their houses, villages and regions are just tiny bits of huge mechanisms and flows of value, tourism and investment. Then, however, through processes of ‘social subjection’, new subjectivities are generated that grant apparently solid subject positions to the individuals in terms of race or ethnic groups, place identification, class or gender. Those subjectivities emerge relationally in the social field and reinstate ‘neo-archaisms’ such as racism, religious fanaticism, machismo, and so on, which are necessary instruments for the shattering of the social field and the reproduction of capitalism. This is the social process by which capitalism constantly reinvents itself (Thrift 2005), and in which heritage as a fundamental role to play today as a fundamental instrument for processes of resubjectification. Accordingly, globalization draws more and more people, places and nations into the global assemblage of heritage value. This machinic process fosters a global tendency towards the homogenization of places, spaces, and heritage sites, which share a common aesthetics, discourse and language that facilitate tourism consumption (Walsh 1992). But, at the same time that São Paulo becomes increasingly similar to Berlin or Shanghai in material terms, there is a tendency to produce new symbolic subjectivities and identities through heritage, to reinforce nationalistic, religious or ethnic claims, or to assert the values of tolerance and respect in multicultural policies. Alternatively, as in Santiago Millas, to mark the differences between social classes through segmentations between elite and subaltern culture. Meanwhile, the heritage machine establishes a new regime of economic values to which all people is subjected (rocketing real estate prices, new tourism-related businesses, and so on). Equally, new subjectivities are generated that reinforce hierarchies and produce dominant identities (the newcomers supersede the power of local elites, who imitate newcomers to reinforce their

symbolic superiority over local lower classes, and so on). Both machinic enslavement and social subjection are “real dispositives” that “work together” (Lipovich and Lazzarato 20/12/2010) without any cultural or economic determinism: identities are valuable in the global hierarchy of value, and economic values generate identities as by-products of cultural processes of production (Rullani 2006). In this regard, to avoid the ‘culturalist’ and the ‘economicist’ determinism in heritage studies, and the split of the field into those studying heritage as economy-tourism, and heritage as a set of values and meanings, we should conceive heritage entities and processes as full signs that are simultaneously representation and production, i.e., transduction. For Guattari, transduction is “a sign that is both representation and production, and which therefore has the semiotic quality that he values most, the ability to intervene in the real. It is a-signifying” (Watson 2009: 156). A heritagized façade in Santiago Millas is not (solely) a reflection of certain economic structures, a meaning-making display, a cultural representation, or an added value to the tourism economy of the village: it is all them, and it would be analytically flawed to analyze them separately.

The Heritage Machine and the Patios that do not Open.

Certain heritage events serve as an arena to perform and distribute these chains of evaluations and judgments. As a result of their common struggle against the city council, the Association of Friends of Santiago Millas amplified the quality and quantity of their socio-cultural activities and reached the forty members. According to one of the affiliates, “as the city council did not let us do anything in the village, we have limited our actions to the organization of cultural events. Events to which, of course, the mayor does not assist nor support” (Interview 46, 15th August 2011). The most important of those events, which I have analyzed in detail, has been the *Jornadas de Puertas Abiertas*. This biannual event started in 2009 and had its second edition in 2011. The fundamental attractive of the event is the possibility of visiting the *Patios Maragatos*, whose uniqueness rest in the pavement works, balconies and overall monumentality.

In 2009, ten houses joined the event, while ten more joined for the 2011 edition. During the first edition, my ethnography was limited to interview house owners and tourists. In the second edition I preferred to did the same as in the first, but extended my focus to those local people who owned old *maragato* houses (that had tended to adopt modern aesthetics) and decided not to join the event.

The free and open character of the *Jornadas de Puertas Abiertas* rendered the patios and houses spaces for socioeconomic and cultural display. In them, some elements tend to recur which are considered part of the ‘to have’ symbols of the *maragato* culture such as benches, pavements and balconies. The local owners who joined the event do not display elements of the pre-industrial world so emphatically as newcomers. However, there has been an increase between 2009 and 2011 in the number of those objects displayed by locals. Instead, newcomers cover their walls with plows, threshers and every object that looks old and is made of wood or old looking metals. This is especially so in the houses built from the scratch, that need to compensate their lack of ‘oldness’ and ‘authenticity’ with the exposition of material culture. These houses relocate and reorganize the traditional schemes of *maragato* houses for the purposes of display. For instance, a new house had bought an old oven and situated it just facing the front door so it could be clearly seen, that is, in an

area where it would have been useless in pre-industrial times. Normally, the modernization of *maragato* houses, and of most vernacular houses in the area broadly, have led to the existence of two separate kitchens, the ‘old’ and the ‘new’. The old kitchen is used for smoking the sausages and hams, while the new functions of the kitchen are displaced to a new one with all the usual commodities present in contemporary kitchens. This is only one of the multiple free interpretations of the *maragato* culture that they allegedly seek to preserve and defend.



Image 79. Posters announcing the *Sonidos Populares* and *Jornada de Patios Abiertos* events. On the left, the *Sonidos Populares* event was performed at the *Museo de la Arriería*. On the right, the *Patios Abiertos* in its second edition, August 2011. Source: Author.

Normally, the owners of the house kindly offer drinks and foods to the visitors, proudly telling stories about their houses and objects and their process of acquisition and construction. Free interpretations of historical events abound as well. As one of the ‘patio’ owners explained, “I use to tell visitors that the village was huge, that it had more than 3.000 inhabitants, and that the two quarters were only one, and were connected with houses, and that when the railways came it was completely depopulated until recently” (Interview 47, 15th August 2011). That this is not true does not matter, what matters is to make their project appear to be epic and glorious, a further characteristic of heritagization processes (Lowenthal 1996). It is paradoxical that the whole event is opposed to the logics of the *maragato* house and culture. As many authors have pointed out (Alonso González 2009a; López-Sastre 2009; Rubio Pérez 2003), the architecture of the house reflected the will of their owners to seek intimacy, closeness and safety. Moreover, people in the area are usually reserved about showing and exposing the internal parts of their houses. In fact, most local people who were not part of the cultural or economic elite of Santiago Millas did not join the event, neither as hosts nor as visitors. Among them, I focused in those whose houses had original *Patios*

Maragatos but refused to open them for visitors. In the end, I could interview three elder couples and see their patios. Their reasons for not joining the event mixed different arguments.



Image 80. A fake *maragato* house. The brand new *maragato* house boasts a corridor from a nearby village with the traditional blue *maragato* color and a traditional oven. Source: Author.

On the one hand, they felt inferior to the others because they thought that their patios were not good or beautiful enough because they do not fit the patterns of the heritage economy. On the other hand, they rejected the character of the event as a whole, arguing that it was silly to show their houses to people, and that no one would be interested in visiting the houses or patios of others for the sake of it.

A situation occurred during my ethnography can serve to better illustrate the point. I had located a *maragato* house whose owners were not joining the event. An elder couple was sitting in their stone bench outside and in front of the house; the door to their patio was closed. The façade of their stone-made house was covered with grey concrete and it had modern windows and blinds. I sat down with them and, after a while, I asked about the house, the future changes they were willing to do in it, and their opinion on the event that was being held. They said that, contrary to the mayor and the urban legislation, they were not going to get rid of the concrete and leave the original façade

in sight “because the stones here are small” (Interview 48, 14th August 2011). The only plan they had for their house was to substitute the wooden balconies of the internal patio for metallic ones that keep the heat better, but they could only do it if their son in Madrid helped them financially. After around one hour of informal chatting, I asked them whether their house had a patio or not, and whether they would be willing to show it to me. They argued that it was ugly and full of stuff and were reticent to show it to me. Finally they let me in. It was not different from many other patios local people had in Maragatería. Ornamental plants mixed with tomato, onion and garlic plants. Metal, brick, concrete and plastic elements abounded and no old agricultural tool was on display. These tools were kept in a room that served to store ‘old stuff’ – the *trastero* – in a clear reflection of the preservationist pre-industrial mindset that tends to accumulate old objects (González-Ruibal 2003b). When I was ready to leave, a couple of tourists from Pamplona entered the patio, took pictures and started talking with the elderly couple. The conversation confirmed the concerns of the elder couple about opening their patio: the visitors started to make value judgments about the house under the guise of a friendly, informal and condescending attitude, which concealed an overtly patronizing tone. They used phrases like “It is a pity that these roofs are made in plastic”, “it would be much better if...”, “why this metal door in here?”, “are you really planning to get rid of the wooden windows?” etc. (Interview 49, August 2011). The elderly couple remained silent most of the time and provided vague answers, hurrying up to take us out and shut the door.

Afterwards, I met the tourist couple in a wine offered at the museum, and they plainly talked to me about their opinion on what they had seen. The man was an architect and he considered the patio an aberration and a further demonstration of the ignorance of “*esta gente*” – ‘these people’, that is, of rural peasants. As he argued, “their house could be worth hundreds of thousands of Euros just getting rid of the concrete, plastic and metal elements” (Interview 49, August 2011). He linked aesthetic with economic value, without even asking why local people had such predilection for plastic chairs, metal windows and doors. Moreover, and connected the issue with general discourses about the overall absence of love and care for the past in Spain, the smoothness and lack of operative heritage legislation, etc. This is a micro example of the heritage machine at work, a constant and relational set of judgments and evaluations that establish what is valuable and desirable and what is not (Citton and Lordon 2008). These evaluations do not presuppose a split between culture and economy. Rather, assessments of ‘what is good’ aesthetically and culturally are intrinsically linked with economy in the virtual form of real estate values, tourism, and so on. Certain social actors gain their agency and power position to define those values by their academic or professional knowledge, travel experience, or just because they live in urban centers, which enables them to compare and refine their tastes and opinions. When tourism connects with active heritage subjectivities in local contexts, the global hierarchy of value (Herzfeld 2004) comes into play without ever acknowledging or considering the existence of other conceptions of the house and culture. Not only in relation to aesthetics, but also with the meaning of the house as such, which in pre-industrial societies was intrinsically bounded with the family history and ‘soul’ (García Martínez 2008b).



Image 81. The construction of heritage values. Above: external view of the modernized *maragato* house where the encounter between the tourists and the local people occurred. In the middle, the different metal and plastic elements spread around the patio that are equated by visitors with ‘modernity’ and therefore ugliness or lack of aesthetic criteria. Below, the owner of the house and the visitors. Source: Authors.

Putting the *Maragatos* on Display: from Ritual to Spectacle.

The other fundamental attraction of the celebration was the organization of a musical event in the local museum. The first striking fact at first glance was the title *Sonidos Populares: instrumentos musicales de Castilla y León: la dulzaina, la flauta maragata y la zanfoña*, - Popular Sounds: musical instruments of Castilla y León: the *dulzaina*, the *maragato* flute, and the *zanfoña* -. After the awakening of the Leonese cultural and political wave during the 1980s, it became unfeasible to come across any kind of event in the province of León that referred or comprised something which had to do with *Castilla*, or which situates under the same umbrella the cultures of *Castilla and León*. Therefore, it became clear from the start that it had been organized by the newcomers in Santiago Millas. The event brought together a number of musicians and academic experts. As any other cultural performance, it was temporally and spatially framed, programmed and conceived as a site for display and cultural gathering for certain members of the community (Fuoss and Hill 2001).

The most striking fact for me and for other people interested in the *maragato* culture, such as *maragato* drummers, was the presentation of the *maragato* culture as a showcased and fixed entity, as a performance within a museum. A young *maragato* drummer played the flute and the drum in an elevated area within the museum, with an University professor, expert in Leonese music, sitting next to him. The expert took the lead, explaining the origins of the instruments and asking the drummer to play this or that song whenever he needed it to support his argument. Tourists and members of the association were passively sitting in chairs and looking at the cultural performance occurring in front of them. The tension of the drummer was palpable, after a few songs, he started looking at two *maragato*-dressed girls, and they all started to smile and laugh. The expert asked what was going on in a friendly manner, and he naively replied: “well, this does not work this way usually. People should be here, dancing with us or in the front, you know.” Then, he turned to the public and said: “you can come to the front and dance, or come up here if you want. Cheer up!” (Interview 50, 15th August 2011). Of course, no one moved and after a few seconds the expert broke the rarefied atmosphere with a bad joke.

The event entailed a fixation and anesthetization that broke with the intrinsic improvised, performative and interactive character of the *maragato* culture. Moreover, *maragato* drummers play in village's celebrations in the area all weekends during summer time, and frequently all the year-round. Why bring them to the museum if they are still lively performing in reality? As Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2004a) argues, this is the paradoxical reality of ethnographic display and preservation ethos: if a cultural practice is alive, it does not require preservation and when it is dying preservation does not guarantee its survival. In fact, as Hertzfeld suggests, “in making a spectacle of ritual, we kill it” (2001: 274). What matters about the ‘drummer’ is not their role in the community or the complex meshwork of interactions that render their activities possible and livable. It is the dress and the instruments, the songs and their valuable lyrics, that can be categorized and compared with others that are similar or different in other areas from the epistemological ‘plane of reference’ of the academic expert. The ‘drummer’ becomes a half-artist and half-cultural reified entity, folklore rather than popular culture (García Canclini 1993). In turn, the people looking at him are assisting to a cultural performance rather than to a community or festive event. The politics of exhibition imply a logic of detachment and lead the public to adopt a distanced attitude (Hall 2001).

They are in the museum to gather symbolic capital (sensu Bourdieu 1986). This implies ‘to learn’, to differentiate between the different ‘others’ and their performances, and to appreciate their folkloric traits that can be compared with other folkloric ‘others’ they know. Also, they tend to admire some values which are sanctioned by the site – a museum –, its inclusion in a cultural program, and the presence of an academic expert. However, the application of taxonomic categories to a lively cultural reality, cannot but create a rarefied atmosphere and the rejection of those who are used to see them acting outside the museum showcase. Consequently, the event becomes utterly superficial although it is lined with an air of cultural depth.

The open patios, the houses, and especially the museum displaying can be framed in what Handleman calls the transition from ritual to spectacle (1997). I have argued before that the *maragato* performances cannot be equated with rituals owing to their immanent networking with the community and intermingling of festive, religious, political and socio-economic elements. They cannot be separated from other forms of community life. However, considered as ‘heritage events’ with a specific logic, they can be related with Handleman’s differentiation between what he calls the two metalogics of transformation and presentation (Idem). He does not directly equate ritual as a characteristic of traditional societies and spectacle as typical of modern ones, although he argues that it normally functions that way. In his view, rituals are cultural forms that accommodate the external social orders and have direct effects in them, as forms of making culture and social relations directed and controlled in ways integral to the ‘natural’ order of the community. As Turner noted, rituals function as sites where intersecting, conflictive and changing sets of classifications and values are negotiated (1967: Chapter 1).

In turn, modern spectacles are performances that conceal the bureaucratic ethos of modernity. Although Handleman’s model is devised to account for communist societies in particular, the bureaucratic ethos is at work even in Santiago Millas, where no institution is in charge of the event. Notwithstanding this fact, the organizers of the event have ‘interiorized’ modern knowledge, in a well-known process after Foucault (1977). Accordingly, they try to emulate the museum, folkloric and taxonomic ethos that they have witnessed in other public cultural institutions. Modern knowledge must pervade the whole performance to add depth. Also, they reproduce the bureaucratic concern for the constant replication of order: uniformity and predictability must prevail over the improvisation that characterizes live-world *maragato* popular culture. Moreover, the spectacle is visual, it creates a gap between the self and the observed image. It “concretizes the western insistence on the visual and should be read as the Cartesian triumph over everything else” (Herzfeld 2001: 269). The ‘metalogics of presentation’ (Handleman 1990: 41-48), at work in houses and in the museum, foster homogenization and a tendency towards the replication of specific regimes of signs that territorialize certain assemblages in more or less similar forms throughout the world: the global hierarchy of value. In order to avoid the ritual-spectacle dichotomy, Herzfeld proposes the concept of ‘displays of order’ (2001: 170-5). The whole assemblage created by the heritage machine in Santiago Millas can be conceived an all-encompassing display of order: in the façades, in the patios, in the museum, in the gardens, in the name of the streets, that both reflect and serve to shape social transformation (Miller 1998).



Image 82. The *maragatos* on display. A sad scene during the *Sonidos Populares* event. A *tamboritero maragato* plays songs while an academic expert sitting next to him explains to the audience what he is doing. Trying to bring life to the event, the *tamboritero* asked some people to dance with the music. However, an awkward situation ensued, because a spectacle and situations of supposedly ‘cultural transmission’ demand a direct and unmediated relation between a passive receptor (public) and an active performer. Source: Author.

Many authors have focused at this point in the ‘diagnose’ of this social situation or ‘zeitgeist’ in cultural terms. For instance, Handelman argues, with Weber, that the transition towards spectacles retains nostalgia from the past and reflects a disenchanting world. Here, I completely agree with Maurizio Lazzarato’s interpretation of Pasolini’s understanding of the issue:

“Pasolini is well aware of the paradox that capitalism establishes. On the one hand it destroys popular cultures and their sacred, ‘animist’ vision of nature, things and the cosmos. On the other hand, through novel machinic assemblages it creates the conditions for drawing newcontinuities between subject/object and nature/culture. As Guattari, he understood this contradictory double movement. Firstly, the objectification and rationalization of nature and the cosmos that renders them exploitable and, secondly, the possibility of a ‘machinic-animism’ that could ‘re-sacralise’ (Pasolini) or ‘re-enchant’ (Guattari) them. What has been lost with the disappearance of non-anthropomorphic cultures and religions can be reinvented with the non-anthropomorphic machinism of capitalism” (Lazzarato, M. forthcoming).

Obviously, it can be reinvented as a representation but not as a real living context. This is so because in modernity everything is mediated and disenchanted. As García Canclini puts it, modernity continues to have necessary connections with the disenchantment of the world, with the experimental sciences and, above all, with a rationalist organization of society that culminates in efficient productive enterprises and well-organized state apparatuses.” Accordingly, the ‘return to the past’ is understood as a symbolic choice, as we “have to pass, it was said in the sixties and seventies, from prescriptive to elective behaviors, from the inertia of rural or inherited customs to conduct proper to urban societies, where the objectives and collective organization are set according to scientific and technological rationality” (García Canclini 1995b: 9).

Now we can turn to the question of the senses in which the popular sectors adhere to modernity, reject or search for it, and mix it with their traditions. However, “to assert that the cultural analysis of modernity requires putting together the methods of entering and leaving it. But putting it this way is incorrect because it suggests that modernity is a historical period or a type of practice with which one might connect oneself by choosing to be in it or no. It is often presented in these terms, and the entire discussion is reduced to what must be done in order to enter or leave it” (García Canclini 1995b). Therefore, the extent to which local people is ‘captured’ into the new regime of signs cannot be assessed in simplistic terms. Thinking of ‘pre-modern’, ‘modern’ and ‘post- or supermodern’, as well as any other categories as ‘attractors’ in complexity theory terminology, or as ‘virtualities’ towards which the social field and individuals tend, can help us escape the deadlock of essentializing these concepts as historic periods or ‘states of being’. Thus, the heritage machine can be conceived as a supermodern attractor in complexity terminology, a tendency people tend towards. Many people remain attached to functionalist views of their houses, and tend to adapt as many modern materials and commodities as they can afford economically. However, those in the local setting who can afford participating in the heritage economy, start to invest in their patios and in the external appearance of the house. Local elites try to imitate the foreigners, but their cultural representations in houses and events differ from them because they have had different life experiences, and their relations with their neighbors clearly differ from the relations that foreigners can entertain with a local community whose power relations and social customs seem alien to them. My study has not aimed to better ‘diagnose’ the roots and motivations that lead social actors to embark in such a huge endeavor to heritagize an entire village. Rather, I have focused in analyzing how certain subjects’ social power positions are reinforced and their agency increased via the utilization of the policies of the past and the control over the symbolic order of the village.

Conclusion.

Santiago Millas has become a self-fulfilling heritage prophecy. The construction of a heritage haven involves the complex negotiation of local power among multiple stakeholders. Fundamentally, a powerful economic and cultural elite challenged the political establishment of the village on the grounds of their alleged superior sensibility to the necessities and problems affecting Santiago Millas. As a result of these conflicts, the local community remains marginalized politically (i.e., devoid of agency) and poetically (i.e., unrepresented in the politics of identity and display, or represented as subaltern). This fact reveals the double standards that heritage legislation and

practice imply. Heritage legislations are not only essentialist and elitist in origin, but are amenable to reinterpretation to suit the interests of the local elites and wealthy social actors. Those attempt to preserve a distinctive form of cultural and symbolic production away from the popular and the massive. This usually entails inscribing their activities within institutional contexts and circuits where networks of cultural capital are negotiated (Hall 1997).

Moreover, the members of the Association deploy strategies to impose and reproduce an aristocratic and distinctive conception of culture (Hall 1981). This became clear with their angry reactions against the massive production of *maragato* houses set out by the city council. That would go against their spiritual forms of cultural production disguised as artistic creation that conceive the house as a singularized artistic project. This is in tune with the western modern conception of life as a rational self-project of mind mastering (Ortega y Gasset and Marías 1984) as opposed to an creative exploration. This modern individual, knowledgeable and open to artistic creation, calls upon the artisans that craft the stones for the walls, the woods for the balconies, and the metals for the railings and forgings. Art organizes crafts, which must be preserved to enable creators increase the value and possibilities of their unique artworks. These changes transform meaning processes in the cultural sphere by constructing sets of correspondences between material culture and ideas, that is, representations (Hall 1997: 19). In turn, those representations establish complex relations with the physical environment of the village and with its temporal coordinates. Those are not based on negativity but rather in positive processes of ‘purification’ that tend to filter out contaminant representations that do not fit the regime of signs being pushed forward. Purification “is something internal, and should be seen less as a negation of contamination than as the affirmation of homogeneity and momentum” (Saldanha 2007: 129). Heritage purification involves houses, street furniture and gardens, but also of bodies: one does not dress similarly to sit down in benches in the street than to go to a ‘cultural act’.

These changes in the public sphere of the village recode difference and turn it into an abstract quality, while at the same time the intrinsic aesthetic and social heterogeneity of the village tends to be homogenized. The ‘other’, the local peasant, is recoded as a cultural fact and is located in the past through display strategies at work in the museum and in the houses. The past is not only empirically overcome but symbolically exhibited, and progress is affirmed as the only way forward within the linear development of modernity. For Jameson, a defining trait of postmodernism is the use of a spatial logic based on visual culture rather than a temporal one, and this fact tends to repress historical consciousness (1991). However, in Santiago Millas, both strategies are condensed into displays of order that use spatial logics to convey temporal displacements and recreate meaning hierarchies: plows hung in walls are spatial tactics in the visual economy of the village that separate temporally those who exhibit them (culture and symbolic value) from those who used them (economy and functional value). Clearly, these strategies must be framed as a further reinvention of capitalism (Thrift 2006), conceived by Deleuze and Guattari as a machine that constantly needs to overcome itself in search of new values – cultural, economic, political (1987).

The problem with post-industrial capitalism is not amnesia, but rather the paranoid production of too much memory in the form of representations disengaged from real contexts (Parr 2008). The current emphasis on remembrance and the past can be read with Marx as part of the sheer need of the bourgeoisie to constantly revolutionize the means of production, the relations of production and society as a whole (Marx and Engels 1848). In Santiago Millas, heritage has served as a rhetoric

device to revolutionize the local social relations: the Friends of Santiago Millas desire more heritage than what official recognition and public institutions can give them. Will the economic crisis restrain the self-fulfilling prophecy of a heritage haven in the village?

15. The Rainbow Village: the Virtual, the Real, and the Absent Community of Matavenero.

Introduction.

The return to the land that has been a widespread process in most developed economies during the last thirty years. It can take many forms. One of those is the formation of groups of people that set out to create new utopian communities. Matavenero is one of the oldest and most renowned of these communities in Spain. Since the repopulation of the village, it has been continuously occupied and has undergone multiple changes. Although since the late 1990s people publications started to affirm that the community was crumbling and finished, in social events or online forums, it is still alive and lively in 2012. Well before the beginning of my research, I was interested in the village and knew some of the people living there. Then, after 2009 I started visiting Matavenero and carrying out formal research. The bulk of my ethnography was held during the summer months of 2009 and 2010. During that period I also recorded a documentary on the village gathering more than 25 hours of filmed material, recording audio interviews and taking notes in paper. Research in these kinds of communities in Spain is almost non-existent. Therefore, I decided to keep its study bounded within my geographic scope of the Maragatería area. Despite Matavenero is formally part of Torre del Bierzo's city council, its mental landscapes and connections with Astorga and Maragatería are strong. It is also geographically quite close to the limits of Maragatería, which justifies my inclusion of it in my ethnography.

The first and ultimately most important methodological and theoretical lesson I learnt about the village is that it functions as a deterritorialized community without any fixed identity; it keeps shifting and transforming itself. It is a 'changing same' (Gilroy 1994) and a somewhat messy or slippery object of ethnographic study (Law 1991). However, I was fascinated with the study of the village for many reasons. This chapter aims to reduce the complexity of the evolution of the village to focus in some fundamental aspects of live, materiality, memory and heritage in the village. Clearly, heritage cannot be conceived here in the official or academic sense of the term, but rather as a strategy that builds and preserves certain elements as distinct and valuable. In fact, some authors have argued that 'heritage' in an immanent sense, or in a bottom-up approach, can be equated with the 'things valued', both tangible and intangible (Novelo 2005: 85). These valued elements can be embodied in material culture or become myths of origin reproduced by word to mouth. The appearance of reference to issues of heritage, memory or materiality in public contexts and private interviews is rather scarce and succinct. However, they are fundamental for the affirmation of feelings of belonging and the maintenance of the feeble identity links enabling individuals in Matavenero to call themselves and feel part of a community.



Image 83. View of Matavenero from the path leading to the car parking in 2011. Source: Author.

From Hippies to Eco-Rurals, from Communes to Eco-Villages.

The hippie phenomenon raised huge anthropological and sociological interest in the U.S. and U.K., especially during the 1970s and 1980s (see Bash and Leventman 1982; Berger 2004; Desmond et al. 2000; Leventman 1982; Taylor and Whittier 1999). In contrast, in Spain it has remained as a marginal and understudied topic. This is probably due to the late arrival of the phenomenon, - the first Rainbow gatherings starting in the late 1980s –, to its lesser extension, demographic relevance and media coverage, and to the slippery character of the object of study. The worldwide networks of the hippie culture, a deterritorialized set of ideas, hopes and virtual potential (Roszak 1970), contrasts with a strong will to have territorialized experiences in intense short-term gatherings that occasionally coalesce into long-term projects (Pepper 1991). In Spain, these projects are sometimes equated with processes of rural repopulation and back-to-the-land processes, when they actually stem from really different structures and social processes of formation. The PhD dissertation of Gómez-Ullate (2006) is, to my knowledge, the only attempt to provide a global vision of the phenomenon in Spain in terms of counter culture considered as an evolution of the hippie phenomenon. Articles dealing with specific case studies of communities are rare (1997).

During the 2000s, the shift towards ideas of sustainable development and ecology in academia and institutional discourse (Gunder 2006) has led to the understanding of these communities in these terms. Gomes Bonfim's research (2010) is exemplary in this regard. According to her, there are no liberation ideologies, communes or hippies anymore, but only ecological concerns, eco-villages and eco-rurals. This is in tune with an increasing interest in the topic worldwide (Bang 2005; Jackson 2004; Joseph and Bates 2003; Norberg-Hodge 2001). In fact, where have all the flower children gone? (Gurvis 2006). In fact, the own communities have assumed this ecological discourse and abandoned the countercultural ideas that prevailed during the 1980s and 1990s. The network of eco-villages in which Matavenero is comprised (Marín 2002) is a clear example of this strategy that aims not only to rethink their own practices to legitimate them in the social sphere (Blaitt González 2011; Flaquer 2011). It has to be said that the extension and all-encompassing character of the previously mentioned works in Spain has been detrimental to their analytical depth.

For instance, Gómez-Ullate includes Matavenero in its thesis as an example of commune and it also appears in different ethnographic conversations he transcribes. However, he constantly refers to it as ‘Madero’ rather than ‘Matavenero’. Similarly, Bonfim refers to the ‘Rembo’ in her transcriptions of conversations with members of the community, without acknowledging that they are speaking about the ‘Rainbow’ movement from which the community stems. These issues reveal the lack of analytical depth I mentioned before. Furthermore, Bomfin’s analytical approach draws based on broad comparisons between communities in South America and Spain and sociological quantitative methodologies provides a rather weak grounds to understand the functioning of those communities. She cannot account for change and thus provides a frozen image of the community as a fixed entity⁹⁴.

Matavenero is a product of the nomadic Rainbow movement, specifically of the gatherings of 1987 in Genisera and 1988 in Fasgar, both villages of the province of León. ‘Rainbow’ refers not only to the name of the gatherings: it is also a way of life, an ideology, a set of beliefs that provides a sense of belonging and community (Niman 1997). It can be used as an adjective (‘he’s not Rainbow enough’, ‘a Rainbow atmosphere’), as a substantive (‘I went to the Rainbow’), or as a verb (‘to go Rainbow’ or ‘to Rainbow’). It also designates collectives, individuals, fixed and mental places. It is common to hear the ‘Rainbow’ family, tribe, collective, individual, and similar others. Its flowing character is better described in Deleuzian terms as a deterritorializing force: it is an identity that escapes definition, a constant becoming, a virtual line of flight. The Rainbow ideology still pervades Matavenero, but more as a ghost from the past than as a real set of social practices or ideal to be achieved: “Rainbow means a village where all colors are welcomed, and from which no one can be excluded” (Interview 51, July 2010). In fact, everyone is considered by them part of the Rainbow, it is just that they are not yet aware of it (Niman 1997: 99).



Image 84. Circles of energy during Rainbow celebrations in Abelgas de Luna in 2008 (left) and Matavenero in 2009 (right). Source: <https://xochipilli.wordpress.com/>

Tracing the history of the movement goes beyond the scope of this chapter. Basically, it started in the U.S. as an informal organization that served people to gather in natural environments and express themselves as they considered to be more ‘natural’ (Legaliaison Network, 1990, in

⁹⁴ For instance, she asks the members of the community whether they are extreme left-wing radicals, moderate left, and so on, as if these bold classifications had any explanatory power for the dynamics of the community.

Ulloa 2004). The Rainbow Guide shows that it shifted from being an ‘event’ in 1970 to become a family and a home for the members of the community (Zicklin 1983). People would spend the whole year round attending these events, being deterritorialized from their normal lives (Ruz Buenfil 1991). The Rainbow calendar was filled with events all year-round, and it soon expanded to Europe (Rainbow Guide, 1993, quoted in Ulloa 2004) and many other places like Goa in India (Saldanha 2004). There are many constitutive traits of the Rainbow, apart from its identity in becoming and its open character. They perform certain activities like the ‘talking stick’, the ‘magic hat’, the ‘central fire’, they decide in common about social structures, organization and materials and the cleaning-camp after they finish (Niman 1997).

Some of these elements endured in Matavenero for some years, and then started to fade away gradually. In a way, the story of the village can be seen as the transition from a Rainbow state to a more down to earth situation, from the Rainbow to the Eco-rural. However, there are ups and downs, and new people might come with renewed energies trying to go back to the roots, as with the organization of the 2009 European Rainbow in the village in the equinox between the new moon of September and the new moon of October. During that Rainbow, and by the way people referred to it afterwards, I understood that the Rainbow (as short-term gathering) functions as a rite of passage for newcomers to the movement of all ages. These sites, rites and processes of inclusion serve to fabricate reality and truth (Lisón Tolosana 2004: 47). Consequently, they build identity, the “result of an artifice, a fiction, a generative systematizing process that coagulates and accumulates preindividual asyntactic and agrammatical traits” (Bell 2010: 7). As a result, there is a shift in the identity of the subject, who has supposedly learnt a set of ways of doing things, myths of origin, values, aesthetic principles, a worldview and an ethos (Harrington 2007). The event forces subjects to be immersed in a context of ‘primary socialization’, being surrounded by other individuals similar to him or her that “will reflect an image of the self which differs from the previous image that the subject had previously built of him or herself” (Ortega et al. 1996: 133). People in Matavenero would afterwards talk to the youngsters of the community and remind them of ‘their first Rainbow’ as a benchmark in their lives. Moreover, it attracted people from the Rainbow that became ‘hooked’ to the movement and then joined the flows of deterritorialization that it carries along.

The Rainbow is volatile, and so is Matavenero. People constantly come and go and it is hardly possible to track their movements. Those movements occur at two fundamental levels which I have called the regional-territorialized and the international-deterritorialized. In the former, people from the village move around Maragatería, El Bierzo and northwestern Spain broadly: they go to supermarkets, do artworks, play music, sell arts and crafts in medieval markets, etc. In addition, when they abandon Matavenero they use to ‘go down’ to Bembibre or Astorga, where they have opened three businesses in the city centre. Also, they move to other villages with roads that enable their children to go to school, like Requejo, San Martín del Agostedo or Santa Catalina de Somoza. Wherever they live, they continue to be called ‘the people from Matavenero’. Clearly, Matavenero has become an ‘imagined community’ for people in Maragatería. The other network, which I have not been able to track, is the deterritorialized one. Deterritorialized movements might involve seasonal displacements to their countries of origin (Switzerland, Germany, Netherlands and U.K. fundamentally), to other communities in Spain (Lakabe in Navarra and especially to Ojiva and the

Alpujarras in Granada), or to Rainbow paradises or new projects starting here and there throughout the world (especially in Morocco and India).

The paradoxical situation taking place in the case of Matavenero is that those who started the project, the protagonists of its myth of origin who embody the Rainbow 'spirit', are not anymore in the village and have opened businesses in Astorga. This raises many questions to newcomers to Matavenero, as their rooting in the village requires them to either consider the 'pioneers' (as they are called in the village) as failed Rainbow people whose path should not be followed, or as people who abandoned the site for some reason and whose memory must be preserved. Ideas of teleological development and progress characteristic of an hyper-individualized society come into play (Urry 2003), because when newcomers to Matavenero come to know these individuals they rapidly become disenchanted and imbued with a nostalgia from the times past, even if this occurred only ten years ago. Narratives about the pioneers are used "as cognitive instruments" that "distribute knowledge and memory" (Wertsch and Billingsley 2011: 32) within the community in a negative way. Thus, rarefied notions of temporality are at work in the place, where the feeling of being off the modern world and a linear progress is curtailed precisely by the application of these notions to the understanding of the village's evolution.

Another characteristic of the Rainbow movement is the Universality of their concepts and scope (Melville 1972). The Rainbow is a global form (Collier and Ong 2005), a rhizome that can thrive anywhere or, as they prefer to see it, a seed that can grow anywhere. In this regard, they form part of a larger movement of white western modernity. The modern western individual has been trying to go beyond its limits and boundaries, treating the self as a project that transforming itself in the process of search for new endeavors, trying to transform the world in an ethos that derives from Protestant and Lutheran understandings of the self (Morales and Moya Huertas 1994). They explore, becoming different, going local, and then joining international flows again (Dezcallar 1984). Their loose organizational patterns are centrifugal and open-ended, but they are inscribed within the 'politics of location' (Rich 1985). Most times, these deterritorialized flows of change ignore the fundamental inequality in which they are grounded, given the advantageous place in the global economies of these subjects (Massey 1999). Accordingly, they face the paradoxical and schizophrenic situation of having subject positions that enable them to choose to live in India imitating those who cannot choose to live that way (Saldanha 2007). They disregard the local positions and individual and collective agencies of the other-sites where they are trying to become territorialized (Massey 1993).

These fundamental inequalities and their missionary and Universalist ideologies become problematic whenever the deterritorialized community comes down to earth and sets out to actualize their virtual community. The implementation of a brand-new community requires being able and free to create a new society from the scratch, and thus the chosen place must be an empty slate, a body-without-organs (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 158). Also, 'nature' must be powerfully felt in the site chosen. It must be far away from civilization and unreachable by car as well. This enables them to follow the laws of Oriental civilization and respect for nature that are fundamental in their ideology: letting go, leave things flow without forcing unnatural changes in the natural becoming of things (Elorduy 1997: 228). Spatial and temporal isolation is fundamental for the deployment of the New Age spirituality that underpins these movements, where the presence of

meditation techniques and Oriental religious practices is widespread. Also, because isolation renders the project more challenging, adventurous, epic, that is, more appealing.

Matavenero: the Origins.

The origins of Matavenero are related to the fact that upper Maragatería and this area of El Bierzo constitute a depopulated 'minor territory'. The former teacher of Matavenero, Nina, now resident of Requejo, explains how it all began in the context of a Rainbow in Genicera (León): "a local newspaper talked about depopulation; rural depopulation and so on. Moreover, there was a list of abandoned villages in it. And we thought... this is our place, this is not Switzerland, there is space for us here!" (Interview 52, June 2009). The way they recall the story highlights the heroic facts and disregards the bureaucratic and problematic issues. El Ulli, Lortsch, and others recall that a group of people went to the place and started cleaning and arranging it, and finally four people decided to stay: two Germans, one Swiss and one Catalan. Another defining trait of the Rainbow movement was brought to Matavenero: the Teepee, which 'saved their lives' during the worst winter they have spent in their lives as they recall it. However, the project was not as improvised as they depict it now. My interview with Guillermo, a former member of the Regional parliament, revealed that they spent one or two years soliciting licenses by the authorities to settle there and that they were encouraged to bring Spanish people if they wanted to be allowed. Similarly, issues of class and social origin were involved in the process of creation. It is well known in the Maragatería and Astorga that the so-called 'hippies' were in reality wealthy people with high educational levels. Another defining trait of the Rainbow movement is that it is possible thanks to the existence of a Welfare State. In fact, people from northern countries live on State subsidies mostly. For instance, Germans live on the monthly government stipends for having children. In her ethnography at the beginnings of the 1990s, Alonso described the composition of Matavenero as she perceived it according to the categories developed by Labin (1972). For her, "the average profile of the members of Matavenero and Poibueno is the outcome of a mixture between the most numerous group, the sedentary mystics (tribal people dedicated to domestic, artisanal and agricultural tasks, willing to construct a new civilization), and the 'yeyés' (empty people with a good financial backing, which get involved in the community to enjoy the pleasures of narcissism; those are bourgeois and lack the ideals of the movement). There is also a little group of braggarts, whose only will is to imitate rather than working to get make some money, although those subjects have normally bad reputation there and end up being excluded. The less representative group are the gurus, (spiritual leaders that try to set an example and guide others in their spiritual lives" (Alonso 1997: 517).

From the anarchist standpoint, the issue has also been framed in Spain as a 'reappropriation' from the State (Asociación de estudiantes de Biología Malayerba 1999: 48). This was related with the sluggish idea of 'making it', that is, getting a stipend for some reason: disability, long-term unemployment, and so on (Ulloa 2004). Of course, not all they live on stipends but it is a widespread reality. Ulloa transcribes a conversation between two people in the Rainbow of Salto (1996) in which they talk about Matavenero. They were complaining about the fundamental inequality of the project as, they argued, German people had tried to create the village by and for themselves but the government did not allow them if they did not include Spanish people. Thus, it

was a widespread saying that they were seeking Spanish people to settle down in Matavenero, but “if possible they did not want any kind of support, they wanted people with degrees like teachers, engineers or doctors, or people with money, to build the village. They were rejecting people from the very beginning, go figure...” (Quoted in Ulloa 2004: 327). Of course, this idea of starting a community from the scratch is not new. In fact, its modern formation can be traced back to the utopian thinkers like Fourier, among others. However, in our days, it is lined with a coating of ideological good will that conceals a fundamental dishonesty: the Rainbow community is a by-product of certain socioeconomic conditions characteristic of post-industrial economies with welfare states that enable some subjects to live their lives as they wish. This implies unequal forms of agency and participation in the apparently open-ended flows of Rainbow.

Be it as it were, the former years of the community were of constant growth in physical, moral and demographic terms. This was the period that would be mystified and become a myth of origin afterwards. As Lortsch sums up, “a lot of work, a lot of party, and a lot of revelry. I have never made so much and so good parties in my whole life after that” (Interview 53, June 2010). During the first years, “we were living the best we could, in teepees, tents and so on. Cleaning paths and the ruins... and then with the support from Germany, Catalonia and a bus of people from *Cristiania* [Copenhagen, Denmark] we managed to build and do a lot” (Interview 54, July 2010). The interviewees who lived the initial years emphasize the collective mentality that prevailed at the time. Despite they reached the 140 inhabitants with 40 children – most of them born in the place without any medical support –, they managed to work together, building houses and the hydraulic system, the solar plaques and all the infrastructure. When asked about the overall feeling of that time they all referred to ‘magic’, ‘spiritual’, and similar concepts, and considered that the fundamental reason for that was that they had a common project, an objective, and they have to struggle to achieve it. This account of Lisón Tolosana of a Galician pre-industrial society could be easily applied to Matavenero:

“The experience of community and neighborhood has greater moral density when all members help each other at every site, according to an equal distribution of rights and duties, when everyone participates in the rites of passage of each other, and everyone sits down around the same table in sad and happy times, in one word, when they live a life in common” (1980: 37)⁹⁵.

As Lena points out, “when it comes down to existential issues of survival like having a roof and food, we did not pay attention to who we were. But after five or six years we realized that there were many differences among us” (Interview 51, July 2010). For Lortsch, these changes were related to a fundamental fact that the others overlook. He was the first to have a house in the village, and he realizes that things changed after that.

It is surprising that studies on these kinds of communities do not focus much on the structures of property and the relation between material culture, the individual and community. For instance, the fact of ‘having a house’ entailed a segregation from the group and to start living enclosed and focusing inwards, that is, in the internal familial relations that implied a return to Oedipus: the child and the couple. In fact, despite Alonso argues that one fundamental defining trait of the community

⁹⁵ “La vivencia de la vecindad presenta mayor densidad moral cuando todos se ayudan en todas las faenas, según una distribución equitativa de derechos y deberes, cuando todos participan en los ritos de transición de todos y todos se sientan en momentos tristes y alegres, en la misma mesa, cuando viven la vida en común, en una palabra” Lisón Tolosana, C. (1980). *Invitación a la antropología cultural de España*, Madrid: Akal.⁹⁵.

was an intense observation of free love practices (1997)⁹⁶, I witnessed a situation in which all relations had coalesced into more or less stable couples and free love was less practiced.

Moreover, new settlers to Matavenero are normally middle-aged stable couples, a fact that accentuates this tendency. This prevalence of couple relations also implied a differential spatial approach to quotidian life: not sharing communal spaces, eating in family, having privacy, etc. In fact, as in pre-industrial life, one of the fundamental elements of the community was the loss of privacy and individuality. Ideologically, this was considered a primordial objective to achieve in order to move away from the hyper-individualizing tendencies of capitalism. However, in the end, they were also hyper-individualized subjects with a 'project' in mind that needed to be carried out according to their perceived and objectified (i.e., knowledge-mediated) notions of community. Can feelings of community be rationally projected and planned rather than adopted or assumed as a given? What gives a schizophrenic character to the hippie subjectivities in Matavenero is in fact the paradox at the root of their project: modernity implies a need for predictability and the abandonment of the 'state of nature', it is a way of generating structures and security to avoid immanence with nature (Mahler 2008). Thus, similarly, how is it possible to rationally 'plan' a return to nature? These problems trouble a great number of contemporary social scientists and are not easily solved (Agamben 1993; Lingis 1994a; Nancy 1991a; Rose 2000a). And in fact could not be solved in Matavenero. More or less all interviewees agree that three years after the start of the project, when people begun having houses, the 'spirit' of the place decayed and common activities tended to be planned rather than given by a necessary state of things.

In Maturana and Varela's terminology (1980), these were problems of structure, of concrete relations among parts within the group. After that, problems of mode started, that is, of how to organize the assemblage of those elements in the group. We could frame it as a shift from sociological to political problems, although in this kind of community this differentiation is rather useless. Insolvable problems emerged in the local council, a local adaptation of the decision making instruments characteristic of the Rainbow gatherings that were held around the fire. Despite the tensions had been ongoing during the late 1990s, a serious conflict emerged that demanded taking decisions that involved complex ethical and jurisdictional issues. This contentious situation brought the community to the limit. Moreover, some 'strong subjects' that used to take important decisions within the community had gone away or died. Also, despite there were some individuals that acted as 'policemen', there was not a set of regulations that could be somewhat equated with 'justice' and its execution. That punishment and justice would be necessary in a peaceful Rainbow community had not been even thought about. Furthermore, the multiple and contrasting ideological underpinnings and conceptions of the members became known. Those had been concealed during the period of 'bare life' (Agamben 1998) but started to emerge then in full force. For some, there should be a punishment of some kind, such as expelling the 'judged' member from the community. Others thought it was necessary to resort to public institutions 'out there' due to the gravity of the issue. In turn, those infused with Buddhist and New Age mentalities believed that the individual should be left alone and carry the burden with him. Anarchists considered that there was nothing to

⁹⁶ "Their existential philosophy revolves around free love, not as understood as in the Oriental canons, but rather as an excess of sexual energy dispense, which produces a psychological and behavioural chaos derived from the continuous ruptures between couples. In this regard, children are those who most suffer from this situation" Alonso, M. "Análisis antropológico de una comunidad Hippie en un repoblado berciano." *Presented at Actas del III Congreso de historia de la antropología y antropología aplicada*, Pontevedra..

be done. In the end, nothing was done. That is, anarchism prevailed not for ideological but pragmatic reasons: it turned out to be impossible to reach an agreement. Most of the ‘pioneers’ considered this unbearable and decided to start a new project, which they did during the 2000s. First, they started to spend time out of the community seasonally in the village of Requejo nearby Astorga. Ultimately, they opened businesses in Astorga and moved to Requejo.



Image 85. The beginnings of Matavenero: living in teepees. Source: Nina.

A Portuguese pioneer that left the village recalls that “as time went by, the project crumbled, the original will to know each other you know... People started to be separated and relations cooled off. As in any other relation, interest in the others faded away, and our dark side came up. How were we supposed to deal with that? Then, conflicts appeared when trying to solve this or that problem” (Interview 55, July 2010). For Eldar “it was chaotic. People disagreed and instead of democratically solve the issue, and try to sort things out, instead, each one wanted to impose his ideas over the ideas of the others” (Interview 56, June 2009). Lena, a German woman who still lives in Matavenero, arrived when everything was settled down and she was given a wooden house. At the time, “there was still euphoria, we wanted to change the world and to do something different... But when everything was built we had to decide what to do, how to live” (Interview 51, July 2010). Lorstch related the community problems with a lack of internal individual strength: “At the beginning we were all together, but with time, it becomes daily life and a personal challenge, little things start to matter, and we could not bear it in the end, we could not solve our differences” (Interview 53, June 2009).

Many followed the pioneers and most people of the ‘alternative world’ in Spain thought that the project was doomed. As Jorge explains, “during the former eight years the project evolved. Then it was stagnant for many years, and then people changed again. Illusion reappeared, the illusion of living together, in nature and with nature. Every time one comes here, it has changed” (Interview 54, July 2010). Jorge was an Spaniard and one of the pioneers. He met a German woman who wanted to leave the community, and he followed her to Germany. When their relation ended a few years after, he returned to Matavenero and his perception of the transformations is evident. As he argues, “at the time we were all out, in the streets. We saw each other’s faces constantly. Now everyone is hiding in the houses, and if one wants to see somebody one needs to go and knock on

the door... Also, the whole village produced as much rubbish as a single family in the 'city'⁹⁷. Today, each family produces twice as much rubbish as a family in the 'city'. We have failed completely here" (Idem). However, as Goyo argues, "if something happens everyone comes out and help, there is no doubt" (Interview 57, August 2010). El Ulli, one of the four pioneers who still lives in the village, considers that there is still a feeling of community: "of course, it is not the same... you know... I miss them, I miss those who went away, but what can I do. Now, well... it is not the same, but I know that my neighbor thinks more or less similar to me" (Interview 58, July 2010).

Issues of generational behavior and change are fundamental for the community dynamics as well. In fact, the analysis of children upbringing shows that the reproduction of Matavenero as a stable community seems a rather unfeasible possibility. Complicated ethical dilemmas emerge for people living in Matavenero. People living there have travelled the world, but want their children to stay there because they consider that the correct choice to make after their life's experiences. But their children learn quickly about the Rainbow deterritorialized way of life and grow in an international atmosphere, knowing different languages. In fact, many members of the community left when their children had to go to school and the local school had failed. In other cases, when children grow older they leave the village to then return some years after with a different view and an increased estimation of what Matavenero means as a social experiment. Others have gone away and started new projects in Asturias and Galicia, according to their own views and trying to solve the problems they perceived in Matavenero. Another curious phenomenon that can be framed in generational terms was the shift from 'hippie' or 'new age' ecological and pacifist ideologies to the punk subculture held by youngsters. Mostly, this was an import from the 'city', as punk aggressive aesthetics and ideology went against the ideas held by their parents. In fact, some people during my interviews tried to hide the fact that their children were punks, for instance by censoring me to use some takings I had of them playing and singing for my documentary. 'That' was not the idea of the village that they wanted to convey to the outer world. In addition, the punk subculture was related with the arrival of heavy drugs which were uncommon hitherto. The unspoken 'legal isolation' that had been granted by public institutions and the police to the village was called into question owing to this and a series of violent conflicts involving 'punk' children from Matavenero in Astorga and other villages. The local perceptions in Maragatería about Matavenero being a pacifist site started to shift, and only a severe control by the older generations of their children prevented the growth of the conflict.

The words of Lortsch, a pioneer that left the village to live in Requejo and open a craftsman shop in Astorga, Lena, the current president of the *Junta Vecinal* of Matavenero, and Eldar, a 'son of Matavenero' who has started other community projects in Asturias and Galicia, sum up well what is and what changes affect Matavenero today. As Lortsch observes, "the project did not completely fall apart, but it has lost momentum" (Interview 53, June 2009). For Lena "there is less illusion today, we do not want to create a world of peace and harmony anymore. We are on real grounds now, and acknowledge our differences... We have been brought up in a system and then come here and want to become aboriginals all of a sudden... How can we really think that we are sharing everything? Leaving behind our ego, our society...No... we are always conditioned.

⁹⁷ They use the English term 'city' to refer broadly to that which is 'other' or 'urban'.



Image 86. School of Matavenero (inside). The project to create a free school where children could learn and develop their abilities aside from the logics of the State apparatuses was one of the core initiatives in Matavenero. Although it still exists, it does not function anymore as it did during the 1990s. Source: Author.

That is clear in the relations between Spaniards and Germans, there are differences. I am German, and we have the tendency to ask for structures, for more organization. Instead, I have the feeling that Spaniards tend to let go, to flow and to be spontaneous” (Interview 51, July 2010). These words must be compared with the ideology of Matavenero, which is grounded in the Rainbow movement that did not acknowledge racial, class or national distinctions. The territorialization of the virtual community in the real most times comes down to an hyper-individualized ‘living with nature’ and developing individual projects disregarding the community. For Eldar, “Matavenero is a metaphor of human evolution. But concentrated in just a few years We started like primitives, living with teepees, we were happy with the basic stuff. We helped each other because there was nothing; we relied on each other for survival: that is the only way of surviving there. Thus, we had to help each other to survive. Then, comforts started to appear, like water, things became comfortable... all this in 25 years of evolution and that is it... And now we reached the modern era. And the mentalities have changed accordingly, people are never satisfied. They never have enough. They think that they can come and do nothing and lie in the sun. But no... life in Matavenero is much harder, one has to work the land, carry wood for some kilometers... so one can feel self-fulfilled in the end, and enjoy the calm and the freedom that being in your place with freedom provides” (Interview 56, June 2009).

However, Matavenero is still alive and livable, with a population of around fifty people. It was and remains a ‘changing same’ whose only identity rests in ‘being different’ from the world out there. Paradoxically, it is a territorialized community that stems from a deterritorialized movement. Thus, it retains an allegiance to the origins of the project to a certain extent: more or less everyone can join now. Different ontological and epistemological worlds share the same space; it is a multiplicity whose continuity rests in being able to accommodate multiple temporal and spatial coexistences (Grosz 2004). There is, and cannot be any Platonic-like static essence or concept directing the project, it is in a state of constant becoming. If, as Quine argues, there is no entity without identity (1981), Matavenero cannot be afforded such ontological status. Whoever joins

Matavenero becomes enmeshed in a process of emergence: both the subject and the village ‘spirit’ shift depending on the energies and forces being invested in it (DeLanda 2000). This, of course, occurs in every social field. However, the lack of any powerful attractor in Matavenero such as the State, the Market, a leader or a guru as in other communities, or a set of basic laws, renders it a site of multiple realizations and shifts. In Deleuzian terminology, Matavenero stands as a quasi-cause, a virtual attractor that triggers psychological, economic and social investments by subjects that actualize them differently in the field. The few pioneers that stay in Matavenero still promote the realization of common tasks and constantly repeat characteristic phrases of the Rainbow ideology, trying to live their dream that way. However, the reality of the community does not fit with this ideology and discourse anymore. There is a weak attractor, and many others are at work in the village that have more strength now: punk music, further deterritorializations in even more remote villages like Fonfría, Poibueno or the novel Matabueno, etc. Others openly use Matavenero as a cheap and alternative summer residence, normally middle-upper class German people. The theoretically worst enemy of the Rainbow ideology has also become an attractor in Matavenero: the entrepreneur mentality. The formerly communal bar is now run by a couple, while the *chiringuito* is managed as a private company. Even Cristina, one of the remaining pioneers, sells marmalades and honey to tourists in her place. Anything goes now. The freedom of Matavenero enables the constitution of novel agencies and identities through processes of non-taxonomic individualization, that is, the large majority of people living there do not make sense of their lives in terms of similarity, opposition, analogy or identity in relation to others (Viveiros de Castro 2010). The ‘difference engine’ of Matavenero forces them to become-other constantly, to follow further deterritorializations, to go live alone in caves, in trees in Fonfría, in the forest of Matabueno, in the ruined church of Poibueno, or to become entrepreneurs.

However, whenever someone starts projecting reterritorializing forces in Matavenero, trying to fix its identity and a transcendent idea of how it should be and work, he or she ends up abandoning the site because the actual Matavenero never resembles their virtual conception of it. Some of those who had abandoned the village, or who lived seasonally in it, are conscious of this. Normally, they oppose notions of ‘community’ to those of ‘openness’, and refer to the site of Lakabe as an opposite project where community was prioritized to freedom. The work of Ullate clarified a point that had remained obscure for me in the field. In the eco-community of Lakabe (Navarre, Spain), the core group of inhabitants decided to set some norms and not let join the councils and take organizational measures to those who were seasonal inhabitants or just visitors. "Our group was overwhelmed by the number of people coming... the third year we decided to clearly separate those who were part of the group and those who were not. People visiting might join the assemblies, say whatever they wanted and we had to go through it, work on it, conclude ideas, provide viability and so on, and then they would leave. And the third year we concluded that it had to change, that we were a group, that people coming to visit did not belong to the group, and that was the fundamental starting point of our community, and also the harshest to for us to go through, as it implied the breakdown of our hopeful values and believes that everything was possible" (Mabel, quoted in Gómez-Ullate García de León 2006). The situation in Lakabe seemed to be more down to earth and in tune with the human conservative impulse (Marris 1974: 6) and need for ontological security (Giddens 1991). However, everything is possible still in Matavenero,

and thus, no single ideal or utopia can ever be materialized in reality: the power of Matavenero rests in its virtual reservoir of potentiality.

Here it is necessary to expand on Deleuze's concepts of the possible as opposed to the real, and the actual as opposed to the virtual (1994: 211). Something merely possible does not exist; it is defined negatively from its resemblances with the real. In other words, the possible is exactly like the real, except that it does not exist in reality (Idem: 212). As Shaviro argues, "in this mirror play of resemblances, there can be nothing new or unexpected" (09/05/2007). On the contrary, the virtual is real by itself, it has just not being actualized (Deleuze 1994: 211). The virtual is "like a field of energies that have not yet been expended, or a reservoir of potentialities that have not yet been tapped. That is to say, the virtual is not composed of actual entities; but the potential for change that it offers is real in its own way" (Idem: 211). The Proustian conceptualization of the virtual is that which "is real without being actual, ideal without being abstract" (Idem: 208). In realizing a possibility, the members of Lakabe became a fixed community with a clear set of rules, members, and ways of doing. They excluded any virtual potential from deterritorializing the community. Instead, in Matavenero this potential is still at work. Every newcomer changes rules, actualizes part of the virtual potential in different forms – going to live in a cave, in a tree, building a new house, shifting from being an engineer to become a shepherd, privatizing common parts of the village, etc. –, and then he goes away or settles down. Normally, those who settle down tend to seek people with similar affinities: having joined at the same time, ideological affinities, class, gender or nationality filiations, and so on. This is reflected in the material culture of the village that is organized in quarters rather than conceived as a whole: bodies tend to stick together and avoid others, seeking constant differentiation even within a hyper-differentiated and isolated community. Is this the dream of the Rainbow people or the hyper-modern individualist utopia come true? In fact, one of the reasons lying at the basis of the failure of Matavenero as a common projects lies in the contradiction between hyper-individualized people who treat the self as a project (Hernando Gonzalo 2012), and an abstract ideal of community.

On Society and Economy.

The complexity and variety of situations in Matavenero obliges me here to limit the scope of my account. Every single arena of the social and economic relations in Matavenero seems so interesting for the newcomer that it is easy to be lost in the details. Many facets of live in the village provide interesting topics of research and analysis. For instance, the technical projects that involved the elaboration of hydraulic, solar electric and recycling systems, the two hundred meter zip-line built to ease the transport of materials, food and rubbish up and down the hill, or the variety of architectural and building styles in the houses, the system of communal works and its fragmentation, the rotation of jobs, the rituals held during parties, the feeble legislation and organization forms, the relation with the public institutions, the police, the former owners and the people from the area, the economic dedication of every individual, their live stories and reasons for being in Matavenero, the complex system of values at work within the community... Those are among the most important topics that attracted my attention. I will provide a general overview of some general characteristics concerning the social and economic structures of the village that will

enable me to better frame some issues of memory, identity and material culture relevant for the understanding of the ‘heritages’ of these communities.

The location of Matavenero in a rather unreachable site was related to the will to be as far away from ‘the city’ as possible. Even today, the closest road is eight kilometers away from the village. It is possible to reach the parking by car through land paths, and then walk to the village for twenty minutes. The isolation of the site reinforces the ideals of purity of hardship, rendering life in Matavenero a ‘challenge’ for those willing to assume it. Nearby the parking, a zip-line enables the neighbors to load and download cargo and rubbish. Solar panels provide electricity to the community, although some individuals have their own solar panels. Lack of technology in the past obliged people to share, help each other, and to spend time together: to have a more relational identity formation pattern (Hernando Gonzalo 2002). Children in the village recall gathering together when the sun came out to watch films. Today, each house has an independent video player or minicomputer that enables them to organize their leisure time individually. In this regard, Matavenero confirms Hernando’s thesis of individuation, according to which the more technological control a society holds over its environment, the more it will tend to become individualized (Hernando Gonzalo 2002).

The improvement of living conditions and the reinforcement of private property have gradually shattered the idea of community. At the beginning, there were some consuetudinary laws. Those concerned many different aspects and were permeated with the wishful ideology of Rainbow that fostered the adaptation to the local environment. Thus, they promoted the realization of *hacenderas* or *facenderas* – common works which were carried out in Leonese villages – on Fridays and started calling the assembly ‘local council’ as it is common in the area, or the use of Spanish as the common language. In her account of the village in the 1990s, Alonso recounts that the council was celebrated once a week. In these meetings, decision-making had to be approved in unanimous voting. Because “power is frowned upon, there are no leaders or political hierarchies, rather, they strive to seek consensus through group dialogue. There are some statutes, created in 1989, that regulate the rights and duties of the neighbors, the organization of decision-making, the resolution of potential disagreements, and so on. All the political system is based on the practices of American aboriginals, and even during the extraordinary meetings of the council, the command baton is passed on to the member who takes the word” (Alonso 1997: 514). Alonso further considers that they are organized like “primitive bands and tribes” (1997: 510), which seems a rather exaggerated observation.

In any case, they meshed these ideals with their own traditions coming from the Rainbow movement, like the ‘talking stick’ that enables the person holding it to speak in public meetings. The councils used to be held with a regular frequency until the community split up. After that, those were only held when there was some issue to be discussed and someone blows a horn that can be heard in the whole valley. Other consuetudinary laws that faded gradually were the limitation of using noisy machines one day a month, the prohibition of heavy drugs, the necessity of having a godfather or godmother before joining the community, the need to stay for a whole season before settling down, which had to be approved by the members of the community, or the prohibition of drinking alcohol in group gatherings. The organization and management of the common sites has crumbled as well, from the kindergarten and the school, to the bar, the communal free hostel for visitors, the shop or the bakery. The telephone line works during two or three hours a day and there

is no mobile phone coverage except for the upper part of the hill, and the line provides a very low Internet connection speed.

Their community has been one of the few able to recover a legal status for their village in 1994 as a *Junta Vecinal*. Lena Ulrich has been the president most time and, as they explain, they are forced to join a party to concur to the elections; they present a single candidate for *Izquierda Unida* (a conglomerate of left wing parties). The Junta Vecinal brings together the villages of Matavenero and Poibueno. Fonfría, where four or five people from the community moved some years ago, has a *Junta Vecinal* that does not represent the neighbors. It was a ‘ghost Junta Vecinal’ created by an entrepreneur from the right wing Partido Popular party to benefit from the money that the hiring of lands to the installation of electric windmills provided. In a huge case of public fraud, more than fifty people were in the census in a ruined village where no one actually lived, distributing the benefits without any accountability. Although people from Matavenero denounced the situation, they were not taken into account – their social designation as ‘hippies’ in the area not being helpful for their public recognition as politically legitimate actors. Finally, the issue became public and appeared in the news, although the situation has not changed (F.L. 17/05/2012). Having a *Junta Vecinal* enabled the village to profit from the forest management benefits and the presence of electric windmills, thus being “one of the richest minor local public institutions in Spain. We do not have any debts, all we have is benefits” (Interview 54, July 2010). Also, there are neither leaders nor gurus as in other communities, and all religious beliefs are tolerated. However, they also share other fundamental traits with other communities described by Kozeny (1996). This means a spiritual orientation and the will to implement a new social and ecological order where children can receive a different education and live in freedom. In addition, Matavenero is conceived by some as an oasis of retirement and tranquility (Gómez-Baggethun 2009).

The number of people living in the village varies constantly, ranging from around forty during winter to one hundred in summer. Germans and Spaniards prevail, and couplings between them too. However, there are also Swiss, Brazilians, Peruvians, Romanians, Austrians, Dutch people and a British. It seems that there were also Belgians in 1998 (Alonso 1997: 511). Not all they live in the village. Some live in train wagons brought from Germany nearby the parking, or in tents spread all over the area. Others live in Fonfría and Poibueno, where they have built up their own wooden houses, added roofs to ruined buildings, or complex tree houses. A group of punk people have built up their houses in a new place between Poibueno and Matavenero baptized as ‘Matabueno’. Others live in wooden houses spread around the valley, and some people lived in caves for some time, although it seems that no one is living in them now. Also, there is a constant coming and going of people, normally pilgrims deviated from the *Camino de Santiago* who hear about the place and want to know it. There are also many globetrotters and new-age travelers passing by, along with people following the Rainbow and festival yearly-round track. The attitudes of the dwellers towards visitors vary. Tourists with cameras that take pictures of them as if the site was a zoo are largely rejected. It took me one week to start recording with the video camera, and ten days to have the first interview recorded. This is generally the prevailing behavior towards visitors. However, when people from other alternative communities visit the place they usually join them and gather at night to sing together around the fire and talk. Alcohol is mostly prohibited.



Image 87. School of Matavenero (outside). Source: Nina.

Sometimes it seems as if only the formal and expressive aspects of the Rainbow mentality survive in the place: dress, overall behavior, respect for nature and ecology, night gatherings, and so on. New age discourses usually come into play, with the ‘Oriental’ as an abstract category as an ideal exerting a sublime attraction for them (Said 1985). They usually complement these views with references to alternative calendars, cosmic energies, invisible forces and animist beliefs in relation to animals, vegetables and nature in general (e.g. stones or rivers). These sets of views and discourses about the world are identity markers that let Rainbow people recognize each other in different environments. This emphasizes the ‘familial’ character of the group and the way they refer to it: ‘returning to the family’, ‘be back home’, etc. As any other family, it is moralizing and constantly instills values and ideas of what is good and bad in the community and for the individual through chains of meanings (Gómez-Ullate García de León 2006). These ideas are of course countered by many individuals and groups, especially the young punk generation of Matavenero. However, even the punks are generally uninterested in politics as conceived in the public sphere: ongoing debates, the State and the party system in Spain. The fact that they are away from the media and isolated from the external world exaggerates this situation. Their viewpoints on social issues are so far from the mainstream that “thinking how different the world works out there, so different from how I see it, makes me feel powerless if I think about it” (Interview 62, July 2010).

Despite their clear ideological, cultural and economic differences, most of them share some fundamental traits that distinguish them as members of the Rainbow community. Most of these characters coincide with Ullate’s description of other communities throughout the Iberian Peninsula. They tend to be vegetarian and reject urban values. As El Ulli explains, “there is no root in urban live. I cannot be happy there. Here, it might seem that each one goes about his or her business, but we are more or less thinking in similar terms” (Interview 58, July 2010). Most of them practice some kind of diet, use naturopathy and reject drugs. Also, they practice yoga or meditation techniques, which they might have learnt in their travels around the world. It is common to know how to play some instrument and build them by yourself, and all kinds of wood and ceramic crafts. Some bands in the village play in the area, especially during summer. Their values are mostly established according to ecological concerns: natural drugs are fine but not chemical drugs, living in wooden houses, not polluting, gathering wood from the forests rather than buying it, etc.

However, these values have shifted from being held as collective ideals to be implemented to be individual moral duties. Thus, they do not agree to go all together to ‘the city’ anymore, and

therefore they use many cars to go to the same places, buying food separately, and managing rubbish individually, etc. It seems that the transition from the ‘commune’ to the ‘eco-village’ idea has been paralleled by a transition from the communal to the individual values. Now, it is in an individual basis that the narratives, ideological beliefs and moral values that enable them to make sense of their lives are constructed (Bhabha 1990). Other fundamental aspects in their decision to choose Matavenero as a place to live are their health concerns in relation to pollution, bad quality foods and radiation that pervade urban environments. They also underline the importance of ‘being free’ and independent. For Rolf, coming to Matavenero was a liberation from ‘rational’ Switzerland: “when I was twenty years old I thought... this cannot be possible: my whole life is already planned and decided to the last detail beforehand, is not it?... I was shocked when I realized that many people from different countries thought just like me. They had stable lives and they just... got away, they needed to escape and did not know why” (Interview 59, June 2009). According to Lena, “This gives me a huge quality of life, feeling in harmony with nature, living in a wooden house. Living with nature in a wooden house, without cars... that gives me an unique quality of life” (Interview 51, July 2010). People coming from urban environments emphasize their transition from an overall state of weakness to a state of physical and mental strength in relation to their new healthy lives: “I could not be self-sufficient before, now I know the seeds, I can live anywhere. I know about wood and how to chop it, make a fire, plant crops, bake, recycle...” (Interview 60, August 2010).



Image 88. The common house of Matavenero, before and after the restoration. Source: Nina.

In relation to their body technologies (sensu Foucault et al. 1988) and aesthetics, some distinctive traits define the patterns of cultural capital within the community since the 1960s hippy movement. However, these standards of evaluation tend to fade as time goes by and the visual economy of the village becomes less intensely competitive. Instead, in contexts of contact with external social groups, like the Rainbow in 2009, all those elements of value tended to be emphasized by the locals. Those comprise having a wagon, especially an old Volkswagen Bus Type 2, or some kind of weird means of transport: a truck from the German fire brigades, train wagons, military vehicles, and so on. Long hairs, beards, colorful dresses and all the characteristic icons of

the hippy culture are rare. Instead, simple and comfortable dresses and aesthetics prevail. This fact surprises many newcomers and tourists who were expecting precisely to undergo 'the hippy experience'. A woman spending her second winter in Matavenero expressed this nostalgia from the past: "I see the photos of the pioneers, at the very beginning and I think... Uf! That times must have been hard. But if you look at them again... They were happy! There were a lot of colors and people smiling!" (Interview 60, August 2010). For Guillermo, mayor of Val de San Lorenzo, who went to Matavenero as a representative from the provincial government, "it was the opportunity to see the hippies in their own environment. I had heard about them, and seen them in television. But I was going to see the real ones now. I still recall being impressed by the sight of a naked woman washing herself in a fountain, in the open air" (Interview 61A, May 2009). Lack of inhibition and the absence of routines in their lives are common traits. As previously mentioned, couples prevail over group relations, intercultural couplings being usual and considered more valuable than intra-cultural couplings. Moreover, having children at young ages is usual. Child upbringing differs among members, but children are broadly considered as 'friends' and accorded a large degree of freedom, trust and independence.

Education was a fundamental concern from the beginning. It was a co-constitutive element of the community and the one granting continuity to it. Education is the only way to guarantee that homogeneous ideologies are formed by infusing them to children and secure the endurance of the group (Reich and Schmidt 1973). Thus, every new community oriented towards the future has to plan education and Matavenero was no exception (Dezcallar 1984). The issues of schooling and education still today raise debates in the community and are primary reasons for the emigration of many members of the group. Andy and Manuel, who live in San Martín del Agostedo now, left Matavenero because their first daughter find it really hard to adapt to an official public high school when they tried to take her there in Astorga. Then, they decided that their other children should not undergo a similar ordeal and thus left the village to be closer to Astorga. Again, public institutions were flexible in this concern as formal education for children is compulsory in Spain. Thus, the Ministry of Culture helped them and sent teachers from time to time to the community. However, those used to resign soon, complaining about the poor living conditions and the wild character of the children (Alonso 1997).

From the very beginning, the pioneers decided to keep the old communal buildings of the abandoned villages for communal uses. Material culture has the capacity to embody sets of values and carry them for a long time whenever they remain meaningful in their environment (Tilley 1994). The community consciously decided to employ material culture to embody those values of community, egalitarian ethos and common values. Significantly, the buildings were meant to host the kindergarten and the school, the bar and the hostel. The future of the community, the place for the internal relations between members and the site for establishing relations with the external world were held in common and symbolized by a connection with the past. Thus, aside from the memory of the pioneers maintained through narrations, the common buildings became the only forms of remembering the origins of the community. In fact, "remembering occurs with the help of cultural tools, 'mnemonic tools', texts and hypertexts, for literate societies and landscapes and place names, rituals, monuments, music and dance, language" (Wertsch and Roediger III 2008: 31). Unluckily, one of the buildings was private and his former owner claimed it when the school had already been placed in it. However, "when the owner saw the school placed there, he was a bit

embarrassed of claiming the house from us... I had a picture of his house as a ruin, just before we restored it, and finally he gave us the house without problems” (Interview 52, June 2009).

Most pioneers interviewed held that they wanted an *escuela libre* – ‘free school’ – that could instill a different set of values to the children from those of the public schools. Primarily, the main reasons argued were, first, that the state education system promotes competition rather than collaboration between children, and, second, that the creative capacities of children were curtailed in the school. In fact, their school aimed at the “search for mental health, keeping the apprehension of knowledge limited to those who could be useful for the quotidian survival, and the basic knowledge of the standard Spanish educational patterns. The idea was to assure the rooting of the behavior patterns that were characteristic of the movement, even though this curtails the freedom and choice possibilities of children” (Alonso 1997: 514).

Nina, a Swiss pioneer, taught the children from the very beginning of the community, and was paid for it. However, problems came when children reached the age for attending high school education, which could not be provided in Matavenero. At this point, many people decided to leave the village, while people that were more affluent hired teachers. When Nina left in the late 1990s, the school system was actually shattered. Different people point to the differences between the well-educated first generation of ‘sons of Matavenero’, as they call them, and the second. Jorge blames the parents now for not being able to come together, organize a school, and oblige their children to attend it and learn in some way. As he says, they are amazing children for average standards: they know to cook, light fires, grow food, play instruments or speak some languages. However, they might not know how to read or count. This, in turn, was related with their possibilities of finding a job out there to make some money from time to time, as they ask for the school degree everywhere (Interview 54, July 2010).

The economy of the village is a complex intermingling of communal and individual resources. The existence of a *Junta Vecinal* that receives money from the electric companies and from the exploitation of forest resources eases the economic problems and enables them to afford the repairing of the hydraulic, telephonic, recycling, transporting or electric systems, or to buy some common tools of materials for common spaces. From this basic structure, all sorts of individual and familial economies exist. Gomes Bonfim quantitative approach to the issue largely misses the point here as well, because she treats Matavenero as any other site, presupposing that people have a ‘job’ or a ‘dedication’ (2010: 329-335). Her categories divide people according to some categories that, in fact, include most of the tasks that people in Matavenero perform in their quotidian lives: crafts, cultural activities, building houses, waiters, cooks, farmers... Someone is not a ‘farmer’ or a ‘musician’ in Matavenero, but rather a farmer-musician-hunter-builder, and so on. Most northern Europeans live partially on subsidies that cover their basic needs, as living in Matavenero is cheap. The materials to build a new house cost between €3.000 and €7.000, electricity, water and common services being covered by the common profits of the village. They do not pay taxes either, which raises some ethical concerns: on which grounds they profit from free health assistance and other public services they profit from? In fact, as Alonso complains, they “promote the disconnection with the established society, while in reality they rely in it concerning economic and health issues” (1997: 519).

These kinds of issues are never talked about and make part of the subconscious set of beliefs taken for granted for members of the community (i.e., a welfare state that provides assistance to its

citizens). A further example of this is Goyo, a retired person who donates his salary to the community and is taken care of in exchange. Most Spaniards have seasonal works of all kinds outside the community. Lena and El Ulli provide good examples of the 'average' Matavenero inhabitant. They get low subsidies from the German state, they have gardens and grow some basic food and have music groups with which they play around in celebrations around the area. Also, informal economies and barter function within the village and with surrounding communities and villages such as Andíñuela, Foncebadón or Manjarín. Contrary to a commonly held belief in the region, almost no one lives on agriculture and cattle. Neither have they extensive marijuana plantations. People dedicated to farm and agricultural tasks have tended to move towards Fonfría, Poibueno, Matabueno and to houses in the forest. These people grow goats and sheep basically, although there are some horses in the area as well. Flexible and adaptive strategies are put to work such as the goat cooperative of Poibueno, which enables some of its members to go to work away seasonally while others keep the goats. Sustainability and self-sufficiency remain a remote possibility for most people in the community.

Only some individuals living with the minimum in the forests, and some households in Poibueno and Matabueno, can be considered self-sufficient and autonomous. In fact, their relations with the outside are kept to the minimum: their animals are not visited by veterinaries – as all the others, by the way –, they are not in the census, they do not receive subsidies or pay taxes, nor their cooperative legally exists. They do not exist for the State or for the market. They never talked to strangers and refused in different occasions to speak with me, not to talk about recording them in video. These informal economies (Razeto 1993) do not only reach the nearby village but also other villages where old artisans still produce crafts of some kind that they buy and sell in international feasts and markets during their travels. In summary, the economy of Matavenero is a complex intermingling of communal and individual situations that shifts constantly and seasonally. The combination of national and foreign subsidies, benefits to the local council, individual seasonal and itinerant jobs and the informal economy make unfeasible the task of creating categories or classifications of any kind. This is not to deny that there are economic differences and classes within the village, but rather that their variety tends to dilute these categories.

A Heritage of the Rainbow People?

The word 'heritage' never came up during my ethnography in any context. The concept seems to have no relevance in the mindset of a group of people whose thoughts are normally future-oriented, always looking for the next project, the next challenge and a further bodily or mental experimentation. We could say then that there is no idea of heritage as a metacultural reality that can serve some purpose (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004b). However, considering heritage as something which is valued by the community (Novelo 2005) and that finds some expression in terms of memory and material culture, there are many 'minor' forms of heritage creation. I find fundamental here the assemblage formed by material culture, basically the built elements and houses, and the memories of the 'pioneers' and their departure. As we have seen, the old communal elements of the house were kept as a reminder and 'mnemonic tool' for the embodiment of the communal spirit of the village. This can be considered a heritage building operation. However, it is not one that fixes and segments the uses of the building, but rather a symbolic strategy that pursues

functional objectives. When people go to the school, the bakery and the bar, or when people visit the village, they are infused with the message of commonality embodied by the space. Contrary to the workings of the heritage machine that functions through dialectical negations and exclusion between self and other, the will to preserve a common area works through inclusion and the establishment of non-hierarchical relations of continuity with the past of the site. Instead of representing or reaffirming an identity, it represents the will to include ‘otherness’, i.e., people from all colors. As Deleuze and Guattari point out in *What is philosophy*, the materiality of the ‘minor monument’ fades to leave a sensory becoming, “otherness caught in a matter of expression” (1994: 177). This is how ‘minor heritage’ works, by creating zones of affect that prompt change, experimentation and polyvocal forms of expression that generate future-orientated connections. It affirms and celebrates the “movement of the past in the present... the need to put the past to work as to optimistically embrace the future” (Parr 2008: 156-157).

This creative energy shared by the pioneers led to the construction of a large number of houses with the effort of many people. When they abandoned the place, they did not claim the property of the houses and now are given freely to people willing to settle in the village. Here, it is easy to perceive a shift from the affirmation of an open-ended memory and material culture work orientated towards the future to prevent the arrival of micro-fascistic tendencies and reterritorializing memories (Guattari 1984). Those can be easily perceived in newcomers who have been living in Matavenero for one or a few years and their constant complains about the village and its functioning. Owing to the fact that they arrived when the collective energies devoted to the project were low and did not live the ‘founding myth’ of the village, they feel displaced and disconnected from its origins. Also, they did not live that moments of community-building in which time and experience were shared by the majority of the members. Materiality matters because the fact that they do not ‘build’ to survive diminishes the notion of an epic feat, with suffering and challenge, which is necessary to feed the modern self-as-a-project: “in the end, this form of life is really easy you know? I arrived here and they gave me the land and the house for free, so I cannot complain... but still, I do not see the spirit of community at work” (Interview 60, August 2010). Moreover, she complained about issues that revealed how she was unconsciously importing her urban logics with her to the village. For instance, one of her fundamental concerns was that the house she has been given was in a ‘quarter’, whereas the cool places of the main street were kept for the older members of the community. This seemed a rather exaggerated claim in a place where houses are largely separated from each other and the existence of a ‘downtown’ is more than doubtful.

It is telling that she shared similar views with other people living in the nucleus of Matavenero, who had arrived recently to the village. Instead, older inhabitants living in Matabueno, Fonfría or Poibueno were more open minded and did not refer to issues of spatial segregation nor the past at all, but rather about their future projects. A nostalgia and unhidden respect for the ‘time of the pioneers’ pervades the discourses of those who did not live the golden times of Matavenero. Whenever I was chatting with an individual or a group and one of the few pioneers living in the village passed by, they insisted that I should talk to him or her because they could tell me all I needed to know about the village, and thus could tell me more ‘interesting stuff’. As a consequence of this differentiation, newcomers speak about ‘they’ to refer to the older members of the community, placing themselves in a external position to them. This displacement to a external point

of view enables them to freely and harshly criticize all aspects of the village: the school, the food system, the lack of communal organization, etc. In his visit to Matavenero in the early 2000s, Ullate recorded an interview with Gema, a person who does not live anymore in Matavenero and whose views resemble those of contemporary newcomers to the village. When Ullate recorded this interview, she had been living in Matavenero for two years:

“There are many things I do not do in the village because it works the way it works... The heart with which Madero [sic ‘Matavenero’] started, what they really started, were the first buildings. This is why those who started this project are gone, because Madero [sic] is no longer what it was. They started a real community, all together and all in common, but what has happened here is that the project has grown and grown and has gone out of hands” (Gema, quoted in Ulloa 2004).

The fundamental point, as the pioneers told me when I explained them some of the critiques I had heard, is that the newcomers complain without doing anything: they do not organize common works, seminars, or take the lead for baking bread or cooking for the collective. Clearly, this is reflected in the material culture of the community: the communal spaces are not taken care of, they are dirty and underused, and the bar has been ‘privatized’. However, the remaining pioneers also employ their privileged situation to gain symbolic capital within the village in different forms: feeling free to sell crafts or foods to tourists, profiting from communal stuff, etc. In other cases, the founding myth of the pioneers has become a burden. The case of El Ulli is paradigmatic in this regard. He tries to keep up the communal spirit by working twice as much as the others, repairing communal infrastructures, organizing *hacenderas*, preparing the meetings, building common tools and taking care of the treasury and shop, etc. Thus, it is possible to affirm that the founding myth of the ‘pioneers’ has served to promote a reterritorializing memory (Parr 2008). It has led to the emergence of fixed identities and hierarchies organized around those who can include themselves within the pioneer narrative, and those who cannot and feel displaced. Even for some pioneers, this fixed and stable memory can have specific advantageous uses or can become a burden to bear, the price to pay for being part of it. The nostalgia for times past in such a young and supposedly alternative and deterritorialized community, evinces the gradual disappearance of its original momentum and that of the people who are joining it today. It is rather unfeasible that they will build a monument to the pioneers in Matavenero, but the social moment seems ready to do so. Self-reflection and self-awareness has led to the objectification of the past of the community and nostalgia for the ‘good old times’ that justifies present inaction. The existence of this kind of reterritorializing memory is not expressed by the construction of heritage in any way, but rather through inaction and the metaphorical and real abandonment of the common areas embodying the spirit of the community. It is precisely the social construction of the community as an ideal utopia to be maintained in reality which is lost.

Conclusion.

My analysis shows how Matavenero has changed during its twenty-three years of existence, a lot for a Rainbow community. However, there are some clear facts that point towards the stagnation of the project. But, can Matavenero be judged according to some fixed set of parameters? Can we say that it is not faithful to its original spirit? How can we define the identity of that original spirit?

Or is Matavenero just a ‘changing same’ with no clear direction? Probably, the question must be framed differently. Is Matavenero furthering the energies and positive wills to connect of those living there and newcomers arriving to it? In this case, the answer is clearly not: a deterritorializing memory takes over new inhabitants who do not feel encouraged to set up new projects and invest their energies in the village. In Matavenero, community appears and disappears according to different temporalities and spatial configurations. Tensions emerge between long-term residents, newcomers, people passing by, and tourists. Also, I have witnessed how during the day of common works – *hacendera* – a pioneer, El Ulli, remained alone waiting for someone to come and join him, but no one appeared.

Community started as an ideal in Matavenero, a social construction of a future society that was to be built together. Then it was lived as an immanent community for some years, where affective and phenomenological subjective experiences grounded its existence (Nancy 1991b). Now, Matavenero is just an imagined community (Anderson 2006), devoid of the pillars of tradition, identity, familial bonds and religion to bring together its members under a common project. Westerners have lost community, they constantly deterritorialize themselves in search of new lands, new experiences, new people, with which to construct an ideal of community that falls by its own due to the hyper-individualization of contemporary subjectivities (Augé 2008). As McLaughlin and Davidson show in their empirical study, attempts to construct communities devoid of a religious bonds or some form of abstract purpose beyond the mere idea of ‘living together’ are damned to disappear, or change from the root (1994).

Despite many attempts are been carried out to theorize community (see Agamben 1993; Nancy 1991a; Rose 2000a), those always face the problem of accommodating the radical autonomy of the contemporary subject and the will to become-community. Who is willing to give up freedom and sacrifice him or herself for the sake of an abstract community? Where are the limits of the public and the private, sociality and isolation, individual and collective gain? How to face the blunt ontological realities of unequal agencies, economic positions or the politics of location? And what about the naturally given differences between lazy and working people, selfishness and solidarity, rejection of alcohol or dependence of it, vegetarianism versus omnivorous beliefs, and so on? As Marris has shown, the attempt of utopian communities to abolish the attachment of individuals to the traditional pillars of identity and to embrace society as a whole leads to the attachment to a leader and the resort to the traditional sources of ontological security in children, family and the state (1974). This goes on disregarding issues of class.

However, the differential phenomenological experience of poor and rich differs widely. Rich Rainbow people choose to be poor, and Matavenero was initially a village for wealthy deterritorialized subjects ‘escaping’ from the plan that the welfare State offered them in rich countries. For poor people, there might be no way back from the Rainbow experience: for them, continuing to be poor is not an experiment but an existential condition. Thus, the decision to ‘go Rainbow’ is a risky one as they do not have a security cushion behind, like most South Americans in Matavenero. They will not travel to India nor come and go to their native countries; they break the connection with friends and families. They come down to earth rather soon in their view of community life and either leave the village or work hard to become self-sustainable. Also, they are the subjects that endure in communities and that best represent the shift from ‘hippie’ communes to ‘eco-villages’. Matavenero, as any other similar projects, has joined the discourse of the eco-village,

a more or less isolated place where technology is rejected and the principles of ecology are primary. An eco-village does not imply the construction of a sense of belonging and community. People come and go, but they preserve their property and their privacy. Their freedom is guaranteed by their isolation and also for not needing to be accountable with the pressure of an overarching communitarian ethos that demands giving up personal freedom. This enables subjects to avoid the hardships of dealing with their own egos and hypocrisy: in trying to escape an individualist society they embrace an ideal of community that they cannot keep up with.

Only the Rainbow event, as a short-term experience, preserves the perfect balance between immanence and transcendence, the real and the ideal. Different temporalities and agencies connect, share an affective landscape and then fade again before the intensity of the emotional encounter decreases. In these spaces, they can fulfill the modern utopia of self-overcoming and breaking with the roots of family, nation and class through a dissipation into subcultural and cosmic flows of energy (Saldanha 2007). Dealing with reality draws psychedelics back to the Real, where they discover their necessity to stick together, to reject others beyond the Rainbow family, to leave behind the intense competition of Rainbow visual and aesthetic economies. Dreadlocks and baggy pants do not help working the land. A fixed community does not enable a constant becoming other, overcoming oneself and accumulating further experiences. They experiment, they 'go molecular' (Guattari 1984) and start their own revolutions. However, their molecular revolutions disregard the broader molar structural conditions that make possible their existence in economic and social terms, and that might imply unequal relations with others. In the end, these molecular revolutions might end up in micro-fascisms that reproduce what they aim to escape from (Saldanha 2007: 198). The envisaging of an egalitarian society can result in the repetition of yesterday's gender, class and national identities and segmentations, as it happened in Matavenero. This shows that micro-fascism, the all-too-easy following of liberating tendencies and lines of flight, can arise whenever the molar or macro conditions that underpin the structuration of novel imagined communities are not taken into account. The thick layers of difference accumulated in the unconscious of modern men cannot be left behind so easily. In the end, the story of Matavenero and dozens of similar communities is an attempt to get rid of heritage in its literal sense, as all those things and ideas passed down by previous generations that curtail the potential of the modern individual to become-other, to deterritorialize and constantly differ from itself (Grossberg 1996).

16. The Heritage Machine: from Communal Production to the Capture of the Common in Val de San Lorenzo.

Introduction.

Val de San Lorenzo was always considered a different village in Maragatería. The wealthy *maragatos* that used to live in other surrounding villages did not abound in Val de San Lorenzo. Also, *maragato* elites refused to invest their capitals in the textile productive sector of Val de San Lorenzo. Textile production (as any other handwork) was considered by the powerful as a sign of poverty. Moreover, Val de San Lorenzo and other villages dedicated to it such as Morales del Arcediano and Oteruelo were among the poorest in the area (Galindo and Luis 1956). However, things changed when the XX century witnessed the industrialization of the old textile craft and the

quick enrichment of Val de San Lorenzo. Nonetheless, the story of the village is not a conventional narration of progress. The process of modernization was hindered by pre-industrial mentalities and it only thrived thanks to the modern ideas coming from migrants in South America. The modern mentality challenged the communitarian ethos of the village and the idea of progress was largely rejected for long. Still in the 1990s, people were producing blankets with third hand mechanic looms from Catalonia dating back to the XIX century that imitated former British models. The absence of industrial clusters in the province of León (Alvarez and Javier 1990) did not facilitate the modernization of the economy and thus a multiplicity of mindsets and temporalities coexisted in the same site. After the demise of the industrial model of production during the 1990s, the village entered a phase of stagnation and transition towards a post-industrial economy. This period of self-reflexivity led to the construction of two museums centered in the textile past, and the redirection of investment from productive to service sector activities, fundamentally tourism. This shift has led to the production of an 'official' discourse on local heritage and history which does not fit and is unfair with the memories of (most) textile producers. This is not only an issue of discursive representation or the politics of identity but is intrinsically related to power relations and unequal distributions of agency within the village.

The analysis Val de San Lorenzo precludes any simplistic opposition between tradition and modernity, or categorization of its development into ready-made historic phases. Moreover, it poses the question of social change: the transition from a pre-industrial economy to a fully-fledged industrialization and ultimate transition to a post-industrial economy has occurred in a five-decade time-span and comprised only from two different generations. Thus, people brought up in a pre-industrial environment quickly became industrial workers to then witness the advent of self-reflexivity and discourses about a 'distant past' that has to be displayed in a museum and which, paradoxically, they had lived. An exploration of the memories of those people reveals their utmost indifference or even rejection of museum discourses. Moreover, the rather functionalist worldview held by most people grown in pre-industrial times leads them to interpret the combination of the museum and tourism endeavors as economic investments that benefit specific people.

This chapter synthesizes the evolution of the village during the last century to explore issues of cultural change in relation to the concepts of modernity and tradition. In doing so, I aim to shed light on the rather complex sociocultural negotiation that industrialization implied and the 'folk' interpretations of modernity that developed in the village consequently. In particular, I am interested in the resilience of the communitarian ethos within the community that led to development of a communal factory and productive regime that lasted until the late 1990s. This complex intermingling of modernity and industry with a communitarian ethos shows that the liberal linear conception of progress is a self-fulfilling prophecy imposed by geopolitical constraints rather than a 'natural' ordering of society. In fact, the self-organization patterns in Val de San Lorenzo demonstrated their tendency to avoid individualism and foster cooperation while striving to embrace progress. Finally, my analysis of the heritage machine at work in Val de San Lorenzo since the 2000s aims to show that the heritage rhetoric is not only a discursive strategy related with the politics of identity but rather an all-encompassing strategy of 'soft' governmentality adapted to our times.



Image 89. Stone and straw house. Textile producers were the poorest inhabitants of Maragatería, a fact reflected in the material culture and in their houses. Unlike peasants, the income of textile producers was highly variable as it relied on the market prices of cloth. In fact, Oteruelo, Val de San Lorenzo and Morales del Arcediano were traditionally the poorest villages in Maragatería, in relation with the large number of people dedicated to textile production. Source: Author.

This chapter can be considered a synthetic approach to a specific topic within the broad range and scope of my previous investigations carried out in Val de San Lorenzo since 2005 (Alonso González 2007b; Alonso González 2009a; Alonso González 2009b). Accordingly, different methodologies have been brought together to develop this chapter. The viewpoint put forward here will be largely qualitative. Although quantitative methodologies and data support the investigation, those will be incorporated into the narration without going in-depth in their analysis. Therefore, I mostly draw on a combination of historic and ethnographic data. However, those must be understood in their broader sense, including the analysis of visual images and material culture. A further additional layer of analytical depth is provided by the fact that I could perform ‘internal ethnography’ as I spent six months working in the local museums as a heritage curator (Hayano 1979), thus forcefully considering myself as part of the process. As proponents of ethnohistory contend, there has been a general rapprochement between anthropology and history that renders disciplinary boundaries useless (Harkin 2010; Knapp 1992). Ethnohistory draws upon “as many kinds of testimonies as possible over as long a time period as the sources allow” (Simmons 1988: 10). I also retain from ethnohistory the necessity to take into account the situated perceptions of social actors of how events occurred and develop, as well as the ways people construct the past (Gewertz and Schieffelin 1985). This reveals the different forms of constructing discourses and conveying images about the past, and the articulations that make certain ones endure and ultimately prevail (Trouillot 2012).



Image 90. The textile tradition of Val de San Lorenzo. On the left, a painting by the artists of the *Escuela de Cerámica de Madrid*, 1926. On the right, a picture from the beginnings of the XXth century. Source: *Escuela de Cerámica de Madrid* and José Manuel Sutil.

The Textile Tradition.

The presence of textile production in Val de San Lorenzo is well documented since the beginnings of the XVIII century when reference is made to the presence of people from the village in regional markets selling their products (Fernández del Pozo 1992: 83). The Ensenada Cadastre of 1752 counted only 14 *maragato* mule traders, while 81 neighbors were dedicated to textile production and further 155 to the combing and carding of wool in a population of 221 neighbors.⁹⁸ The Dictionary of Madoz similarly pointed to the significance of coarse woolen cloth in the village and highlighted the overall poverty of the site (Madoz 1991 [1845-1850]). The competition of cotton textiles and the constant ups and downs of the textile prices threatened the survival of the village's economy (Rubio Pérez 1995b), as even other productive centers such as Béjar or Palencia that employed modern machinery were suffering at the time (García Colmenares 1992; Murugarren 1974). The 'founding myth' of the modern textile production in Val de San Lorenzo is the story of José Cordero Geijo (Alvarez and Javier 1990). He went to work in Palencia and gathered the necessary information to build a mechanic loom on his own, which he did when he came back to Val de San Lorenzo with the support of José Bajo Fijo (García Escudero 1953). In any case, we must take into account that these developments were not widespread in the village. Moreover, they copied the loom from Palencia, which was far from being up to date with technological developments in the field in comparison to areas such as Catalonia, which was in turn lagging behind the United Kingdom and other modern productive areas. Thus, Val de San Lorenzo remained a largely peripheral and backward area that coexisted with other more developed and complex economies within the emergent liberal Spanish state: that is, an exploited periphery (DeLanda 2011: 198).

At the time, Maragatería had started an intense process of emigration towards America. The arrival of some modern technologies to Val de San Lorenzo led to an excess of labor force that exacerbated the process:

⁹⁸ A neighbor is not an individual but a household.

“One of the first to leave the village was Don Santos, as he is dearly called in the village, that was back in 1866, a young lad, bright-eyed, which resembled a lot Don Quixote, announced to the astonishment of every one that he was leaving to American lands, (...) the young Santos embarked at Coruña (sic), bound for America, having landed after several months in the port of Montevideo, a few months later the first (sic) news from the emigrant were received, news that spread quick in the village, in which he announced that he had arrived with health and was quite happy, which led many parents to make every effort to send their children to South America rather than Cuba as they had formerly planned” (Anonymous 1929).

Buenos Aires became the primary choice for migrants from Val de San Lorenzo. Some abandoned the village and never came back, leaving families and friends behind. However, others returned after a few years bringing with them ideas, aesthetics and material culture from the urban environment of a developed and modern city. The oral tradition holds that those coming from Buenos Aires were highly politicized and left wing, which is confirmed by photographic and written documentation. This comes as no surprise given the rapid widespread of left-wing political ideas – Marxism, Socialism and Anarchism – in the emergent South American urban centers, where masses of workers started to work and live precariously in industrial areas (Halperin Dongui 1980). These modern political discourses could not be easily assumed in the village, where a pre-industrial mindset and Catholic beliefs prevailed as the fundamental structures of subjectivity and meaning making. Accordingly, the site where *los Americanos* – the returned migrants from America – used to meet was tellingly named *El Mentidero* – ‘The Place of Liars –, a name that they sarcastically assumed and adopted. The modern ideas coming from Buenos Aires did not changed people’s views on production and progress. Novel technologies were related with change and progress, and thus rejected. This rejection led to episodes of Luddism during the 1910s when entrepreneurs coming from other areas of Spain tried to settle down in the village with new machines and technology (de Cabo 1931a; de Cabo 1931b; 10/03/1908). Their arrival was not only regarded as a threat because of its relation with progress and change (Hobsbawm 1952), but also because the arrival of foreigners was always precluded by the internal functioning of the community. The scarce communal resources owned and managed by the local ‘Junta Vecinal’ had to be shared among the neighbors. The arrival of a new neighbor threatened the already precarious balance of those resources and was normally rejected, even more so if he was a potential competitor.

The first ‘modern’ machinery that employed hydraulic energy was the second hand material imported from Catalonia in 1920. This technological shift affected spinning processes, but not weaving processes that remained hand-made. We cannot forget that at the time electrification was becoming widespread in the technological sector in the U.S. and the U.K. (Hughes 1993) and automatic looms replaced handloom weavers in the two decades after its invention in 1894 by J.H. Northrop (Mokyr 1992). Influenced by the ideas of migrants from Buenos Aires, a communal cooperative society was constituted to manage and organize production. The only preserved document from *La Comunal* society reveals the participation of 73 neighbors with more or less similar shares of the company.



Image 91. *El Mentidero* – the Place of Liars. Name given by local people to the house where left wing returned migrants from Buenos Aires used to meet. The clothes of the returned migrants contrast with the *maragato* dress of the ancient person on sitting on the left. Source: José Manuel Sutil.



Image 92. The former *Comunal* factory. It worked with hydraulic energy and was substituted in the 1950s by the new *Comunal*, located in the center of the village. Source: Author.

In parallel, private companies started to appear. The first one was created by Andrés Bajo Geijo who, contrary to the official narrative held by the local museum, claimed that his great grandfather had been the fundamental protagonist of the story that brought the first modern factory to Val de San Lorenzo in 1858 (Secretary 1926). He and his four partners founded a factory in 1922 called *El Junquillo*, starting a century-long conflict between two ideologies and two ways of understanding modernity and progress. On the one hand, the communal society implied a form of

continuity with the pre-industrial communitarian ethos. This cannot be read as an adoption of modern left-wing ideologies, but as part of the conservative impulse to preserve the subjective and collective conditions providing their ontological security (Giddens 1991). Textile producers tried to assimilate the new realities to their existing structures (Marris 1974). Thus, having a communal factory where spinning processes were carried out enabled them to keep hand weaving at home with their wooden looms. Also they could reproduce and keep managing the household's multifaceted economy characteristic of pre-industrial societies in the north west of the Iberian Peninsula (García Martínez 2008b). This comprised not only producing wool blankets, but also growing a little garden nearby the house, plowing little parcels with a Roman plow pulled by one or two cows to produce some rye and potatoes, and participating in the communal tasks of cattle raising and forest works. The owner of the *Junquillo* factory emphasized instead the values of the private company in an article written some years later for the *Revista del Centro Val de San Lorenzo en Buenos Aires*, a journal created by migrants from Val de San Lorenzo in the Argentinean capital:

“By my initiative, a regular collective society (private) was constituted at the time... and during the same event I was named Managing Director of the entity that (privately) became constituted” (Bajo Geijo 1935: 33).

He constantly related his initiative with issues of progress and advancement “in both material and moral terms” (Idem) that the project would entail for the village. Other similar projects started afterwards like the *Comunidad de Bienes San Andrés* in 1928 (Próspero Val 1935). Those were infused with a liberal and individualist mentality that aimed at the imitation of foreign models of factories with specialized salaried handwork who worked within the factory, where most processes were carried out.

In turn, the communal company went through some years of difficulties and stopped working for at least seventeen years until 1937. During this period, the journal from Buenos Aires constantly emphasized the need to create a cooperative to improve the machinery and buy raw materials at a larger scale. They constantly highlighted that the cooperative should bring together “rich and poor people, without discrimination... and thus the sons of the village will not need to leave their families and homes to make a living because they will be able to do so in the company of their loved ones” (Oriola 1931). Even for those living in Buenos Aires, the fundamental benefit of the cooperative for the textile workers was considered the possibility of working at home with their families. In fact, at the time the looms required the work of a man (due to the heavy feet tasks it implied) and a woman, and the many hours spent in the task were considered a fundamental moment of sociability (de Cabo 1926).

In 1930, two articles insisted in the necessity of creating cooperatives. Auriol Oriola explains how cooperatives work in detail drawing on the works of the Muffelman (1926), and sets out the basic principles to govern it, which would be more or less adopted afterwards in the village. He concludes arguing that “the cooperatives movement is the modern economic form of organization for the people. When it will be understood and put into practice, it will lead the people towards the new society of the future, devoid of injustices and antagonisms, that we long for” (Oriola 1931: 18). A second article by Antonio de Cabo, points to the backwardness of the village that has been using the same machinery for one century, whereas out there are “radios, airplanes and other inventions” (de Cabo 1931a: 19). He argues that textile producers are wrong “when they reject innovation thinking that it is for their own good” (Idem) and recalls an episode of Luddism in 1910 when the

women of the village destroyed a set of modern machines coming along the road. Finally, he states that it is necessary to constitute a working cooperative. The same year a member of the group in Argentina travelled back to Val de San Lorenzo and interviewed a member of the brand-new 'Casino' association, where upper class people gathered. He asked him whether there were class differences and antagonisms in the village, to what the interviewee replied that he did not understand the question (de Cabo 1931b). The migrants were clearly left leaning and supported another association in the village called the *Círculo Republicano* – Republican Circle –. The highly politicized 1930s witnessed the creation of *La Unión* – The Union – society as well. These sorts of associations and the political livelihood of Val de San Lorenzo were uncommon in other villages of Maragatería. Conflicts with the local priest abounded at the time and even the Church was burnt just before the beginning of the Spanish civil war.

The Civil War curtailed the publication of the journal from Buenos Aires until 1940. The soul of the journal, Antonio de Cabo, left Argentina to join the Republican ranks and fight Franco, and died in the endeavor. Thus, after 1940 the journal became an uninteresting gazette reporting exclusively 'cold data' about deaths, marriages and births at both sides of the Atlantic, and some general news. Even if this was so, people in Val de San Lorenzo still keep as a secret that they have copies of the journal, as having it became a symbol of *ser un rojo* – being a communist – during the Franco period in the village (1936-1975). In 1937, in the middle of the war, the cooperative of Val de San Lorenzo started to function.

During the 1940s and 1950s, many private factories opened as well: *Fábrica San José, Textil Maragata, Industrial Valura, Fábrica Hijos de Mateo de Cabo, Lanera Industrial Maragata, Manufacturas del Val*, among others. Industrial production rocketed during the 1960s, when the army started placing huge orders of blankets in the village. The fact that the *Comunal* cooperative was tolerated is connected to the issue that it was not regarded as a product of left-wing ideologies, but rather as a form of continuity with the communitarian pre-industrial ethos. The disciplinary regime (sensu Foucault 1977) established by Franco, aimed to control the central pillars of the modern State: education, religion, the army and industrial production. Accordingly, the continuity of local councils and communal properties in the villages was guaranteed by the new Local Government Act passed by the Franco government (España 1958). The *Comunal* society and hydraulic factory were related with the existence of the local council and the community work. They did not only survive but started to grow rapidly, improving their production techniques and building a new factory with electrical energy in 1953 called *La Comunal*.

The study of the evolution of material culture during that period shows the gradual transition towards modern forms or urbanism and standards of living. The shift in the migration patterns from South America to the Spanish growing industrial centers of Barcelona, Basque Country and Madrid, and towards Northern Europe, hugely influenced these changes. The modernization of Val de San Lorenzo and its distinctiveness from other villages in the area was signaled by different migrants coming back to the village for visiting in different occasions. First, modernization implied the disappearance of traditional *maragato* dresses during the 1930s.

Generally, modernization affected mostly liberal entrepreneurs who had become rich with their factories and could afford to build new houses with brick, concrete, plastic and metal materials. After the 1950s, this pattern becomes even more apparent when the LIMASA factory was created by a rich returned migrant from Cuba, who also built other houses with bricks and slate

roofs, which were considered a luxury as there is no slate nearby. The visual economy of the village became more and more competitive in terms of cultural capital and distinction (Bourdieu 1984). Having a vernacular stone house with a straw roof was considered a sign of poverty, and most people working in the communal factory covered their stone walls with a layer of limestone or concrete. If the outer appearance of houses is revealing, the internal parts of them show the resilience of pre-industrial forms of understanding space. Thus, houses with an external appearance of modernity are organically organized internally, housing machines here and there without a rational planning. However, those are conceived for modern appliances, have modern kitchens and bathrooms at least since the 1940s.



Image 93. Modernity in Val de San Lorenzo. Above, the LIMASA factory, the largest ever built in the village. Below, modern houses made on brick, metal and concrete. Source: Author.

Instead, most houses of communal workers only gradually incorporate modern elements. Electricity and running water became available only during the 1960s and external bathrooms were common until the late 1970s. This coincided with the construction of a modern road, overall electrification and the presence of telephone lines. Still, the houses of communal workers grew organically and still today, this is evident in most of them. The old kitchen is used for smoking pork sausages and ham, while other spaces are habilitated to include modern electric equipment to become kitchens. Moreover, the houses are hybrids with a multiplicity of old and new parts that were incorporated as soon as they could be afforded. However, the value accorded to metals and glass by pre-industrial societies, where those materials were scarce (González-Ruibal 2003a), is still clear in most houses whose lumbers store dozens of apparently useless objects. Clearly, issues of

class and power were related with levels of urbanization: urbanity was equated with modernity. However, the study of the material culture of the village revealed that in many cases what was assumed was an ‘image’ of modernity to be deployed externally rather than the modern worldview as a whole.



Image 94. Changes in the houses of the lower classes. People who could not afford to build new modern houses started to add toilets (on the right) and new functional areas and materials to the houses when they could afford it. Also, they covered with concrete or limestone the stone walls of their houses, that became a symbol of poverty. Source: Author.

From Ruptures to Abstract Machines.

The previously described processes briefly sketched here (see Alonso González 2009a for more on this topic), raise the question of modernity and social change. Modernity has been conceived in many different forms by different authors. Weber considered it to be a condition of disenchantment (Sayer 1991), and authors like Ginzburg or Holmes followed him. Modernity also implied a transition from ‘immanence’ to self-reflexivity and a rational organization of social life and the individual mindset. For Mahler, anthropology has been complicit in the creation of the idea that relates modernity with an unconscious state and modernity as mediated by reason. Furthermore, we must realize that the sociological and anthropological dualisms of tradition and modernity are important for the people studied (Herzfeld 2001: 81). Even if we assume, with Harris, that the “modernist moment is constituted by the idea of rupture” (Harris 1996: 3), the question remains of what was there before the rupture. Also, it would be deceiving, as the case of Val de San Lorenzo clearly shows, that the development from tradition to modernity is “unilinear, logically necessary, or qualitatively evolutionary, for that would entail reducing history to the mythological structures of colonialism itself” (Herzfeld 2001: 81).

However, again, the categories of modernity and tradition are not only anthropological notions that have permeated the social, but also ideas that emerge and are sustained by actors in the field. In the *Revista del Centro Val de San Lorenzo en Buenos Aires*, the journal of migrants from Val de San Lorenzo in Argentina, constant references were, both by migrants and local inhabitants, to the inexorable arrival of progress and modernization. For them, ‘progress’ was reflected in

transformations in urbanism, in the overall improvements of the village, and was basically equated with industrialization.

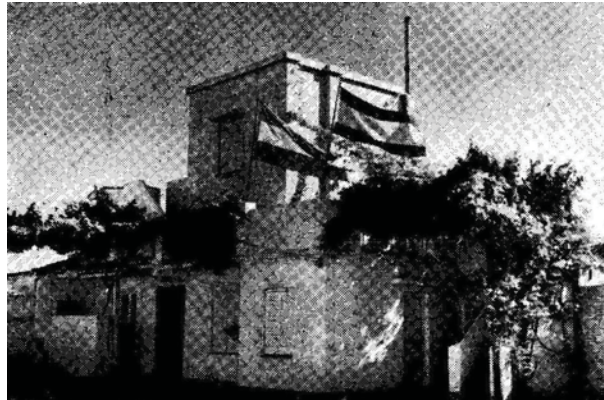


Image 95. The *Centro Val de San Lorenzo en Buenos Aires* was one of the many migrant centers created by northwestern Spaniards (Galicians, Asturians and Leonese) in Argentina. The *Centro* worked as a leisure center, a charity and a form of preserving the contact with the local culture of the village. The publication of the *Revista* during three decades was a relevant feat considering the small dimensions of the village. Source: *Revista del Centro Val de San Lorenzo en Buenos Aires*, Vol. 2, 1927.

The opening of a new factory was considered a further sign that there was ‘progress’ in the village. In fact, ‘progress’ is conceived as a self-explanatory concept, something that occurs ‘out there’, that can be done, rejected, assumed, or followed. This is related to the installation of the capitalist mentality as a self-sufficient structure, as that which justifies and causes all social processes. “It falls back on all production constituting a surface over which the forces and agents of production are distributed, thereby appropriating for itself all surplus production and arrogating to itself both the whole and the parts of the process, which now seem to emanate from it as a quasi cause’ (Deleuze and Guattari 1983: 10). Thus, ‘progress’ and modernization are in reality an effect produced by the multiplicity of relations of production established at different levels, which tend to unify disparate social practices into a coherent whole. Similarly to what happened in Val de San Lorenzo, the sets of ideas held about what is progress and what is modernity tend to regulate social relations, and finally “the socius simultaneously comes to organize the productive and cooperative practices it originally emerged from. For example, capital deterritorializes archaic social formations in order to reterritorialize the released material flows in a temporary, but exploitative relation—conjoining heterogeneous flows of labor and capital in order to convert them into quantities from which surplus-value can be extracted” (Srnicek 2011: 174).

Both local people and migrants considered these developments to be unilinear and logically necessary in a clear evolutionary fashion. In fact, Darwinism and evolutionism were widespread at the time, which reinforced the idea that social formations can be ordered chronologically from traditional to modern, and accordingly from an inferior to a superior moral order (García Canclini 1989). Being modern involves being secular, productive, innovative and democratic (Latour 1993), and it especially requires subjects to be ‘individuals’ delinked from community (Kearney 1996). At a broader level, it implies adopting scientific viewpoints, rationally organizing production through entrepreneurship strategies, and developing efficient apparatuses of government (Althusser 1970).

Clearly, it is not useful to speak of ‘disenchantment’ in Val de San Lorenzo, nor of a clear opposition between tradition and modernity. If we consider, with Daniel, that a mythic worldview consists in forms of living that are essentially participatory in contrast with the epistemic modern ways of seeing the world that imply a separation from it (Daniel 1990: 230), we are reinstating a modern evolutionary thought in our analysis. For where are we to set the boundary between both positions? Again, when Harris (1996: 3) argues that the “modernist moment is constituted by the idea of rupture”, the question emerges of where to locate the rupture. Are not we giving in advance the terms of the difference, and thus presupposing in advance what should be explained in empirical contexts?

Different forms of common sense are clearly at work in Val de San Lorenzo that cannot be conflated with either ‘tradition’ or ‘modernity’. The communal society existed and kept up with new technical developments until the late 1990s. What they did was locally considered as ‘progress’ as well because they reached a high level of industrialization. This was so even though it was not a ‘rational’ form of production from the liberal standpoint. This was so for two reasons. First, because the communal producers did not seek to maximize profits and productivity. Rather, communal producers prioritized familial values and the continuation of previously existing forms of productive organization within the household and the community. Second, because it did not fit the paradigm of liberalism in terms of social relations and class hierarchies. They were not strictly entrepreneurs but neither salaried people who routinely ‘went to work’ in the factory, where they were subjected to the control of the manager and social hierarchies could be openly performed. They just ‘worked’ at home, trying to improve their machinery and productivity within their schemes of common sense. Thus, the disappearance of ‘other’ forms of modernity is not a logic step within an evolutionary line of development but the product of multiple sets of power relations and agencies, both material and ideological. For instance, as the communal association could not be considered as a ‘modern entrepreneurial subject’, the communal society could not claim financial support from the E.U. funding projects or from institutions. This became clearer during the transition process towards a post-industrial economy, where any possible remnant of a communal ethos was wiped out from the development plans. In sum, modernity as it is not the consequence of a linear development but rather is the consequence of the self-replication of the capitalist values that act as quasi-causes that conduct and direct change.

Therefore, how to conceive of social change without resorting to negation, deviation, rupture or subversion? The crux of the matter is that all those terms are essentialist and presuppose already-constituted states of things. From this standpoint, *real* change cannot occur because everything is already given in advance (Massumi 1992). Deleuze and Guattari develop a positive theorization of social change where it is fundamental to assert the *exteriority of relations* (Srnicek 2007: 43-45). If all the possible relations of any entity are primarily comprised in its intrinsic nature or essence, then change is not possible or tends to be conceived as series of phases. For instance, the idealist and rationalist legacy of Marx led him to conceive all possible relations as interactions in a social world conditioned by economy. What is real is not the individual, but rather the grid of social (economic) relations in which the individual is trapped. Thus, to capture the Real we must analyze the essence that is constituted the whole of ‘social relations’ (Lazzarato 2006b). Other approaches to social science from Hegel to Durkheim, and those deriving from them, tend to think in terms of overarching totalities that preclude multiplicity and pluralism (Latour 2009). A positive theory of

change admits that the multiple components of the social can develop external relations and connections with other components, free of any foundation or intrinsic quality. Thinking through totalities precludes the possibility of conceiving hybrids such as the communal association in Val de San Lorenzo, where industrialization did not entail the abandonment of the previous communitarian ethos or a growing process of individualization. Our epistemic impossibility of conceiving multiplicity and admitting alterity precludes the possibility of alternative forms of social life from emerging and enduring. *La Comunal* is considered by many private entrepreneurs not as an original experiment, and a rather successful one, but a ‘deviation’ from the norm that was doomed to fail. The norm being the logic of capitalism posed as a self-sufficient machine that organizes production (in the Deleuzian sense of channeling fluxes of desire, not only of economic value).

That the terms are independent of their relations means that people can adapt certain parts of their environment without forcefully changing in essence: people’s identities fold and unfold, adapting and projecting elements in exchange with their surrounding environments (Deleuze 1993). There is no overarching phase or category that can totalize all the individuals and their relations under a single logic. As Massumi points out, “it is only by asserting the exteriority of the relation to its terms that chicken and egg absurdities can be avoided” (2002: 70). To avoid thinking in terms of development stages, Guattari developed the concept of machinism (1984). For him, instead of a series of phases following each other there is “a circulation of abstract machines” that emerge, “stagnate, disappear, reappear” (1977: 20-21). A historical periodization into stages would not correspond to the historic development of the social, as, according to Watson, he describes a “multiplicity of coexisting abstract machinisms at work in history in terms of the synchrony and diachrony indispensable to the machinic phylum” (2009: 162). As he argues, “there is no abstract machine spanning history, as the ‘subject’ of history. Machinic multiplicities simultaneously traverse synchronic and diachronic planes, the strata of different ‘provisionally dominant’ realities” (Guattari 1979: 180). These ‘provisionally dominant’ realities are abstract machines taking over the social field and overlapping with previously existing ones. Just as historic stages can occur all at once, of abstract machines can and do coexist (Idem: 189). Therefore, if we listen to the situated accounts members of *La Comunal*, the words traditional or modern do not appear. In fact, it is “western intellectuals who show themselves to be prisoners of traditional conceptions holding to a rigid and exclusive distinction between the ‘traditional’ and the ‘modern’... we are trapped in the logic of received dichotomies” (Sahlins 2005: 21). However, despite anthropology has largely abandoned this paradigm (Fabian 2002), it is still unconsciously likely to pervade social mentalities at large. In fact, the arrival of the heritage abstract machine will coincide with an intensification of the previous abstract machine of modernity and its associated mentalities, aesthetic values and patterns of behavior in Val de San Lorenzo.

The Heritage Machine. from Disenchantment to Resacralization.

During the 1980s, the textile industry started to decay. The accession of Spain to the European Union opened the Spanish market to a world competition that the backward local textile sector could not resist. Factories decreased their production or closed down gradually until our days, in which just three of them remain open, although at lowered rhythms of production, while the other two only produce from time to time and are meant to close down soon. The communal society and

its mode of production gradually faded away during the 1990s until its factories ceased to be used altogether. Most children of these producers emigrated and got positions in the expanding public sector or in private companies, completely abandoning the links with textile production. In turn, some descendants of private entrepreneurs decided to stay in the village after completion of higher studies away from it. During the late 1990s, the city council and some of the former private entrepreneurs who were willing to reinvest their capitals in the village set up a plan to transform Val de San Lorenzo into a heritagized locality. They were supported by the E.U. LEADER funding group *Montañas del Teleno*, which promoted initiatives that favored the transition towards a service sector economy in the area. The logics of this novel abstract machine governing the village rested in the rhetoric of heritage and sustainable tourism, which should go hand in hand with the creation of a 'cultural offer' for visitors. At the same time, there were different attempts on behalf of the city council to create a cooperative with the remaining textile producers. The aim was to shift towards the fabrication of hand-made, artisan luxury products with high added value and abandoning industrial mass production. In Val de San Lorenzo, the heritage machine and its associated forms of expertise, transformed the cultural sphere and the role that it plays in the legitimate form of organizing "cultural resources into means of governing." (Bennett 2004: 28).

The whole process can be seen as the construction of a local heritage that provides an identifying discourse to the village (Prats 2009). This is what Appadurai calls 'the construction of locality' (1995), a social work to produce novel places that requires technologies and techniques, and associated "rites of passage connected with heritage by the desire to root particular practices in the past to legitimize them" (Harrison 2009: 89). However, this construction is geared to the implementation of a tourism economy in which novel 'politics of value' (Appadurai 1986) arise by which the community produces new values that render some things economic. Thus, the meaning attributed to certain processes is considered to be providing value to certain commodities: the textile blanket, the rural hotel, the 'traditional' restaurant, and so on. Again, locality is today not an inherent given but rather societies must do social work to produce it, reconnecting technologies, knowledge, rites of passage and heritage elements with a narration about the past where particular practices can be rooted and legitimized (Harrison 2009). However, the search for a distinctive local identity rooted on heritage risks becoming a process of standardization and homogenization. In fact, localities have become global in that they consume models at work at an international scale, such as the rediscovery of ethnicities and vernacular material forms (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996: 219). Therefore, this process not only entails a shift from production to consumption in the economic model of the village, but rather a novel logic of local governance. It is clear by now that the reorganization of the cultural sphere has led to the use of cultural resources as means of governing (Bennett 2004: 28). This governmentality logic (sensu Foucault 2007) is gradually instilled via the reproduction and affirmation of specific aesthetic conceptions which come to bear on the regulation of social conduct, deciding what is valuable and 'good' (Boltanski et al. 1991). This instillation of values works through different vectors, from the museum to forms of conceiving urban and house aesthetics. In turn, these cultural rhetorics serve to negotiate and justify the privileged agency positions of some subjects, who receive financial and political support in different ways. Also, they convey the stories that suit them and that gradually become the 'shared memory' of the village (Prats 1997).

The Museum.

Museums and cultural heritage have become central to local political agendas in recent times in Spain due to their ability to attract public funds and investment and to negotiate the cultural identity of the social groups they govern (Anico 2009). The analysis of museological projects can reveal who are the intended recipients of the museum's message, the overall discourses that it conveys, and how it might be related with the internal local networks of power and value. Here, I conceive museological as a further set of discourses. Those can be broadly conceived as relational discursive and non-discursive webs "constitutive of subjects in social formations and reflecting and constructing material practices in political institutional relations between groups of people. Discourses frame representational contexts intrinsically involving the exercise of power" (Hillier 2007: 153). It is clear that museums are contact zones (Clifford 1997a), but what is necessary is to ascertain who and for what are those contacts being promoted. Is the museum operating as a cultural institution, an identity bunker, or as a nodal point connecting with flows of tourism? Which social groups do they represent and what discourses they promote? Is the foregrounding of collaboration, dialogue and inclusion an strategy for the concealment of the real obliteration of alternative discourses?

The project of musealization in Val de San Lorenzo was completed in two phases. In both cases, buildings were acquired from the deceased communal society. First, the old hydraulic fulling mill in 1998, which became the *Batán-Museo*, and then the factory *La Comunal*, acquired in 2002 and inaugurated in 2006 as the *Centro de Interpretación Textil La Comuna*'. The development of the process was similar to other contexts analyzed in the north west of Spain (e.g. Sánchez-Carretero Forthcoming). The mayor and an architect took the lead and the fundamental decisions concerning aesthetics, museum display and narration, despite funding was coming from the Regional Government of Castile and León. Only the ethnographer Concha Casado was consulted for the task in some occasions. In the case of the *Batán-Museo*, reconstruction involved the restoration of machines and the roof. It was an old building with stone walls and thus it did not require much intervention to fit perceived ideas of what is heritage. The building of *La Comunal* posed more problems. It was a modern building with a plastic roof, bricks in sight, and a layer of concrete covering the walls. It had to be turned upside down to become an official heritage site. Consequently, concrete was removed from the lower part of the walls made of stone to leave it in sight. The bricks were covered with limestone and painted with 'non-aggressive' colors. The metal windows were substituted by wooden ones, and the plastic roof for tiles.

A similar operation was carried out on the inside, where the hanging light bulbs were encased in cowbells of old-looking copper. After the inauguration, I witnessed a discussion between two members of the museum staff – one of them owner of a private textile company as well – about the 'real' traditional color of the Maragatería. It was obvious for them that it was blue, but they could not agree upon the tone of the blue. I consider this brief discussion revealing for how much it conveys about what is considered heritage by the public.



Image 96. *La Comunal*, a former textile factory owned by the Communal Society of Val de San Lorenzo. After the demise of its productive activities in 2000, it was acquired by the city council, heritagized and turned into a textile interpretation center. Source: Author.

Clearly, it is about aesthetics and making things look old, but in a way that they are also perceived as beautiful and stylish from the point of view of design, color combination and so on. These judgments are local but are related to hierarchies of value that have become universal. This is what Herzfeld calls the ‘global hierarchy of value’, based on “non-explained accounts of liberal superiority of common sense to do some stuff, and European trust in their superiority on the “high arts” (2004: 2-3). In addition, it is something that can be done without resorting to knowledge mediations or the participation of the community. It comes as no surprise then that these kinds of local museums that abound in Maragatería, and broadly in Spain, promote essentialist ideas of the local community. The past is conveyed as authentic and local distinctiveness is fixed in the terms sanctioned by a ‘cultural institution’ (Anico 2009).

Both displays in the *Batán-Museo* and *La Comunal* follow the patterns of traditional museology. There is a primacy of objects, especially machines, to be looked at while the guide tells a story. In *La Comunal* there is a short video presentation as well. *La Comunal* is most interesting because it provides a paradigmatic example of the evolutionary museum as described by Bennett and others (Bennett 2004; Hooper-Greenhill 1992). At the entrance, there are ‘traditional’ wooden objects characteristic of pre-industrial textile production. Then, we follow the museum path to see the evolution of machines with a focus on looms, which range from the older wooden ones to the different kinds of mechanic modern ones. The narrative plot and the video focus on issues of production and the detailed description of the technical processes: where did the wool and the machines come from, what was the process of transformation from the raw material to the final product, and so on. Curiously enough, despite both factories embodied the history of the communal society, no reference is made to the issue. Emphasis is placed in telling the myth of foundation of

the village, the story of José Cordero and his ‘corporate espionage’ in Palencia. This confers the village a local distinctiveness and a cultural reference that legitimates the present state of things (Anico 2009). The narration eludes references to issues of class and gender differentiation or exploitation, and focuses in the unproblematic and wishful story of textile production progress. Another paradox that the narration entails is the emphasis in referring to contemporary textile producers as ‘artisans’, meanwhile what is being told is a story of progress leading to further stages of industrialization. When tourists asked about the issue, guides normally argued that there had been a return to artisan forms of production nowadays.

Therefore, the museum creates a performative assemblage that “produces presence (representations such as text and their content) ... and absence. Absence is constituted with and constitutes presence” (Law 2004a: 161). For Law, there are two forms of absence. Manifest absence refers to “that which is absent, but recognized as relevant to, or represented in presence” and absence as otherness, “that which is absent because it is enacted by presence as irrelevant, impossible or repressed” (Law 2004a: 157). The concealment of the communal past in Val de San Lorenzo is of the second kind, an absence of that which is otherized and cannot, or would be dangerous to, incorporate in contemporary narratives.

Clearly, the museum narrative excludes the majority of the people from Val de San Lorenzo. Members of the old communal society were only consulted during the development of the museum. They were asked to donate some of their machines to the museum, which some of them kindly did. The kinds of events going on in the museum do not normally interest local people, and most of them have never stepped into it. Those who were part of the communal society show disinterest and even rejection of all that has to do with the museum, which they regarded as an economic strategy set up by the city council and the village’s elites that had nothing to do with them. During my interviews, I tended to specify that I did not work for the museum but rather for a private company hiring me. Many people told me afterwards that they thought I was working for the museum and thus they were not telling me anything relevant before.

As one of the objectives during my work in the village in 2008 was to create a cooperative between the remaining textile producers, I inquired into the reasons why the producers so sharply rejected the creation of an association, and the relation between private and communal producers. The narrations revealed the existence of what Scott called hidden transcripts of resistance (1990). These stories revealed forms of understanding cultural meanings and past situations that resisted official narrations and imposed material conditions and meanings (Reed-Danahay 1993: 223-227). I formally or informally interviewed more than sixty people during my six months stay in the village in 2008, although I came back afterwards to carry out additional research in some occasions. In most cases, I was allowed to their houses in order to understand the relation of individuals and families with their textile past and how it was reflected in the material culture.

The accounts about the past of the members of the communal society revealed that identities and traditions are culturally negotiated (Linnekin 1983). Also, these negotiations are intrinsically linked with ongoing contests over power issues in the village, which can be related with matters of respectability, honor and economic power (Jackson 1989b). Most interviewees deconstructed the clear division between communal and private producers, showing that there were alliances as well as betrayals and conflicts between both sides during decades. In fact, they were not clear-cut ‘sides’ but rather situations where individuals embodied specific subject positions that enabled them to

carry on with their lives and negotiate their agencies in different ways. A candent issue for everyone was the question of the prices of textile products. Almost everyone agrees that the lack of a communal mentality disrupted the possibility of Val de San Lorenzo competing at the national level. As Cionita explains, “the buyers would come one morning with their truck, and go around the village asking each producer for the price of his or her blankets. Whatever the producer replied, they would retort that in another factory prices were lower. And so it went. Stubbornness was the reason of our decay!” (Interview 63, October 2008).

Even though some agreements on minimum prices had been reached, it was common for producers to betray each other. However, social conflict in the village dates back to ideological struggles before the Civil War, owing to which some families have become inimical to others until present. Some stories were recurrent among members of the communal, showing how remembering becomes shared by certain individuals of the community (Wertsch and Billingsley 2011). In addition, they would share memories of events affecting the group before their birth, for instance their emphasis on entrepreneurs’ will to take over all the machinery and hire them as salaried labour, to which they resisted through the creation of the communal society. However, this ‘stock’ of shared memory (McDowell 2008), did not imply similar behaviors concerning issues of preservation and material culture. My analysis focused in preservationist attitudes towards the loom, which was the most symbolically powerful artisan device for textile production. This is so because two people had to handle it and spend a lot of time together with it. Also, due to the long hours that the father of the house spent weaving (normally between 10 and 14 hours). As many times the only place where new looms could be situated in their houses was the living room, the loom was at the center of the family life.



Image 97. Textile machinery within the houses of Val de San Lorenzo. Many people preserve textile machinery in their houses. In some places, it is only used to store useless objects, in others, it is still the center of the familial life in the house. Source: Author.

Attitudes towards the loom could be studied looking at the presence/absence of it in the visual space of the house, by the position given to it within the house, and by decisions made by the families in relation to museum requests. Almost one half of the people interviewed had burnt their wooden looms. The others normally kept it in a lumber with other objects, dismantled and half-rotten. Contrarily, many mechanic metal looms are preserved. This is because they are more difficult to discard, but also because those were the latter in use. However, only three people kept them in their living rooms and were overtly proud about them. Most people kept them in external annexes to the house, normally covered by filth and all sorts of objects. Curiously enough, there is

no straightforward correlation between the economic wealth provided by the loom and preservation decisions. Among the three households preserving them, one constantly complained that it had been her economic ruin, other argued that she was preserving it because her grandchildren loved it, and the latter argued functional reasons for keeping it (it was too complicated to dismount it and get rid of it).

It is telling that most people rejected donating their seemingly not much appreciated objects to the museum, or to other museums from throughout Spain that have tried to buy them. When I told the staff of the museum the number of looms and artisan devices preserved in lumbers, abandoned houses and workshops, they were astonished. This is so because when asked by museums, people they normally reply that they do not preserve any object related to the textile production process. Otherwise, they would ask very high prices beyond the reach of museums. These behaviors partly reflect the preservationist attitudes characteristic of pre-industrial communities (González-Ruibal 2005). Also, the individual and familial pride of denying the things they want to those who they perceived to have been benefited by the novel tourism economy. As a highly critical 83 year-old textile producer told me, “at first, they all wanted to have new machines and were proudly showing off around the village in front of those, like me, who could not afford them. Now they want our stuff to show to their tourists!?! Screw them. I told them I do not have anything. But here is my first wooden loom, dismounted and packed as I left it years ago” (Interview 64, September 2008). Clearly, oral memory worked for them as a strategy to keep alternative narrations and interpretations related with present negotiations of power and social status. For those who had kept the journal from Buenos Aires, oral memory mixed with their attempts to remember ‘the right story’ or the ‘truth’, that supposedly the journal was conveying. The legitimacy provided by the experiential ‘I was there’ (Roseman 1996), was giving way to the ‘book culture’ (Collier 1997). This undermined their own self-confidence in their beliefs conveyed through oral memory and the overall narrative power of their ‘hidden transcripts’ (Scott 1997).

We must distinguish between memory as a psychological process and remembrance as a social one (Herzfeld 2001: 78-9). In Val de San Lorenzo, the tension between the attempt to impose a public account of history – remembrance – and the resistance offered by memories embedded in shared networks of meaning (McDowell 2008), is giving way among the local community to the development of a ‘mixed narrative’. This is a realm that “lies in between individual memory and history. Only then is it possible to examine that form of memory that individuals appropriate by drawing on a pool of communal experiences, thereby constructing memory of experiences that they have not lived through personally” (Viejo-Rose 2011a: 59-64). For instance, the story of José Cordero was not even mentioned or deemed irrelevant by some people, while others considered it ‘the right thing’ to tell me, the foreign ‘expert’. This story is not only being told in the museum, but also in official acts such as the recent inauguration of a plaque in the honor of José Cordero in 2008. The event provided not only an account of his deeds, but was fundamentally a promotion of the textile brand ‘Val de San Lorenzo’, to which the plaque provided symbolic legitimacy and historic depth (Domingo 29/12/2008).

In the end, official narratives tend to prevail because the abstract machine pushing them forward reinforces the webs of meaning creation where these messages are produced, reproduced and constantly circulated. In turn, alternative discourses tend to fade. This is not only due to the predominance of official discourse, but mainly to the fact that textile production is not anymore a

central concern for most people in the village. That is, power relations and status are not negotiated anymore within the ‘textile world’ and the hierarchies and scales of meaning and valuation that it implied. More importantly, the museum discourse is not even designed to be enjoyed by local people. Rather, the aim of its display and discourse is to attract tourism flows and to grant legitimacy and value to the textile artisan product. In this way, the museum works not only as a place for representation and socialization, but also and fundamentally as a device for cultural commoditization (Hallam and Street 2000; Hein 2000).

Bodnar (1992: 13) argues that public memory lies at the intersection between official and vernacular cultural expressions. However, in Val de San Lorenzo as in many other places, vernacular expressions do not have structuring conditions for the reproduction of oral memory. I concur with Shackel in considering memory as a “reflection of present political and social relationships” (2003: 11). In any case, the museum is far from working as a ‘binding tissue’ of the different narratives within the community. In order to better suit the needs of the abstract machine of heritage that provides added value to certain commodities, the interpretation of past events (which derives from and reflects the present power articulations of the village) prioritizes certain subjects and stories over others. Tosh argues that shared interpretations of past events and experiences that resulted in the formation of the group over time serve to ground collective identities. Sometimes, “this will include an accepted belief about the origins of the group, as in the case of many nation states, emphasis may be on vivid turning points and symbolic moments which confirm the self-image and aspirations of the group” (Tosh 1991: 2), 2). In this sense, the museum does not work for dialogue and reconciliation of past familial and community wounds, but rather to their exacerbation. If it is true, as Tosh argues, that similar interpretations of the past ground collective identities, we might be better talking of a multiplicity of ‘remembering communities’ (Middleton and Edwards 1990) that have been set apart in Val de San Lorenzo.

Material Culture.

The abstract machine of heritage has had a significant impact in the urban appearance of Val de San Lorenzo. In this regard, strategies have been geared towards the improving of façades and the external appearance of the village. The visual economy of the village has become even more competitive during the supermodern phase than when the modern abstract machine prevailed. The visual is a fundamental strategy for the representation and ordering of social hierarchies in an apparently pleasant and civilized way (Haraway 1988). The new symbolic landscape of the village is significantly dominated now by monumental restorations of traditional buildings in the center of the village, and by the construction of new large buildings in the surroundings that are built on bricks and then heritagized and covered with stones and old looking tiles. Normally, the former are carried out by foreign urban people who want a second residence. The latter are built by local entrepreneurs, who deploy clearly modern settlement patterns that differ from the ‘urban restorers’ that prefer to buy old houses in the center of the village and restores them. Instead, the local entrepreneurs prefer to isolate themselves from the rest of the village to have a large house, large gardens, a garage and a pool. Then, those houses are heritagized to comply with the patterns of the new abstract machine of value installed in the village: i.e., the heritage machine. The whole process was supported by the city council’s insistence in preserving the harmony and cohesion of the urban

center. This led, for instance, to the prohibition of the traditional stone benches attached externally to the houses. Paradoxically, to create a heritage village it was considered necessary to wipe out actually existing heritages that had been there since immemorial times in some cases.



Image 98. The *paredes* – stone walls used to enclose cattle – were a constitutive part of the landscape of Maragatería. Now, the rocketing costs of stone due to the heritagisation processes lead to the mugging of these walls, which provide a cheaper source of stone. We are witnessing a clear example of negative impacts of heritagisation processes: the embellishment of the heritage buildings in the villages is made at the expense of these walls, whose disappearance results in the destruction of an economic externality as represented by the aesthetic pleasure of a beautiful and characteristic landscape. Source: Author.

Again, the heritage machine constructs difference while obliterating otherness. This social ordering of visual hierarchies claims itself to be universally relevant (Rose 2001), and thus able to categorize and judge those who have not reached a phase of ‘self-awareness’ or disembodied reason that characterizes modernity and post-modernity. This Universalist mindset can be encapsulated in the commonly heard phrase among politicians and museum staff in the area: ‘They do not take care of their heritage because they are not aware of what they have here’. The former mayor of Val de San Lorenzo told me that people in the village “needed to travel more” (Interview 61B, July 2011). The implicit idea is that those who are not still self-aware of the value of heritage and tradition are in a subaltern position in the negotiation of power and status within the village. In fact, the post-industrial economy eases the conversion of cultural symbols in economic capital (what Guattari called ‘transduction’, as I mentioned before). Consequently, those who know what heritage is about and the workings of the new hierarchies of value, are subsidized and profit from the E.U. LEADER funding group to restore houses that become heritagized rural hostels or hotels. Paradoxically, most

of these service sector entrepreneurs who are today the defenders of tradition and continuity and that aim to embody a symbolic continuity with the past, are former private entrepreneurs who had embraced modernity (and its materiality) and who are now reinvesting their capitals into the new vectors of value creation. They are most interested now in reversing the aesthetic effects that they had previously embraced and promoted during the ‘provisionally dominant’ period of the modern abstract machine.

As the village has not been declared a site of cultural interest, no strict urban legislation can be passed. Thus, the city council and the museum staff incite people who have stone houses to get rid of the concrete and limestone covering them. If stone houses had become a symbol of poverty during the modern period, now they were considered valuable again because their aesthetics embody the values of tradition and the past. With Valeri, I would ask “why is such importance attached to finding the rules of the present embodied in the past?” (1990: 161-2). Because, in fact, I do not think that “legitimizing should reside in duration” or that time is a measure of value (Roberts 1994: 202). What matters is the aesthetical appearance of heritage; no one seems to care much about the past in Val de San Lorenzo. Not even the local entrepreneurs who support the process, because they are building new houses from the scratch while dozens of half-ruined houses suitable for restoration are scattered throughout the village.

The qualitative and quantitative analysis of changes in material culture reveals that most local people are not joining the abstract machine of heritage. Apart from urban newcomers, only those who are interested in one way or another in the functioning of the heritage economy have implemented changes in their houses towards heritagized models. This includes politicians, constructor and service sector entrepreneurs fundamentally. However, most stone house owners are still engaged in the project of modernizing their houses whenever they can afford new materials and appliances. Somewhat paradoxically, most of them cannot afford the very high prices of stone and resort now to the materials that were considered as symbols of wealthy status within the modern regime of value: bricks, concrete, metal and plastic. But, as Herzfeld (2001: 105) asks, how has culture produced the values that make stones have economic value in Val de San Lorenzo? Appadurai refers to these processes of valorization the ‘politics of value’(1994), the sequence of variable contexts through which objects circulate in their ‘biographies’ (See Kopytoff 1986). The new heritage machine confers value to stones, which exist within a network of interchangeable economic and cultural values and meanings. Those are underpinned by museum discourses that provide a cultural legitimization to the assemblage as a whole. The heritage machine cannot be comprehended without taking into account how the new forms of capital accumulation work. Today, value accumulation works in novel ways because “it is external to classical productive processes. It is in this sense that the idea of a ‘becoming-rent of profit’ (and, in part, wages themselves) is justified as a result of the capture of a value produced outside directly productive spaces” (Marazzi 2010: 61).

In other words, ‘stones’ are put to work. Also, and more deeply, what is being valorized in reality is the lives and the past of the community as a whole, not only as a representation but also as a physical place. Now we can better understand in what sense the heritage machine has become a means of governance: it is suited for the development of societies of control where multiple forms of biopower are at work (Negri 2004).



Image 99. Super or postmodern houses in Val de San Lorenzo. They represent the metaphor of the supermodern period: a functional structure with all the technological luxuries and commodities is covered by a layer of ‘tradition’ that serves to further reinforce the individualization of the building as a symbol in the landscape of the village. Source: Author.

Value is intrinsically linked and embodied by people, not in the sense of what has called intangible heritage, but rather because “the living body of the worker is the substratum of that labor-power which, in itself, has no independent existence. ‘Life’, pure and simple bios, acquires a specific importance in as much as it is the tabernacle of *dynamis*, of mere potential (Virno 2003: 82). In other words, “value increasingly arises not from what is but from what is not yet but can potentially become, that is, from the pull of the future, and from the new distributions of the sensible that can arise from that change” (Thrift 2006: 7). This is why Deleuze and Guattari emphasize the need to overcome Marxist analytical frameworks that always refer back to the creation of surplus value via the exploitation of labor power within classical relations of production and value creation that do not apply anymore (1987). Accordingly, they prefer to speak of ‘machinic surplus value’ to highlight the fact that the way contemporary abstract machines produce and capture immaterial value require new forms or reappropriation that go beyond the control of the means of production. Today, heritage value is a commons: it is embodied by the people, their traditions, and the discourses constructed on their pasts. The reappropriation of this value paradoxically requires subjects to fulfill one of the mandates of the heritage machine: to become self-aware of their own value, heritage and past. That is, to create a ‘heritage as a transcendent metacultural notion’, you must get rid of your ‘immanent heritage’. Then, the fundamental challenge in the field of heritage studies today would be to develop experimental and hybrid forms of reappropriating that surplus value immanently. The communal textile producers did it during almost one century, why not doing it now that *they embody the values that are being exploited?*

Conclusion.

This chapter has presented an ethnohistoric approach to the recent past of Val de San Lorenzo, a village that has undergone major socioeconomic changes in just a few decades. The industrial growth of the village is more astonishing if we compare it with the Maragatería and the province of León as a whole. Precisely, this lack of nearby referents and other industrial areas gave way to the development of a ‘folk industrialization’ that preserved some of the defining traits of the pre-industrial communitarian ethos: working at home, family work, search of ‘the common good’,

and the rejection of drastic changes. The endurance of the communal society until the late 1990s showed that a balance between the creation of surplus value and communitarian ways of life can be achieved. The communal society defies dichotomical anthropological characterizations and thinking in terms of historic stages. Thus, I preferred to think in terms of abstract machines that work to articulate ‘provisionally dominant’ realities (Guattari 1980). As a result of these abstract machines, certain regimes of signs and meanings tend to prevail in the social sphere. Novel hierarchies of values have an impact and are reflected in the way people negotiate their social status through material culture and oral memory.

The heritage machine is the reflection of the supermodern exacerbation of modern self-reflexivity and is related with a shift towards the service sector economy. The heritage machine establishes hierarchies of values that favor the capacity of certain subjects with privileged agency in the social sphere to attract and capture surplus value produced by the aesthetic and cultural values of the village as a whole. The heritage economy is parasitic in this regard (*Sensu Serres* 1982), as it does not *produce* anything, but rather captures the common values that exist as externalities to the productive processes. Therefore, it tends to reinforce those values through the creation of cultural discourses about the past and the community. Those are reproduced through cultural technologies in the museum that are made to ‘resonate’ in the visual landscape of the village. In turn, this visual landscape tends towards a general aesthetic turn in connection with global hierarchies of value that define ‘what is heritage’. This universal morality is a more subtle form of globalization that “is not always immediately visible to us because having invaded local universes of common sense it creates the sense of universal commonality” (Herzfeld 2004: 3). In seeking the production of locality, the local features come to be assimilated and homogenized according to international patterns. In other words, “if modernism produced places that could be anywhere, postmodernism produces an almost infinite selection of somewhere capable of reproduction everywhere” (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996: 219).

However, this production of locality is not only a representational process: it requires all people in the village to actively join the task because they are fundamental actors in the co-production of heritage values. What is being sold to the tourist, what is valuable, is the distinctiveness of place, history and local forms of life (Rullani and Stefano 1997). The heritage machine is in tune with new forms of capitalist exploitation operating outside labor relations of production. Exploitation spreads in the surface and at the sides of the system, throughout the life process, becoming ‘biopolitical’ (Toscano 2007). The cognitive turn of contemporary capitalism rests on the prioritization of information, knowledge and immaterial values. Surplus value rests in the correct ‘tuning’, or alignment of local forms of life with international flows of desire that value certain forms of locality. This is why contemporary capitalism invests so much in the biological dimension of the social (Lazzarato 1997). The worker is not any more constrained to the factory or the business: when someone is convinced in Val de San Lorenzo to get rid of the concrete covering his stone walls he is working for the heritage machine by increasing its capacity to capture value. Therefore, subjectivity today must be framed in terms of an intensified exploitation of the “sub-representational, bodily and biological dimension and of its abstract participation in machinic assemblages of enunciation, technological dispositives and informational circuits” (Toscano 2007: 82). As fate has it, value production is now again communal. It is only the private capture of this value through the heritage machine that remains private.

17. Conclusions

1. From ‘What’ to ‘For What’: on how to Theorize Heritage and its Production.

“What is produced is already sold – he notes – because it had previously become the object of desire” (Lipcovich and Lazzarato 20/12/2010).

“The Baroque refers not to an essence but rather to an operative function, to a trait. It endlessly produces folds. It does not invent things, there are all kinds of folds coming from the East, Greek, Roman, Romanesque, Gothic, Classical, folds. Yet the Baroque trait twists and turns its folds, pushing them to infinity, fold over fold, one upon the other” (Deleuze 1993: 3).

‘Heritage’ has become both an object of desire and an operative function. It is a commonly used and almost ubiquitous term in contemporary societies, to the point that it has grown to become a floating signifier (Weiss, 2007 414) or a meta-signifier (Laurier, 1998 25). Different authors suggest that we live in a time of widespread heritagization (Bendix 2008; Graburn 2007) or in the heritage age (Fowler 1992). In parallel, a number of explanations have been put forward to account for the phenomenon that tend to obscure the many complexities and intersections of the field of heritage, without accounting for its root causes and socio-economic effects. Thus, it has been argued that the postmodern break with the past and the acceleration of time and rhythms of life (Virilio 2007) have led people to start a search for roots and authenticity, in relation to a process of proliferation of non-places (Augé 2008) or junkspace (Koolhaas 2002). Yet, as Herzfeld notes (2004), little research has been conducted to understand a fundamental aspect of heritage: why the past provides legitimacy?

Hall considers heritage fundamental in the generation and legitimizing of reactionary visions of national histories. For him, heritage refers “to the whole complex of organisations, institutions and practices devoted to the preservation and presentation of culture and the arts — art galleries, specialist collections, public and private, museums of all kinds (general, survey or themed, historical or scientific, national or local) and sites of special historical interest” (1999: 3). For him, the question of heritage goes far beyond the preservation of valuable elements for posterity based on historical and aesthetic criteria. Heritage is also a crucial vector for the implementation of State governmentality functions and the materialization of national stories. Therefore, heritage can be conceived today as a present centered phenomenon, a discursive construction with material consequences (L. Smith, 2006). It is constructed through processes of metacultural selection, as there is no ‘heritage’ before someone starts to preserve, remember, reclaim, enhance or celebrate something (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004b). In this respect, heritage constructions are no new, as people have always used “retrospective memories as resources of the past to convey a fabricated sense of destiny for the future. Heritage, in this sense, can be found, interpreted, given meanings, classified, presented, conserved and lost... within any age” (Harvey 2008: 22).

Notwithstanding this fact, the problem is that the concept of heritage has expanded to embrace the entirety of what anthropologists call material culture – structures, sites, artifacts and to immaterial cultural manifestations now celebrated as intangible heritage” (Anheier et al. 2011: 3).

Consequently, the practice of heritage preservation and enhancement is widespread in contemporary cultural life, as a sphere of economic investment and of political debate about what should be preserved, represented, remembered, documented or erased. In addition, gone are the days where it was possible to denounce the State as the central site of heritage production, as the critics of the British heritage industry did (ver Hewison 1987; Samuel 1994; Wright 1985). Various authors suggest an increasing democratization of heritage production and the increasing significance of other heritages and the history from below. Therefore, in the most developed economies, and especially in the Anglo-Saxon world, people tend to “construct multiple identities out of a great variety of materials, times and places” (Anheier et al. 2011: 9).

Nevertheless, certain social actors and institutions retain a key role in the process of generating symbolic representations of the cultures and heritages of ‘the others’, especially public national and international institutions such as UNESCO. Cultural representations serve to grant meaning to places and heritage entities with which people connect physically and emotionally. Thus, cultural representations facilitate specific social articulations where certain notions of belonging, memory, property and identity are established (Rose 1995: 91). Moreover, identities are related to the question of “using the resources of history, language and culture in the process of becoming rather than being... They relate to the invention of tradition as much as to tradition itself” (Hall 1996b: 4).

Since its inception, this tradition served to legitimize the power positions of socio-economic elites, who benefited from the association of elements of prestige and knowledge to their ways of life, bodies and possessions (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1992). Likewise, tradition and the objects from the past were employed since the beginnings of modernity and enlightenment to ‘educate’ people on the values of the privileged classes (Bennett 1995). This is how, according to Gramsci (see Mouffe 1979), the state gradually becomes an ‘educator’ that creates citizens: culture was and is used as a mechanism of social integration. For example, the modern is equated with the superiority of high culture (hegemonic) over the traditional and the popular cultures (subordinate). However, and somewhat paradoxically, nation states continue to rely on, and co-opt, popular heritage and culture so as to legitimize the national narratives while seeking to wipe out it as it is regarded as a reflection of people’s poverty and superstition (García Canclini 1993).

The narration of tradition that heritage seeks to establish a meaningful connection between community, past and identity. Therefore, a tradition “is never neutral with respect to the values it embodies... If tradition presupposes ‘a common possession’ it does not presuppose uniformity or plain consensus... It is a space of dispute as much as of consensus, of discord as much as accord” (Scott 1999: 124). This ‘common possession’ shared and experienced by communities is becoming increasingly valuable within the global hierarchy of value, where the primitive, local, traditional and exotic is glorified (Hardt and Negri 2009). Of course, this glorification is linked to the commoditization of heritage, a process whose perverse consequences have been signaled by different authors (Baillie et al. 2010; Goulding 2000). In any case, fewer studies have tackled the political economies of heritage compared to the large number of those dealing with issues of identity, memory or nation-building narratives. However, the significance of economic issues tends to gain increasing weight in determining the functioning of heritage at local, national and international scales.

In any case, both uses of heritage (for national legitimization or identity building purposes, and for mercantilist aims) tend to break the connection and the immanent relationship between communities and their heritages. It is essential to emphasize here the importance of conceiving heritage as a multiple object (see Mol, 2002). This is related to the various realities, forms of life, research interests and socio-economic assemblages from which heritage emerges. That is, “even within a single society, pasts, heritages and identities should be considered as plurals” (Graham and Howard 2008a: 1). The theorization set out here seeks to conceive heritage as a *situated* common good in specific contexts and in relation with communities, rather than as an *universal* common good of humanity, as international institutions like UNESCO would have us understand. The project of UNESCO can be framed within an Enlightenment process of education comprising the diffusion of education, art, knowledge and morality under the positivist paradigms put forward by liberal and socialist governments during the XX century. Read through the lens of Žižek’s psychoanalytical thought, the UNESCO endeavor seems paradoxical. Žižek (1992) shows that every democratic attempt to impose some sort of universal project based on the community of people as ‘citizens of the world’ always ends in failure. The more the Universal is sought, the more ethical-nationalist values are reinforced and the Universal project is co-opted to suit the objectives of nation states. This has happened with the World Heritage UNESCO project, co-opted by the nation states nearly since its inception.

Thus, the endeavor of UNESCO has served to extend the concept of heritage and to legitimize its appropriation and inclusion within national narratives of identity and memory engaged in the competition of the global political economy of prestige (Isar 2011: 43). As we have seen, UNESCO protected and sanctioned only elements that have gone through a process of political and ideological sanitization: the *Médulas* can be World Heritage but not the Teleno area. Clearly, UNESCO’s statements and policies converge with the agendas of nation states in ways that contribute to legitimize specific states of affairs, and to hide certain stories and controversial situations. Thus heritage comes a ‘transnational complex of cultural production’ (Mato 2003) with its inherent paradoxes. Whereas heritage globalization tends to homogenize local contexts from above, different groups seeking recognition from below tend to inscribe their fights and heritagization processes in global conceptions such as the return to nature, the right to healthy food and unpolluted waters, or to a unique cultural identity (Carrasco et al. 1996). These processes are inserted in the context of a globalization that articulates multiple zones of contact and coetaneous presents at the local, regional, national and global levels. Therefore, an understanding of heritage today demands a comprehension of these global networks and how different historical-geographic and social processes tend to take grip in particular local practices (Rappaport 2003).

In this context of commoditization and globalization, it is clear that tourism has a fundamental role to play in the production of heritage, memory and identity (Timothy and Nyaupane 2009). However, most scholarship on heritage often neglects the crucial role capital has acquired in prioritizing specific forms of academic, technical and cultural expertise (Winter 2011). In a broad sense, heritage serves to generate profitable relationships between different industries, businesses and institutions, which create partnerships that straddle the public-private divide. Heritage is today seen as a key provider of additional revenue for all cities in transition economies towards tertiary or postindustrial frameworks where gentrification and the restoration or invention of urban heritage areas is essential. These transformations should not be conceived as the imposition of a

transcendental order by a dominant entity from above (the State, the Market, etc.), but rather as a process that involves a wide array of social actors: service sector entrepreneurs, academics of all sorts, architects, urban and spatial planners, politicians, real estate investors, among others (Winter, 2011).

Of course, these processes are not disentangled from mnemonic and identity issues: indeed, they are often co-opted by State agendas to strengthen reactionary discourses about national or regional identities that ensure the cohesion and homogeneity of the population governed. This does not mean that all academic disciplines have partaken in the workings of the ‘official science’, which is, working to meet the goals of the state and the market. However, it is clear that certain discourses, forms of knowledge and expertise predominate over others just because they are privileged by capital, while at the same time they facilitate the creation and appropriation of capital from heritagization processes. Two examples can illustrate this point. First, when archaeological sites are to be enhanced or musealized, the positivist view of Processual Archaeology usually prevails. This does not allow other interpretations and understandings of the past such as the ones provided by Postprocessual Archaeology to be displayed. Similarly, when contemporary or modern items are to be enhanced, the positivist view of Industrial Archaeology is favored over an Archaeology of the Present. While the former conceives of remnants as neutral and isolated vestiges of an idealized past, the archaeology of the present puts forward a critical reading of the past. Consequently, it does not judge aesthetically but politically, and thus it does not provide useful narratives neither for capital nor for institutions.

The processes of heritagization set out by public institutions are in tune with market logics. Therefore, they foster specific forms of expertise and the production of a certain kind of conservative knowledge that can be included under the empty signifiers of ‘sustainable development’, ‘urban renewal’ or ‘cultural tourism’, so as to gain legitimization in the public sphere. As Ayán and Gago point out, these processes are allegedly purported to ‘the citizens’, but those are only mentioned or taken into account when raising funds to implement a certain heritage project. However, when the time comes to actually execute the plans and manage the heritage democratically, citizens are rarely consulted or taken into account (2012). It is more important to craft heritage processes “in ways that maximize their potential for multi-sector connectivity” (Winter 2011: 79). This is evident in the way the *Grupo de Acción Local Montañas del Teleno* implements heritage projects in Maragatería. First, the neoliberal concept of the ‘entrepreneur’ is highlighted. Second, almost all projects implemented have little to do with the alleged aims they pursue, namely sustainable, rural development and cultural tourism. Here, heritage functions as a vector to channel new hegemonic articulations in the social sphere: a new subjectivity, a new discursive rhetoric to justify certain investments and the dominant position of certain social actors, and new forms of structuring the economic realm in order to capture new rents and investments within the postindustrial framework. Several authors characterize this new articulation of the socius as ‘neoliberal governance’, where state and public powers and responsibilities are privatized and decentralized in what we could call the ‘withdrawal of the state’ (Gordon 1991). The instrumentalization of the past through modalities of neoliberal management aims, first, to “produce self-sustaining citizens free of governmental support that largely serves state goals for reduced responsibility” (Meskell 2012: 205). In other words, heritage here serves “to enroll the governed as active agents in their own governance, implanting the objectives of government into the dynamics

of selfhood so that they become self-acting imperatives for the individuals concerned” (Bennett 2004: 27). Second, these “attempt to transform culture’s liquid assets into permanent heritage capital” (2012: 208). At the micro level, the kinds of identities and memories promoted and circulated in the public sphere derive from specific forms of knowledge and expertise fostered by market and state forces. This means that the construction of heritage is carried out in close connection with the creation of market value and the development of narratives that legitimize specific political contexts.

The current framework in which heritage is studied and managed is related to the biopolitical turn in the economy and the supermodern exaggeration of the modern paradigm (Augé 2008). During modern times and in the context of industrial production, Marx concluded that capitalist production is geared not only to the creation of objects but also and more fundamentally to the creation of subjects: “production thus not only creates an object for the subject, but also a subject for the object” (1973: 92). This situation is accentuated in supermodern times, as living beings start to be considered as fixed capital and the production of forms of life is considered essential to generate surplus value. In this process, the human faculties, know-how and abilities, knowledge, emotions and affections are considered directly productive of value, not only during work time but also and mainly outside work (Marazzi 2000). This is evident in the increasing tendency to heritagize living things, whether indigenous people from South America or Oceania, or *maragato* people. In any case, the fundamental operation being performed is the displacement of the ‘others’, either temporal (towards the primitive and the traditional) or spatial (to other territories), both symbolic and material. Thus, for instance, the material realization of the cultural representation of the *maragatos* leads to the gentrification of some rural villages of Maragatería. This is what can be said on the side of the reified ‘heritage resource’. On the side of the subject of enunciation, the one who objectifies and consumes heritage, the invention of new forms of life can be associated to alternative conceptions of tourism and their relation to culture (Urry 1995a). This process must be understood in a context where the separation between the spheres of leisure and culture, culture and economy, tend to break apart (Thrift 2006). For the tourist-consumer, what is fundamental is not to acquire a material product, but rather to gain access to a life experience or a specific social relationship. That is, to a certain ‘affective atmosphere’ or ‘emotional environment’ (Lazzarato 1997), such as the ones provided by the *Camino de Santiago* or the processes of heritagization of Castrillo de los Polvazares, Val de San Lorenzo or Santiago Millas.

In this sense, both heritage practices and forms of knowledge acquisition tend to become self-fulfilling prophecies of capital expansion. Now we are in a position to understand Lazzarato’s phrase when he affirms that “what is produced is already sold – he notes – because it had previously become the object of desire” (Lipovich and Lazzarato 20/12/2010). That is, once the significance of heritage is socially recognized and there is an increasing social desire for the consumption of heritage, its immaterial value in the world tourism and investment circuits is guaranteed. Therefore, the commoditization of heritage starts from and is a result of social desire, that must be then articulated and channeled through different vectors, along of which strategies of power, forms of government and subjectivity production are articulated. Undoubtedly, the cultural and aesthetic spheres played a key role in the development and spread of forms of liberal self-government since the origins of modernity (Bennett 2004). In this sense, my research has attempted to respond to the call of Herzfeld (2001) to analyze how certain aesthetic conceptions, including the heritage ones,

take grip in real contexts through specific technologies and knowledge forms that promote the regulation of social behavior and individual self-control. This is related to the growing process of individualization of Western subjects. According to Hernando (2002), this process leads to a progressive loss of the emotional bounds with reality due to the widespread use of universal reason to account for the phenomena that surround us. Then, once the postmodern subject loses faith in universal reason, he or she tends to emphasize his own subjectivity and individual perception of the external world, seeking to reinforce his or her identity through the reconstruction of a collective identity. Heritage can provide the foundations for such a project, thus functioning as a substitute for the immanent communities that existed before the process of modernization that curtailed and uprooted them. However, as the case of Matavenero shows, reconstructing an identity based on metacultural notions can be a daunting task. Also, it is impossible to return to a supposed state of pristine and untouched 'root community' that never existed (Barchiesi 2003). Therefore, even if heritage can be used as a metacultural idea to bring together different subjectivities under relational identities in postmodern times, it is done through the mediation of reason. Consequently, the process of modernization is not overcome but rather exaggerated, that is, modern subjectivities give way to postmodern ones that resort to heritage as a form of expression.

This is so because heritage has become a fundamental vector of cultural production. Through the creation and circulation of representations and regimes of signs, heritage generates its own metaculture (Urban 2001b), that is, "notions upon which certain aspects are naturalized and defined as natural and a-cultural, while others serve to generate specific representations of certain *others*, or are marked to be our own possession" (Briones 2005b: 15). Therefore, heritage serves to sanction the aesthetic 'norms', specific standards charged of meaning that regulate what is tolerable and what is not in the social sphere. These affirmations of specific 'norms' and 'standards' are supported by huge economic and vital investments in the realm of heritage. This occurs, for instance, in places like Castrillo de los Polvazares or Santiago Millas. Probably, the excessive focus of heritage research on issues of identity and memory disregards the multiple dimensions at work in the conformation of every social sphere. According to Grossberg (1996), identity is intrinsically linked to forms of existence rooted in specific locations and geographies that determine the patterns of mobility and affiliation with other identities. However, Grossberg further points to two other fundamental vectors for heritage production. On the one hand, subjectivity and its production condition particular ways of accessing the experience of the world from specific subject positions. On the other hand, the agency refers to forms of social interaction that are neither pre-existent nor determined, but which result from specific ways of organizing the social sphere that accord privileged or subordinate positions to certain social groups. As we have seen in Maragatería and in our postindustrial societies, heritage functions as a trope that social actors use to negotiate, resist or impose new triads of identity, subjectivity and agency. According to Briones, around these three fundamental notions,

"subjects articulate their own maps of meaning, desire and pleasure, but always conditioned by specific patterns of mobility that derive from pre-existing structures of circulation and differential access to a particular set of historically and politically articulated practices. Then, emerging from the strategic interplay between lines of articulation (territorialization) and lines of flight (deterritorialization), which put in action and enable specific forms of movement (change) and stability (identity), that

structured mobility conditions and enables specific forms of agency and action. Moreover, according to Grossberg, the analysis of those lines is a fundamental site for the understanding the potential workings of agency, because they determine the types of places people can occupy, how they occupy them, how much space people have to move, and how they can move along these lines. Therefore, different forms of action and agency result not only in different distributions of cultural and economic capital, but also in the differential availability of different life paths through which these resources are made available” (2005b: 19).

We have seen that heritage can be used for many things. However, for what is it used in Maragatería? In places like Maragatería, where state governance and market strategies are only felt superficially, the heritage sector is particularly slippery and difficult to apprehend. There are no ‘central agents’ that impose their views of what heritage is and how it should work, although certain abstract machines are more powerful than others, such as the *Montañas del Teleno* E.U. funding group. Beyond the Leonese rhetoric, there are no identity struggles or constructions at work. Neither there is a large tourism sector that can lead to the trivialization of heritage assets. For most people, *patrimonio* – heritage – refers to the traditional use of the term, i.e., those reflected by the Spanish dictionaries: the properties inherited by someone. In this sense we can speak of a pre-heritage situation in transition to a postmodern conception of heritage characterized by the metacultural selection of specific items as valuable. For Prats, this dialectic occurs between places with a local heritage and those with a heritage localized through specific heritage processes (2009). Of course, this situation arises from the social complexity of an area where multiple presents, rhythms and temporalities coexist. Thus, the preindustrial communities in transition to modernity are today moving away from traditional lifestyles and the material culture associated with them. As Mahler argues, “modernity implies predictability and not living ‘under nature’, modernity is a way of generating structures and security to avoid immanence with nature, whereas through technology and economic devices postmodernity brings about flow and chaos again. How to deal with this is the problem, to characterize new societies. (2008: 62). This symbolic and material estrangement from the past, allows social actors to reify and objectively think about ‘tradition’. When individuals introduce a mediating self-reflecting consciousness between them and reality; ‘tradition’ can then become reified, something that can be recovered, exalted or enhanced by modern and supermodern heritage subjects. The different ways through which the social desire for the past will materialize and take ground in the social will lead to specific territorializations, which define new social hierarchies, the available life paths for each social actor, and the kinds of subjectivities, identities and agencies that are tolerated and supported.

These territorializations can only be understood within the dynamic tension existing between the local and the global, modernity and tradition. The traditional and the local are crucial assets as immaterial value in a postmodern global society that appraises knowledge, leisure and culture. From here, an anti-essentialist understanding of heritage implies following the Deleuzian logics of *difference* in various senses:

1. Heritage is a key driver in postindustrial economies not because it can provide any form of real identification with preindustrial communities or a return to tradition, nature or the rural. Rather, because it works in tune with the supermodern logics (Augé 2008). Supermodernity does not function through identification with any actual reality, but rather thrives in the constant search for

individual differentiation of each subject from others. The assumption of symbolic references via heritage to the worlds of each subject fulfils this task perfectly: my house is not something that I really inherited, or the result of some form of functional criteria related with modernity. Rather, it is the symbolic representation and the individual affirmation of a specific *mode of existence* that represents some values. The supermodern identity replaces the direct relationship between individuals with metaphorical and symbolic affiliations that endow meanings to different heritage assets and places. These territorializations articulated the symbolic landscape where they live and that they share with other members of the society (and no longer of the community, as we will see below). Thus, the modern is not only a condition of disenchantment as Weber diagnosed. For Grossberg (1996), the modern ethos goes beyond the establishment of differences with and from the others, to embrace a *constant difference from itself*, both temporally and spatially. That is, “the modern constitutes not identity out of difference but difference out of identity. The modern never constitutes itself as an identity (different from others) but as a difference (always different from itself-across time and space). In this sense, the fundamental structures of modernity are always productions of difference” (Grossberg 1996: 93). Consequently, the heritage machine enacts constant *homogenizations through difference* in villages such as Valdespino, Lagunas, Castrillo, Santiago Millas or Val de San Lorenzo. Far from recovering any sort of communitarian ethos in material or symbolic terms, these heritage processes employ the visual economy of the village to convey certain values and meanings of individualized subjects. That is, to *construct something new* and to invest energy, emotions and money in the effort. These interventions result in a shattering of *community* and the establishment of a *society*, and micro-societies, such as the one formed in Santaigo Millas to safeguard the interests of a privileged group. Heritage works here as a vector and a substance to articulate this claims, while at the same time creating and nurturing the affective environment where interactions take place in society. Therefore, heritage serves to establish new power relations based on symbolic and mnemonic expressions, which prevent the resolution of matters of concern for the community in the field of local politics. From this standpoint, heritage works in tune with post-politics, where affective and symbolic interventions in the social sphere to impose patterns of behavior, taste, value and lifestyle that confer hegemonic positions and privilege the agency of certain social actors.

2. Heritage, like tradition, is a slippery concept that escapes bounded definitions. It is a constructed and dynamic reality, which can be modulated according to factors external to the heritage objects that constitute it through the establishment of relations external to their terms. That is, heritage is an assemblage in the sense that it can only exist inscribed in relational networks of value, knowledge and leisure that sustain its immaterial values and its capacity to convey identities and memories. Therefore, heritage can exist as an object, a discourse or a practice, without actually permeating or having a real existence in the social sphere. Only when a wide array of externalities and agencies of multiple subjects converge, the existence of heritage is made possible as a relevant vector within the public sphere. For instance, a postindustrial economy and a welfare state are necessary to sustain the intermingling between the realms of culture and leisure. In addition, the existence of a highly educated population with leisure time and purchasing power, bureaucratic institutions capable of administering and managing metacultural notions and using them for the reproduction of the State system, and entrepreneurs who can take advantage of the situation and capture the values produced by the political economies of heritage. These assemblages emerge at

different scales, but all them tend to coalesce in the global hierarchies of heritage value (Herzfeld 2004) through value equalization mechanisms promoted by institutions like UNESCO, which in turn allow local actors to link with global discourses and vice versa

Nonetheless, all these processes function at a low intensity in Maragatería. Consequently, the strength of heritagization processes is equally low. However, it is precisely this low intensity and the almost complete absence of ‘strong agencies’ (institutional or entrepreneurial) that gives great interest to Maragatería as field for heritage research. This is so because the territorializations that occur have a local character and reflect the multiplicity of converging interests and tensions between different social actors. Also, it shows that heritage processes can take many meanings and forms far from global institutional and academic heritage discourses and market values. My research has sought to understand the variable consequences of heritagization processes in the different cases of study, focusing in the potential relations between these local actualizations and other scales. For instance, the global Universalist heritage practices and discourses, the national Spanish context of economic crisis, real estate bubble and expansion of the middle classes and the second residence phenomenon, and finally the regional (Castile and León) and provincial (León) frameworks where identity building processes take place and the rural development programs are implemented.

The cases of study have explored this interplay between modernity and tradition and between the two abstract conceptions of heritage as an immanent bounded relation and heritage as a transcendental metacultural selection of valuable features. All the cases evince the importance of non-linear causality and complex emergence in the processes of development and enacting of heritage discourses and practices, and their consequences for the reorganization of the social sphere and power relations. Thus, the issue of ‘the *maragato*’ culture has manifold implications. For instance, the social construction of a cultural representation of the *maragato* difference during modernity has been reinterpreted in supermodernity as a ‘valuable heritage’, because difference creates scarcity and value (Rullani and Stefano 1997). Therefore, we have moved from the social construction of cultural representation to the attempt by social actors to materialize these representations in reality, by the construction of houses that try to imitate *maragato* architecture or the revitalization of *maragato* music and dress. Heritage has become, more than ever, a discourse with material consequences (Smith 2006). Similarly, the distribution of agencies and subjectivities derived from this process relegates the *paisanos* to a subaltern position within the political economies of the village. They are reified and classified by academics, folklorists and institutions as entities that represent something – tradition, the past, the roots, and so on. Furthermore, they do not join the metacultural discourse of heritage (metaphorical – the objects refer and establish a relation with the outside of the object), but rather live culturally (metonymically – relationships are enclosed within objects) *in the* heritage. That is, what heritage subjects represent and classify as primitive, archaic and worth recovering, is precisely the world where other social group dwells and gives meaning to its life experience. This results in a separation between the ‘self’ that classifies and establishes hierarchies and the ‘other’ that is being classified. As Grossberg (1996) argues, the modern identity is sublimated precisely in the establishment of temporal differences. From this situation different inequalities emerge, the most fundamental being the opposition of the rural to the urban, and the equation of the former with ‘primitive’ or ‘archaic’, and the second with ‘modernity’ and ‘progress’. The supermodern goes beyond this dichotomy and exaggerates it. Supermodern

people assume schizophrenic or bipolar life paths whereby they try to live the best of both worlds, or at least to be symbolically linked with them through heritage. Thus, they bring the urban mindsets and behaviors to the rural, while at the same time adapting to local aesthetics formally, in a subtle identification with the values of the rural without actually inhabiting it.

It is clear then that cultural representations of difference are used to gain value and rearticulate the social sphere. However, they are also suitable for identity building purposes and the support of nation-building narratives. For instance, once it has been reified, the *paisano* can be considered as the ultimate essence and bearer of the identity of the Leonese imagined community. In this regard, heritage serves to impose a form of colonization of the ‘internal others’ (Ramos 2005), those subjects that do not fit the standards of mainstream model subject. As Adorno argued, these cultural processes serve to recode difference and homogenize it. What makes this process totalitarian is that “recoding negatively defines the organization of the social field” (Parr 2008: 77). Thus, heritage is a fundamental device in the process that reifies, segments and rearticulates the immanent realities in communities to impose novel negations, languages and repressions. At the same time, this novel configuration leaves behind “the non-said, specters and abnormalities ... traces of violence ... in the plane of the invisible, inaudible and unpronounceable” (Haber 2011c: 20). What remains as invisible, inaudible and unpronounceable is the actual alterity of the subjects studied and their impossible incorporation into the current social sphere. The coloniality of power leaves unwanted subjects two options: the museum or extinction. Sadly, we are witnessing this process with the preindustrial vernacular cultures of northwestern Spain, their forms of property, social organization and interrelation.

The friction between culture and metaculture remains in a constant tension between the immanent and transcendent realms. For instance, in the case of the ‘immanent heritage meshworks’ such as the *maragato* fiestas or in Matavenero, heritage is still relationally connected with the community and its rituals. Conversely, in Val de San Lorenzo or Santiago Millas, heritage has been deterritorialized and extricated from the community as metaculture, in a process based on external categories and judgments. In Prada de la Sierra, the *Camino de Santiago* or the Military Range of the Teleno Mountain, heritage serves to negotiate power positions and authority. Social actors use it to make symbolic claims in the realm of sociopolitical debates and struggles. For instance, my case study shows how all social actors involved in the conflict, from ecologists to the Ministry of Defense, have moved from the political struggles of the 1980s and 1990s to negotiate conflict in the symbolic realm of metaculture and heritage. Those against the Range do not use political but post-political arguments: the Range is not negative in itself, for its material damages and human victims, or for representing the military branch of the State apparatus in the area. Rather, what matters is that it is damaging a natural and cultural heritage in the Teleno Mountain. Meanwhile, the military and the state apparatus employed the modern power-knowledge assemblage to attempt to construct the Range as an ideal device for the protection of heritage, and especially natural heritage. This leads to a dehumanization of the political realm and a shift towards heritage discourse, alongside with a growing transfer of heritage qualities and characteristics to human beings, in what Castrillo Ruiz has called the “heritagization of man” (2007). In other words, once the heritage discursive field becomes hegemonic, what matters is the metacultural relation between individuals and a specific heritage, either in the Military Range of the Teleno Mountain or in South American indigenous communities (see Montenegro 2010). Thus, it becomes a stronger argument against the Range to

affirm that it destroys heritage than the fact that people have died and others are at risk nowadays. The transfer of the struggles for territories and political agency to the heritage realm implies a loss of agency for the people and the community, for the sake of a conception of politics as ‘management’ of a society constituted by supposedly free, autonomous and self-reflective individuals, which leaves aside fundamental issues that are relevant for people. Academic forms of knowledge production and their positioning as researchers in the field contribute to this state of affairs

2. How and why Studying Heritage? On how to Combine Methodology and Theory.

“Herein, perhaps, lies the secret: to bring into existence and not to judge. If it is so disgusting to judge, it is not because everything is of equal value, but on the contrary because what has value can be made or distinguished only by defying judgment. What expert judgment, in art, could ever bear on the work to come? It is not a question of judging other existing beings, but of sensing whether they agree or disagree with us, that is, whether they bring forces to us, or whether they return us to the miseries of war, to the poverty of the dream, to the rigors of organization” (Deleuze 1997: 135).

“Popular culture is one of the sites where this struggle for and against a culture of the powerful is engaged: it is also the stake to be won or lost in that struggle. It is the arena of consent and resistance. It is partly where hegemony arises and where it is secured. It is not a sphere where socialism, a socialist culture-already fully formed- might be simply expressed. But it is one of the places where socialism might be constituted. That is why popular culture matters. Otherwise, to tell you the truth, I don’t give a damn about it” (Hall 1981: 239).

The will to know derives from the modern break that causes a separation between the human and non-human realms and the creation of all the dichotomies assumed and reproduced by modern Western science: body/mind, nature/culture, us/them, etc. The ability to rationally objectify the external reality and to account for the laws and mechanisms that explain its functioning leads subjects to attain a ‘disembodied reason’ (Herzfeld 1997), a reflexive awareness of their existence and emotions. However, the modern subject also “needs to redefine himself objectively, including himself in all the conceptual networks that can explain the foundations of the new subject of modernity: what is his language (Philology, Grammar), where does he come from in time (History), how the others differ from him (Anthropology), how functions his individual behavior (Psychology), social behavior (Sociology), economic relations (Economy) and his distant past (Archaeology)” (Hernando Gonzalo 2002: 19). Also, continues Hernando, as the individualization of modern subjects increases and their rational explanatory models gain accuracy, there is an increasing emotional detachment from the world. The supermodern or postmodern ethos represents an attempt to rebalance this emotional rupture and loss of emotion and bounded attachment to the real. However, what is not lost is the will to knowledge-power, controlling the social field and explaining its phenomena. “We only control what we understand, and it is precisely

because society has achieved a certain degree of socio-economic complexity that it is possible for technical specialists to emerge that allow us to control the world and of theoretical models that enable us to image the functioning of its dynamics” (Hernando Gonzalo, 2002: 19). Therefore, as is well known after Foucault, knowledge is necessary to impose novel transcendental models that serve to order what has been understood and explained. From here, two basic images of heritage as a field of study arise. The first can be defined as ‘official’ or ‘colonial’ and has two versions, the positivist and the critical. The second is a ‘minor’ or ‘decolonial’ science of heritage. Each of them has different assumptions and ideas concerning truth, knowledge and the ultimate aims of research.

a) The ‘Official’ or ‘Colonial’ Heritage Studies.

Official or colonial heritage studies share an understanding of knowledge based on the models provided by positive science. In brief, the main objective is to establish regimes of truth through appropriate epistemologies that enable the researcher to attain a correspondence between the observed phenomena and the theoretical representations made of them. In other words, gathering ‘knowledge’ is a process of establishing ever more accurate representations that explain or imagine the phenomena of the real world and that implies a clear-cut separation between reality and researcher. There is a subject of enunciation and a subject of statement, the latter being “bound to statements in conformity with a dominant reality” (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 142). Therefore, this standpoint affirms the existence of a static and truthful external world, a given empirical reality where social realities take place. This betrays the immanence of the world because it assumes homogeneity and permanence as transcendental foundations that guarantee the stable identity of what we know, and of ‘us’ as knowing subjects (Zourabichvili et al. 2004: 19). Accordingly, research is the outcome of the application of concepts extrinsic to the subject matter of investigation. We know beforehand what social relations are, or cognition, kinship, religion, family, politics, heritage, etc. and our aim is to explore how these realities take shape and function in ethnographic contexts (Viveiros de Castro 2003: 7-8). With Winter (2011), we have seen how the market and the state promote specific forms of heritage expertise and knowledge according to hegemonic needs. Thus, heritage research here comes down to what Nietzsche (1983) defined as the task of the antiquarian. That is, the ultimate aim of heritage research is the preservation of certain objects to which hegemonic social actors accord specific values.

There are several ways by which the knowledge produced by archaeologists, anthropologists and researchers can channel the overabundance of capital to the expansion of the colonial border through the creation of new commodities and regimes of value (Haber 2011c). ‘Colonial’ stands here for ‘coloniality’, a process that goes well beyond the traditional forms of colonialism. This concept developed by Peruvian sociologist Anibal Quijano (1980; 1990; 2007) refers to an operation of power that naturalizes territorial, racial, cultural and epistemic hierarchies, enabling the reproduction of relations of domination. The coloniality of power does not only guarantee the worldwide exploitation of human beings by capital, but also the subalternization and obliteration of the knowledge, lifestyle and experiences of those who are being dominated and exploited (Restrepo and Rojas Martínez 2010). These expansions find today a privileged vector of expansion in the heritage machine, but are also anchored in traditional disciplinary boundaries and their operations. These disciplines can open up new vectors of consumption by releasing land for urban projects,

extracting knowledge about plants and animals from indigenous communities or promoting them for tourism consumption of their exoticism and otherness, using anthropological knowledge to facilitate the intervention in conflicts for the expropriation of common lands for mining or energy producing projects, or creating aesthetic narrations that sanitize certain social groups, their landscapes and materiality for consumption. The sciences are then “turned from endeavors in search of knowledge, to technologies that facilitate the opening up and expansion of new markets” (Haber 2011c: 15). These strategies are reflected in the search to preserve certain valuable elements as the ultimate aim of research, in a typically institutional approach. Also and more fundamentally, academic efforts are geared to the expansion and ‘unveiling’ of new potential heritages: the industrial, the intangible, the oral, the performative, and so on. Subsequently, the researcher tries to define, segment and classify these elements into close-cut categories. Curiously enough, this drive towards the expansion of the conceptual boundaries of heritage reflects and measures the distance that a certain society and its subjects have generated between subject and object, culture and metaculture., enabling them to reify culture and reality and accord a metacultural value to it. Thus, a mining pit, the remnants of a nuclear missile bunker in Cuba, or the common law of a community, can become heritage once they are extricated from contexts of real social interaction and negotiation. Likewise, the heritagization of man (Castillo Ruiz 2007) is made possible by the growing gap between our postindustrial societies and the multiple ‘others’, traditionally located ‘out there’ both spatially and temporally. Therefore, this sort of research reproduces the old antagonisms of class, gender, and race that make possible the existence of the power-knowledge assemblage as such.

Another option within the official research framework is to develop a critical strand of research. This sort of investigation shares the ontological and epistemological principles of positive science, yet it differs in its objectives: the aim is to not only preserve heritage entities or expand the colonial and market borders, but rather to critically explore and deconstruct heritagization processes that occur ‘out there’. Critical knowledge appears strongly in heritage ethnographies or historic studies of heritagization processes, that unveil the implicit inequalities and hierarchizations that they cause and how they reproduce class, gender or ethnic antagonisms, whether they are carried out by market or state forces. A more simplistic sort of critique, a sort of ‘romantic’ or ‘folkloristic’ criticism, presupposes that was a pristine moment and reality before the actual commoditization of heritage. That is, it assumes that heritagization processes corrupt the authenticity and purity previously embodied by heritage entities. However, more complex critical studies account for the social construction of heritage, revealing the injustices inherent to the process, and deconstruct the myth of heritage authenticity (Andrews 2010; Lowenthal 1996; Uzzell 2009). In addition, they fulfill the task that has been considered fundamental in the critical tradition derived from the Enlightenment, i.e., providing alternative narratives and regimes of truth to counter official discourses and open up novel spheres of criticism and debate (see for instance the critical ethnographies of Andrews 2010; Breglia 2006; De Cesari 2009; Herzfeld 2010). Consequently, ‘alternative heritages’ emerge of women, working classes, ethnic or racial minorities, etc. However, we must keep in mind that this sort of rational knowledge about the world still imposes the modern break between subject of enunciation and subject of the statement, between researcher and reality. Therefore, it carries on expanding the rupture between the immanent practices situated in communities and the transcendental knowledge acquisition practices. Paradoxically, this form of

knowledge creates new heritages and can lead to the consideration of diversity as a market value (Segato 1998; Žižek 2001). That is, it leads local communities to respond in terms of heritage to the attempts to heritagize their knowledge and traditions (see Montenegro 2010) on the basis of foreign notions and knowledge related to heritage and copyright discourses, being therefore at “risk of accepting to transform their spirituality into a commodity” (Briones 2005b: 13).

Thus, the colonial border is expanded when we place the social antagonisms ‘out there’, and consider the researcher to be a ‘privileged spectator’ of the outside, who observes, documents, criticizes and, maybe, takes a discursive stance in the antagonisms he is exploring. This standpoint contributes to the colonial violence, both internal (e.g. rural peasants) and external (e.g. indigenous communities). This violence seeks to “name the different parts of reality (objectify), sever their relations (repression), and insert them in new networks of relationships (administration)... that is why language, subjectivity and the law are at the core of the commitment to violence: they enunciate, construct and normalize the land, life, the dead and history” (Haber 2011c: 20). A critical stance involves assuming a position in favor of one of the sides in the conflicts around heritagization processes, whether against commoditization, market values or the imposition of ethnic, gender or racial categories or specific territorializations by the state. However, even if a critical stance overtly supports one of the sides of the social antagonisms, it does not overcome the growing objectivation of the subjects and processes under study because it has created a distance from them. As Grosso affirms, if we are to bridge that distance it is necessary to “inhabit the difference” (2010). In case this is not done, both the positivist and critical strands of heritage studies will carry on exploring, expanding and constructing the world in a certain fashion, inoculating Western epistemologies and their inherent beliefs wherever they go. This implies affirming “the linearity of time as a vector, social anthropocentrism, the dimensional expansion of space, the primacy of the visual in the perception of the world, the privileging of reason to access knowledge, the separation between social relations and knowledge relations, etc... All them result in a fundamental break, which becomes a constitutive part of the world they seek to know, and define themselves in relation to the assumption of that rupture. The existence of that rupture in the objective world is, then, situated beyond the nature of the world, it is already encoded in the instruments with which the world is known. Therefore, the rupture shifts from being epistemic to be metaphysic” (Haber 2011c: 30).

Thus, it is essential to note that social antagonisms are not ‘out there’ to be documented or criticized. We, as researchers, are involved in the antagonist relations that articulate certain power relations and constitute ourselves as researchers. This generates a ‘research schizophrenia’ because the position of the researched is transcendently and abstractedly located in a God-eye position beyond the studied reality, *out there*, while in reality the researcher is *in here*, in immanent relation with the field under study. To avoid this schizophrenic derivation, it is necessary to establish relations with those subjects and objects under study and account for how social dynamics constitute ourselves as researchers (Haber 2009). This is so because, according to Winter (2010), the dominant forms of heritage knowledge production are not the result of a higher epistemological accuracy or a better explanatory power, but rather the outcome of the support provided by the State apparatus or the market forces to those same forms of heritage knowledge. That is, specific forms of heritage knowledge are privileged because they provide narrations suitable for nation building purposes or facilitate the reproduction of capital. In this context, the hermeneutic revelation of

hidden truths, the deconstruction of the inequalities and injustices inherent to hegemonic discourses, or the generation of alternative narratives that critical standpoints traditionally produce (see González-Ruibal 2008), only superficially challenge the redistributions of power-knowledge, economic positions and agency that the political economies of cultural and heritage production articulate in the social field. Critical viewpoints can contribute to evolving the internal codes of the discipline, its methodologies and theories, but ultimately remains an exercise of scientific, cultural and academic capital accumulation (sensu Bourdieu 1986) that is far from questioning the ‘glocal’ unequal power-geometries (sensu Massey 1999) that the heritage discourse and heritage scholarship contribute to reproduce.

In a way, the stagnation of critical and positivist ‘official’ heritage studies derives from the assumption of the linguistic turn and the interpretive and deconstructive paradigms. Thus, a critical heritage research might limit its scope to the interpretation and criticism of heritage processes as texts in relation with other texts, academic, legislative, etc. Then, in order to develop a conception of heritage studies understood as ontological production and politics (sensu Mol 1999), it is a key issue to explore the ways to ‘step out of the text’ and the real world consequences that the text has. I concur with Deleuze when he affirms that “a text is merely a small piece within extra-textual practices. The question then is not commenting on the text through a deconstructive method, or through a method of textual practice, or by other methods, the key issue is to explore what use has in the inter-textual practices in which the text continues and prolongs itself” (Centre culturel international de Cerisy-La-Salle 1973: 86-87). Where are the continuations or prolongations of the epistemological heritage texts leading us? The official positivist texts extend not only in the academic networks but also continue in the actual heritagization processes. That is, they have real influence and effect material processes by providing the necessary ‘matter’ to articulate, shape and legitimize with scientific knowledge those same processes that support their knowledge practices. The official critical texts expand in academic networks to gather academic capital, with a rather feeble impact in real contexts, as they are not favored by the State apparatus or by the market. Part of the critical endeavors in the field of heritage can be equated with the figure of the postmodern ironist as described by Rorty (1989) or Žižek (1989). For them, the ironist represents the paramount conservative stance, since it embraces relativism and stands back to observe what the others are doing to criticize them, without producing anything new or transforming the existing social field and its constitutive relationships.

To conclude, we can consider with Deleuze that this sort of ‘official’ research is moralistic and transcendent, in contrast to the immanent and ethical proposal I am trying to set out. Official heritage studies, seek to define a set of ‘constraining’ rules, such as a moral code, that consists “in judging actions and intentions by relating them to transcendent or universal values – authenticity is good, commoditization is evil, etc. (Smith and Deleuze 1997). This situation is given by the subject position of the researcher in *the* outside and above, that enables him to aseptically judge and support one side or another of the antagonisms objectively identified in the social field. Rorty sets out a somewhat similar opposition. For him, the metaphysician “takes the morally relevant feature of other human beings to be their relation to a larger shared power — rationality, God, truth, or history, for example” (Rorty 1989: 91). Thus, Rorty continues, the role of the intellectual “is to preserve and defend liberalism by backing it up with some true propositions about large subjects” (1989: 93). Such transcendental and moralistic critique is evident the British authors who mounted

an attack on the development of the heritage industry in their country (i.e. Hewison 1987; Samuel 1989). Conversely, an ethical research does not seek to judge, but rather “to increase our skill at recognizing and describing the different sorts of little things around which individuals or communities center their fantasies and their lives” (Rorty, 1989: 93). That is, it does not strive to set some rules that stabilize and constrain the field of study, but rather provide a “set of ‘facilitative’ (facultative) rules that evaluates what we do, say, think, and feel according to the immanent mode of existence it implies. One says or does this, thinks or feels that: what mode of existence does it imply?” (Smith and Deleuze 1997: xiv). What mode of existence does the heritagization of Prada de la Sierra, Santiago Millas, or the *Camino de Santiago* imply?

Then, is there an alternative to the reproduction of present states of affairs and the mere critical account of heritagization processes from privileged positions? Perhaps the starting point for such an alternative is to start conceiving our research as a situated practice, in close contact with the modes of existence of situated communities, rather than as a contribution to a global discourse that we call heritage. As the discipline of heritage studies constructs and reproduces this notion of heritage, that conceives it as a universal entity, and deterritorializes it from its material realities and contexts in communities, the political charge of the process is obliterated and then it becomes possible to study it ‘objectively’. In other words, studying heritage becomes a task of transcendental judgment in connection with certain universal values rather than an immanent assessment of situated modes of existence.

b) The ‘Minor’ or ‘Decolonial’ Heritage Studies.

This strategy of heritage knowledge production is related to what Latour (2004) has called the principle of symmetry. This implies that forms of academic knowledge acquisition pathways should be conceptually of the same kind of those employed by the subjects being investigated (Viveiros de Castro 2003). This deleuzian conception of scientific knowledge assumes the creative and productive character of scientific knowledge. Knowledge does not serve to create metaphors about the world but is itself added to the world (Law 2004a). Thus, the objective of research is “to work on presenting the world, not on representing it, or explaining it. Our understanding of non-representation theory is that it is characterized by a firm belief in the actuality of representations. It does not approach representations as masks, gazes, reflections, veils, dreams, ideologies, as anything that is laid over the ontic (life and its meanings). Non-representational theory takes representation seriously... not as a code to be broken or as illusion ... rather apprehended as performative in themselves, as doings” (Dewsbury et al. 2002: 437).

Of course, the context of breakage between reality and epistemological representation is not solely a problem of heritage studies, but rather reflects a conceptual gap in the social sciences between a supposedly objective and a-signifying world “upon which science reports and the ‘meaningful’ realms of human existence with which social theory or the humanities deal” (Halewood 2005: 2). Consequently, the social sciences and the humanities struggle to deal with the materiality of things and the subjectivity of individuals. Furthermore, as Halewood affirms, “sociologists may have succeeded in the important task of uncovering the political and ideological dimensions of gender but, as has been recently pointed out, this still seems to leave biological ‘sex’ firmly in the control of the ‘real’ sciences” (Halewood 2005: 3). A similar situation occurs in

the field of heritage studies, where researchers have explored, unveiled and criticized the manifold contentious issues traversing the field of heritage and its injustices, power inequalities or the consequences of commoditization and gentrification. Nonetheless, as with the issue of gender reported by Halewood, these criticisms do not prevent or challenge in any form the increasing intensity and extension of heritagization processes and their growing superficiality and open mercantilist character under strict bureaucratic control. If we want heritage research to have some influence in the world, outside the text and the academic networks of epistemological knowledge production, we should conceive of research as a directly ontological task and, consequently, inherently political. This is so because everything that is added to the world contributes to shaping and articulating it in one way or another. As Grossberg points out, “just as cultural practices are no longer to be taken as merely representational but rather as productive, so the analysis itself must be seen as not merely reconstructing the context but as actively producing or fabricating it, as empowering the practice within the context of its own analysis” (1997: 9).

We find parallels here with the works of Haber and his ‘antagonistic cartography’, which “describes the ways in which, immanently to the investigation, the antagonistic, social and epistemic relations intermingle and condition the position from which research is carried out. The setting of the research is at the crossroads between both types of relations, and it is there that the antagonistic cartography allows us to situate the investigation. Social scientists seem much better equipped to identify the antagonisms in the objective world than to identify themselves within the antagonistic relations from their position as researchers, that is, in their situation as identifiers of antagonisms in the objective world” (Haber 2011c: 21, italics mine). ‘Official’ heritage studies aim at identifying antagonisms on the outside, to criticize them, or to discursively support one ideological position located on one side of the antagonisms, without ever involving or situating themselves within the reality under study. As we have seen earlier, this position involves enunciating a transcendental judgment from the dominant position that the research setting confers. However, we concur with Grossberg when he argues that the study of heritage and culture “is not a question of judging people so much as it is of trying to describe how their everyday lives are articulated by and with popular culture, how they are empowered and disempowered by the particular structures and forces that organize, always in contradictory ways, their lives, and how their everyday lives are themselves articulated to and by the trajectories of economic and political power” (1997: 5).

In this regard, it is necessary to take into account Latour’s advice (2005c) to avoid considering that the task of social researchers is to transcend the social field and the social actors under analysis and pretend that the researcher knows more than social actors themselves. In fact, this is rarely the case. Therefore, it is problematic to claim that we, as researchers, are unveiling truths, ideologies or hidden meanings, or providing all encompassing explanations and interpretations of highly complex processes. Thus, in order to attempt to shorten the gap between researcher and researched, I have tried to follow a Deleuzian epistemology. Gallego defines a Deleuzian epistemology not as pure *praxis* or *teoresis* but rather *poiesis*: a production process halfway between practice and theory (2011). Therefore, scientific reflection does not imply a pure immersion in the *praxis* of heritage management or exclusively the search of accurate epistemological correspondences between scientific metaphors and reality. It implies, in short, to

problematize specific situations and heritagization processes in their multiple dimensions, virtual and actual, and the frictions that arise from this dynamic in reality.

The outcomes of scientific research should then be problematic rather than hypothetical – a set of legitimate beliefs – or nomological – a system of universal laws (Gallego 2011). Likewise, the researcher should not seek deduction, that is, making explicit what is already known, such as the role of state or market forces in heritagization processes. Neither should he seek induction, or the generalization of the results from a specific case, as if my research in Maragatería were contributing to some sort of universal knowledge about what its heritage and its dynamics. The knowledge to be produced should be abductive or retroductive, which means that it should be partial and situated in specific local contexts of reference (Toscano 2006). This locally situated knowledge opens the door to practical interventions in heritage management. While almost all knowledge facilitates the intervention of hegemonic social actors in the social, the abductive knowledge produced in my research is hardly useful to underpin institutional practices, nationalist-regionalist discourses or market commoditization. Contrarily, it accords an ontological status to the ‘minor logics’ that operate in the area, giving consistency to the heterotopy that characterizes Maragatería and its multiple presents and ontological realities. Therefore, it serves to make sense of the manifold and unexpected alliances and connections established between different social actors following the logic of difference rather than of identity. Peasants and hippies inhabit different ontological realities but similar forms of relating with the environment bound them.

The presence and expansion of the ‘heritage machine’ conditions this social field. The operations of the heritage machine create new material contexts and articulations of the social that define what behaviors, identities and subjectivities are ‘legitimate’. In other words, it establishes a new symbolic landscape, a new regime of truth and a novel material organization of reality. As my cases of study show, the workings of the heritage machine overcome the scope of disciplinary modern strategies deployed by ‘central agencies’ like the state as described by Foucault (1977). The heritage machine is adapted to an era of control rather than discipline (Deleuze 1992). What matters here is not to legitimize national narratives or to devise new forms of governing the population (although it contributes to this end), but rather to work in tune with postindustrial economies. Those are characterized by high levels of complexity, speed and change. Far from seeking to discipline and order the social sphere; they aim at establishing a ‘controlled chaos’. The heritage discourse and the heritage sector thrive in the interactions between the multiple presents, speeds and dimensions that exist in a global market where value emerges from the friction between these various ontological dimensions. Thus, what is here a local tradition associated with slow rhythms of life, archaism and poverty, is there an object of consumption as something exotic, different and exciting, which represents the values of sustainability, socio-ecological balance and connection with the land. The heritage machine does not resort to transcendent universal values but rather works to produce value in the immanent assessments of heritage values and affirmations of specific modes of existence carried out by social actors in the global village. These processes occur in Santiago Millas or Val de San Lorenzo with the supermodern interventions in the heritage realm, but also in the *Camino de Santiago* or Matavenero when a foreigner decides to settle down and live in Maragatería because it embodies the values he or she espouses.

The heritage machine does not produce ‘objects’ anymore. What matters today is the generation of affective-emotional environments within which certain objects are inserted and

charged with meaning and value in relation with concepts such as memory, identity, authenticity or purity. These concepts are not the cause or the outcome of the heritage machine. Rather, they should be understood as co-constitutive of it, as there is no intrinsic relation between identity, memory and heritage. The heritage machine articulates the social field in ways that favor the emergence of specific forms of identity and heritage in a constant interplay between local situations and global contexts. Thus, the heritage machine conditions the agency and subject position of different individuals, functioning as an attractor bodies and people tend towards, within a biopolitical turn of the economy and a metacultural shift in the cultural realm (Urban, 2001). The machine structures the ways subjects can change or stabilize around certain identities, defining “certain formations of practices as the possible sites of individual investments, sites at which subjects and identities are constructed. It defines the vectors by which people and practices can or cannot move between, and connect, such investments” (Grossberg 1997: 15). In this sense, the heritage machine encourages a form of contemporary conservatism at the ideological and vital levels, as it is sustained and underpinned by certain modes of existence that enable its reproduction. Those are the heritage subjectivities, ultimate representatives of the contemporary process of individualization. During the 1960s, Lacan already envisaged a return to the principles of ethnicity and nationalism, “linking the rise of racism to the process of universalization” (S. Žižek, 1992: 99). The widespread of universal reason has led to an overall loss of rootedness and the sense of belonging and membership to communities. However, rather than a return to nationalism and wider imagined communities, the heritage machine fosters the construction of ever more individualized identities *through* symbolic and metacultural associations established via heritage. The ownership, construction, manipulation and display of heritage is conceived as a vital and individual investment to mark the differences with others. This is evinced in the various forms of relating and symbolically playing with the past, constructing or restoring *maragato* houses, displaying agricultural tools, or reifying the peasants as knowledge objects for political purposes.

In this sense, the heritage machine furthers the split of local communities and their immanent relations. This process is intrinsically related with the establishment of liberal democracies and their peculiar way of understanding freedom on an individual basis. Since the dawn of the Renaissance, to modernize implies a “deep uprooting of human beings from their local culture, family, gender... in fact, we automatically call ‘backwardness’, if not tyranny, to everything that smacks of community” (Castro Rey 16/11/2006). Modernity segments the traditional opposition between *Gesellschaft* (society as an external gathering of atomized individuals with a specific goal) and *Gemeinschaft* (a community bounded by organic links without any specific goal where face-to-face and spiritual relations prevail), prioritizing the imposition of the former. Furthermore, modernity establishes a clear-cut dichotomy between the public and the private realms, which gradually obliterate the common and take over the social space previously occupied by the community. Then, society attributes itself the right to embody ‘transparency’ and equate it with the public realm, leaving ‘intimacy’ to the private sphere. Meanwhile, the common and community are considered ‘opaque’ (Castro Rey 16/11/2006). We have seen in the case of the *Juntas Vecinales*, which the Spanish government is trying to abolish on the grounds that they are “opaque” and “obsolete” (Cachafeiro 14/07/2012). Nevertheless, it is important to clarify here that it would be deceiving to argue that only capitalist and liberal logics enacted the obliteration of communities. In fact, “the liberal metaphysics of privacy and the socialist metaphysics of collectivism are parallel trends”

(Castro Rey 16/11/2006). The states living under the so-called real or existing socialism imposed the social over the common, shattering communities (peasant, familial or religious) and accelerating the pace of life. In fact, the slogan of the Russian revolution was for a while ‘Electrification plus Soviets’, while the Cultural Chinese Revolution represented an attempt to abandon the past and embrace the ‘new culture’ (Castro Rey 16/11/2006). These modernizing processes gradually separated specific realms of communities from one another: this is nature and that is culture, economy or culture, religion or science, etc. This becomes clear in the constant process of delinking of rural communities in Maragatería from their forests, the analysis of *maragato fiestas* by anthropologists that compartmentalize those into separated fields, or the social construction of cultural representations of ‘peasants’ and *maragatos*, among others.

The permanent deterritorialization of communities and the common is exacerbated during supermodernity. The heritage machine performs a deepening of the individualization process by which subjects do not gather any more in communities, but rather live their individual solitudes in shared temporalities and spaces. Likewise, the heritage machine operates transversally, traversing the modern dualisms of nature and culture, soul and body, to reorganize production so as to generate isolated individuals surrounded by chaos and complexity, and not anymore to impose any sort of discipline or modern-derived governance framework. This is evinced by the evolution of the materiality in *maragato* villages. In modern times, the communitarian ethos that had prevailed hitherto was broken. Consequently, the almost complete formal homogeneity of architectural patterns in the buildings of the village was disrupted, resulting in the sprouting of modern buildings and materials (use of bricks, concrete, metal or plastic elements as signs of distinction, wealth, and modernity). In turn, the supermodern heritage machine implied an exaggeration of modernity: it was not enough to differ from tradition anymore. The aim now is now to establish a disjunctive connection with the past and tradition. That is, a symbolic connection with tradition not in order to reinstate community and affirm a communitarian ethos, but rather to assert an individual *identity from and through difference*. Villages like Santiago Millas reflect those multiple presents in their materiality. Preindustrial homogenous buildings stand side to side with large supermodern buildings, whose unity lies precisely in the repetition of a certain difference, or a *ritornello* in Deleuzian terminology. That is, each supermodern house is different from the others, but all they share the will to ‘play’ with traditional and past elements, to talk the same language of heritage that enblames multiple individual solitudes to partake in a metacultural discursive field. Therefore, supermodernity breaks with modernity and the functional relation with reality, and moves to the symbolic field, thus curtailing the immanent relations through which the relational premodern identities are constituted (Hernando Gonzalo, 2002).

Clearly, these devices that serve to reinforce distinction are resources for reproducing difference, inequality and hegemony. First, this process must be framed in a context where certain elites attempt to expand their markets and affective environments to legitimize their hegemony, but in the same process these modernizing forces “need to persuade their addressees that – at the same time that they are renewing society – they are prolonging shared traditions. Given that they claim to include all sectors of society, modern projects appropriate historical goods and popular traditions” (García Canclini 1995b: 107). Moreover, as we explored in the case of Santiago Millas, this appropriation is presented under the guise of an enlightenment project of diffusion of education, knowledge and culture that aims to reinforce participation and awareness of artistic and aesthetic

categories. However, of course, “at the same time that mass distribution of select art is a socializing action, it also is a procedure for securing the distinction of those who are familiar with it, those who are capable of separating form and function, those who know how to use the museum” (García Canclini 1995b: 104). Ultimately, this is a process of deterritorialization and reterritorialization, or deassembling and reassembling cultures and societies to set them in tune with new capitalist developments:

“In order to integrate the popular classes in to the process of capitalist development, the dominant classes destructure ethnic, class, and national cultures through a series of different processes—all of them, though, subject to a common logic—and reorganize them into a unified system of symbolic production. To achieve this, they separate the economic basis from cultural representations and break the unity between production, circulation, and consumption and between individuals and the community. At a second stage, or simultaneously, they put the pieces back together again and subordinate them to a globalization of culture that corresponds to the nationalization of capital. We will examine this process through one of its principal mechanisms: the reduction of the ethnic to the typical” (García Canclini 1993: XIII).

The different forms of symbolic appropriation and struggle in the public landscapes of villages are performed through the aesthetics and functions of the house. As Haber affirms, “peasant life would not be what it is and has been if it were not for the house... but the relationship between the house and peasant life is not merely about material relations (the house as residential space for a household) or symbolic (the house as a sign of the household). The family and the house are included in a common relational network in which they become, along with the farm, the *chakra*, the seeds, the irrigation ditches, the animals, the gods. And it is this relation network, or better, the relations that sustain the relations, the theory that orders peasant life” (2011a: 14). However, following Žižek’s advice (23/03/2011), we should not fall prey to the postmodern celebration of difference, and to consider that the supermodern subject is really an autonomous individual that consumes and assumes both difference and transgression in its own being. Rather, supermodernity and the heritage machine result in an all-encompassing homogenization of the social sphere and the appearance of ever more strict and narrow social models of subjectivity that exclude from the social sphere those who do not assume or concur with the hegemonic values. Consequently, when most households in a community heritagize their houses to underscore their difference from the others, a new relational identity, a regime of truth and a new set of meanings emerge. However, this is a hegemonic and exclusivist grouping of solitudes, a society rather than a community. As Žižek argues (23/03/2011), we need more *real* difference, but in material and not in symbolic terms.

Here converge my insistence on the question of immanence, my aim to understand Maragatería as a ‘minor territory, and the conception of knowledge and research as a form of ontological production of reality. It is true that heritage has become a device that is being employed to transform communities into societies of autonomous individuals and commons into private properties. However, we should not assume a superficial and naïve position ‘against heritage’ and its processes, as if to stop talking about heritage would avoid its continued use in the social sphere – or simply to criticize heritage processes as something intrinsically negative. Of course, it is crucial to explore, analyze and understand heritagization processes and criticize them (epistemology). However, we must go beyond this stance to problematize them and explore the potential they hold for being redirected towards other aims with material effects (ontology). That is, we must be aware that when we decide what is the legitimate set of objects that populate our studies and the world, we are directly producing new heritages and excluding others (Suddaby 2006: 635). In doing so, we are

producing heritage *for something* and *towards something*, adding a new reality to the world that contributes to shaping it in some way, fostering the reproduction of academic capital, market forces, the legitimacy of certain institutions and narrations, etc. Therefore, to act politically does not mean to discursively opt for one position or the other in the antagonisms of the social field, but to establish an immanent relation with them, inhabit and transforming them (Haber 2011c). This implies leaving behind the dualism promoted in the Anglo-Saxon world that separates research from commitment and activism, something already denounced by Horkheimer (1972) and Bourdieu (2002). We must not forget that the field of heritage studies has expanded qualitatively and quantitatively, and in terms of editorial and financial power, within the Anglo-Saxon world, and therefore it field has been born with a scarce degree of politicization in an immanent sense. A minor heritage science conceives the position of the researcher as a committed intellectual, a widespread position especially in the French and South American social sciences (González-Ruibal 2008).

Then, back to the topic at hand, how to produce heritage knowledge? For what might it be useful? Again, if we focus in the epistemological issues concerning the refinement of theory and methods exclusively, the discipline will be lost in superfluous debates. As Latour argues, “if by epistemology we name the discipline that tries to understand how we manage to bridge the gap between representations and reality, the only conclusion to be drawn is that this discipline has no subject matter whatsoever, because we never bridge such a gap, not, mind you, because we don’t know anything objectively, but because there is never such a gap. The gap is an artifact due to the wrong positioning of the knowledge acquisition pathway... All its interesting questions concern what is known by science and how we can live with those entities but certainly not whether it knows objectively or not (2007: 94). Therefore, the object (the entity that could be potentially considered as heritage – the subject of statement) , and the subject (the transcendental agent that ‘sanctions’ what is heritage – the subject of enunciation), “are not the adequate points of departure for any discussion about knowledge acquisition; they are not the anchor to which you should tie the vertiginous bridge thrown above the abyss of words and world, but rather they are generated as a byproduct – and a pretty inconsequential one at that – of the knowledge making pathways themselves. Object and subject are not ingredients of the world, they are successive stations along the paths through which knowledge is rectified” (Latour 2007: 91-3).

Thus, Latour suggests abolishing the knowledge model based on the visual metaphor (corresponding the observed with the written) and replace it “by the progressive shift from an uncoordinated to a coordinated movement” (2007: 94-96). My study has accounted for these ‘movements of coordination’ underwent by heritage elements in various cases. For instance, Campos carried out an extensive coordination work to assemble various human and non-human actors so as to find and protect the *Petroglifos de Peñafadiel*. Of course, he did not ‘discover’ the *Petroglifos*, which were already well known by local people. What he did was to unify different chains of experiences into a single heritage assemblage, that is, he constructed the *Petroglifos* as a heritage object by linking local knowledge, his notions of archaeology and prehistory, with experts, technicians, academics and institutions, the provincial press, among others. Similarly, the Ministry of Defence has performed a complex coordination movement in attempting to assemble the Military Range of the Teleno Mountain as a ‘natural reserve’. In turn, social movements advocating the suppression of the Range counter this view with an opposing attempt to assemble it as a ‘heritage’ to be protected so as to render the bombings illegitimate in the public sphere. In Santiago Millas or

Val de San Lorenzo, all encompassing heritage coordination movements are carried out to transform the common realities of the villages into heritage for tourism consumption and real estate investment. In the *Camino de Santiago*, various social actors try to link the Route with multiple chains of experiences in order to make their actions, practices and different forms of capturing the value produced by the *Camino* legitimate and facilitate the reception of institutional support. In conclusion, heritage knowledge does not start from the object (the Roman gold mine of the Teleno Mountain, the *Camino de Santiago*, the villages considered Goods of Cultural Interest by the regional and national governments, or the *Petroglifos*), nor from the subject (the market, public institutions, or subjects sanctioning heritage assets broadly). Rather, it starts in the exploration of the assemblages, the fields of forces that are problematized in order to establish a new set of relations between social actors and the ongoing heritagization process in the territory.

Therefore, it is fundamental in the construction of a ‘minor’ or ‘decolonial’ heritage science to conceive and account for heritage as a multiplicity where various ontological dimensions coexist simultaneously. An ‘official’ heritage science attempts to construct an unified and standardized notion of heritage through the establishment of a set of constants from the variables analyzed in the heritage contexts and their relations, abstracted from local situations. Conversely, a ‘minor’ heritage science starts from local contexts and its local movements of constant variation, assessing its transformations in a performative and pragmatic way. Accordingly, the assertion “this is heritage” is not inserted in the same ontological realm if enunciated by someone born in preindustrial Maragatería, a romantic folklorist, an academic, a technician from the regional government or the UNESCO. However, we can interpret this variation in the meaning and consequences of the enunciate “this is heritage” in various ways. An ‘official’ heritage science considers the statement “to remain constant in principle, its variations being produced by de facto and nonlinguistic circumstances external to the linguistic system” (Smith and Deleuze 1997: x|ix). In other words, heritage remains as an abstract ideal that our research explores, interprets and explains, when it is actually our research that produces it as by-product. In contrast, a ‘minor’ science considers that each effectuation of the statement is an actualized variable of a virtual line of continuous variation immanent to the system, a line that remains continuous regardless of the discontinuous leaps made by the statement, and that uproots the statement from its status as a constant and produces its placing-in-variation. (DW Smith & Deleuze, 1997: x | ix).

Thus, an official conception of heritage considers it a system in equilibrium defined by a certain set of constants: an implicit relation with identity, memory, sense of belonging to a community or a nation, among others. The understanding of heritage put forward by this standpoint is of only one ontological plane: what varies is the epistemological framework employed to explore that ontological plane where heritage is situated. Clearly, this unique ontological conception of heritage is located in a power position embodied by the universal reason of an expert, an academic or an institution. This ontology is sustained by its relation with other transcendental notions of what heritage is that are reproduced and reinforced by the nation-states, the market and international institutions, which judge the others and sanction their heritages. A minor alternative considers heritage to be a multiple and complex reality in constant unbalance and transformation, “defined by pragmatic use of these constants in relation to a continuous internal variation” (Smith and Deleuze 1997: x|ix). Heritage is here considered as a set of virtual models that “organize, in specific situations, values, norms, morals, modes of self formation and ethical reasoning about how one

should live” (Frohmann 2008: 3). From this standpoint it becomes possible to understand ‘other-heritages’, socioecological alterity, the non linearity of change, the variability of the social, the hybridity of social formations and the multiple ontologies they inhabit that result in different forms of knowledge building. Heritage is then not a transcendental constant but rather an ‘operative function’ at work in real contexts.

We can explore this issue in relation with the process that led to the stabilization or rectification of the *Petroglifos* as a heritage entity. What ontological status did the *Petroglifos*, the stones and their carvings, before being ‘discovered’, i.e., during their pre-heritage moment? This question can be equated with Latour’s problematization of the way of life of microbes before Pasteur “engaged them into the pathways of 19th century microbiology” (1999: 145-170). If we consider that the *Petroglifos* were always what they are since they were carved, and that they were only waiting to be discovered and known by a transcendent subject of enunciation, we reopen the epistemological gap between humans and their object of knowledge. On the contrary, if we think that the *Petroglifos* date back, or emerge, when someone (scientists, expert, institution) sanction them as such, we are falling into the trap of relativism. In a similar fashion to the notion of multiple ontology devised by Law and Mol (2002), Latour argues that it would be necessary to accord two ontological rather than two epistemological status to the *Petroglifos*. That is, two different ways of life or modes of existence depending on the assemblages and frameworks in which they are immersed and engaged. Although there can be many more, the two *modes* proposed by Latour are the ‘mode of subsistence’, by which the entity preserves its stable material form, and the ‘mode of reference’, by which different forms of acquiring knowledge are performed with and in the entity (Latour 2007: 101). The *Petroglifos* are assembled with the world in different modes, allowing different subjects to experiment with novel forms of existence by the establishment of various relations with them. Thus, “knowledge is added to the world; it does not suck things into representations or, alternatively, disappear in the object it knows. It is added to the landscape” (Latour 2007: 104)

We can then classify the various ontological statuses of heritage from my research in Maragatería. The classification is not random but rather stems from my empirical investigation and orders the different levels according to two abstract poles: one that tends towards a greater degree of immanence between community and heritage, and the other of greater transcendence and distance. Although I consider that the application of this categories is accurate when restricted to the case of Maragatería, there most likely various other contexts when it can be applied. To do so, I have connected my proposal with the structuralist theory of identity and individuation developed by Hernando (2002; Hernando Gonzalo 2012). Her theory “stems from the certainty that there is coherence... between the subjective consciousness of human beings of social facts and the objective character of these facts. Moreover, it argues that we can know the basic structure that the subjective consciousness will acquire in each cultural group, because it advocates an structural and necessary relation between the material control of the human and non human phenomena... and the mode of perception of reality. My theory assumes that the lesser the control of human beings over their living conditions, the greater the sensation of powerlessness that human beings feel facing the dynamic phenomena of non human nature... if the social and cognitive construction of the world has a direct relation with the degree of material control over the world, then we can lay down a series of structural principles that apply to any cultural group” (Hernando Gonzalo 2002: 46). Thus,

according to the human capacity of control and prediction of the surrounding phenomena, each human group will perceive “only a part of reality, the one that the group feels able to control, so that everyone feels equally safe and confident despite there are different levels of control of reality... each human group perceives a different part of the total possible phenomena that surround us, and, moreover, it grants them different meanings” (Hernando Gonzalo 2002: 51). Notwithstanding the fact that the different global distributions of power, political economies of cultural production, and national particularities condition the development of heritagization process, I deem functional to establish a certain connection between a low level of techno-economic development and a high degree of immanence in the social practices, relational identities and senses of belonging to a specific community. On the contrary, greater levels of technological control relate to higher degrees of individualization, of shattering of communities and the establishment of transcendental, scientific and metaphorical (non-emotional) ways of relating with reality. The different ontological statuses of heritage can then be ordered as follows from greater to lower degrees of immanence:

1. Heritage as ‘inheritance’ – *patrimonio* –. This means literally, ‘what is inherited’. In the most immanent sense that prevails among the older generations of *maragato* people, heritage refers to the land, the house, and if any, also to certain movable property or livestock. However, we can also include in this category (and already introducing a certain dose of transcendence), the language, expertise and behaviors, traditions and rituals, etc. In other words, the phenomena comprised in the collective unconscious upon which no conscious self-reflections characteristic of disembodied reason are made. Relationships between members of the community and surrounding elements are entangled in an immanent network of meanings and practices: with nature, architecture, dress, language or religion. This situation is related to a social situation characterized by the fundamental and blunt reality of “being together” (Nancy 1991b).

2. Heritage as an organic value. What people value without generating a metacultural representation of it. This can be related to Novelo’s definition of heritage as “something that someone or a group of people consider that deserves to be valued ... and in relation to which others share that choice” (2005: 86). We can include here, on the one hand, the immanent evaluations of people grown in preindustrial Maragatería about what is valuable: to have good lands, a good house, etc., evaluations that are in direct relation to that which is inherited by a familial unit. On the other hand, there are also evaluations about what people would like to preserve, enhance or take care of, such as the church, the pathways, the forests or the rivers. This overall lack of concern, or better, lack of interest, regarding issues of preservation of ‘what there is’ and the lack of feelings of nostalgia for the times past derive from a specific construction of identity. In fact, during preindustrial times the issue of ‘change’ was not a key factor to consider in understanding the world and its dynamics, because change was rare and gradual. Consequently, only with the acceleration of time and the ubiquity of change brought up by modernity it is possible to start being worried about the past. In other words, there is only a potential loss when there is a potential change, a virtuality or abstract machine characteristic of modernity and exaggerated during the supermodern phase.

3. The heritage entities selected, sanctioned, inventoried and constructed by institutions, academics or social actors of any kind. These processes normally occur within a framework of what Herzfeld calls ‘disembodied reason’ (2001). This is already a transcendental ontological realm because the mediation of the universal reason, the mind, is introduced between subjective experience and the world. This is the kind of heritage level of modern academic and institutional

discourse and practice, employed by nations in search of legitimating narratives, and around which all kinds of intellectuals, folklorists and academics emerge that claim to preserve their inheritance in a time of ever increasing speed and transformation of the material reality. Also, and especially after World War II, this realm becomes the site for claiming heritage as a commodity that can be consumed by mass societies in need of a 'cultured leisure'. We can divide here between:

A) A modern phase where certain heritage institutions utilize heritage to extricate certain areas of community life and culture and transform them into metaculture. This process is framed within the broader disciplinary project to transform the multitude into a set of self-disciplined citizens and, in general, to facilitate governmentality tasks through the definition of legal and subaltern subjects in society. For instance, the social construction of the cultural representation of '*lo maragato*' as a different 'other' (Jew, Moorish, pre-Roman, Carthaginian, etc.) whose difference cannot be assimilated. Therefore, it is constructed as a subaltern and outcast identity that serves to reinforce the opposition with a truthful 'national heritage' embodied by the values of the Greco-Roman tradition, Christianity and the medieval kingdoms (Diaz-Andreu and Champion 1996). Modernity segmented community in different parts and put them at the service of the governing elites: forests became part of the natural realm and thus fell under the knowledge and management practices of modern science and the State, while certain heritage elements were deterritorialized to represent the nation as a whole, as the peasants of rural areas during Franco times.

B) A super or postmodern phase that exacerbates the characteristics of modernity (Augé 2008). In this moment, the social control over the surrounding environment attained during modernity is taken for granted. What matters now is the control over symbolic representations, meaning and emotions. The heritage machine emerges here as a device of production and capture of heritage values. Its ultimate aim is not to construct universal metanarratives (of the nation, of humankind, etc.) but rather the affirmation of individual identities. This is performed through the creation of metaphoric representations of reality as in Val de San Lorenzo or Santiago Millas, which are actualized in the material culture of the villages. The heritage machine "implies individualization, and with it, the capacity to generate a will to power" (Hernando Gonzalo 2002: 189). Heritage is a crucial vector to channel the process of individualization because objects start to be conceived "as symbols that can represent the manifold differences that exist today, and which can facilitate the visualization of that effort of differentiation, that particularization that defines identity. Thus, objects attain a relevance that had never have hitherto, because they are now embedded with a high symbolic charge. Objects are not the repositories thereon of something or a lot of the identity of their possessor" (Hernando Gonzalo 2002: 191). Fukuyama (2006) drawing on the *thymotic* function described by Plato, has drawn attention to the significance of the struggles for recognition rather than for material goods in the framework of contemporary individualistic societies. There is a transition from a sort of *real* struggles for power, to the realm of the *symbolic* and *mnemonic* struggles for recognition that can serve to co-opt or legitimate power. These constructions are developed on a high degree of abstraction and transcendence from reality. That is, what matters is the control over metaphysics, emotions and symbols. For instance, different social actors in Maragatería profit from the previous social construction of the *maragato* difference because today differences are valuable when they generate scarcities (either symbolic or material). Thus, the material implementation of the cultural representation of the *maragato* culture in the villages is employed to affirm individual identities. As Meskell argues, "the very constituents of

people's embodied identities, their "race" and respective histories that once ensured their persecution and subordinate status, could now be transformed into capital" (2012: 2). Heritage can channel these desires for individualized identification and the parallel need to weave new power networks that rearticulate the distributions of profits and agencies in the social sphere. This situation is normally closely related to a reduction of the weight of public institutions and an increase of the private entrepreneurship characteristic of 'neoliberal subjects' (Rose 1996). These subjects are privileged in decision-making and in the articulation of the social. This becomes clear in the heritagization processes explored in Maragatería, where local institutions (both communal and the public city councils) are overwhelmed by the demands and claims put forward by social groups acting aside the institutional framework, such as the associations created in Prada de la Sierra or Santiago Millas, or the entrepreneurs' association of the *Camino de Santiago*.

4. The highest degree of transcendence or, in Deleuzian terminology, the context that generates a greater distance between the plane of immanence and the plane of reference (see Brown 2009; May 2005), is generated by academic or intellectual experimentation. We witness this situation whenever someone attempts to expand the boundaries of heritage, enlarging the concept to encompass further areas of reality. These theoretical experimentations open the door for the material and practical heritagization of more realities. For instance, the theoretical expansion of the concept of heritage to the realm of industrial remains arose in the friction between global discourses on heritage value and the multiple presents inhabiting different geographies. Meanwhile Industrial Archaeology was blooming in Britain during the 1960s, its theoretical principles were imported to Spain or Portugal during the 1990s by heritage experts. However, this discursive import occurred *before* the actual demise of most factories and machineries that were being already musealized in Britain at the time as remnants of the past. This is clear in Val de San Lorenzo, where second or third hand XIX century textile machinery is still at work (Alonso González 2009a). In other situations, these transcendental expansions derive from unequal distribution in the number of elements in the World Heritage list. Clearly, UNESCO's classification privileges the Western monumental conception of heritage. However, with the geopolitical shift in relevance and power to the East, the expansion of the heritage border is thriving on the intangible vector, in which Asian countries consider themselves richer. Other transcendental expansions have to do with well-meaning attempts to protect certain practices, goods, or realities by their inclusion within the realm of heritage. This is clear for instance in the attempt to heritagize customary law in Spain (Arévalo and Marcos 2011). However, the consequences of constructing certain elements to 'save them' are still to be assessed, as heritagization could result in a negative outcome. Would the inclusion of the commons and customary law guarantee their preservation or sanction their death in the realm of culture to become metacultural representations in a museum?

Authors like Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2004a) consider that heritagization implies removing an element from reality to place it as an inert object for display. It is essential, first, to clarify that heritage researchers should not consider their task to be the 'protection of heritage' or to 'expand the boundaries of what is heritage', but rather to problematize it and try to encourage its utilization 'for something.' In my case of study in Maragatería this implies a work with local communities in order to avoid the proliferation of heritage and the transformation of the life of villages into metaculture. In other words, it implies a struggle for the maintenance of the immanence of the territory and its villages, empowering communities and their cultures rather than metacultures. This

project is tightly related with Agamben's (1993) notion of the coming community. In it, the social being of the community is not given by the fact of fulfilling certain conditions: having a certain identity, a fixed set of beliefs or shared goals, but rather by the fact of belonging itself (Agamben 1993: 81). This is a response to a real problem of community destruction in the area, connected to demographic, economic, political and social problems and the imposition of foreign cultures that obliterate local lifestyles, shatter community and minimize sociodiversity (Magnaghi 2006). From this standpoint, research does not stem from an epistemological reflection that generates ever more accurate representations of an abstract idea of 'heritage', and neither from objects, seeking the protection of heritage in *maragatería* or raising consciousness among the relevance of heritage among the population and institutions (that would again imply the expansion of the heritage boundary). Research arises from a problem. In addition, the critical researcher should not be naïve and think that criticizing heritage process will stop them: the cartography of the heritage machine elaborated here shows that academics have a little part in the process in Maragatería. What the researcher can do is to point to ways to channel, appropriate and redirect heritage to other aims. This implies conceiving our task as experimentation or creative exploration (Deleuze) or as mediation (Latour). This would allow us to work with the different ontological dimensions of heritage and in the interplay and friction generated between the global/universal values and discourses and the local/situated realities. In Maragatería, profiting from this knowledge and working hand in hand with communities implies an effort to reappropriate heritage values and put them at the service of the maintenance of the immanence of the local communities. That is, the preservation of what I have conceived as a 'minor territoriality'. The question is how to use the values of heritage constructed as metaculture to allow the reproduction of culture rather than to reify it, channeling the profits made from heritage to the local community rather than reinserting them in the global flows of tourism value. This search for an affirmation of immanence and community values is not a random ideological choice but derives from the following reflections:

1. Political-administrative level. My research has attempted to show how, since the dawn of modernity, the Spanish nation-state has attacked, shattered and disempowered local communities in Maragatería, in direct and indirect ways. This process seeks to transform communities in sets of isolated individuals or 'citizens/consumers' (Livingstone et al. 2007). The social is imposed over the communitarian, which is depleted of agency and voice in the public sphere. This paves the way for the current obliteration of the *Juntas Vecinales* by the state. Far from being a finished task, this process of disintegration is still ongoing in the form of a heritage machine. It fosters the imposition of a transcendent universal idea of heritage over the local heritages, reinforcing preexisting networks of inequality and power and expanding them. The issue of community should not be conceived in ideological terms, as class struggle, or as the fight of the subaltern against the hegemonic. What I consider worrying is the growing homogenization and flattening of reality that prevents the emergence of novel alternatives and modes of existence, of lines of flight that allow other forms of understanding and living to arise. As discussed below, unlike the social the community cannot be said in relation to any particular purpose or teleological direction: it must be affirmed in itself; as it is (Castro and Cano 01/03/11).

2. Socio-economic level. Although millions of Euros have been squandered thanks to the E.U. funds channeled through the LEADER program, the vitality of local communities has been severely reduced. Similarly, the alleged purpose of achieving economic sustainability is further away than

ever due to the encouragement of a megalomaniac model of development at a national, regional and local scale. This model privileges short-term political interests and the construction and infrastructural sectors, where investments are conceived as affective shocks rather than part of wider strategies for achieving long-term sustainability (Jerez Darias et al. 2012). Despite the lack of support provided to them, local communities and their minor economic models based on low productive intensity, multifunctionality, artisanship over industry, local-regional trade networks and the use of local resources, represent a better model of sustainability than the one provided by sustainable development experts and bureaucrats. Likewise, eco-rural newcomers arrived from all over the world seek to regain contact with nature and to develop sustainable lifestyles and productive activities as well. As Tess, member of the British community of Lucillo, argues, “the real heritage of the Maragatería area is its lands, devoid of chemical products, where it is possible to produce biological stuff. I like the freedom as well, there are no fences here, I can walk in every direction for hours” (Interview 72, August 2010). These groups shorten the gap opened up by modernity between nature and culture, and bridge the gap with the preindustrial mindset of the local elders, respecting and profiting from their knowledge. The ethnographic literature on the topic has drawn attention to the fact that the dichotomy between nature and culture fades away in non-modern groups, whose perceptions of reality diverge from ours (Latour 1993; Strathern 1980; Viveiros de Castro 2009). However, very little is found in the literature on the question of the micro socio-cultural practices that channel the breakage between nature and culture in specific contexts. Moreover, even less focus has been placed on the pragmatic and immanent forms, and not only theoretical, idealist and discursive, to overcome that division, something that certain social actors are carrying out in the field already. This is not surprising, because neoliberal governance explicitly disavows this process of suture, deepening the modern rupture and expanding it. This is clear in Maragatería, where local communities and eco-rurals are set aside from decision-making and the allocation of public funds. The legitimate subject to receive funds is the individual entrepreneur, not the village’s *Junta Vecinal*. Undoubtedly, this situation derives not only from the expansion of neoliberal governmentality, but also from the absence of an ‘alternative subject’ at the ontological level, that embodies a different worldview. This alternative subject should not be conceived on the basis of identity, as in the case of aboriginal claims, where the ‘subject-other’ is clearly different from the majority of the population. Rather, it must be conceived as a multiplicity characterized by its forms of reproducing the different and inhabiting a specific territory, by differences that diverge and compose, communicate with each other without a representative unit (Zourabichvili 1994). Once the existence of an alternative subject is affirmed, it becomes legitimate to question why it has not been granted administrative and financial support, given that it embodies the *real* values of sustainability. Precisely, those same values that serve to legitimize the reception of European funding. What would happen in that case? What forms of knowledge production, spatial planning and heritage management would be necessary? What socio-academic-institutional assemblages should emerge from it?

3. At the level of heritage production, management and preservation. With regard to what has been traditionally considered heritage management, the current model is equally flawed. The urban aesthetics of the villages reflects the inconsistency of urban and spatial planning laws based in inequities. Moreover, most heritage sites have been in one way or another ‘removed’ from their community settings (e.g., the windmill of Lagunas de Somoza, the Roman mining works of the

Teleno Mountain by the Military Range, the institutional apathy regarding the *Petroglifos*, the abandoned *maragato fiestas* and *tamboriteros*, the commoditization of villages like Castrillo de los Polvazares, among many others). While a return to the idea of community is not a panacea and does not solve immediately or necessarily these problems, a stronger connection between local communities and heritage always favors its preservation and enhancement. This is so especially when the community perceives the benefits of doing so. From another point of view, we must not forget that heritage is not only preserved, but also produced. In addition, the production of new heritage normally occurs in ‘minor territories’ where smooth and open spaces prevail over the striated and the enclosed, and where there is free rein for the proliferation of novel modes of existence and coexistence between diverse worldviews and ontologies. That is, new heritage emerges in the interplay between different temporalities and the socially constructed categories of tradition, modernity and postmodernity. Subjects operating in the field employ different epistemic temporal categories and *live* in different ontological temporalities. In his works on the problem of time, Deleuze (1989a; 1991a) is concerned about the ways people synthesize future and the past from their presents. He distinguishes between active and passive synthesis of time. The active synthesis of time works through representation. This is the temporality of the heritage machine. When heritage subjects hang plows in façades and build museums to represent others, a self-conscious and metacultural epistemic relation with time is established, and life is lived in a disembodied and ‘unnatural’ relation with time. The passive synthesis of time works through affection; it takes place “within the realm of lived time. Read with Deleuze’s theory of the three passive syntheses of time, passive time allows the present to be lived as living present. Bringing then in Walter Benjamin, tradition is so much saturated with passive time, because of natural conditions that suggest living the present in the mode of a living present” (Mahler 2008: 65). This is the time lived by pre-industrial communities and that neo-rurals try to recover in places like Matavenero. This is not a time for representation but rather for *life* and immanent creation. And, ultimately, this is the *real* that is subjected to the elaboration of metacultural representations, that is, this is the site from where heritage practice and discourse draw to generate new values and to appropriate ever-more signs to construct self-representations of difference and distinction.

This reality, the need of immanent *life* and passive temporalities for the reproduction of heritage values, is completely overlooked by institutions, and largely ignored in the literature on tourism and heritage management. How are we then to understand the influx of tourists to the ecological gym of Valdespino or to Matavenero? Or that the Youtube videos and presence in tourist guides of Tomás, the Templar Knight of Manjarín, does more to attract tourism to the *Camino de Santiago* than any advertising campaign of the regional government (to the frustration of Tomás, by the way). If Tomás provides added immaterial value to the *Camino* it is precisely because he inhabits in other ontological dimension, which generates a valuable friction between the spheres of *life* and *tourism*. This is so because Tomás is, according to Enrique Notario from the *Taberna de Gaia* in Foncebadón, someone “authentic, someone that believes in what he says” (Interview 28, May 2010). This authenticity is perceived by the ‘turigrims’ and is that which provides value to the *Camino*. A value that is being appropriated by all those private entrepreneurs that Tomás so fiercely criticizes and which, by the way, would like to expel Tomás from the *Camino*. Also, these entrepreneurs are shooting themselves in the foot because the trivialization and homogenization of the *Camino* decreases its added value. In sum, heritage can only be produced from the immanence

of the practices, from complex and far from equilibrium systems open to novelties. In turn, the values produced by heritage are appropriated by foreign actors in different ways (economically, co-opting them to gain legitimacy or build certain discourses, etc.) without providing anything to the reproduction or the benefit of the system and the actors that populate it.

It is therefore essential to provide an ontological status to ‘that thing’ we are speaking about, a community, a mode of existence not necessarily linked to an identity but rather to a multiplicity, a set of unique relations that produce certain equally unique outcomes. My research has focused, following Latour, in adding a new reality to the world. Something that can be thought and named thereof, and whose mode of existence can be affirmed, defended and propagated. Before turning to the last section it is necessary to clarify what I mean with this mode of existence that I have called ‘minor’, and which is consistent with a minor science (Correa and Correa 2009) and politics (Thoburn 2003; Thoburn 2006). Agamben offers a great starting point in this passage;

“There is something beautiful to represent a notion of the people today, and you may also think of what Deleuze said when he referred to a minor people, a people as a minority. This is less a problem about minorities than a representation of the people as being always as the rest of a division, as something that resists a division – not as a substance, but as a difference. It would imply to proceed in this way, by dividing the division, instead of asking:” what would be the universal principle that would allow us to live in community?” On the contrary. It implies, facing the divisions introduced by the law, the segmentations constantly enacted by the law, to work by calling it into question, resisting and staying in place – resisting, staying, it all comes from the same root” [resistere – restare in Italian] (Agamben 2005).

The issue of the ‘minor’ must be framed within the analysis of capitalism performed by Deleuze and Guattari (1987). They moved beyond psychoanalytic models and Marxist dialectical models to understand capitalism as a multiple system composed by lines of flight and constant re-expansions. The ‘minor’ and the ‘major’ cannot be understood quantitatively, but as ideal abstractions from which qualitative assessments can be drawn. Despite minorities usually outnumber majorities, the latter place themselves in central positions enabling them to establish the standard models and generate an axiomatic that leaves the ‘minor’ in the margins or in the outside. Thus, the Western white male, heterosexual, urban, rational and calculating, speaker of a hegemonic language, is a majority. In contrast, a minority does not have a model, although sometimes they can be defined or self-defined on the basis of rational, ethnic, linguistic, and territorial or gender categories in their struggles for recognition, autonomy or rights. A minority seeks to circumvent the capitalist axiomatic without necessarily going into direct contradiction with it (Virno 2003). This is so because the power of the minor and minorities does not lie in their ability to take over or influence the majority system, but in enhancing social compositions, connections, convergences and differences “that do not pass by way of the capitalist economy any more than they do the state formation” (Smith and Deleuze 1997: x|ii).

In the early 1990s, Žižek was surprised by the unstoppable emergence of the ‘new social movements’: ecology, feminism, pacifism, and so on. For him, “they differ from traditional political movements (parties)... they want at the same time ‘less’ and ‘more’ than the traditional parties... They continually emphasize their unwillingness to become political parties like the others, they exempt themselves from the sphere of the struggle for power. At the same time, however, they make it clear that their aim is much more radical than that of the ordinary political parties: what

they are striving after is a fundamental transformation of the entire mode of action and belief, a change in the ‘life paradigm’ affecting our most intimate attitudes. What is at stake in the former case is not just a political belief but an entire life attitude. And such a project of radical change in the ‘life paradigm’, once formulated as a political program, necessarily undermines the very foundations of formal democracy” (Žižek 1992: 99). In a similar fashion to social movements, the affirmation of a minor community has to do with the defense of other ‘vital paradigms’ that do not necessarily pass through the state and market realms. However, communities differ from societies in that in the latter members meet to achieve a certain goal (stop climate change, world peace, the preservation of the heritage of mankind, the end of capitalism, etc.), whereas in the former this rarely occurs (Castro Rey 16/11/2006). That is, the affirmation of community as a minor movement cannot be associated with a social, ideological or economic objective, but rather is the assertion of “whatever being” (Agamben 1993). In this sense, we can say that while minor society fight for a goal, so as to transform the majority to achieve another mode of existence, other ‘vital paradigm’, communities are themselves representatives of other modes of existence and ‘vital paradigms’, whose specific form of difference and becoming must be defended.

Maragatería embodies today the characteristics of a minor heritage, territory and people. Neither the forms of understanding the relations nature-culture, society-economy, the relation with the past, the forms of decision making and property, are in line with the guidelines set by neoliberal governance, the modern state and the political economies of cultural production. The *maragatos* and their heritage are today subjects of statements but not subjects of enunciation. The peasants represent ‘tradition’, the villages and their forms of life ‘sustainability’, ‘the roots’, and ‘balance with nature’, whereas *maragato* architecture embodies ‘authenticity’. As a whole, Maragatería embodies part of the soul of the Leonese identity. Of course, as Hall points out (1999), the issue of who represents whom is related to power hierarchies and agency. When will the Maragatería stop representing things for others and begin to present itself to others?

It is in this sense that minor heritage practices should be presented as such in their immanence and affirmed in their difference: the *fiestas maragatas*, the communal property, the *Juntas Vecinales*, the value of paths, craftsmanship and the handmade, the slow rhythms and low intensity productive activities, among others. All this without falling in the deadlock of the struggles for identity recognition, in which minorities wedge a struggle that only deepens their dependence. It is evident since Hegel and Nietzsche and their accounts of the master-slave dialectics, that those seeking recognition reaffirm their subaltern position in relation to the ones sanctioning or granting recognition. Moreover, communities cannot be affirmed from closed-cut identities. It is necessary to revert the dominant scheme to make it play in favor of immanence: instead of selecting certain entities and sanction them transcendentally as heritage for obtaining a value, attracting a tourist, or including it within legitimizing national narratives, we could put them at the service of the reproduction of the community practices. This means reversing a thought deeply ingrained in the supermodern mindset according to which the production of reality and life is subject to obtaining value. Why not using value for the construction of reality? Why cannot communities start to present themselves and redistribute the values obtained for the common good?

What is the role of the researcher here? To dilute him or herself in the collective of enunciation of a minor people and its multiple heritage dimensions. To express their potentials and forces, serving as an agent of collective transformation, or as a catalyst. As Klee (1966) argued, “we

cannot do much more". This project is essentially political as it implies "constructing a form of knowledge that respects the other without absorbing it into the same" (Young 1990: 11). The work of the researcher becomes then "a true genetic element, a virtuality that is capable of linking up, little by little, with other speech acts so as to constitute the free indirect discourse of a people or a minority, even if they as yet exist only as potential". In other words, his or her task is to establish nonpreexistent relations between these variables in order to make them function together in a singular and nonhomogeneous whole, and thus to participate in the construction of 'new possibilities of life' (Smith and Deleuze 1997: x|v). This implies constructing minor heritages by reversing the hegemonic myths and fictions, as an act of resistance that opens the door to a sociopolitical line of flight. This ontological affirmation brings to the fore a further paradox. Even researchers claiming to remain in a neutral position arguing that their aim is solely to 'protect heritage', are forced to defend the community to which the immanent practices are intrinsically bounded. Thus, the researcher forms a rhizome with the researched, establishing relations of solidarity, commitment and intersubjective feelings with other subjectivities, existences and heritages that were previously left aside the disciplinary epistemological frameworks. The researcher does not only criticize, describe or discursively support a theory, but becomes something else and changes in line with the people and the sites under study.

We conclude with a seemingly naïve citation from Haber, fraught with meaning and a severe critique to the research positions assumed by critical western scholarship: that we must "take seriously" the subjects investigated. From his perspective, "the conversations with the subjects and popular collectives, social movements and local communities, that is, with those with whom enduring solidarity bonds of mutual recognition are created, are the situated contexts of research... This does not imply establishing an instrumental conservation to gather information about how these individuals make sense of reality. It is a conversation with the other senses of reality, a conservation that challenges and, sooner or later, moves you. Second... it is a conversation with social movements and local communities, that is, groups mobilized politically to challenge the hegemonic power. Again, this is not to describe how the poor or the peasant are organized to obtain benefits from the State. Quite the contrary. It is to subject ourselves to learning from the theory developed in those contexts in struggle against the hegemonic discourse... Again, not to describe that theory, but to take it seriously, and transform ourselves in that conversation" (Haber 2011c: 23, 30).

3. Leaving the Text. On the Value of Heritage in Postindustrial Societies and how to Reappropriate it for the Common Good.

"The common must be the foundation of any communist hypothesis today. This is true due primarily to two interconnecting and conflicting conditions of the common with respect to capitalist production. First, contemporary capitalist production relies ever more centrally on the production and productivity of the common. And, second, the common, since it must be shared and open to free access, is antithetical to property. In other words, the common and its productivity are destroyed when relations of property (private or public) are imposed on it; and, in turn, the affirmation of the common implies the destruction of property. The dynamics of class struggle today and the

project to overcome class society develop on the terrain of the common” (Hardt 2010a: 1 para.).

“Today there are two main trends to think politics. The first, which I think derives from Hegel and Lacan, tries to think the body from language... and another position tries to think about the body from its absolute immanence. This second position corresponds for instance to the vitalism of Deleuze...where there is no division, where the body is not crossed by language... that is the strand that leads to Hardt and Negri’s Empire. So there is an opposition between... left-wing Lacanian thinkers, such as Rancière, Badiou or Jorge Alemán, and then those thinkers that try to think the body without ideas...

There are two subjective paradigms at war, two standards to measure what is a subject... The first norm or paradigm is strictly materialist, and derives from a monistic philosophy of the subject, where there is no difference between the body and the subject.

Therefore, subjective experimentation implies experimentation with the limits of the body... We can say that the subject is experimentation with the death as the ultimate limit of the body... The second paradigm corresponds to the idealist subject of philosophy, theology or metaphysics, where the subject can be separated from the body (Cano 03/02/2010: Min. 20-22).

This last section points to the outside of the text. It is a line of flight propelling us into other areas of research and pragmatic contexts of research and action, which connects research with the contemporary world. Once a ‘minor’ subject of enunciation has been produced and granted an ontological status to the multiple dimensions where different heritage inhabit, it is fundamental now to connect this subject with the development of postindustrial capitalism and to understand the role heritage plays as immaterial value within this framework. Understanding how heritage is produced and consumed is only one aspect of the issue, and the one that that has been explored more in-depth. I will focus here in understanding what kind of value can heritage embody and produce today, and the strategies employed to capture these values. In parallel, and transversally to this process, heritage is used to channel and implement transformations in the forms of governance and the construction of nation and ethnic categories of identity and memory (De Cesari 2010; Herzfeld 2010; Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996). However, the issue of heritage value in postindustrial societies has been less explored. This is an issue that underlines the whole argument of the dissertation, from the literature review on heritage values, the philosophical discussion of the issue of value with Deleuze and Nietzsche, and the case study analysis of contexts where the negotiation, production or capture of heritage values were at stake. I do not intend to summarize here these arguments but rather to push the argument forward to set out a new hypothesis that can prove useful outside the text, in pragmatic contexts of heritage management and sociopolitical action. Likewise, I do not intend to elaborate *a theory* on heritage values, but rather to draw the conclusions that derive from my conceptualization of heritage as a multiplicity: heritage is not valuable in itself, nor its value is socially constructed. Rather, heritage values emerge precisely in the dynamic interaction between its multiple ontologies. However, it would be deceiving to argue that *all these ontologies are equally valuable*: it goes against common sense and my empirical field observations. Clearly, what the *maragato* elders consider today worth of preservation, an immanent heritage such as the

land, the local church, the pathways, etc. are of little significance in the global hierarchy of value. The hypothesis put forward here is that value arises precisely from the metacultural abstraction of these immanent realities and in the friction between their various ontological statuses. Heritage is an immaterial value that functions in line with biopolitical capitalism and the anthropogenetic model of production (Marazzi 2000). The immanent heritage of *maragato* elders can become valuable once it has undergone a series of mediation processes: metacultural selection, assembling of certain chains of experiences that associate them with ‘modes of existence’ that render them objects of consumption and situate them in global flows of capital, and so on. The crux of the issue is how to prevent that this ontological transformation of heritage from an immanent to a transcendent reality results in the capture of the values it produces by social actors exogenous to the heritage process and its transformation.

The crucial question here is: why is heritage valuable today? How does this value relate with contemporary economy and what strategies are deployed to capture it? To respond to these questions we must account for the transformations in the capitalist system and its ownership forms. Also, how these changes affect the organization of production, distribution and capture of profits and values. We must go back to the XIX century to find a similar process of structural transition that the one we are living today. The Ancient regime was characterized by the dominance of real estate property and the extraction of value through rents by capitalist owners. Those were placed in a position outside the process of value production, which had been generated by other means and social actors (Marazzi 2008). The birth of the industrial era resulted in an increase of the movable properties and means of production over real estate assets, and the prevalence of profit making over rent extraction. At the same time, the generation of profit necessarily involved the capitalist in the organization of the production process, imposing rules, forms of cooperation and temporal ordering, and establishing regimes of care, education and punishment to discipline the workers (Hardt and Negri 2009). Thus, industrial production triumphed as the dominant mode of production during the XIX century in the western economies. This is so because, despite employing a small fraction of the population quantitatively, the other forms of production were forced to adopt the principles of industrial production: machining, discipline, time management, work hierarchies, etc. (Marx 1973).

It is here fundamental to follow Guattari’s machinism and conceive change in terms of ‘provisionally dominant systems’ or ‘abstract machines’ rather than in terms of phases, breaks or abrupt ruptures (1979: 180). Thus, industry had become the dominant system in the period despite coexisting with archaic forms of production that were quantitatively dominant. According to Hardt and Negri, biopolitical and immaterial production have overcome industry to become the dominant system in contemporary economy, achieving a hegemonic position that imposes itself on other forms of production and on society as a whole.

“By immaterial and biopolitical we try to grasp together the production of ideas, information, images, knowledges, code, languages, social relationships, affects, and the like... Most of these forms of production are not new, of course, but the coherence among them is perhaps more recognizable and, more important, their qualities tend today to be imposed over other sectors of the economy and over society as a whole. Industry has to informationalize; knowledge, code, and images are becoming ever more important throughout the traditional sectors of production; and the production of affects and care is becoming increasingly essential in the valorization process”
(Hardt 2010b: 349).

Now we are in a better position to understand Lazzarato's statement arguing that "what is produced is already sold – he notes – because it had previously become the object of desire" (Lipcovich and Lazzarato 20/12/2010). The development of postindustrial society led to a certain kind of 'politics of value' (Appadurai 1994) that paved the way for the social valorization of heritage. This shift should not be understood as a transcendental operation by a *dues ex machine*, be it the state or the market. Rather, it is new modes of existence that imply new assessments of value about reality that are spread by *reciprocal contamination* between individuals, a phenomenon that sociologist Gabriel Tarde had described a century ago (see Lazzarato 2002). The Spinozian anthropology developed by Lordon (2006) has underscored this issue as well. For him, whereas industrial society fostered the generation of consumerism-desire and oriented it to the consumption of external objects, neoliberalism encourages the production of positive intrinsic affects, that is, not directed to the possession of commodities that exist aside the work time and environment. Rather, consumption must be geared to the immediate creation of 'joyful' environments for the deployment of peoples' lives. A task to which heritage can positively contribute for its potential for the mobilization of aesthetic, emotional and affective desires.

Therefore, once this social shift towards affect and the immaterial becomes widespread, heritage has already become a commodity *in potentia*, potentially. Therefore, it is useless to argue or criticize that certain good has been commoditized; we should rather say that a specific heritagization process is the concrete actualization of a dominant virtuality or abstract machine: the heritage machine. This conception avoids according certain social actors (state, market, heritage experts, etc.) more power than they actually have, and advocates a more *diffuse* conception of agency. Heritage agency is to be located below individuals and above structures, in machines that determine the functioning of a certain social assemblage: my study of Maragatería as a whole provides an example of an area where heritagization processes occur without the intervention of strong central agencies.

The heritage machine transforms social reality (culture-immanence) into immaterial value (transcendence-metaculture). The constant reinventions of the social milieu under the relentless dynamisms of the capitalist system lead to the emergence of new heritage values. Those are tightly associated with specific forms of domination that recode previous social formations to produce new subjectivities and identities (Thrift 2005). In this sense, we must avoid falling in cultural or economic determinisms, which study heritage either as a political economy linked to tourism, or as a discursive field charged of meanings to be interpreted by the researcher. Heritage is currently a complex assemblage charged of meanings that produce value in the interaction with different social ontologies and the market, which, in turn, reshape and rearticulate the ways in which heritage, identities and meanings are produced in non-linear complex dynamics. Heritage involves both semiotics and materials, cultural representation and economic production or, in Guattari's terminology, a process of transduction. Transduction refers to "a sign that is both representation and production, and which therefore has the semiotic quality that he [Guattari] values most, the ability to intervene in the real" (Watson 2009: 156). In conclusion, identities and memories are valuable within in the global hierarchy of heritage value, and economic dynamics generate specific identities and memories as by-products of certain political economies of cultural production (Rullani 2006). Thus, in this new period of replacement of one temporarily dominant production model by another, the conflict arises not between the ownership of land/real estate and the means of production, but

between the material and the immaterial vectors. That is, in the friction produced between the free reproduction of the immaterial – heritage values, knowledge, emotion, affect, aesthetic pleasure, etc. – and the non-reproducibility of the material vector – the situated geographies of each heritage entity (Rullani 2006). The issue of authenticity in heritage studies becomes then irrelevant: what counts are the floating balances established between the virtual potentiality of heritage and its actualization in specific states of affairs. For instance, the *immaterial* value of French cuisine as intangible heritage is virtually infinite, unquantifiable and reproducible, but the *material* experience of French cuisine can only be undergone in France and with specific chefs.

The contemporary emphasis on issues of control over the reproducibility of the intangible values is evident in the outstanding development of patents and copyrights that restrict access to elements that are easily shareable in principle: genetic codes, information on medicinal plants provided by Aboriginal communities, digital data shared online, and so on. All these elements are part of the common, and while private individuals and firms may easily appropriate them, it is more difficult to control, restrict and assess their utilization. The additional problem is that the values, utility and functionality of these goods increase the more they are shared and used. For example, evolved knowledge economies can only bloom in places where the production, ownership and circulation of knowledge and expertise are free and collectively shared. The same goes with biopolitical production – involving heritage, affects, emotions or languages. The production of emotions and social relations can be imposed upon the social field, but the creativity and productivity that will emerge from this context will be minimal (Hardt 2010b). The consumption of knowledge is not destructive but creative, it adds without subtracting anything: when we buy a book we own the paper but not the ideas it contains (Lazzarato 2006b). Similarly, when we stay in a hotel to visit a heritage attraction, or buy a ticket of a museum, we are consuming an experience, partaking in a certain aesthetic or emotional atmosphere, gathering knowledge, etc. without subtracting anything. It is a heuristic experience that adds to the world. It increases the potential for interbrain connectivity of the consumer/individual with the rest of society, increasing the chances of creating positive synergies, inventions and creations.

Like a book, a heritage entity is not valuable *per se*, but must enter in relation with a social assemblage and a certain kind of public to become valuable. The values of heritage emerge relationally in the interference between emotions, interests and desires of a complex social network. The *Petroglifos* only became such after entering a new mode of existence as a whole: a welfare state that educates its citizens, an educated people willing to know more about the past and to gather cultural capital, the existence of middle classes with free time for leisure and resources for consumption, etc. (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009). Likewise, the more this ‘will to know’ about the past becomes widespread in Maragatería, the more petroglyphs and other heritage elements will come to the public sphere and the more their value will increase. Therefore, a common knowledge produces a common heritage that enhances the potential for social relation and the overall value of heritage in the Maragatería. However, as we saw in the case of the *Petroglifos*, once those were appropriated by a public institution (placed under its control and management) productivity was dramatically severed: people preferred not to enter the heritage-knowledge assemblage, as it started to be perceived as ‘part of the State’. Notwithstanding this negative reaction concerning heritage, people in the area are still willing to share their knowledge and discoveries with Campos. That is, with someone who is not perceived to be part of the state apparatus nor interested in profit making.

Similarly, when heritage is appropriated by private stakeholders productivity is reduced. Not only because the immanent relation between heritage and community is severed, thus decreasing its value for tourism consumption, but because it generates a local negative perception of the process. This is so because the heritage values have no impact in the common good and only a few make profit from it. We have explored these processes in cases such as Val de San Lorenzo and Santiago Millas, where most people rejected to partake in the ‘heritage transformation’, which was perceived as the stake of a few. Similarly, in the *Camino de Santiago* the privatization of the immaterial values is leading to its trivialization and segmentation according to income levels (market targeting), among others. More importantly, it curtails the virtual potential of the *Camino* to fulfill other tasks or bring other positive benefits: for instance, the well documented potential of the *Camino* to attract new eco-rural dwellers to a depopulated Maragatería.

As a result of these processes of communalization of knowledge and social relations, we witness the appearance of “an emerging contradiction internal to capital: the more the common is corralled as property, the more its productivity is reduced; and yet expansion of the common undermines the relations of property in a fundamental and general way” (Hardt 2010b: 349). In economic terms, the accumulation of surplus value has shifted in the last thirty years. Now, strategies for the appropriation of surplus value are external to the productive process, and “it is in this sense that the idea of a ‘becoming-rent of profit’ (and, in part, wages themselves) is justified as a result of the capture of a value produced outside directly productive spaces” (Marazzi 2010: 61). In this sense, neoliberalism and private property have not only taken over public property, but more fundamentally over the common, devising strategies for tapping the common productivity of the *socius*.

The notion of ‘the commons’ refers to those goods that were gradually appropriated by the public sphere to the detriment of communities. Normally, the commons comprised material goods such as land, water, forests, minerals, etc. (Van Laerhoven and Ostrom 2007). However, ‘the common’, refers not to these worldly elements, but rather to the immaterial entities that are the product of the human intellect and socio-historic evolution: ideas, language, emotions, traditions, knowledge, etc. These elements are today the target of neoliberal privatization (Hardt 2010b; Harvey 2002). We can also include heritage in this group of goods. In fact, the ways nation-states and international institutions sanction and manage heritage increasingly resembles the functioning of patents and copyrights. This of course when heritage is not removed from the common by the state and then privatized on the grounds that the states cannot afford to protect and manage them (due precisely to neoliberal policies of state reduction), as is the case today in Italy or Greece (Eunjung Cha 15/07/2012).

However, the generalized form of appropriating common values in the postindustrial economy is the capture of rents. We have already showed how contemporary capitalism captures values without partaking in the productive process, in a somewhat similar fashion to ancient Regime rentiers. This is the reason why Pasquinelli (2010b: 287), drawing on Serres’ (1982) concept of the parasite, considers that the forms of contemporary value extraction are parasitic in nature. This is so because they appropriate people’s vitality, creativity and other common values without producing anything in return. In fact, the return to a paradigm based on rent and not on profit anymore, can be seen in the functioning of patents and copyrights for instance. Those guarantee an income based on the control over a material or immaterial common entity (Vercellone

2008). This transformation is not accidental, but is given by a preponderance of financial capitalism and forms of intangible property associated with the extraction of rents at macro levels. In addition, the extraction of rents from the common serves the economic elites to control social processes and changes from a certain distance (Marazzi 2010).

The issue of the extraction of heritage rents is another underlying theme throughout the investigation. These kinds of strategies are external to the heritage processes themselves, and function in multiple sites through different vectors: from the promotion of neoliberal governance by the E.U. Local Action Group, to the privatization of the common values produced by the *Camino de Santiago*, Castrillo de los Polvazares and other *maragato* villages. Notwithstanding the discursive rhetoric about sustainability, ¿what are the ultimate foundations on which the tourism and tertiary economic sectors are grounded in Maragatería and the *Camino*? Clearly not in the good deeds of an ‘individual entrepreneur’, but on the common values present in the territory in their various dimensions: lifestyles, crafts, aesthetic homogeneity and uniqueness, tradition and rituals, etc. However, neoliberal governance seeks to restrict participation in the political community to a group of individual autonomous owners who exchange goods and services in an open network. Non-proprietary relations are excluded from the *res publica*, and those left outside the market form remain at the margins as consumers/producers under a democratic rhetoric⁹⁹.

However, the encouragement of a growing individualizing subjectivity and the governmentality guidelines associated with it neglect the fact that value arises as an assemblage connecting multiple chains of experiences: lifestyle, heritage, immanent practices connected to international networks of tourism and investment, and so on. Heritage functions here as an economic externality, a transcendent commodity that adds surplus value to other parallel valorization processes. Nevertheless, Hardt and Negri (2009) are cautious in their assessment of the consequences that this novel system of production brings about. On one hand, it is true that today, more than ever, common values are directly owned by the people: the immanent heritage is the set of ideas, affects, social relations, behaviors and material forms that have historically reached our days through a gradual distillation process. In this sense, the means of production are not in *the hands* of a certain social group, but rather *the social group*, their bodies and lives, have become the fixed capital from which value is extracted. This has to do with the implementation of a productive anthropogenetic model geared to the production not of objects of consumption anymore, but of subjectivities and forms of life where these objects make sense. This valorization process puts to work the “human faculties, competences, knowledges, and affects – those acquired on the job but more importantly those accumulated outside work are directly productive of value. One distinctive feature of the work of head and heart, then, is that paradoxically the object of production is really a subject, defined, for example, by a social relationship or a form of life” (Hardt, 2010b: 353).

On the other hand, however, these forms of neoliberal subjectivity production are devised to seek the maximum individualization of subjects (sensu Hernando Gonzalo 2002; Hernando Gonzalo 2012) and the breakdown of forms of solidarity, reciprocity, cooperation and trust, and replace them

⁹⁹ In his talk “A silent voice of a new beginning”, (Žižek, S. (20/11/2011). *The Silent Voice of a New Beginning*, London: The Birkbeck Institute for the Humanities.) Žižek demonstrates the extent to which individualism is deeply ingrained in the Western mindset with the example of the events at Tiananmen square. In the West, the most common image that represents the event is that of a man alone in front of a tank. In China, however, this image has less social impact and is less known because the conception of the political subject is not one of a man against the apparatus, but of different collectives and communities struggling in the social sphere.

with a network of autonomous citizens in advanced democracies (Rose 1997). This situation leads to the seemingly paradoxical situation whereby the hegemonic values permeate the worldviews and mentalities of the subjects, prevents and makes harder than ever the reappropriation of the common heritage values. As Žižek states, “our commons are out there. The problem is of course who owns them, and I think this is the crucial fight... again, we get the same contradiction, the more our space is getting communal... when you are in the world wide web you participate in a common intellect, the greater the danger that this common intellect is itself privatized, silently censored and so on” (Žižek 23/03/2011: min. 15). Moreover, the complexity of the postindustrial economies and societies requires the active participation of academics and intellectuals engaged in the task of deconstructing hegemonic discourses rearticulating them to devise strategies for the reappropriation of the common.

The notion of politics developed by Rancière offers a good starting point here. For him “politics begins precisely when one stops balancing profits and losses and is concerned instead with dividing the parts of the common” (1999: 5; 1996: 18). Accordingly, we must set out to thinking the implications of a redistribution of the common values in the field of heritage in Maragatería. First, this reappropriation should not be conceived as a ‘return to authenticity’, although in some ways it is related to what García Canclini calls the reappropriation of the symbols of the people (1993). In addition, this reappropriation, as any other intervention in the social sphere, is a productive process. It results in the production of novelty rather than a return to what was there before (Briones 2005b). Therefore, again, reappropriation is not a naïve defense of the immanence, a ‘return to the land’ or to an ideal or utopian community that never existed (Barchiesi 2003), as if the support of the common would equate a rejection of the immaterial values in a sort of ‘postindustrial luddism’. Again, we cannot assume the romantic view that sees community as a conflict-free and coherent fiction (Mavhunga and Dressler 2007; Meskell 2012: 161). Cases like Matavenero evince the difficulty of generating lasting bonds of solidarity and community from abstract ideals in the context of hyper-individualized societies. However, reappropriation neither implies a blind embracing of postindustrialism and the transformation of heritage and community, now conceived as a self-conscious entity with capacity for elaborating metacultural self-presentations (Corsin Jimenez 2009), into transcendent representations for tourist consumption (even if for the benefit of the community). My proposal advocates an experimentation to find a halfway solution in the conscious intervention in the interplay between immanence and transcendence, and the friction arising from the multiple dimensions of heritage, the global and the local scales. Different experimentations in aboriginal communities in South America already point in this direction. The *Comunidad del Infierno* in Perú has set out a project of common heritage and nature management in partnership with an ecotourism business. The ten-year long ethnographic study of Stronza (2009) shows the ambivalence of the model, but at the same time points to its great originality. On the one hand, some factors of ecotourism have provided economic and social support for more effective management of common-pool resources while others have disrupted social cohesion and thus the potential for long-term, collective stewardship of the commons” (2009: 58).

In Maragatería, the *Juntas Vecinales*, minor networks of solidarity and exchange, and the community bonds, provide a good starting point because they have demonstrated their resilience and capacity of adaptation to changing socio-economic environments. For instance, some *Juntas Vecinales* have developed systems of common fire insurance that avoid the capture of value by

external corporations and strengthen the community bonds. In addition, in a model that could be applied to the whole area, the *Junta Vecinal* of Tabuyo has created common houses that can be rented for tourists or visitors and whose profits go to the community coffers. This represents an equal way of sharing the benefits produced by the heritage values of the area. Also, it strengthens the agency of the community and the will to preserve their environment to attract more visitors. Clearly, the success of these sorts of projects relies on their practical character because, as my research clearly shows, most people in Maragatería ground their values and decisions on functionalist and pragmatic terms. As we saw in the case of the *Petroglifos*, most people in Lucillo were not interested in them *per se*, but they understood that they could serve to attract visitors and do businesses. The same goes for common property management: those goods are today perceived as useless because they are not valuable in postproductivist economies. Similarly to the case of Galicia, “today productive developments regarding leisure and environmental activities are uninteresting options for the communities because they are perceived as externalities that benefit only external agents to the community” (Cabana Iglesia et al. 2011b: 34). That is, the enhancement of heritage cannot be grounded on transcendent assessments of heritage values and its positive properties broadly, but rather on immanent evaluations and how those take grip in the field. Of course, I am not advocating an unrepentant functionalism that disregards all kinds of metacultural values. Rather, I am making a point about the kinds of decisions that people make in the field, that is, an anthropological observation that must be taken into account when implementing projects. A fact that is largely disregarded by most academics and public institutions. Therefore, far from being a utopia, the promotion of this ‘minor economy’ is more suitable and feasible in Maragatería than the kind of development framework set out by the E.U. funding group and institutional approaches to rural development and tourism based on large investments on an individual basis. Most importantly, this ‘minor territory’ *already exists*; it has emerged as a self-organized reality. However, far from being supported, it is being undermined: the attraction of new dwellers (human capital, in neoliberal parlance) through the *Camino de Santiago*, the trade networks between artisans and mobile eco-rural populations, informal networks of peasant production and barter, the sustainable projects of production as conceived by the British community of Lucillo and many others, the dense network of artists, musicians, blacksmiths or potters from all over the world that combine working the land with their activities, the *Juntas Vecinales* and their plans of common forest management... Those are just some examples of projects that emerge from the ground without any institutional support, either in the form of bureaucratic or funding aid. Those are channeled to building huge hotels and restaurants, connected as dots in a flat or bi-dimensional space with heritage sites and museums through signs and posters, in a clear reflection of the quantitative, rational, striated and cold institutional approach to heritage and the territory broadly. Of course, these hotels, rural cottages and restaurants capture the values produced by the minor territorial networks without creating anything new (economic positive externalities).

Any sort of alternative then implies a thorough rethinking of the theoretical and methodological assumptions of the various disciplines and policies operating in the territory: urban and landscape planning, architecture, forest engineering, biology and earth sciences, heritage management, rural and tourism development, etc. This also implies thinking in the different ontological dimensions of heritage, and a consideration of its various (physical) dimensions. For example, why not expanding the project launched by a single village like Tabuyo to the rest of

maragato villages, creating a network of communally owned hotels and restaurants in the form of a cultural or heritage area that enhances the immaterial value of the territory based on its ‘difference’ – as difference and otherness generate value (Briones 1998). Conceived as an all-encompassing *comarcal* – county level – initiative, a cultural park in Maragatería could create economies of scale and synergies to operate in the global scales of value, capturing flows of value and investment that would revert to the communities and guarantee their reproduction, rather than accumulating in private hands. Consequently, revenues could be reinvested in the local heritage assets metaculturally sanctioned and presented, to take care and manage them, which in turn would enable the reproduction of local modes of existence without necessarily resorting or being co-opted by public institutions or private sponsors. In addition, this would increase the voice and bargaining power in environmental or large-scale territorial issues: the location of dumps of all kinds in the area, the creation of a dam, or an increased bargaining power against the Ministry of Defense for the suppression of the Military Range. That is, to offer a real alternative for the development of the area that does not pass through its conversion into junkspace (sensu Koolhaas 2002).

At the same time, heritage would not become a metacultural entity transcending the community, because it would be something where the community is involved that from which receives something. This encourages the establishment of positive relations with heritage elements: a relation of identification. This would prevent situations as those discussed in some case studies in which individuals are mostly passive or disinterested in heritage issues and processes, or actively work against those processes. It is clear then that, as Winter argues, (2011), there is nothing essential in the relationship between heritage and identity. In reality, specific articulations of the *socius* favor certain heritagization processes over others, generating more or less exclusivist identities, increasing or diminishing senses of belonging, or influencing in the construction of more or less individual and shared memories. As I have shown in a previous work (Alonso González 2010c), this sort of community projects and experimentations have already been launched in places like the cultural park of Val di Cornia (Italy) or the Historian’s Office in Havana (Cuba). In summary, the process of reappropriation I set out aims to utilize heritage to reverse current neoliberal strategies for the capture of value based on the principle that legitimates and promotes the transfer of public and common goods to private hands. This is clear at different scales: global (facilitation of the workings of multinational corporations by smoothing and facilitating the international travel of capital), national and regional (transfer of public funds into private hands through the mechanism of sovereign debt), and even at the local level of management (for instance E.U. funds for rural development aimed at encouraging the entrepreneurial spirit and the individualization of society). In order to reverse this ordering process, it is then necessary to counter with a similar set of strategies of reappropriation at multiple scales, being heritage one of the manifold instruments that can be useful to this end in postindustrial economies.

What is the role of the researcher in all this? As we have seen, from a Deleuzian perspective the production of knowledge does not necessarily imply the development of ever more detailed accounts that supposedly achieve greater correspondence between facts and representations, i.e., epistemological refinement. Rather, knowledge production should problematize a field of action to generate ‘matters of concern’ (Latour 2004a). The researcher must explore the field to put forward potential solutions and to pose the right answers. Can community empowerment be a solution *for something*? How can heritage play a role in this regard? This resembles Strauss (1971) discussion of

incest: it is not a question that requires an answer, but rather provides an answer to a question we yet do not know. Moreover, the researcher must commit to immanence. This implies tracing the subtle minor movements in the field, the actions, connections, movements of thought that occur in the middle of things, in the moment to moment, rather than resorting to transcendent or ventriloquistic forces such as the market, ideology or the state as ultimate causes or teleological agencies to explain or account for real-world heritage processes. Without necessarily being the ultimate object of research, heritage can lay a fundamental role in these processes. Therefore, the role of the researcher is to act as a mediator that stands halfway between the community (the plane of immanence) and the discipline (the plane of reference/transcendence). Rather than returning to ideological critiques, to merely represent ideal political discourses or concepts situated on one side or the other of the antagonisms, or to conceive research as a neutral field where heritage processes can be objectively described, supported or criticized, the investigation should be seen as a useful tool to effect real change in the world. Similarly to the case of architecture, a contemporary politicization of the heritage discipline “needs to relocate politics within specific disciplinary domains - not as a representation of an ideal concept of the political but as a political effect specific to the discipline. Neither approach can effectively engage in the transformation of reality - that is, to work politically - and simultaneously update the core of the discipline. The question is whether it is possible to open up the definition of the discipline to the impact of market forces and technical advances as a drive to evolve its codes and simultaneously engage in practice while operating as a critical agent” (Zaera-Polo 2008: 79). This position is related to Fals Borda’s (1991) understanding of knowledge production as intrinsically linked to a political project of the transformation of society. Knowledge must go hand in hand with sociopolitical changes and it is only useful to transform and channel social change in certain directions. According to Restrepo and Rojas, this is not an attack to the objectivity of science, but rather an acknowledgement of the fact that scientific knowledge is used by different social actors to direct and control social change (2010). In this sense, the researcher must act as a mediator. Being knowledgeable of heritagization processes and their performance in specific situated contexts, the researcher evolves the internal codes and updates the core of the discipline. Meanwhile, the researcher uses this knowledge about the forms of heritage value production, the multiple ontologies of heritage and valuable frictions that arise between the global-local scales, operating as a critical agent to devise ways of reappropriating those values and putting them at the service of the communities, empowering them and their inhabitants.

Understand the heritage machine as producer of ever more identities and memories, which generates differences and subsumes otherness, rearticulating socio-economic hierarchies and forms of cultural production through the social construction of cultural representations that generate value. Deconstructing these cultural representations of difference while at the same time guaranteeing an ontological status to sociobiological otherness, recognizing it as a product resulting from historic evolution. Working symmetrically with other-subjects while seeking ways to allow the open-ended reproduction and proliferation of different modes of existence in minor territories aside of state and market hegemony. Empowering local communities through the reappropriation of the immaterial (common) heritage values for the common good. Profiting from the fact that difference generates value in the global hierarchy of value (refraining from talking about it, neglecting or ignoring this reality will not stop commoditization processes from being so and expand) to capture flows of capital that desire to consume those values. Precisely, these values derive from the existence of

‘minor’ communities living in immanent relation with their heritages, and which preserve their otherness and their relational identities largely than the ‘majority’ of the uprooted and individualized population. Reappropriating the heritage machine. Reversing the dominant governmentality patterns and heritage management schemes to redirect those capitals captured in the global flow of value towards local communities, so as to guarantee their reproduction and the open-ended becoming of novel modes of existence, identities, and memories. Instead of placing heritage under the workings of microfascistic subjectivities, exclusivist identities and reterritorializing memories, putting it at the service of creativity and experimentation. Opening up novel lines of flight leading to uncharted territories. This is the key role heritage has to play in the XXI Maragatería. It is up to us now how far and how we can go successfully.

17. Conclusiones.....

1. Del ‘qué es’ al ‘para qué es’: Sobre cómo teorizar el patrimonio y su producción.

“Lo que se produce ya está vendido – señala –, porque antes se convirtió en objeto de deseo” (Lipovich and Lazzarato 20/12/2010).

“El Barroco no remite a una esencia, sino más bien a una función operatoria, a un rasgo. No cesa de hacer pliegues. No inventa la cosa: ya había todos los pliegues procedentes de Oriente, los pliegues griegos, romanos, románicos, góticos, clásicos... Pero él curva y recurva los pliegues, los lleva hasta el infinito, pliegue sobre pliegue, pliegue según pliegue” (Deleuze 1989b: 11).

‘Patrimonio’ se ha convertido a la vez en un objeto de deseo y una función operatoria, además de un término de uso habitual y casi omnipresente en las sociedades contemporáneas, hasta un punto tal que ha llegado a convertirse en un significante flotante (Weiss 2007 414) o un meta-significante (Laurier 1998 25). Diferentes autores apuntan a que vivimos en un tiempo de patrimonialización generalizada (Bendix 2008; Graburn 2007) o en la “era del patrimonio” (Fowler, 1992 (Fowler 1992)). De modo paralelo, se han aducido una serie de explicaciones para dar cuenta del fenómeno que tienden a esconder las múltiples complejidades e intersecciones del ámbito del patrimonio, sin dar cuenta de sus causas últimas y efectos socioeconómicos. Así, se dice que la ruptura postmoderna con el pasado y la aceleración del tiempo y de los ritmos de vida (Virilio 2007) han llevado a la gente a buscar sus raíces en lo ‘auténtico’ en relación con un proceso de proliferación de los no-lugares (Augé 2008) o espacios basura (Koolhaas 2002). Sin embargo, dice Herzfeld (2004), escasa investigación se ha dirigido a entender un aspecto fundamental del patrimonio: ¿por qué el pasado provee de legitimidad?

Hall considera fundamental el patrimonio en la generación y justificación de visiones reaccionarias de las historias nacionales de los estados nación. Para él, patrimonio es “un complejo de organizaciones, instituciones y prácticas dedicadas a la presentación de la cultura y las artes – galerías de arte, colecciones de especialistas, instituciones públicas y privadas, museos de todo tipo (generales, temáticas, históricas o científicas, nacionales o locales) y sitios de especial interés histórico” (1999: 3). La cuestión patrimonial iría entonces mucho más allá de la preservación de

elementos de valor para la posteridad en base a criterios históricos y estéticos, siendo un vector fundamental para implementar funciones de gobernabilidad estatal y para legitimizar historias nacionales. El patrimonio es así concebido hoy como un fenómeno centrado en el presente, un discurso con consecuencias materiales en la realidad (Smith 2006). Este se construye a través de un proceso metacultural de selección, ya que no existe ningún ‘patrimonio’ antes de que alguien comience a preservar, recordar, reclamar, poner en valor o celebrar algo (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004b). En este sentido el patrimonio no es algo nuevo, ya que la gente siempre ha usado “memorias retrospectivas como recursos del pasado para transmitir un sentido de destino orientado hacia el futuro. El patrimonio, en este sentido, puede encontrarse, ser interpretado, cargado de significado, clasificado, presentado, conservado y perdido ... en cualquier era” (Harvey 2008: 22).

El problema es que el concepto de patrimonio se ha expandido para abrazar “la totalidad de lo que los antropólogos llaman cultura material – estructuras, sitios, artefactos y a las manifestaciones inmateriales ahora conocidas como patrimonio intangible” (Anheier et al. 2011: 3). En consecuencia, la práctica de la preservación patrimonial y su puesta en valor se ha generalizado en la vida cultural contemporánea, como un ámbito de inversión económica y de debate político alrededor de lo que debe ser preservado, representado, recordado, documentado o eliminado. Además, el estado nación ya no es el sitio central de producción patrimonial, como había sido evidenciado y denunciado por los críticos de la industria patrimonial británica después de la II Guerra Mundial, y especialmente tras el giro neo-conservador de Margaret Thatcher (ver Samuel 1994; Wright 1985). Diferentes autores apuntan a un aumento de la democratización de la producción patrimonial y el incremento de la importancia de ‘otros patrimonios’ y de la ‘historia desde abajo’. Así, en las economías más avanzadas, y especialmente en el mundo anglosajón, las personas tienden a “construir múltiples identificaciones a partir de una gran variedad de materiales, tiempos y lugares” (Anheier et al. 2011: 9).

Pese a ello, ciertos actores sociales e instituciones conservan todavía un papel fundamental en la representación simbólica de las culturas y los patrimonios de ‘los otros’, especialmente las instituciones públicas nacionales e internacionales como la UNESCO. La representación cultural sirve para cargar de significado sitios y entes patrimoniales con los que la gente conecta física y emocionalmente, lo que hace que sirva para establecer relaciones entre nociones de pertenencia, memoria, propiedad y, consecuentemente, identidad (Rose 1995: 91). Por otro lado, las identidades tienen que ver con “cuestiones de cómo utilizar los recursos de la historia, el lenguaje y la cultura en el proceso de devenir más que ser... tienen que ver con la invención de la tradición tanto como con la tradición en sí misma” (Hall 1996b: 4). Esta tradición, desde sus inicios, sirvió para legitimar las posiciones de poder de las elites socioeconómicas, que se beneficiaban de la asociación de elementos de prestigio / conocimiento a sus esferas vitales (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1992). Igualmente, esta tradición y los objetos del pasado sirvieron desde los comienzos de la modernidad y la ilustración para ‘educar’ a la población en los valores de las clases privilegiadas (Bennett 1995), en una clara muestra del concepto gramsciano del ‘estado educador’ y creador de ciudadanos: la cultura sirve así como mecanismo de incorporación social. Así por ejemplo, se produce la equiparación de lo moderno con la superioridad de la alta cultura (hegemónica) sobre lo tradicional y la cultura popular (subalterna). Paradójicamente, sin embargo, los estados nación continúan utilizando y cooptando la cultura y el patrimonio popular y tradicional para legitimar

ideológicamente lo nacional, a la vez que buscan erradicarlo al considerarlo como un reflejo de la pobreza y la superstición de parte de la población (García Canclini 1993).

La narración de la tradición que el patrimonio ayuda a crear busca establecer una conexión entre comunidad, pasado e identidad. Esta no es “nunca neutral con respecto a los valores que encarna... si la tradición presupone ‘una posesión común’, esta no presupone una uniformidad o un consenso generalizado... es un espacio de disputa tanto como de consenso, de desacuerdo tanto como de acuerdo” (Scott 1999: 124). Esta ‘posesión común’ compartida y vivida por las comunidades se está convirtiendo en un valor de creciente relevancia dentro de la jerarquía de valores globales, donde lo primitivo, lo local, lo tradicional y lo exótico es ensalzado (Hardt and Negri 2009). Por supuesto, esta exaltación está vinculada a la mercantilización del patrimonio, proceso cuyas consecuencias negativas han sido señaladas por distintos autores (Baillie et al. 2010; Goulding 2000). Pese a que muchos menos estudios se han dedicado a estudiar la economía política del patrimonio en comparación con los que tratan cuestiones sobre identidad, memoria o la relación patrimonio y estado-nación, la importancia de factores económicos sobre discursos de legitimación nacional y cuestiones de identidad y memoria tiende a ganar un peso cada vez mayor en la determinación del funcionamiento del patrimonio.

En cualquier caso, ambas utilizaciones del patrimonio (legitimadora/identitaria y mercantilista) tienden a romper el vínculo y la relación inmanente entre las comunidades y sus patrimonios. Es fundamental enfatizar aquí la importancia de concebir el patrimonio como un objeto múltiple (ver Mol 2002), en relación con las variadas realidades y dinámicas de las que emerge a partir de formas de vida específicas, intereses de investigación y ensamblajes socioeconómicos existentes en cada contexto. “Incluso dentro de una misma sociedad, los pasados, patrimonios e identidades deben ser considerados como plurales” (Graham and Howard 2008a: 1). La teorización que aquí propongo busca concebir el patrimonio como bien común *situado* en contextos específicos y en relación con comunidades, en lugar de como bien *universal común de la humanidad*, como instituciones internacionales como la UNESCO quieren hacernos entender. El proyecto de la UNESCO se incluye dentro del paradigma ilustrado de raigambre positivista, que busca una democratización universal a través de la difusión del arte, el conocimiento y en general la educación. Leído a través de la óptica de Žižek, el proyecto de la UNESCO resulta paradójico. Žižek (1992) demuestra como todo intento democrático por imponer algún tipo de proyecto planetario o universal basado en la comunidad de la gente como ‘ciudadanos del mundo’, siempre acaba por fracasar: cuanto más se busca lo universal más se refuerzan los valores étnico-nacionalistas y se acaba por vincular el proyecto universal a los intereses de los estados-nación (1992). Algo que de hecho ha sucedido con el proyecto de ‘Patrimonio de la Humanidad’ de la UNESCO, cooptado por los estados desde sus orígenes.

Entonces, la labor de la UNESCO ha servido para extender el concepto de patrimonio y legitimar su apropiación por memorias e identidades nacionales, que intentan conectarse y competir en la economía política global por el prestigio (Isar 2011: 43). Como hemos visto, la UNESCO sanciona elementos que han pasado por un proceso de neutralización política e ideológica: las Médulas pueden ser patrimonio de la humanidad, pero no el Teleno. Así, sus declaraciones y políticas se insertan en las agendas de los estados nación de forma que contribuyan a legitimar estados de cosas específicos y a esconder narraciones/situaciones no deseadas o a depurarlas de elementos controvertidos. De este modo el patrimonio se convierte en un ‘complejo transnacional

de producción cultural' (Mato 2003) con sus paradojas inherentes. Así, mientras la globalización patrimonial tiende a la homogenización de contextos locales desde arriba, los movimientos que buscan reconocimiento desde abajo tienden a inscribir sus patrimonializaciones y luchas en sentidos y concepciones globales como la vuelta a la naturaleza, el derecho a alimentación sana y no contaminación, a una cultura propia única, etc. (Carrasco et al. 1996). Estos procesos se enmarcan en el contexto globalizador que articula múltiples zonas de contacto y varios 'presentes coetáneos' a escala local, global, regional y nacional, que han de ser analizados como conjuntos histórico-geográficos y sociales coherentes para comprender la sedimentación de procesos globales en prácticas locales (Rappaport 2003).

En este contexto resulta evidente que el turismo es un actor fundamental en la producción de patrimonio, memoria e identidad (Timothy and Nyaupane 2009). Sin embargo, los investigadores del patrimonio siguen centrándose en el papel de los estados nación, las instituciones y los expertos en la producción de patrimonio (e.g. Breglia 2006; De Cesari 2010; Herzfeld 2010; Smith 2006). Como afirma Winter, estas perspectivas, pese a ser esferas de análisis fundamentales, suelen dejar de lado el papel cada vez más fundamental que el capital juega en el ámbito del patrimonio y que conlleva la priorización de formas específicas de conocimiento experto, académico y cultural (2011). El patrimonio, como concepto abarcador, sirve para generar interrelaciones provechosas entre distintas industrias y negocios a caballo entre los sectores públicos y privados, siendo el patrimonio visto hoy como un vector fundamental de ingresos adicionales para todas las ciudades en transición hacia economías terciarias o post-industriales a través de procesos de gentrificación y restauración o invención de centros históricos y áreas patrimoniales. Esta transición no ha de ser concebida como una imposición transcendental por parte de un ente dominante (estado, mercado, etc.), sino que en ella participa una multiplicidad de actores sociales, empresarios de hostelería, académicos de toda índole, arquitectos, planeadores urbanos y espaciales, políticos, inversores inmobiliarios, y muchos otros (Winter 2011).

Claramente, estos procesos no se desvinculan de cuestiones identitarias o mnemónicas: de hecho suelen ser cooptados por agendas estatales o regionales para reforzar discursos reaccionarios sobre la construcción nacional/regional de identidades específicas que garantizan su cohesión y homogeneidad. Esto no significa que todos los ámbitos científicos y académicos hayan participado en las tareas de la 'Ciencia Oficial', trabajando para satisfacer los objetivos del estado y el mercado, pero resulta evidente que ciertos discursos y formas de conocimiento predominan sobre otros precisamente porque son privilegiados por el capital a la vez que permiten y facilitan la creación y/o apropiación de capital a partir de procesos de patrimonialización. Dos ejemplos bastan: a la hora de poner en valor sitios arqueológicos predomina siempre la visión positivista de la arqueología procesual, y no se deja entrada a otras interpretaciones y visiones provenientes del post-procesualismo. Igualmente, a la hora de poner en valor se da preferencia a la arqueología industrial sobre una arqueología del presente, ya que la primera objetiva de forma neutral y aséptica los vestigios del pasado como remanentes estéticos aislados de un pasado idealizado. Una arqueología del presente que realiza una labor crítica y no estetizante (sino que politiza) no provee narrativas útiles para el capital o las instituciones.

Las formas de patrimonialización proyectadas por instituciones públicas van en línea con las directrices del mercado y fomentan un saber-hacer y la producción de un determinado tipo de conocimiento conservador que puede ser incluido en los significantes vacíos de 'desarrollo

sostenible’, ‘renovación urbana’, ‘turismo cultural’, etc. Todos ellos, como bien señalan Ayán y Gago, supuestamente destinados a unos ciudadanos que sólo aparecen mencionados o son tenidos en cuenta a la hora de recabar fondos, pero no a la de implementar y gestionar las puestas en valor y patrimonializaciones (2012). Mucho más importante es orientar la investigación patrimonial y proyectos de conservación de “forma que se maximice su potencial para establecer conexiones multi-sectoriales” (Winter 2011: 79). Esto se evidencia en Maragatería en la implementación de los programas de desarrollo europeo llevados a cabo por el Grupo de Acción Local Montañas del Teleno, donde se fomenta la idea neoliberal del ‘emprendedor’ y se ponen en marcha proyectos que escasamente tienen que ver con los supuestos fines de tales proyectos dirigidos al desarrollo sostenible o rural y al turismo cultural. En este caso, el patrimonio sirve como un vector para canalizar nuevas articulaciones hegemónicas en la esfera social: una nueva subjetividad, una nueva retórica discursiva para canalizar las inversiones y justificar las posiciones dominantes de ciertos actores sociales, y nuevas formas de estructurar el ámbito económico y de capturar rentas e inversiones de acuerdo al nuevo ámbito económico post-industrial. Distintos autores caracterizan a este nuevo ámbito como un espacio de gobernabilidad neoliberal, en la que se privatizan responsabilidades público-estatales mediante la terciarización de servicios sociales esenciales, la descentralización, y toda una serie de procesos a los que podemos englobar como de ‘retirada del estado’ (Gordon 1991). La instrumentalización del pasado mediante el empleo de modalidades neoliberales de gestión busca, en primer lugar “producir ciudadanos autosuficientes e independientes de la ayuda del estado, lo que facilita el objetivo estatal de reducción de responsabilidades” (Meskell 2012: 205). En otras palabras, el patrimonio sirve aquí “para inscribir a los gobernados como agentes activos en su propia regulación, implantando los objetivos del gobierno en las dinámicas de la personalidad de forma que se conviertan en imperativos automáticos para las personas afectadas” (Bennett 2004: 27). En segundo lugar, estas estrategias “buscan transformar los bienes líquidos del ámbito de la cultura en capital patrimonial fijo y permanente (2012: 208). A nivel micro, los tipos de identidades y memorias que se fomentan y circulan en la esfera pública derivan de estas formas de conocimiento que el mercado y las instituciones públicas priorizan, de forma tal que el patrimonio se construye en íntima conexión con narrativas destinadas a legitimar contextos políticos y a generar valor de mercado.

Esta reflexión apunta al giro biopolítico en el que el patrimonio se inscribe dentro de la fase supermoderna en la que nos movemos, en la que se expande y exagera lo moderno (Augé 2008). Durante la modernidad, en el contexto de producción industrial, Marx llegó a la conclusión de que la producción capitalista se dirige no sólo a la creación de objetos sino también a la de sujetos: “la producción no crea sólo un objeto para el sujeto, sino también un sujeto para el objeto” (1973: 92). Esta situación se acentúa durante la supermodernidad, en la que los seres vivos son considerados como capital fijo y la producción de formas de vida es considerada fundamental para producir plusvalor. En este proceso, las facultades humanas, saber-hacer, conocimiento, emociones, son consideradas directamente productivas de valor, pero no sólo dentro del tiempo de trabajo sino también y fundamentalmente fuera de él (Marazzi 2000). Esto resulta evidente en la tendencia creciente a la patrimonialización de los seres vivos, sean estos indígenas sudamericanos, tribus oceánicas, o paisanos maragatos. En cualquier caso, la operación fundamental que se realiza es su desplazamiento temporal (hacia lo primitivo) y espacial (hacia territorios otros), tanto a nivel simbólico como material: la materialización de la representación cultural de lo maragato puede

llevar a procesos de gentrificación incluso en pueblos rurales de la Maragatería. Esto en el lado del ‘recurso patrimonial’ objetificado. En el lado del sujeto ‘objetificador/consumidor’ de patrimonio, la invención de formas de vida está asociada a concepciones supuestamente alternativas de turismo en relación con la cultura (Urry 1995a), en un ámbito productivo en el que las esferas del ocio y la cultura tienden a desaparecer (Thrift 2006). Para el turista consumidor lo fundamental no es adquirir un producto material, sino tener acceso a una experiencia vital y a una relación social, a un determinado ‘ambiente’ o ‘entorno afectivo’ (Lazzarato 1997).

En este sentido, tanto las formas de conocimiento como las prácticas de patrimonialización que vienen fomentándose tienden a convertirse en profecías autorrealizadas del capital. Ahora podemos entender la frase de Lazzarato cuando dice que “lo que se produce ya está vendido porque antes se convirtió en objeto de deseo” (Lipcovich and Lazzarato 20/12/2010). Es decir, una vez que el valor inmaterial del patrimonio es reconocido socialmente y se produce un interés entre la gente por consumirlo, su valor inmaterial en los circuitos de turismo e inversión global está garantizado. La mercantilización del patrimonio es entonces origen y consecuencia de este deseo social, que debe ser después articulado y canalizado por distintos vectores donde se negocian estrategias de poder y se articulan formas de gobierno y producción de subjetividad. Sin duda, la esfera cultural y elementos estéticos jugaron un papel fundamental en el desarrollo y propagación de las formas de auto-gobierno liberales desde el origen de la modernidad (Bennett 2004). En este sentido, mi investigación ha intentado responder a la llamada de Herzfeld (2001) de analizar como estas concepciones estéticas (de las que el patrimonio forma parte) se trasladan al mundo real a través de tecnologías y formas de conocimiento específicas para la regulación de la conducta social y la promoción de la auto-gobernanza y el auto-control de los individuos. Esto tiene que ver con el creciente proceso de individualización del sujeto occidental que, según Hernando (2002) conlleva una pérdida progresiva durante la modernidad de la conexión emocional con la realidad debido a la explicación mediante la razón universal de los fenómenos del mundo. Una vez que el individuo postmoderno pierde la fe en esta razón universal y tiende a enfatizar su propia subjetividad tiende a revalorizar su experiencia y buscar el refuerzo de la identidad colectiva: el patrimonio sirve así como sustitutivo de las ‘comunidades inmanentes’ que existían y que fueron seccionadas y desenraizadas por el proceso modernizador. Sin embargo, la imposible vuelta a estas ‘comunidades originarias’ (Barchiesi 2003) lleva a un intento de reafirmar la idea de comunidad de forma metacultural, mediatizada por la razón y por la afirmación de la subjetividad postmoderna. Una práctica para la que el patrimonio cultural es considerado fundamental.

Esto es así porque el patrimonio participa en los procesos de producción cultural, que a través de la creación de representaciones y significantes genera su propia metacultura (Urban 2001b), es decir, “nociones en base a las que ciertos aspectos se naturalizan y definen como a-culturales, mientras algunos se marcan como atributo particular de ciertos *otros*, o se enfatizan como *propio*” (Briones 2005b: 15). Así se define, como en Val de San Lorenzo o Santiago Millas, la ‘norma’ en términos estéticos cargados de significado mediante grandes inversiones económicas y vitales. Probablemente, la excesiva atención prestada por los estudios de patrimonio en cuestiones identitarias deja de lado las múltiples dimensiones de la conformación de cualquier esfera social y sus procesos intrínsecos. Según Grossberg (1996), la identidad está intrínsecamente ligada a formas de existencia vinculadas a lugares y geografías específicas, que condicionan patrones de movilidad y de filiaciones con otras identidades. Sin embargo, Grossberg remite también a otros dos vectores

esenciales en los que se involucra la producción patrimonial. Por un lado, la subjetividad y su producción determinan las formas en las que se producirá el acceso a la experiencia del mundo desde hogares o posicionamientos particulares de los individuos. Finalmente, la agencia remite, al contrario que la identidad y la subjetividad, a formas de interacción social no completamente determinadas o pre-existentes, sino que derivan de las formas de organizar el espacio social que otorgan posiciones privilegiadas o subalternas a ciertos grupos sociales. Como hemos visto, el patrimonio sirve en Maragatería, y de forma amplia en nuestras sociedades post-industriales, como un tropo alrededor del cual negociar/resistir/imponer nuevas tríadas de identidad, subjetividad y agencia. Conviene aquí traer a Briones a colación. Según ella, alrededor de estas tres nociones fundamentales,

“los sujetos articulan sus propios mapas de significado, deseo y placer, aunque siempre condicionados por la movilidad estructurada que resulta de estructuras ya existentes de circulación y acceso diferencial a un determinado conjunto de prácticas históricas y políticamente articuladas. Emergiendo entonces del interjuego estratégico entre líneas de articulación (territorialización) y líneas de fuga (desterritorialización) que ponen en acto y posibilitan formas específicas de movimiento (cambio) y estabilidad (identidad), esa movilidad estructurada habilita formas igualmente específicas de acción y agencia. Más aun, según Grossberg, el análisis de tales líneas es un campo central para identificar la capacidad de agencia, pues las mismas determinan qué tipos de lugares la gente puede ocupar, cómo los ocupa, cuánto espacio tiene la gente para moverse, y cómo puede moverse a través de ellos. Por tanto, distintas formas de acción y agencia resultan no sólo a la desigual distribución de capital cultural y económico, sino también de la disponibilidad diferencial de diferentes trayectorias de vida por medio de las cuales se pueden adquirir esos recursos” (2005b: 19).

Vemos entonces que el patrimonio sirve para muchas cosas. Pero, ¿para qué sirve en Maragatería? En lugares como Maragatería, donde las estrategias de gobernabilidad y las fuerzas estatales y de mercado alcanzan sólo capilarmente, el ámbito del patrimonio es particularmente difuso y difícil de abarcar. Como hemos visto, no hay ‘agentes centrales’ que impongan sus visiones del patrimonio, ni estatales, regionales, ni provinciales; no hay construcciones identitarias en juego más allá de la retórica leonesista, cuya fuerza no se deja sentir excesivamente debido a su escasa representación y poder político en el área, y tampoco un mercado turístico que haya podido llevar a la comercialización desmedida del patrimonio. Para la mayor parte de la población, ‘patrimonio’ refiere a los usos tradicionales del término, es decir, los que refleja todavía el diccionario de la lengua española: las propiedades heredadas por alguien. En este sentido podemos hablar de una situación ‘pre-patrimonial’ que se encuentra en tránsito hacia el discurso patrimonial postmoderno caracterizado por la selección metacultural de ciertos elementos como valiosos. En términos de Prats, esta dialéctica se produce entre lugares con ‘patrimonio local’ y otros con un ‘patrimonio localizado’ por procesos de patrimonialización (2009). Por supuesto, esta situación revierte a una situación sociológicamente compleja donde conviven múltiples presentes, ritmos y temporalidades. Así, las comunidades preindustriales en transición a la modernidad tienden a alejarse de las formas de vida tradicionales y la materialidad que le viene asociada. Como afirma Mahler, “modernidad implica predictibilidad y dejar de vivir ‘en la naturaleza’, modernidad es una forma de generar estructuras y seguridad para evitar la inmanencia con la naturaleza, mientras a través de tecnologías y dispositivos económicos la postmodernidad reintroduce el flujo y el cambio

de nuevo. El problema es cómo lidiar con esta situación, con cómo caracterizar a las nuevas sociedades” (2008: 62). Este alejamiento simbólico y material de la tradición permite individualizarla y objetificarla como algo que puede ser recuperado, ensalzado o puesto en valor por sujetos patrimonializadores modernos y postmodernos. Cómo esta patrimonialización se realice, cómo el deseo social se inscriba y canalice en lo social, en terminología deleuziana, es lo que llevará a territorializaciones específicas y a la definición de jerarquías sociales, trayectorias vitales posibles, producciones de subjetividad y/o identidad y capacidades de agencia particulares.

Para comprender estas territorializaciones resulta fundamental la dinámica existente entre tradición y modernidad, localidad y globalidad: lo tradicional y local resultan valiosos (como valor inmaterial para una sociedad del conocimiento, el ocio y la cultura) en la fricción con el mercado global moderno y postmoderno. Esta concepción anti-esencialista del patrimonio implica seguir la lógica deleuziana de la diferencia en varios sentidos:

1: El patrimonio es un vector fundamental en las sociedades postindustriales no porque aporte identificación con las comunidades preindustriales o porque permita una vuelta a la tradición, a lo rural al campo, sino más bien porque funciona en sintonía con la psique supermoderna (Augé 2008). Esta no funciona por identificación, sino por una exageración de la necesidad de diferenciación de cada sujeto frente a otros, algo que la adscripción del sujeto a elementos patrimoniales mediante metáforas simbólicas permite: mi casa *representa* mis valores y un *modo de existencia* específico, y no ya simples criterios funcionales relacionados con la lógica de la modernidad. La nueva identidad de la postmodernidad sustituye la relación directa entre individuos por filiaciones metafóricas y simbólicas, que imponen identificaciones con hitos y lugares que pueblan el paisaje simbólico en el que viven y que comparten con otros miembros de la sociedad (que ya no de la comunidad). Así, lo moderno no es sólo una condición de desencanto como mantenía Weber, sino que, como sostiene Grossberg (1996), lo moderno implica no sólo una construcción activa de la diferencia con *los otros*, sino como diferencia *de sí mismo*, en distintos vectores de movilidad geográfica y temporal: el moderno difiere constantemente de sí mismo y en ello se basa su identidad. Se producen así progresivas *homogenizaciones por diferencia*: en pueblos como Val de San Lorenzo, Santiago Millas o Valdespino no se vuelve a un espíritu comunitario ni en lo material ni en lo simbólico, sino que se utiliza la economía visual del pueblo para transmitir unos valores a partir de ciertas intervenciones patrimoniales individualizadas, es decir, para construir algo nuevo e invertir energía, emociones y dinero en el empeño. Unas intervenciones que tienden a resquebrajar la *comunidad* e implantar la *sociedad*, como por ejemplo en la asociación formada en Santiago Millas para canalizar los intereses de un grupo privilegiado mediante el uso del patrimonio, que provee legitimidad y facilita la creación de un ambiente afectivo en el que relacionarse. El patrimonio sirve así para establecer nuevas relaciones de poder a partir de luchas simbólicas o mnemónicas que evitan la resolución de cuestiones de interés para la comunidad en el ámbito de la política local: se trata de inversiones post-políticas que llevan a considerar la esfera pública como una arena en la que imponer significantes y modos de vida que otorgan valor y agencia a determinados actores e invalidan a otros.

2. El patrimonio, al igual que la tradición, no es o puede ser individualizado o definido claramente. Es una noción construida, móvil, que puede ser modulada de acuerdo a factores externos a los objetos que lo constituyen a través del establecimiento de relaciones exteriores a los términos que componen sus relaciones. Es decir: el patrimonio es un *agenciamiento* o *ensamblaje*

en el sentido de que sólo existe inscrito en redes de valor/conocimiento/ocio que sostienen su valor inmaterial de forma relacional y su utilidad como forma de canalizar significados identitarios. Así, el patrimonio puede existir como discurso y como práctica, sin llegar a permear la esfera social, y sólo cuando una gran cantidad de externalidades convergen se hace posible su existencia como vector de relevancia en la esfera pública. Por ejemplo, se hace necesaria una economía postindustrial y estados del bienestar que permitan la hibridación del ámbito de la cultura con el del ocio, la existencia de amplias capas poblacionales educadas, con tiempo libre y capacidad adquisitiva, entes burocráticos con capacidad para manipular y utilizar referentes metaculturales para sus propios intereses y para la reproducción del sistema estatal, y emprendedores que sepan sacar provecho de la situación y capturar los valores (no de potenciarlos) que produce el patrimonio. Estos agenciamientos se producen a distintas escalas pero todos ellos tienden a converger en las jerarquías mundiales de valor patrimonial (Herzfeld 2004) a través de mecanismos de ecualización del valor promovidos por instituciones como la UNESCO y que permiten a actores locales vincularse a discursos globales y viceversa.

Todos estos factores son de baja intensidad en Maragatería y, consecuentemente, la fuerza de los procesos patrimoniales es igualmente baja. Sin embargo, esta baja intensidad y la carencia de ‘agencias fuertes’ (estatales o de mercado) es lo que confiere gran interés a Maragatería como campo de investigación patrimonial, ya que las territorializaciones que se realizan tienen un carácter local y reflejan la multiplicidad de intereses convergentes y dialécticos entre distintos actores y cómo, lejos de las jerarquías y discursos globales de valor, el patrimonio puede tomar muchos sentidos y significaciones. Mi investigación ha buscado comprender cómo estas distintas patrimonializaciones producían efectos y reflejaban realidades muy distintas en cada uno de los casos estudiados, y cómo, a la vez, eran influenciados por procesos a nivel global (discursos y prácticas patrimoniales universales), nacional (contexto español de burbuja inmobiliaria y extensión del fenómeno de la segunda residencia) regional y provincial (marcos de desarrollo rural y creación de identidades leonesa-castellana).

Hemos explorado este interjuego entre modernidad y tradición, o entre los extremos abstractos entre el patrimonio como inmanencia y el patrimonio como selección metacultural de elementos valiosos, en nuestros casos de estudio. En todos ellos se demuestra la importancia de la no-linearidad en los procesos de evolución y puesta en juego de discursos y prácticas patrimoniales, y las consecuencias para la reorganización del ámbito social y sus relaciones de poder. Así, la cuestión de ‘lo maragato’ tiene implicaciones múltiples: sobre la construcción social de una representación cultural de su diferencia y arcaísmo se generó todo el discurso patrimonial supermoderno ya que, en esta era, la diferencia genera valor. Así, se pasa de la construcción social de representaciones culturales, a la implementación de estas representaciones culturales en la práctica, en formas materiales que rearticulan la esfera social. El patrimonio es, más que nunca, un discurso con consecuencias materiales (Smith 2006). Igualmente, la distribución de agencias y subjetividades derivada de este proceso relega a los ‘paisanos’, contruidos socialmente como subalternos en las economías políticas de los pueblos y objetificados por los discursos académicos e institucionales sobre patrimonio: ellos no entran en los discursos metaculturales (metafóricos – los objetos refieren a relaciones con el afuera del objeto) sobre el patrimonio sino que viven culturalmente (metonímicamente – las relaciones están encerradas dentro de los objetos) *en el* patrimonio. Es decir, lo que los sujetos patrimoniales representan como primitivo, arcaico y digno

de recuperar, es el mundo en el que otro grupo social habita y da sentido a su experiencia vital. Se genera así una distancia entre el 'yo' que clasifica y jerarquiza y el 'otro' que es clasificado. Surgen así oposiciones y desigualdades directas, siendo la más fundamental la que opone lo rural a lo urbano, y equipara el primero a primitivo/arcaico y el segundo a moderno/progresivo. El supermoderno va más allá y para sublimar este dualismo mantiene una trayectoria de vida esquizofrénica o bipolar por la que vive en ambos mundos, llevando mentalidades urbanas a lo rural mientras se adapta a los criterios estéticos locales formalmente, ya que supone una forma sutil de apropiarse de 'lo mejor de los dos mundos' de modo simbólico.

Estas construcciones culturales de la diferencia sirven entonces para dar valor y reorganizar las posibles agencias de los sujetos, pero también son apropiadas por discursos identitarios. Así por ejemplo, una vez reificado, el 'paisano' puede ser considerado como esencia última y depositario de la identidad de una comunidad imaginada como la leonesa. De este modo, el patrimonio sirve para imponer una forma de colonización de los otros internos (Ramos 2005). Como decía Adorno, estos procesos culturales sirven para recodificar la diferencia y homogeneizarla de forma totalitaria, ya que esta "recodificación define la organización de la esfera social de forma negativa" (en Parr 2008: 77). Así, el vector patrimonial contribuye a este proceso que objetifica, segmenta y reordena las relaciones inmanentes en las comunidades para imponer nuevas negaciones, lenguajes y represiones. Estas, a su vez, dejan "no-dichos, espectros y anormalidades... huellas de la violencia... en el plano de lo invisible, inaudible e impronunciado" (Haber 2011c: 20), la otra cara de la moneda, cuya realidad solo se estudia como ente reificado y por lo tanto con sólo dos salidas posibles: el museo o la extinción. Presenciamos tristemente esta realidad con las culturas vernáculas preindustriales de todo el noroeste español, y sus formas de organización, propiedad y relación social.

La fricción entre cultura y metacultura permanece siempre en tensión entre los ámbitos inmanente y trascendente. Así, en el caso de las fiestas maragatas y en Matavenero, el patrimonio sigue estando vinculado a la comunidad y sus ritos. En cambio, en Val de San Lorenzo o Santiago Millas se encuentra totalmente desterritorializado y construido metaculturalmente, transcendentemente en base a categorías externas. En el caso de Prada de la Sierra, el Camino de Santiago o el Campo de Tiro del Teleno, sirve para negociar posiciones de poder y hacer atribuciones simbólicas de valor en luchas de raigambre fundamentalmente política y económica. Así por ejemplo, vemos en el caso del Campo de Tiro como tanto los actores sociales a su favor como en su contra redirigen sus luchas al ámbito metacultural, pasándose a vehicular sus reclamos mediante lo patrimonial. Los actores anti-Campo pasaron de la lucha política, inmanente, de los años 80 en contra de su implantación, a lo pospolítico y al ámbito discursivo patrimonial para negociar el cambio: el Campo de Tiro no es ya negativo de por sí, por sus daños materiales, por sus víctimas humanas, o por representar un aparato militar estatal, sino porque daña un patrimonio cultural y natural presente en el monte Teleno. Por su parte, el ejército y los aparatos del estado se sirvieron de todo el ensamblaje moderno de poder-conocimiento para construir, codo con codo con la elite intelectual-investigadora-académica del país, el Campo de Tiro como un dispositivo ideal para la protección del patrimonio. Se produce así una deshumanización del ámbito de lo político a través del patrimonio, en paralelo a la cada vez mayor transferencia de cualidades patrimoniales al ser humano (Castillo Ruiz 2007). Es decir, una vez que se impone el ámbito discursivo patrimonial, lo que cuenta es la relación metacultural del hombre a un cierto patrimonio, tanto en el Campo de

Tiro del Teleno como entre comunidades indígenas sudamericanas (Montenegro 2010). Así, resulta un argumento más sólido contra el Campo de Tiro el decir que destruye patrimonio que el hecho de que ciertas personas hayan muerto y que otras se encuentren en riesgo de hacerlo. En este sentido, la transferencia de los conflictos por el territorio y la agencia política a lo patrimonial implica una pérdida de capacidad de actuación del pueblo y de la comunidad, en aras de una consideración de la política como ‘gestión’ de una sociedad constituida por individuos supuestamente libres y autoreflexivos, que deja de lado cuestiones fundamentales de relevancia para la gente. A esta situación contribuyen las formas de producir conocimiento patrimonial y las posiciones adoptadas por los investigadores al respecto, como veremos a continuación.

2. ¿Cómo y por qué estudiar el patrimonio? Sobre cómo hibridar metodología y teoría.

“Aquí reside, quizás, el secreto: en hacer existir algo nuevo en lugar de juzgar. Si juzgar es tan repugnante, no es porque todo tiene el mismo valor, sino por el contrario porque lo que tiene valor puede ser producido o distinguido solo desafiando el juicio. ¿Qué juicio por parte de expertos en el mundo del arte podría influenciar una obra que está por llegar? No se trata entonces de juzgar a los demás seres existentes, sino de detectar si están de acuerdo o en desacuerdo con nosotros, es decir, si nos dan fuerzas, o por el contrario si nos devuelven a las miserias de la guerra, la pobreza del sueño, a los rigores de la organización” (Deleuze 1997: 135).

“La cultura popular es uno de los sitios donde se lucha por y contra la cultura de los poderosos: es también una cuestión fundamental el ganar o perder en esa lucha. Es el campo de batalla del consentimiento y la resistencia. Es en parte donde la hegemonía surge y se consolida. No es una esfera donde el socialismo, una cultura socialista –ya completamente formada– se exprese sin más. Pero es uno de los lugares desde los que el socialismo se podría construir. Por eso la cultura popular es importante. De lo contrario, para serte sincero, la cultura popular me importaría un bledo” (Hall 1981: 239).

La voluntad de conocer deriva de la ruptura moderna que llevará a diferenciar la naturaleza humana de la no humana y a la creación de todas las dicotomías de las que la ciencia occidental es heredera (cuerpo/mente, naturaleza/ cultura, nosotros/ellos, etc.). La posibilidad de objetivar la realidad externa de forma racional, y de dar cuenta de las leyes y mecanismos por los que funciona lleva al sujeto no sólo a tener una conciencia reflexiva de su existencia y sus emociones, “sino que necesita redefinirse objetivamente, incluyéndose en todas las redes conceptuales que le pueden decir en qué consiste el nuevo sujeto de la modernidad: en qué consiste su lenguaje (Filología, Gramática), de donde viene a través del tiempo (historia), cómo son los demás a diferencia de él (Antropología), cómo es su comportamiento más individual (Psicología), social (Sociología), sus relaciones económicas (Economía), su pasado más remoto (Arqueología)” (Hernando Gonzalo 2002: 19). Evidentemente, continúa Hernando, a medida que los sujetos modernos se van individualizando más y aumentan sus modelos racionales de explicación de los fenómenos, se produce una desvinculación emocional con respecto al mundo. Lo super, o posmoderno es un

intento de volver a reequilibrar esa relación perdida con la emoción y la experiencia. Sin embargo, lo que no se rompe es la voluntad de control sobre el campo social y sus fenómenos. “Sólo se controla lo que se entiende, y es precisamente porque la sociedad tiene un grado de complejidad socioeconómica determinado por lo que se han podido generar especialistas en el desarrollo tecnológico que permite el control y en el de modelos teóricos que permiten imaginar sus dinámicas” (Hernando Gonzalo 2002: 19). Así, como es bien sabido después de Foucault, el conocimiento es necesario para imponer después modelos transcendentales que ordenan lo que se ha conocido. A partir de aquí, emergen dos imágenes fundamentales del patrimonio como campo de estudio, una que podemos denominar como ‘oficial’ o ‘colonial’, en sus variantes positivista y crítica, y otra ‘menor’ o ‘decolonial’, cada una de ellas con sus propias ideas de verdad, conocimiento y sus objetivos de investigación.

a) Los estudios de patrimonio ‘oficiales’ o ‘coloniales’.

Estos comparten una idea de conocimiento basada en los modelos de la ciencia positiva, donde lo fundamental es alcanzar regímenes de verdad a través de epistemologías adecuadas que hacen corresponder lo visto con lo dicho. O, expresado de otro modo, para las que ‘conocimiento’ equivale a obtener representaciones fehacientes que explican o imaginan los fenómenos de una realidad objetiva percibida en clara separación del sujeto que la investiga. Al afirmar la existencia de un mundo exterior estático y verídico, una realidad empírica dada, estamos traicionando la inmanencia al postular la homogeneidad y la permanencia como bases transcendentales que garantizan la identidad de lo que conocemos (Zourabichvili et al. 2004: 19). De este modo, la investigación es el resultado de la aplicación de conceptos extrínsecos a su objeto de estudio: sabemos de antemano qué son las relaciones sociales, la familia, la religión, la cognición, la política, el patrimonio, etc. y nuestro objetivo es explorar cómo estas realidades se materializan en contextos etnográficos (Viveiros de Castro 2003: 7-8). Ya hemos visto, con Winter (2011), cómo el mercado y los aparatos de poder favorecen una investigación y un conocimiento de este tipo. Aquí, la investigación patrimonial se reduce a la tarea anticuaria, en terminología de Nietzsche (1983). Es decir, a reducir el objetivo de la investigación en ciencias sociales a la preservación de determinados objetos a los que se atribuye un valor esencial.

Existen diversas formas por las que el conocimiento producido por arqueólogos, antropólogos e investigadores patrimoniales canaliza la sobreabundancia de capital que lleva a la creación de nuevas mercancías y expande la frontera colonial (Haber 2011c). ‘Colonial’ se refiere aquí no al proceso de expansión geográfica de colonizadores europeos, sino a ‘colonialidad’, un fenómeno que va mucho más allá. El concepto de la colonialidad del poder fue desarrollado por el sociólogo Anibal Quijano (1980; 1990; 2007) para describir un proceso de imposición de un patrón de poder que tiende a naturalizar diferencias raciales, étnicas, culturales, epistémicas y territoriales de cara a la reproducción de las relaciones hegemónicas de dominación. La colonialidad del poder garantiza no sólo la explotación mundial de seres humanos por el capital, sino también y más profundamente la supresión de formas de alteridad de los subalternos y dominados, sus conocimientos, formas de vida y experiencias (Restrepo and Rojas Martínez 2010). Estas expansiones de la colonialidad encuentran hoy en la máquina patrimonial un vector de expansión fundamental, pero también anclado a las disciplinas tradicionales y sus operaciones. Estas van desde la liberación de suelo para

proyectos urbanísticos, conocimiento sobre comunidades locales que facilitan la implantación de proyectos mineros o hidráulicos, extracción de conocimientos tradicionales sobre plantas y animales, proyectos de intervención sobre bienes comunitarios, o narrativas que estetizan paisajes, ruinas y gentes para convertirlos en objetos turísticos. Las ciencias son así “reconvertidas, de empresa en busca de conocimiento, en tecnología facilitadora de la expansión de nuevos mercados” (Haber 2011c: 15). Estas estrategias se plasman en la búsqueda, no sólo de preservar ciertos elementos valiosos como objetivo último típicamente institucional, sino en expandir la frontera patrimonial a través del ‘desvelar’ nuevos patrimonios: el industrial, el intangible, el oral, etc. Posteriormente, el investigador trata de seccionarlos y compartimentarlos, definirlos e incluirlos en categorías. Curiosamente, este impulso expansivo de lo considerado como patrimonializable simplemente refleja y mide cuánto una determinada sociedad y/o sus investigadores han generado una distancia suficiente entre sujeto y objeto que permite objetificar el último y hacerlo digno de apreciación metacultural. Un pozo minero, restos de lanzaderas de misiles nucleares, o derechos consuetudinarios pasan a ser considerados patrimonio una vez que se desvinculan de contextos de interacción real. Igualmente, la patrimonialización del hombre (Castillo Ruiz 2007) resulta posible por el creciente distanciamiento intersubjetivo dentro de nuestras propias sociedades postindustriales y con respecto a los ‘otros’ tradicionalmente situados en el afuera y en el pasado. Por lo tanto, este tipo de investigación reproduce los antagonismos de clase, género o raza que constituyen la investigación.

Otra opción dentro de este primer marco de investigación ‘Oficial’ sería una investigación patrimonial ‘crítica’. Este tipo de investigación comparte los principios ontológicos y epistemológicos de la primera, pero difiere en sus objetivos: no se trata ya de conservar bienes patrimoniales o expandir su frontera, sino de criticar procesos de patrimonialización que se producen ‘ahí fuera’. El conocimiento crítico se plasma en etnografías patrimoniales o estudios históricos que analizan procesos de patrimonialización de forma crítica, revelando las injusticias que conllevan y las formas en los que estos reproducen antagonismos e inequidades sociales, tanto si son llevados a cabo por fuerzas del mercado o del estado, o ambos a la vez. Una crítica más simple y que podemos denominar ‘romántica’ presupone que había un momento prístino ‘antes de la mercantilización’ del patrimonio, es decir, una autenticidad y una pureza que se pierden con el proceso. Sin embargo, estudios críticos de mayor complejidad dan cuenta de la construcción social del patrimonio y cómo este no tiene nada de ‘auténtico’ (Lowenthal 1996; Uzzell 2009). Estos investigadores revelan las injusticias inherentes a los procesos de patrimonialización, o más aún, en lo que viene siendo considerada como la tarea de una investigación crítica de tradición ilustrada, proveer ‘narrativas alternativas’ y ‘otras verdades’ que sustituyen y se oponen a la verdad oficial, algo habitual en las etnografías patrimoniales (Andrews 2010; Breglia 2006; Herzfeld 2010). Así surgen ‘patrimonios alternativos’, de las mujeres, de las clases obreras, de las minorías, o la ‘historia desde abajo’, etc. Sin embargo, no podemos olvidar que este tipo de conocimiento racional sobre el mundo continúa imponiendo una ruptura modernista entre sujeto conocedor y objeto conocido, lo que expande la distancia entre las prácticas inmanentes y situadas en las comunidades y las prácticas transcendentales de conocimiento. Paradójicamente, esta forma de conocimiento también puede llevar a producir nuevos patrimonios y a postular la diversidad como bien de mercado (Segato 1998; Žižek 2001). Es decir, lleva así a las comunidades locales a responder a intentos de patrimonializar su conocimiento y tradiciones a partir de nociones y saberes que son

foráneos y propios de las ideas del patrimonio y la propiedad intelectual, corriendo el “riesgo de aceptar transformar también su espiritualidad en mercancía” (Briones 2005b: 13).

De este modo, se expande el diferencial colonial al situar los antagonismos ‘ahí fuera’, siendo el investigador un ‘espectador privilegiado’, que critica, documenta y observa. Se contribuye así a la violencia colonial, tanto interna (e.g., paisanos rurales) como externa (e.g., comunidades indígenas), que busca “nominar las partes (objetivación), seccionar las relaciones (represión) e introducirlas en nuevas redes de relaciones (administración)... es por eso que el lenguaje, la subjetividad y el derecho se encuentran en el núcleo del compromiso con la violencia: enuncian, constituyen y normalizan la tierra, la vida, los muertos y la historia” (Haber 2011c: 20). Así, la crítica implica supuestamente un posicionamiento a favor de una posición específica al respecto de los procesos de patrimonialización que ocurren en el exterior, en contra de la mercantilización, del mercado, o de la imposición de los grupos dominantes. Sin embargo, no creo que sea posible superar la objetivación de los sujetos y procesos estudiados al situarse en una posición favorable a uno u otro campo dentro de los antagonismos y luchas dentro de la esfera social, sino que es necesario “habitar la diferencia” (Grosso 2010). Si esto no se hace, tanto la visión positivista como la crítica contribuyen no sólo a analizar sino también a constituir el mundo de un cierto modo, inoculando la epistemología occidental y todo lo que ella implica: “Linealidad vectorial del tiempo, alteridad cultural como diferencia, autonomía de la materia, distanciamiento del pasado, antropocentrismo de lo social, extensión dimensional del espacio, primacía de lo visual en la percepción del mundo, privilegio de la razón para acceder al conocimiento, separación entre relaciones de conocimiento y relaciones sociales, etc. ... Todas ellas suponen la ruptura como esencialmente constitutiva del mundo que buscan conocer, y se definen a sí mismas en base al supuesto de ruptura. La existencia de la ruptura en el mundo objetivo está, así, más allá de la naturaleza del mundo, está ya codificada en los instrumentos con los cuales se conoce el mundo. La ruptura pasa, así, de epistémica a metafísica” (Haber 2011c: 30).

Así, es fundamental tener en cuenta que los antagonismos sociales no están ‘ahí fuera’ para ser documentados o criticados, sino que nosotros como investigadores estamos involucrados en las relaciones antagónicas que constituyen relaciones específicas de poder y nos constituyen a nosotros mismos como investigadores. Para evitar la esquizofrenia a la que lleva una investigación que no tiene en cuenta este factor (al localizar el domicilio de investigación en un lugar transcendente y ‘más allá’ de la realidad estudiada, mientras en realidad el investigador se encuentra ‘acá’, en una relación inmanente con lo estudiado), resulta necesario establecer relaciones con lo estudiado y dar cuenta de cómo las dinámicas sociales nos constituyen (Haber 2009). No podemos olvidar que, como mencionábamos antes siguiendo a Winter (2010), las formas de conocimiento patrimonial preponderantes no son el resultado de una mayor precisión epistemológica (correspondencia entre lo analizado y su representación científica, de lo visto con lo dicho/escrito), sino que son el resultado de su promoción y amplificación por las fuerzas del estado o del capital. Así, formas específicas de conocimiento patrimonial son privilegiadas precisamente porque abren la puerta a la legitimación de narrativas estatales o porque facilitan la producción de capital. En este contexto, la revelación de verdades ocultas y la generación de narrativas alternativas que tradicionalmente las disciplinas críticas han llevado a cabo (González-Ruibal 2008) sólo tangencialmente pone en entredicho la redistribución de las economías políticas de producción cultural y patrimonial, ni las distintas posiciones subjetivas y agencias sociales que esta promueve. Posicionamientos críticos

pueden llevar al refinamiento de las metodologías y teorías disciplinarias o a la acumulación de capital científico/académico (sensu Bourdieu 1986), pero no a cuestionar las geografías globales y locales de desigualdad que el patrimonio y su conocimiento fomentan.

En cierto modo, la parálisis de los estudios ‘oficiales’ tanto positivistas como críticos deriva de la asunción del giro lingüístico y de paradigmas interpretativos y deconstructivos dentro de la teoría social. Así, una actitud crítica puede limitarse a la interpretación del patrimonio como texto y a la crítica de los procesos de patrimonialización mediante textos que remiten a otros textos; académicos, legislativos, o de otra índole. Una cuestión transversal entonces para la concepción de un estudio del patrimonio como producción ontológica con consecuencias en el mundo exterior tiene que ver con ‘salir del texto’. Conuerdo con Deleuze cuando afirma que “un texto es simplemente una pequeña pieza dentro de prácticas extra-textuales. La cuestión no es entonces comentar el texto mediante un método deconstructivo, o mediante un método de práctica textual, o por otros métodos; la cuestión fundamental es explorar qué uso tiene en las prácticas inter-textuales en las que el texto se prolonga” (Centre culturel international de Cerisy-La-Salle 1973: 86-87). ¿A dónde nos llevan las prolongaciones de estos textos que estudian el patrimonio epistemológicamente? Los textos oficiales positivistas se extienden no sólo en las redes académicas sino en procesos de patrimonialización, es decir, tienen influencia real y se efectúan en procesos materiales al proveer el cemento necesario con el que articular, dar forma, y legitimar con ‘conocimiento científico’ estos mismos procesos. Los textos oficiales críticos se prolongan en la adquisición de capital académico sin tener algún impacto en contextos reales al no ser favorecidos ni por el estado ni por el mercado. Estos últimos concuerdan así con la figura del ‘irónico’ postmoderno descrita por Rorty (1989) o Žizek (1989). Esta sería la postura más conservadora ya que al abrazar el relativismo, sólo observa lo que hacen los demás para criticarlo, sin producir nada nuevo o transformar las relaciones existentes.

En este sentido, concluimos con reflexiones al respecto de dos pensadores que convergen en esta cuestión pese a encontrarse en extremos opuestos de la gradiente filosófica. Con Deleuze, podemos considerar este tipo de investigación trascendente como ‘moralista’, en contraste con la propuesta de carácter ‘ético’ que intentamos construir. Los estudios de patrimonio ‘oficiales’, al igual que la moralidad, buscan analizar el campo de estudio a través de metodologías que imponen conjuntos de reglas ‘restrictivas’ que juzgan los sujetos patrimoniales y los procesos patrimoniales en relación a valores universales – ‘esto es bueno, esto es malo’ – (Smith and Deleuze 1997) como pueden ser la autenticidad, la no mercantilización, etc. Rorty establece una oposición similar. Para él, el metafísico “considera que los elementos fundamentales de la moral de otros seres humanos es la relación entre estos y realidades de poder más amplias –racionalidad, Dios, la verdad, o la historia, por ejemplo” (Rorty 1989: 91). Así, continúa Rorty, la función del intelectual sería la de “preservar y defender el liberalismo apoyándolo mediante la elaboración de proposiciones verdaderas sobre realidades amplias” (Rorty 1989: 93). Este tipo de crítica trascendental ‘moralista’ sobre el patrimonio resulta evidente en las andanadas que lanzaron autores británicos con respecto al desarrollo de la industria patrimonial en su país (i.e. Hewison 1987; Samuel 1989). Por el contrario, una investigación ética no busca juzgar, sino “aumentar nuestra habilidad en reconocer y describir los distintos tipos de pequeñas cosas alrededor de las que individuos y comunidades centran sus fantasías y sus vidas” (Rorty 1989: 93). Esta no busca sentar reglas que limitan el campo de lo estudiado, sino establecer un conjunto de reglas ‘facilitativas’ (facultativas) que

evalúan lo que hacemos, decimos, pensamos y sentimos de acuerdo al modo inmanente de existencia que estos actos implican (Smith and Deleuze 1997). Uno dice esto o aquello, piensa o siente lo otro: ¿pero qué modo de existencia conlleva esto?

¿Existe entonces una alternativa a la reproducción de los estados de cosas presentes y a la mera documentación crítica desde una posición privilegiada de los procesos de patrimonialización? Quizás el punto de partida es empezar a concebir nuestra investigación de forma situada, en contacto con los modos de existencia de determinadas comunidades, y no como una contribución a un ‘discurso universal’ o ‘forma global’ que ha venido a ser llamado patrimonio. A medida que la disciplina de estudios patrimoniales construye y reproduce este concepto concebido como un universal, lo desterritorializa de su realidad material en comunidades y ámbitos específicos, lo despolitiza y neutraliza gradualmente. O, en la terminología que he venido utilizando, se convierte el estudio del patrimonio en un juicio trascendente en conexión con ciertos valores universales y no en una evaluación inmanente en relación con modos de vida específicos.

b) Los estudios de patrimonio ‘menores’ o ‘decoloniales’.

Esta estrategia de producción de conocimiento patrimonial está relacionada con lo que Latour (2004a) ha llamado el principio de simetría, por el cual las formas de adquisición de conocimiento puestos en marcha en la investigación deberían ser “conceptualmente del mismo tipo que aquellas utilizadas por los investigados” (Viveiros de Castro 2003). Esta concepción del quehacer científico de derivación deleuziana asume el papel directamente creativo y productivo del conocimiento científico: este no sirve para crear metáforas sobre el mundo sino que se añade al propio mundo (Law 2004a). Así, el objetivo de la investigación es “trabajar en presentar el mundo, no en su representación o su explicación. Nuestra concepción de la teoría no-representacional es que se caracteriza por una creencia firme en la realidad actual de las representaciones. No concibe las representaciones como máscaras, miradas, reflejos, velos, sueños, ideologías, como algo que se superpone sobre el ámbito ontológico (la vida y sus significados). La teoría no-representacional se toma la representación seriamente ... no como un código que ha de ser roto o como una ilusión ... sino como realidades performativas en sí mismas, como formas de hacer” (Dewsbury et al. 2002: 437).

Claramente, la situación de ruptura entre realidad y representación epistemológica no es propia exclusivamente del ámbito de los estudios de patrimonio, sino que refleja un vacío conceptual en las ciencias entre un mundo supuestamente objetivo y sin significados “del que la ciencia da cuenta, y el ámbito lleno de significado de la existencia humana del que se ocupan las humanidades y las ciencias sociales” (Halewood 2005). Como consecuencia, las ciencias sociales y las humanidades encuentran problemas para lidiar con la materialidad de las cosas y la subjetividad de los individuos. Como afirma Halewood, “los sociológicos pueden haber tenido éxito en la importante tarea de revelar las dimensiones políticas e ideológicas de la cuestión de género, pero como se ha señalado recientemente, esta situación todavía deja el ‘sexo’ biológico en control de las ciencias ‘reales’” (2005). Una situación similar se produce en el ámbito de las ciencias del patrimonio, en el que los investigadores han descubierto, explorado y criticado las diferentes dimensiones que atraviesan la cuestión patrimonial, sus injusticias, relaciones de poder, consecuencias de su mercantilización, etc. Sin embargo, al igual que sucede con la cuestión del

género, esto no pone ninguna cortapisa a la proliferación en contextos reales de procesos de patrimonialización y de su creciente superficialidad y abierto carácter mercantilista bajo control burocrático. Si queremos que la investigación patrimonial tenga algún tipo de influencia en el mundo externo a la producción científica académica de carácter epistemológico (corresponder lo visto con lo dicho mediante su representación metafórica), resulta necesario concebir la producción científica como directamente ontológica y, por lo tanto, política, al dar forma y añadirse a la realidad de un modo u otro. Como argumenta Grossberg, “al igual que las prácticas culturales no pueden ser consideradas ya como meras representaciones sino como producciones en sí mismas, del mismo modo su análisis debe ser concebido no solamente como una reconstrucción de su realidad contextual sino como una producción o fabricación activa del mismo, de modo que se refuerza lo estudiado en el propio contexto de su análisis” (1997: 9).

Encontramos paralelismos aquí con los trabajos de Haber y su “cartografía antagónica”, que “describe las maneras en las cuales se relacionan, inmanentemente a la investigación, ambos tipos de relaciones antagónicas, sociales y epistémicas, en la fijación del domicilio de la investigación. La investigación fija su domicilio en la encrucijada entre ambos tipos de relaciones, y es allí que la cartografía antagónica nos permite ubicarla. *Los científicos sociales parecen mucho mejor preparados para identificar antagonismos en el mundo objetivo que para identificarse a ellos mismos en relaciones antagónicas desde su lugar de investigadores, es decir, en su lugar de identificadores de antagonismos en el mundo objetivo*” (Haber 2011c: 21, énfasis añadido). Los estudios patrimoniales oficiales ‘identifican’ antagonismos en el afuera, para criticarlos; o apoyan una cierta postura ideológica de forma discursiva sin inmiscuirse en la realidad estudiada. Se trata, como veíamos previamente, de una postura que implica un juicio trascendental desde la posición de superioridad que otorga el domicilio de investigación. Sin embargo, convergemos con Grossberg en considerar que el estudio del patrimonio, al igual que el de la cultura en general “no es una cuestión de juzgar a la gente sino de intentar describir cómo sus vidas cotidianas se articulan por y con la cultura popular, como las distintas fuerzas y estructuras existentes refuerzan o reducen su poder de actuación, y organizan sus vidas, siempre de forma contradictoria, y cómo sus vidas cotidianas están igualmente articuladas hacia y por las distintas trayectorias del poder económico y político” (1997: 5).

En este sentido, es necesario tener en cuenta el consejo de Latour (2005c) de evitar pensar que la tarea de los investigadores sociales es la de trascender a lo que los actores sociales hacen en el mundo real y dar una explicación pretendiendo que el investigador sabe más que los propios actores sociales analizados. Esto raramente es así, y por lo tanto resulta bastante dudoso el afirmar que estamos ‘revelando’ verdades, ideologías o significados ocultos, o dando explicaciones e interpretaciones de procesos altamente complejos. Así, para procurar suturar el espacio entre investigador e investigado, he procurado seguir una epistemología de carácter deleuziano. Según Martín Gallego, esta no es pura *praxis* o *teoresis* sino más bien *poiesis*: un proceso de producción a mitad de camino entre la práctica y la teoría (2011). De este modo, el pensamiento científico sobre el patrimonio no implica una pura inmersión en su gestión en el mundo real ni una correspondencia teórica epistemológica entre lo que se observa y lo que se representa de cara a la búsqueda de sistematizar grupos ideas. Se trata, en definitiva, de problematizar situaciones específicas y procesos de patrimonialización en sus múltiples variantes mediante el análisis de la fricción entre lo virtual y lo actual, y las diferencias que esta dinámica produce en la realidad.

Los resultados de la ciencia deben de ser entonces problemáticos en lugar de hipotéticos - un conjunto de creencias legítimas - o nomológicas - un sistema de leyes universales (Gallego 2011). El conocimiento del investigador patrimonial no debe buscar la deducción – haciendo explícito lo que ya es de sobra conocido, como el papel del estado o de las fuerzas del mercado en los procesos de patrimonialización – ni la inducción – la generalización de los resultados de un ámbito concreto, como si mi análisis en Maragatería contribuyese a un ‘conocimiento universal’ sobre lo que es el patrimonio y sus dinámicas. El conocimiento que se debe producir es abductivo o retroductivo, es decir, siempre parcial y situado en contextos locales de referencia (Toscano 2006). Un conocimiento local que abre las puertas para intervenciones en la práctica de la gestión del patrimonio. Si bien todo conocimiento facilita la intervención del poder, la diferencia es que el conocimiento abductivo producido por mi investigación es difícilmente apropiable o útil para sostener discursos reaccionarios, nacionalistas-regionalistas o para la mercantilización del patrimonio. Y sin embargo otorga un estatuto ontológico a lógicas ‘menores’, al dar una consistencia a la heterotopía, a los múltiples presentes y realidades sociales de Maragatería, que conectan y se vinculan en modos inesperados y siguiendo lógicas basadas en la diferencia y no en supuestas identidades comunes: paisanos y hippies habitan ontologías diferentes pero conectan de forma inmanente en sus formas de relacionarse con su entorno.

Un entorno condicionado por la presencia y expansión de la ‘máquina patrimonial’, que opera de cara a la producción de nuevos contextos materiales y se convierte a la vez en el espacio ‘legítimo’ desde el que producir nuevas formas de poder y de valor. Estos establecen igualmente un nuevo conjunto de regímenes simbólicos mediante ciertos procedimientos que he analizado en distintos casos de estudio. La máquina patrimonial sobrepasa el ámbito de actuación de los mecanismos disciplinarios modernos descritos por Foucault, habitualmente en manos de las instituciones públicas, para pasar al ámbito del ‘control’ (Deleuze 1992). Esta no busca así legitimar narrativas nacionales o estructurar formas de gobernar la población (aunque también contribuye a ello), sino que trabaja en sintonía con una economía postindustrial caracterizada por la complejidad, la velocidad y el cambio, que lejos de buscar la disciplina y el orden procuran establecer un ‘descontrol controlado’. Este se sirve de la retórica patrimonial para generar un valor a partir de los múltiples presentes y las velocidades variables existentes dentro de un mundo globalizado y sus jerarquías de valor: lo que es aquí una tradición asociada a la lentitud, el primitivismo y la pobreza, es allí un objeto de consumo de un algo exótico, diferente y excitante, que encarna valores de sostenibilidad, equilibrio socio-ecológico o vinculación a la tierra. La máquina patrimonial no apela a valores trascendentes universales sino que juega a producir valor en las distintas dimensiones que ofrece la aldea global, basando sus evaluaciones de forma inmanente y de acuerdo a la afirmación de modos de existencia particulares, tanto en las viviendas supermodernas de Santiago Millas y Val de San Lorenzo como en las distintas intervenciones dentro del Camino de Santiago o el Campo de Tiro del Teleno.

La máquina patrimonial no produce ya ‘objetos’, sino entornos afectivo-emocionales dentro de los cuales ciertos objetos se insertan y cobran valor en relación con conceptos tales como la memoria, la identidad, la autenticidad, etc. Estos conceptos han de ser entendidos como co-constitutivos de la máquina patrimonial: no existe ninguna relación esencial entre identidad – memoria y patrimonio como algunos autores parecen presuponer, sino que la máquina patrimonial produce estas relaciones a partir de estructuraciones locales específicas que favorecen ciertas

articulaciones de las mismas. De esta forma, la máquina patrimonial contribuye a fabricar la realidad de modo que ciertos individuos (personas o grupos) sean condicionados o inducidos a actuar de ciertas formas en distintos contextos. La máquina patrimonial se convierte así en otro atractor más dentro de los muchos existentes dentro de la economía biopolítica postindustrial que tiende a la ‘metaculturización’ de la realidad (Urban 2001b), condicionando las formas en las que los sujetos pueden cambiar o estabilizarse alrededor de ciertas identidades. Igualmente “define ciertas formaciones y prácticas como sitios potenciales donde el individuo puede invertir, sitios donde se construyen sujetos e identidades. Define igualmente los vectores mediante los cuales la gente y las prácticas pueden o no moverse entre, y conectar, estas inversiones [sociales y/o económicas, se sobreentiende].” De este modo, la máquina patrimonial “refuerza y potencia ciertas formas de actuación en la vida cotidiana, que se convierten en sitios fundamentales para apelar a formas de autenticidad y para la construcción de la autoridad” (Grossberg 1997: 15). En este sentido, la máquina patrimonial vehicula hoy una forma de conservadurismo a nivel ideológico y vital, al estar cimentada y sostenida por modos de existencia que permiten su reproducción: las subjetividades patrimoniales, representantes últimas de los procesos de individualización contemporáneos. Ya Lacan preveía en los años 60 una vuelta de los principios de identidad étnica y al nacionalismo, “vinculando el incremento del racismo al proceso de universalización” (Žižek 1992: 99) debido a que la pérdida generalizada del enraizamiento y el sentido de pertenencia en conexión con la ausencia de una filiación con algún tipo de comunidad. Sin embargo, más que la vuelta a un nacionalismo y a una comunidad imaginada amplia, lo que la máquina patrimonial muestra es una búsqueda de construir identidades más individualizadas *mediante* vinculaciones simbólicas a través del patrimonio, su construcción, su posesión, y su manipulación concebida como proyecto vital (individual), como demuestran los múltiples procesos de construcción o restauración de casas antiguas o el juego simbólico con objetos del pasado.

En este sentido, la máquina patrimonial contribuye a la definitiva fragmentación de las comunidades locales y sus relaciones inmanentes. La modernidad es un proceso intrínsecamente relacionado con la instauración de la democracia y su peculiar forma de entender la libertad basada en el individualismo. Modernizar implica entonces desde los albores del Renacimiento “el desarraigo profundo del ser humano con respecto a su cultura local, a su familia, su género sexual... de hecho, le llamamos automáticamente ‘atraso’, cuando no tiranía, a todo lo que huelga a comunidad” (Castro Rey 16/11/2006). La modernización segmenta la oposición tradicional entre *Gesellschaft* (sociedad como una aglomeración externa de individuos atomizados con un objetivo concreto) y *Gemeinschaft* (sociedad como comunidad unida por vínculos orgánicos sin ningún objetivo concreto donde prima el cara a cara, lo espiritual y lo concreto), priorizando la primera (Žižek 1992). La constitución de lo moderno implica la segmentación en las esferas de lo público y lo privado que poco a poco obliteran lo común y se adueñan del espacio social. La sociedad se impone así a la comunidad, atribuyéndose el derecho a encarnar la ‘transparencia’ en lo público y la ‘intimidad’ en lo privado, mientras que atribuye lo ‘opaco’ a la comunidad (Castro Rey 16/11/2006), como hemos visto en el caso de las Juntas Vecinales de gobernanza común, consideradas ‘opacas’ y ‘obsoletas’ por el gobierno español (Cachafeiro 14/07/2012). Hemos de clarificar aquí que no sólo el capitalismo implementó este proceso, sino que “la metafísica liberal de la privacidad y la metafísica socialista del colectivismo son dos corrientes paralelas” (Castro Rey 16/11/2006). Así, también los estados bajo el ‘socialismo real’ impusieron lo social sobre lo común,

fragmentando comunidades (campesinas, familiares, religiosas, etc.) y acelerando los ritmos de vida: la Revolución Rusa se presentaba bajo el eslogan ‘Electrificación más Soviets’ mientras la Revolución Cultural China era un intento de abandonar el pasado y abrazar la ‘nueva cultura’ (Castro Rey 16/11/2006). Estos procesos modernizadores separaban ámbitos concretos de la comunidad: naturaleza/cultura, economía/cultura, espiritual-religioso/secular, etc., como hemos visto en el caso de los bosques y las fiestas en las comunidades locales de Maragatería, o con la construcción social de representaciones culturales de los ‘paisanos’ o de los ‘maragatos’.

Esta desterritorialización permanente de lo comunitario va más allá con la postmodernidad o supermodernidad en la que se encuadra la máquina patrimonial, en relación con un crecimiento imparable de la individualización y la aglomeración acuciante, no de sujetos en comunidades, sino de soledades en espacios y temporalidades compartidas. La máquina patrimonial ya no opera a través de dualismos sino transversalmente, atravesando ámbitos de naturaleza/cultura o economía/cultura, no ya para imponer una disciplina y facilitar la gobernabilidad de un ámbito definido, sino para afirmar la individualidad y la imposibilidad de disciplinar la complejidad de lo global. Esto se refleja en la materialidad de los pueblos maragatos, en los que la modernidad implicó la ruptura de patrones homogéneos en las casas y la cultura material (la ética comunitaria) para vincularse a otro tipo de materialidades más o menos uniformes (la utilización de ladrillo, cemento, metal o plástico como símbolos de riqueza y modernidad). El sujeto patrimonial supermoderno busca un vínculo disyuntivo con la tradición: no reinstaura una ética comunitaria sino que refiere de forma retórica a lo comunitario para afirmar su individualización. Pueblos como Santiago Millas reflejan estos múltiples presentes en su materialidad. De conjuntos arquitectónicos homogéneos emergidos de lo comunitario se pasa a una multiplicidad de expresiones supermodernas cuya unidad yace precisamente en la repetición de una diferencia: cada casa se vincula de forma diferente con la tradición, en lo que podemos considerar una ‘unión de soledades’ en la que la construcción patrimonial ejerce una función esencial. En este sentido, la supermodernidad rompe con lo modernidad (uso funcionalista) para pasar a lo discursivo (uso simbólico), acabando con las relaciones inmanentes por las que se constituyen las identidades relaciones pre-modernas (Hernando Gonzalo 2002).

Sin duda, estos procesos de producción cultural que sirven para reforzar la distinción son a la vez formas de reproducción de injusticias, diferencias y hegemonía social. Este proceso se encuadra en un contexto en el que ciertas élites intentan expandir sus mercados y sus entornos afectivo-emocionales para legitimar su hegemonía, pero a la vez, estas fuerzas modernizadoras “necesitan persuadir a aquellos a los que se dirigen sus discursos de que – a la vez que están renovando la sociedad – están prolongando la vida de las tradiciones compartidas. Dado que estos actores sociales afirman que están incluyendo a todos los sectores sociales, los proyectos modernizadores se apropian de elementos históricos y tradiciones populares” (García Canclini 1995b: 107). Más aún, como vimos en el caso de Santiago Millas, estas apropiaciones se presentan bajo el disfraz de un proyecto ilustrado de difusión cultural y de conocimientos, que busca fomentar la participación y aumentar la concienciación respecto a criterios estéticos y artísticos. Sin embargo, “a la vez que la distribución masiva del arte es una acción socializadora, es también un procedimiento que asegura la distinción de aquellos que están familiarizados con estas categorías, capaces de separar forma y función y que sabe cómo utilizar el museo” (García Canclini 1995b: 104). En última instancia, se

trata de un proceso de desterritorialización y reterritorialización, de desensamblar y reensamblar culturas y sociedades para sintonizarlas con nuevas reinenciones del desarrollo capitalista:

“A fin de integrar a las clases populares en el desarrollo capitalista, las clases dominantes desestructuran- mediante procesos distintos, pero subordinados a una lógica común, las culturas étnicas, de clase y nacionales, y las reorganizan en un sistema unificado de producción simbólica. Para lograrlo, separan las bases económicas de las representaciones culturales, quiebran la unidad entre producción, circulación y consumo, y de los individuos con su comunidad. En un segundo momento, o simultáneamente, recomponen los pedazos subordinándolos a una organización transnacional de la cultura correlativa de la transnacionalización del capital” (García Canclini 1982: 2)

Las distintas formas de apropiación y lucha simbólica en los paisajes públicos de los pueblos tienen lugar y se escenifican mediante las funciones y estéticas de la casa. Como dice Haber, ““la vida campesina no sería lo que es y ha sido si no fuese por la casa... Pero la relación entre la casa y la vida campesina no tiene que ver meramente con relaciones materiales (la casa como habitáculo residencial de la unidad doméstica) ni simbólicas (la casa como signo de la unidad doméstica). La familia y la casa están incluidas en una red relacional común en la cual devienen, junto a la chacra, las semillas, las acequias, los animales, los dioses. Y es esa red relacional o, mejor dicho, las relaciones que sostienen las relaciones, la teoría que ordena la vida campesina” (2011a: 14). Sin embargo, como bien argumenta Zizek (23/03/2011), lo supermoderno no supone *en realidad* la existencia de un individuo autónomo que consume y asume tanto la diferencia como la transgresión en su propio ser. Más bien, lo que conlleva es una homogenización de la esfera social mediante su exclusión y segmentación desde posiciones y valores dominantes en la que, de nuevo, se diluyen las individualidades: una vez que *la mayoría* de las unidades familiares de una comunidad patrimonializa su casa a modo de representación simbólica que busca marcar la diferencia con las otras, ya se ha construido una nueva identidad relacional y una nueva comunidad, si bien esta es como ya mencioné previamente una comunidad de soledades.

Aquí confluyen entonces mi insistencia en la cuestión de la inmanencia, en la de entender Maragatería como un ‘territorio menor’ y en la de concebir la investigación de forma ontológica. Considerando el patrimonio no meramente como discurso o esencia, sino como herramienta que está siendo utilizada de una forma que convierte la comunidad en sociedad, lo común en individual, resulta necesario evitar postularse ‘en contra del patrimonio y sus procesos’ – como si dejar de hablar de patrimonio evitase que se siga utilizando – o criticarlo simplemente como algo negativo. Aunque fundamental, lo fundamental no es analizar procesos de patrimonialización, criticarlos/juzgarlos y entenderlos/explicarlos (epistemología), sino problematizarlos y explorar las posibilidades de redirigirlos para otros fines con efectos materiales (ontología). Es decir, de ser conscientes de que producimos patrimonio al decidir sobre el conjunto de entes que forman parte del mundo social analizado (Suddaby 2006: 635), y que, al hacerlo, lo producimos *para algo y hacia algo*, añadiendo algo nuevo al mundo que contribuye de algún modo a una cierta articulación del mismo. Por ello resulta ingenuo afirmar la neutralidad política de una investigación patrimonial, ya que siempre crea algo en alguna dirección, potenciando la reproducción de redes de capital académico, de las fuerzas del mercado y de la legitimidad de ciertas instituciones. Lo político no es entonces situarse o decantarse discursivamente por un lado u otro de los antagonismos que se analizan, sino formar un todo con ellos, habitarlos y transformarlos (Haber 2011c). Esto implica que

debemos dejar de lado el dualismo que caracteriza al mundo anglosajón en el que se separan claramente investigación y compromiso o activismo, algo que ya denunciaban Horkheimer (1972) y Bourdieu (2002). No debemos olvidar que el campo de estudios de patrimonio se ha expandido cualitativa, cuantitativamente y en potencial de financiación y editorial, en el mundo Anglosajón, y que por ello el ámbito se encuentra escasamente politizado en el sentido inmanente al que me refiero. Una ciencia patrimonial menor concibe la posición del investigador como la del ‘intelectual comprometido’, algo habitual especialmente en la tradición de las ciencias sociales francesas y latinoamericanas (González-Ruibal 2008).

Entonces, volviendo al tema que nos ocupa, ¿cómo producir conocimiento patrimonial? ¿para qué puede ser útil? De nuevo, enfatizamos que éste no será útil y que la disciplina se perderá en debates superfluos si sus preocupaciones se centran en lo epistemológico y en el refinamiento de las teorías y métodos de investigación. Como bien argumenta Latour, “si llamamos epistemología a la disciplina que procura entender cómo conseguimos salvar la distancia entre la realidad y sus representaciones, la única conclusión que podemos obtener es que la disciplina no tiene ningún ámbito de estudio, ya que nunca salvamos esa distancia, no porque no podamos conocer nada objetivamente, sino porque esa distancia nunca existió en realidad. La distancia se genera debido a un posicionamiento erróneo de los mecanismos de adquisición de conocimiento... Las cuestiones relevantes tienen que ver con lo que puede conocerse a través de la ciencia y si podemos convivir con estas entidades conocidas, pero en ningún caso con la cuestión de si lo que se conoce se hace objetivamente o no” (2007: 94). Así, el objeto (la entidad que potencialmente podría ser considerada como patrimonio – el objeto de enunciación) y el sujeto (la causa trascendental que ‘sanciona’ lo que es patrimonio – el sujeto de enunciación), “no son los puntos adecuados de partida para ninguna discusión sobre adquisición de conocimiento; estos no son los puntos de amarre a los que atar el puente vertiginoso en el abismo entre las palabras y el mundo, sino que son el subproducto – uno bastante irrelevante de hecho – de los propios mecanismos y canales de adquisición de conocimiento en sí mismos. El objeto y el sujeto no son los ingredientes del mundo, sino estaciones sucesivas a lo largo de los caminos mediante los cuales el conocimiento se rectifica” (Latour 2007: 91-3). Así, Latour propone abolir el modelo de conocimiento basado en la metáfora visual (corresponder lo visto con lo escrito/dicho) por un “progresivo cambio de un movimiento descoordinado a uno coordinado” (Latour 2007: 94-96). Ya hemos visto como estos ‘movimientos de coordinación’ ocurrían en diversos ámbitos. Por ejemplo, Campos efectuó un amplio trabajo de coordinación para ensamblar distintos agentes sociales y materiales en una cierta forma de comprender y proteger los Petroglifos de Lucillo y Filiel. Evidentemente, él no ‘descubrió’ los Petroglifos, que eran de sobra conocidos por la gente de la zona, sino que realizó la compleja tarea de unificar cadenas de experiencias que daban sentido a los Petroglifos como ‘ente patrimonial’. Lo mismo ocurre en el Teleno, donde el Ministerio de Defensa intenta construir el Campo de Tiro militar como un ‘reducto natural’ mientras movimientos en contra del mismo buscan construirlo como un ‘patrimonio a proteger’, de modo que la continuación de los bombardeos en el área resulte ilegítima y finalmente acabe con la existencia del Campo de Tiro. En Santiago Millas o Val de San Lorenzo, amplios movimientos de coordinación patrimonial se efectúan para convertir lo comunal en patrimonio de cara a su explotación y a la sintonización con las subjetividades individualistas detrás del proceso. Igualmente, en el Camino de Santiago distintos actores sociales intentan vincular la ruta patrimonial con distintas cadenas de experiencias de modo que sus acciones, prácticas y

apropiaciones del Camino resulten legítimas y apoyadas por las fuerzas del mercado y/o estado. Así, el conocimiento patrimonial no parte del objeto (El Teleno como mina romana aurífera, el Camino de Santiago, los pueblos inscritos en listas de patrimonio del gobierno nacional y regional, los Petroglifos) ni del sujeto (el mercado, las instituciones públicas, los sujetos sancionadores del patrimonio, etc.) sino del análisis de campos de fuerza problematizados de cara a la búsqueda de establecer una nueva relación entre los actores sociales y los procesos patrimonializadores en marcha en el territorio.

Resulta fundamental entonces para la afirmación de una ciencia patrimonial ‘menor’ o ‘inmanente’ el dar cuenta y concebir el patrimonio como un ámbito múltiple donde han de tener cabida distintas dimensiones ontológicas del mismo. Una ciencia patrimonial oficial busca construir un sistema unificado y estandarizado a partir del establecimiento de una serie de constantes a partir de las variables exploradas en contextos patrimoniales o mediante el establecimiento de las relaciones constantes entre ellos a partir de la abstracción de los contextos locales analizados. En contraste, la opción inmanente parte de situaciones reales y de sus movimientos constantes de variación continua para evaluar sus transformaciones de forma performativa y pragmática. Así, la afirmación “esto es patrimonio”, no se inserta en el mismo ámbito ontológico si es enunciada por un individuo nacido en época preindustrial en Maragatería, por un folclorista romántico, por un académico, por un experto de la Junta de Castilla y León, o por la UNESCO. Sin embargo, esta variación en el significado e implicaciones de la afirmación “esto es patrimonio” se puede interpretar de formas distintas. Una ciencia patrimonial oficial considera que la afirmación “permanece constante en principio, debiéndose sus variaciones a circunstancias externas al sistema” (Smith and Deleuze 1997: x|ix). En otras palabras, el patrimonio permanece como un ideal abstracto que nuestra investigación explora, interpreta y explica (cuando en realidad nuestra investigación lo genera como subproducto). En cambio, una ciencia menor considera que “cada efectuación de la afirmación es una actualización variable de una línea virtual de variación continua inmanente al sistema, una línea que se mantiene continua a pesar de los saltos discontinuos realizados por la afirmación, y que extrae la afirmación de su estatuto como constante para producir su variación-en-contexto [placing-in-variation]” (Smith and Deleuze 1997: x|ix).

De este modo, una concepción oficial del patrimonio lo concibe como un sistema en equilibrio definido por unas ciertas constantes: su relación intrínseca con cuestiones identitarias, memorísticas, de sentido de pertenencia o con la construcción de la nación, entre otras. Evidentemente, esta perspectiva mantiene una concepción del patrimonio bajo una ontología única: lo que varía son las epistemologías que utilizamos para explorar ese plano ontológico donde el patrimonio se sitúa. Por supuesto, esta concepción ontológica del patrimonio se domicilia en posiciones de poder del investigador y su razón universal en relación con nociones transcendentales de lo que es el patrimonio que son reproducidas y potenciadas por los estados-nación, el mercado y las instituciones internacionales, que ‘juzgan’ a los ‘otros’ y sancionan sus patrimonios. Una concepción menor o alternativa del patrimonio lo concibe como una realidad múltiple, en desequilibrio y bifurcación, “definido por el uso pragmático de sus constantes en relación a variaciones internas constantes” (Smith and Deleuze 1997: x|ix). Este provee así un conjunto de modelos virtuales que “organizan en situaciones específicas los valores, normales, morales, modos de autoformación y razonamiento ético alrededor de cómo uno debe vivir” (Frohmann 2008: 3). Cabe así concebir la alteridad socioecológica, la variabilidad de la esfera de lo social y la

multiplicidad de ontologías desde las cuales se producen distintos tipos de conocimiento. El patrimonio es así no una constante transcendental sino más bien una ‘función operativa’ que actúa en contextos reales.

Podemos explorar esta cuestión en relación con los Petroglifos y su proceso de rectificación/estabilización como ente patrimonial. ¿Qué estatuto ontológico tenían los Petroglifos, las piedras y sus grabados, antes de ser descubiertos, durante su momento pre-patrimonial? Una pregunta equiparable al cuestionamiento Latouriano sobre la forma de vida de los microbios antes de que Pasteur “les involucrara dentro del ámbito de la microbiología del siglo diecinueve” (1999: 145-170). Si consideramos que los Petroglifos siempre fueron lo que son, y que sólo esperaban a ser descubiertos y conocidos por un sujeto trascendente de enunciación, reabrimos la brecha epistemológica entre los humanos y su objeto de conocimiento. Por el contrario, si pensamos que los Petroglifos datan de, o emergen cuando alguien (científico, experto, institución) los designa como tal, estamos cayendo en la trampa del relativismo. De forma similar a la propuesta de las ontologías múltiples de Law y Mol (2002), Latour propone que sería necesario dar, no dos estatutos epistemológicos distintos a los Petroglifos, sino dos estatutos ontológicos distintos. Es decir, dos formas de vida o existencia distintas para ellos dependiendo de los agenciamientos y entramados en los que se involucren. Pese a que existen muchos más, los dos que Latour propone son el ‘modo de subsistencia’, por el que el objeto preserva su materialidad de forma estable, y el ‘modo de referencia’, por el que distintas formas de conocimiento se producen a partir del objeto y distintas tareas se realizan en y con él (Latour 2007: 101). Los Petroglifos se ensamblan de modos distintos al mundo, permitiendo a distintos sujetos experimentar nuevas formas de existencia a partir de ellos y las relaciones que establezcan con ellos. Así, “el conocimiento se añade al mundo; no absorbe las cosas y las transforma en representaciones o, por el contrario, desaparece en el objeto que conoce. Se añade al paisaje” (Idem: 104).

Cabe entonces realizar una taxonomía de los diferentes estatutos ontológicos del patrimonio a partir de mi investigación en Maragatería. La ordenación no es contingente o aleatoria sino que parte del análisis empírico en el marco de la investigación, y se ordena en relación a dos polos abstractos: uno que tiende a una mayor inmanencia del patrimonio con respecto a las comunidades que habita o que lo habitan, y otro de mayor trascendencia. Si bien considero que la aplicación de estas categorías resulta legítima exclusivamente de forma restringida a mi caso de estudio, creo que pueden encontrarse similitudes en diferentes contextos a nivel mundial. Para ello relaciono estas categorías con la teoría estructuralista de la identidad desarrollada por Hernando (2002; Hernando Gonzalo 2012). En palabras de Hernando, esta tesis “parte de la convicción de que existe esa coherencia... entre la conciencia subjetiva que tienen los seres humanos de los hechos sociales y el carácter objetivo de esos hechos. Y propone que puede conocerse la modelación básica que adquirirá esa conciencia subjetiva en cada grupo cultural, pues defiende una relación estructural y necesaria entre control material de los fenómenos de la naturaleza humana y no humana... y modo de percepción de la realidad. Asume que a menor control material de las condiciones de vida, mayor la sensación de impotencia que podrían sentir los seres humanos frente a los fenómenos dinámicos de la naturaleza no humana... si la construcción social y cognitiva del mundo tiene una relación directa con el grado de control material sobre ese mundo, entonces podremos abstraer una serie de principios estructurales de aplicación a cualquier grupo cultural” (Hernando Gonzalo 2002: 46). Así, según la capacidad de control, previsión y predicción de los fenómenos que le rodean, cada

grupo humano percibirá “sólo una parte de la realidad, aquella que cree poder controlar, de forma que todos nos sentimos igualmente seguros y confiados en ella a pesar de que la controlamos en grados distintos... cada grupo humano contempla un porcentaje distinto de fenómenos de la totalidad de los posibles, y además, les da significados distintos” (Hernando Gonzalo 2002: 51). Sin que este modelo sea necesariamente aplicable a todas las situaciones, ya que las diferentes distribuciones globales de las economías políticas de la producción cultural y la especificidad de cada estado nación condicionan el desarrollo de las patrimonializaciones, sí que podemos establecer una relación entre menores grados de desarrollo tecnológico y una mayor inmanencia de las prácticas, de la identidad relacional y el sentimiento de pertenencia a la comunidad. Por el contrario, a mayor grado de control tecnológico acompañan mayores grados de individualización, exacerbados durante la fase postmoderna, de fragmentación de lo comunal, y de establecimiento de formas representacionales, abstractas y científicas (no emocionales) con la realidad. Las formas de entender el patrimonio pueden así ordenarse de mayor inmanencia a mayor trascendencia:

1. El patrimonio como herencia, es decir, en sentido literal ‘lo que se hereda’. En el sentido más inmanente, que predomina entre las generaciones más ancianas de Maragatería, patrimonio se refiere a las tierras, la casa, y caso de haberlos, también a ciertos objetos muebles o cabezas de ganado. Sin embargo, también podemos incluir dentro de esta categoría (introduciendo ya una cierta dosis de trascendencia), el lenguaje, las formas de hacer y los comportamientos, las tradiciones, etc. En otras palabras, lo que pasa a formar parte del subconsciente colectivo sobre el que no se realizan abstracciones o reflexiones de tipo alguno. Como no puede ser de otra forma, las relaciones con estos elementos son inmanentes y orgánicas: con la naturaleza, con la arquitectura, con el vestido o con el lenguaje, entre otros. Una situación que se puede relacionar con una situación dentro de un grupo social dado en el que prima el hecho fundamental de “estar en común” (Nancy 1991b).

2. El patrimonio como valor orgánico, lo que la gente valora sin realizar una representación metacultural de la entidad valorada. Cabe aquí referir a la definición de Novelo, para quien patrimonio es “algo que alguien o un grupo de gente considera que merece ser valorado... y en relación a la cual otros comparten esa elección” (2005: 86). Aquí podemos incluir, por un lado, las evaluaciones inmanentes de los habitantes crecidos en el mundo preindustrial en Maragatería sobre lo que es valioso: por ejemplo poseer buenas tierras, una buena casa, etc. Por otro lado, las estimaciones que realizan en relación a lo que les gustaría que se cuidase, preservase o valorase en sus pueblos: la Iglesia y los caminos y veredas fundamentalmente. Esta falta de preocupación generalizada o, más bien, escaso interés en relación a cuestiones relacionadas con la preservación o el mantenimiento de ‘lo que hay’ y a sentimientos nostálgicos por el pasado deriva de una forma de identidad constituida en un periodo en el que el ‘cambio’ no era un factor fundamental a tener en cuenta en la comprensión del entorno social y sus significados. Sólo cuando la aceleración del ritmo de vida hace que el cambio sea un factor a tener en cuenta en la comprensión del mundo nacerá la preocupación por la ‘posible pérdida’ en conexión con el ‘posible cambio’, algo que en comunidades preindustriales era escasamente tenido en cuenta.

3. El patrimonio seleccionado, sancionado, inventariado y construido por instituciones, académicos o por actores sociales de cualquier índole, dentro de lo que Herzfeld considera como la ‘razón incorpórea’ (2001). Este es el ámbito ontológico trascendental por excelencia, de sobra conocido dentro del ámbito del patrimonio por lo que no nos detendremos excesivamente en él. Es característico de sociedades modernas, primero con estados o regiones que necesitan narrativas

legitimadoras, en los que surgen folcloristas, intelectuales varios y académicos que reclaman la preservación de la herencia ante la aceleración del ritmo de transformación de la realidad material, y después con mercados y sociedades que reclaman el pasado como objeto de consumo. Podemos dividir aquí entre:

A) Una fase moderna, en la que ciertas instituciones usan el patrimonio para extirpar ciertos ámbitos de lo comunitario y de lo cultural hacia lo metacultural, de cara a la articulación de multitudes en ciudadanos auto-disciplinados y, en general, a facilitar la gobernabilidad mediante la definición de sujetos lícitos dentro de lo social. Así por ejemplo, la construcción social de la representación cultural de ‘lo maragato’ como un ‘otro’ (judío, moro, astur, cartaginés, etc.) cuya diferencia no puede ser asimilada se construye en oposición al ‘patrimonio nacional’ encarnado en los valores del cristianismo y de la tradición greco-romana y de los reinos medievales (Díaz-Andreu and Champion 1996). La modernidad secciona ámbitos de lo social para ponerlos al servicio de las elites: los bosques pasan a ser jurisdicción estatal, mientras ciertos elementos patrimoniales se desterritorializan para pasar a representar la ‘nación’ en su conjunto, como los maragatos en época Franquista o los paisanos hoy como representantes de una supuesta autenticidad leonesa.

B) Una fase supermoderna o postmoderna, donde se exageran las características de la modernidad (Augé 2008). En esta fase lo fundamental ya no es el control tecnológico sobre el entorno, conquistado durante la modernidad, sino el control sobre la representación simbólica, los significados y las emociones. La fase supermoderna se caracteriza por la aparición de la máquina patrimonial como instrumento de producción y captura de valores patrimoniales, no ya en relación a la construcción de metanarrativas universales (de la nación, de la humanidad, etc.) sino a la afirmación de identidades individualizadas. Esta se realiza mediante la creación de representaciones metafóricas de la realidad (como en las casas de Val de San Lorenzo o Santiago Millas) que “implica individualización, y esto, capacidad de generar deseos de poder” (Hernando Gonzalo 2002: 189). Para el desarrollo del proceso individualizador, el patrimonio funciona como un recurso fundamental, ya que los objetos empiezan a ser concebidos “como símbolos que pueden representar tantas diferencias como ahora existen, que pueden ayudar a visualizar ese esfuerzo de diferenciación, esa particularización que define la identidad. De esta forma, los objetos adquieren una relevancia que no tenían hasta entonces, por muy connotados simbólicamente. En ellos se deposita, a partir de ahora, un algo o un mucho de la identidad de quien los posee” (Hernando Gonzalo 2002: 191). La lucha por el reconocimiento social, teorizada por Fukuyama (2006) en base a la función *tymótica* descrita por Platón, se convierte así en una función fundamental de la psique individual y colectiva contemporánea. Así, se produce una transición de un tipo de luchas *reales* por el poder al ámbito de las luchas *simbólicas* y *mnemónicas* por el mismo. Estas construcciones presuponen un alto nivel de abstracción y trascendencia respecto al campo de lo real, es decir, de control sobre el ámbito del capital simbólico y lo metafórico. Por ejemplo, en esta fase se aprovecha la previa construcción social de la diferencia de lo maragato, ya que esta diferencia otorga valor al ser en cierta medida exclusiva y escasa, para implementar esa representación cultural a través de la materialidad de los pueblos y afirmar las identidades individuales. Como afirma Meskell, “los elementos constitutivos de las identidades de la gente, su ‘raza’ y sus respectivas historias que en su tiempo facilitaron su persecución y estatus subordinado, pueden ahora ser transformados en capital” (2012: 2). El patrimonio sirve entonces para vehicular estos deseos de identificación individualizada y la paralela necesidad de tejer nuevas redes de poder que permiten renovar las distribuciones de

agencia y capacidad de actuación de distintos actores sociales. Una situación que lleva generalmente una reducción del peso de las instituciones y un incremento del peso de los ‘emprendedores’ o ‘sujetos neoliberales’ (Rose 1996) en la toma de decisiones y articulación de lo social, como podemos ver en Santiago Millas, Val de San Lorenzo y otros lugares donde las instituciones locales (no sólo las comunales sino las públicas, los ayuntamientos) se ven sobrepasadas por los reclamos y peticiones de estos grupos que actúan de forma transversal al entramado institucional.

4. El nivel máximo de trascendencia, o, en terminología deleuziana, de distancia entre el plano de inmanencia y el plano de referencia (Brown 2009; May 2005), lo establecen los individuos, generalmente académicos, que expanden las fronteras de lo patrimonializable a cada vez más ámbitos en la esfera teórica, abriendo la puerta a su patrimonialización en la esfera práctica y material. Estos procesos se pueden producir por causas muy diversas y llevar a resultados variados. Por ejemplo, la expansión teórica del concepto de patrimonio al ámbito de lo industrial nace de la fricción entre discursos globales sobre el valor patrimonial y los múltiples presentes que habitan geografías diversas: mientras en Gran Bretaña la Arqueología Industrial nació en los años 60, en España o Portugal sus principios teóricos son importados en los 90 por teóricos del patrimonio antes incluso de que se produzca el abandono definitivo de ciertas fábricas y maquinarias que en Gran Bretaña se ponían en valor como remanentes del pasado, como ocurre en Val de San Lorenzo (Alonso González 2009a). En otros casos, estas expansiones trascendentes derivan de desigualdades en la distribución de bienes inventariados en la lista de patrimonio mundial a favor de lo monumental-occidental-europeo, situación que varía ante el cambio geopolítico operado a favor del crecimiento asiático, que reclama la expansión de la frontera de lo patrimonial al ámbito de lo intangible, donde estos países consideran que poseen una mayor riqueza. Otras expansiones de carácter trascendental de lo patrimonial tienen que ver con intentos bienintencionados de proteger bienes mediante su inclusión en el ámbito de lo patrimonial. Hemos visto cómo esto se ha pretendido llevar a cabo en el intento de patrimonialización de la ley consuetudinaria en España (Arévalo and Marcos 2011), lo que quizás pueda producir efectos retroactivamente negativos: ¿la inclusión de lo comunal como patrimonio favorece su protección o sanciona su muerte en el ámbito de lo inmanente para pasar a ser una representación metacultural trascendente?

Autores como Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2004a) consideran que patrimonialización equivale en cierto modo a la extirpación de un elemento de la realidad para dejarlo como un objeto inerte para la exhibición. Resulta entonces fundamental, en primer lugar, clarificar que consideramos que nuestra función como investigadores del patrimonio no es ‘proteger el patrimonio’ o ‘ampliar la frontera de lo patrimonializable’ sino más bien problematizarlo en contextos concretos y tratar de fomentar su utilización ‘para algo’. En mi caso de estudio en Maragatería esto implica un trabajo con las comunidades locales para evitar precisamente la proliferación de lo patrimonializable y la transformación en metacultura de la vida en los pueblos. En otras palabras, se trata de mantener la inmanencia de un territorio y sus habitantes, de potenciar la cultura y no la metacultura. Este proyecto se relaciona con la idea de la ‘comunidad que viene’ de Agamben (1993). En ella, el ser social de la comunidad no se define por el hecho de cumplir unas condiciones: tener una identidad, creencias u objetivos compartidos; “sino por el hecho de pertenecer en sí mismo” (Agamben 1993: 81). Se trata de responder a un problema real de desestructuración de la comunidad en el área, un

problema de índole demográfica, política, económica y social, en paralelo al problema de la imposición de formas de vida trascendentes externas que obliteran formas de vida locales, fragmentan las comunidades y minimizan consecuentemente la sociodiversidad (Magnaghi 2006). Así, la investigación no nace ni de la abstracción patrimonial (contribuir epistemológicamente al conocimiento del patrimonio) ni de sus objetos (buscar la protección del patrimonio en el área o fomentar la concienciación sobre el asunto entre la población e instituciones), sino de un problema. En este contexto, la labor del investigador no ha de ser ingenua: no se trata de parar el proceso de patrimonialización, que resulta imparable, pero sí puede canalizar, apropiar y utilizar de otros modos. Esto implica concebir nuestra labor como una experimentación o exploración creativa (Deleuze) o una mediación (Latour) que nos permita trabajar con las distintas dimensiones ontológicas del patrimonio, la fricción entre los valores y realidades globales/universales y locales/situados. Todo ello con el objetivo fundamental de reapropiar los valores patrimoniales de cara al mantenimiento de la inmanencia de las prácticas a nivel comunitario local, o lo que es lo mismo, el mantenimiento de lo que he considerado como una ‘territorialidad menor’. O, formulado en forma de pregunta, ¿cómo utilizar los valores del patrimonio como metacultura para permitir la reproducción de la cultura en lugar de para reificarla? Esta búsqueda de una afirmación de lo inmanente y de los valores de la comunidad local no es una elección ideológica aleatoria sino que se basa en las siguientes cuestiones contenciosas:

1. A nivel político-administrativo. Mi investigación ha procurado demostrar cómo desde los orígenes de la modernidad el estado-nación español ha atacado, fragmentado y quitado poder a las comunidades locales en Maragatería, tanto de forma directa como indirecta. Este proceso busca transformar las comunidades en conjuntos de individuos aislados o ‘ciudadanos/consumidores’ (Livingstone et al. 2007). Así, se impone lo social sobre lo comunitario y se quita la voz y la capacidad de actuación a los sujetos locales cuya comprensión de la realidad se basa precisamente en las formas de toma de decisión comunitarias que están siendo obliteradas en este preciso instante: las Juntas Vecinales. Así, lejos de ser una tarea acabada, este proceso de desestructuración todavía está en marcha, siendo la máquina patrimonial su última y más perfeccionada expresión. La imposición de una idea trascendental universal del ‘patrimonio’ sobre ‘los patrimonios’ locales potencia esta situación y reafirma las redes de poder e inequidad preexistentes, ampliándolas. Lejos de concebir la cuestión de lo comunitario en términos ideológicos, de lucha de clase, o de imposiciones hegemónicas, lo que considero preocupante es que la homogeneización y allanamiento de lo real impide el surgimiento de alternativas nuevas y formas de vida diversas, de ‘líneas de fuga’ que permitan ver y vivir la realidad de otros modos. Como veremos más adelante, a diferencia de lo social, lo comunitario no puede afirmarse en relación a ningún objetivo concreto o una dirección teleológica (Castro and Cano 01/03/11), sino que se trata de una afirmación *per se*.

2. A nivel social y económico. Pese a que millones de euros han sido dilapidados a través de la financiación europea mediante el programa LEADER, la vitalidad de las comunidades locales se ha visto enormemente reducida. Igualmente, el supuesto objetivo de la sostenibilidad económica se halla más lejos que nunca debido a la expansión de un modelo faraónico-megalómano de desarrollo a nivel nacional, regional y comarcal donde priman objetivos a corto plazo y las inversiones se entienden como golpes de efecto más que como parte de estrategias de sostenibilidad a largo plazo. No sólo las comunidades locales y sus modelos económicos ‘menores’ (baja intensidad productiva, multifuncionalidad, artesanía sobre industria, redes locales-comarcales de comercio, etc.)

representan activamente un modelo de desarrollo sostenible, sino también los nuevos grupos eco-rurales llegados de centros urbanos españoles y extranjeros que buscan recuperar el contacto con la naturaleza. Como bien dice Tess, parte de la comunidad británica de Lucillo, “el verdadero patrimonio del área maragata son sus tierras, sin productos químicos, en las que hacer cultivo biológico. También la libertad, la falta de vallados, el poder caminar en cualquier dirección” (Interview 72, August 2010). Estos grupos suturan la brecha abierta por la modernidad entre naturaleza y cultura, y tienden un puente con la mentalidad preindustrial de los habitantes más ancianos del área. Distintos trabajos etnográficos han mostrado que la dicotomía entre naturaleza y cultura se diluye en grupos no modernos, cuya percepción de la realidad diverge totalmente de la nuestra (Latour 1993; Strathern 1980; Viveiros de Castro 2009). Sin embargo, escasa atención se ha dedicado a analizar los microprocesos socio-culturales que vehiculan la ruptura naturaleza / cultura en contextos y comunidades específicas. Y menos aún a los modos pragmáticos e inmanentes, y no sólo teóricos, discursivos e ideales, de suturar esa división. En realidad, la gobernabilidad neoliberal acentúa la ruptura moderna e impide su sutura, pese a que existe una fuerza social dispuesta a llevarla a cabo. Así sucede en Maragatería con los ancianos nacidos en un mundo pre-industrial y los nuevos eco-rurales: tanto los primeros como los segundos son marginados en la toma de decisiones y el reparto de fondos públicos. El legítimo receptor de fondos y hacedor de proyectos es el individuo emprendedor, no la Junta Vecinal de un pueblo. Sin duda, considero que esta situación deriva no sólo de la expansión de un modelo neoliberal de gestión económica, sino también de la inexistencia de un ‘sujeto alternativo’ a nivel ontológico que pueda abrir otras opciones existenciales y de gobernabilidad territorial. La constitución de este sujeto alternativo, no concebido en base a una identidad (como en el caso de los reclamos aborígenes, donde el ‘sujeto-otro’ se diferencia claramente de la mayoría de la población) sino como una multiplicidad caracterizada por sus formas de diferenciarse y habitar, es uno de los objetivos últimos de esta investigación. Una vez afirmada la existencia de esta alternativa, resulta legítimo preguntarse por qué no hemos dado apoyo administrativo y financiero a grupos que encarnan los valores de la sostenibilidad en los que se sustentan precisamente los discursos que legitiman la recepción de fondos europeos. ¿Qué sucedería en tal caso? ¿Qué formas de producción de conocimiento, planeamiento territorial y gestión patrimonial y política serían necesarias? ¿Qué entramados académico-institucionales-sociales habrían de emerger?

3. A nivel de producción, gestión y preservación patrimonial. En lo que respecta a lo que se ha venido considerando tradicionalmente la gestión del patrimonio, el modelo actual resulta igualmente fallido. La urbanística de los pueblos refleja la inconsistencia de una legislación basada en las inequidades, mientras que la mayoría de los entes patrimoniales han sido de un modo u otro ‘extirpados’ de la comunidad (e.g., molino de Lagunas de Somoza, labores auríferas romanas del Monte Teleno por el Campo de Tiro, desidia institucional en relación con los petroglifos, abandono de las fiestas maragatas y su vinculación con los tamboriteros, mercantilización de Castrillo de los Polvazares, entre otros muchos). Si bien una vuelta a la idea de comunidad no es la panacea ni tiene por qué, de por sí, resolver estos problemas (aunque más adelante veremos cómo existen formas para hacerlo, aunque estas no entran dentro de las políticas oficiales), una vinculación entre comunidades locales y patrimonio siempre favorece su preservación y puesta en valor, especialmente cuando la comunidad percibe los beneficios de hacerlo. Desde otra perspectiva, no hay que olvidar que el patrimonio no sólo se preserva, sino que también se produce, y esto

generalmente ocurre en ‘territorios menores’, con espacios no estriados, donde se deja rienda suelta a la proliferación de modos de existencia variados y a la convivencia de cosmovisiones y ontologías diversas. Es decir, los nuevos patrimonios emergen en la fricción existente entre distintas temporalidades y las categorías socialmente construidas de tradición, modernidad y postmodernidad. Los sujetos que operan en la realidad social utilizan distintas categorías epistémicas y *viven* en distintas temporalidades ontológicas. En sus trabajos sobre la cuestión del tiempo, Deleuze (1989a; 1991a) analiza las formas en las que la gente sintetiza el futuro y el pasado desde los presentes específicos que habitan. Deleuze distingue entre las síntesis pasivas y activas del tiempo. Las síntesis activas operan mediante mecanismos de representación. Esta es la temporalidad preferencial de la máquina patrimonial. Cuando los sujetos patrimoniales cuelgan arados o yugos de sus fachadas y construyen museos para representar a los otros, establecen una relación con el tiempo de carácter auto-consciente, metacultural y epistemológico. La vida se vive así de una forma incorpórea y desnaturalizada en relación al paso del tiempo. Por el contrario, la síntesis pasiva del tiempo opera mediante el afecto. Esta se produce “dentro del ámbito del tiempo vivido. Leído a través de la teoría Deleuziana de las tres síntesis temporales, el tiempo pasivo permite al presente ser vivido como un presente vivo. Para Walter Benjamin, la tradición está totalmente saturada de tiempo pasivo, porque son las condiciones naturales que llevan a vivir el presente como un presente vivo” (Mahler 2008: 65). Este es el tiempo vivido de las comunidades preindustriales, y el tiempo que los neo-rurales intentan recuperar/recrear para sí mismos en lugares como Matavenero. Este no es el tiempo enfocado a la representación, sino el tiempo de la vida y de la creación inmanente. Y, en última instancia, este es la *realidad* que se reifica de cara a la elaboración de representaciones culturales, es decir, este es el lugar en el que se cimentan las prácticas y discursos patrimoniales de cara a la generación de nuevos valores y a la apropiación de nuevos signos para construir auto-representaciones de diferencia y distinción.

Esta realidad, es decir, la necesidad de una *vida* en inmanencia y la existencia de temporalidades no representacionales y pasivas para la reproducción de los valores patrimoniales se pasa por alto en la mayoría, por no decir en toda, la literatura sobre turismo y gestión de patrimonio y por supuesto por las instituciones. Cómo entender sino la afluencia de turistas al Gimnasio Ecológico de Valdespino y a Matavenero. O que los videos de Tomás el Templario colgados en Youtube y su mención en las guías del peregrino hagan más por atraer turismo al Camino de Santiago que cualquier campaña publicitaria de la Junta de Castilla y León (para irritación de Tomás, paradójicamente). Precisamente, si Tomás aporta un valor inmaterial al Camino es porque vive en otra realidad ontológica, ya que él es, como dice Enrique Notario de la Taberna de Gaia, “auténtico, alguien que cree en lo que dice” (Entrevista 28, Mayo 2010). Esta autenticidad es la que perciben los ‘turigrinos’ y la que da valor añadido al Camino. Un valor del que se apropian todos aquellos empresarios que Tomás tan ferozmente critica, que, de nuevo paradójicamente, quisieran expulsar a Tomás del Camino de Santiago, y que hacen que éste se esté transformando en un negocio banal. De nuevo vemos como el patrimonio sólo nace de la inmanencia de las prácticas, de sistemas en desequilibrio abiertos a la novedad, mientras sus valores son apropiados por entes externos (no sólo económicamente, también por ejemplo cooptándolo mediante su inclusión en narrativas de legitimación regionalista como el leonesismo) sin que estos aporten nada nuevo que repercuta en beneficio del sistema y de los actores sociales que lo pueblan.

Resulta entonces fundamental dar un estatuto ontológico a ‘eso’ de lo que se está hablando, a la comunidad, a un modo de existencia no necesariamente vinculado a una identidad sino a una multiplicidad, un conjunto de relaciones únicas que producen unos resultados igualmente únicos. Mi investigación se ha dirigido entonces, siguiendo a Latour, a añadir una nueva realidad al mundo, que a partir de este momento pueda ser nombrada y pensada, y cuyo modo de existencia pueda ser afirmado, defendido y propagado. Antes de pasar al último apartado es necesario clarificar a que me refiero con este modo de existencia que he denominado como ‘menor’, en consonancia con una ciencia (Correa and Correa 2009) y una política (Thoburn 2003; Thoburn 2006) menores. Agamben nos ofrece un magnífico punto de partida en este pasaje:

“Hay algo de precioso para representarse hoy una noción de pueblo, y es posible que también para pensar en lo que Deleuze decía cuando hablaba de pueblo menor, de pueblo en tanto que minoritario. Se trata menos de un problema de minorías que de una representación del pueblo como estando siempre en resto en relación con una división, cualquier cosa que resta o resiste a una división —no como una sustancia, sino como una diferencia. Se trataría de proceder más bien de esta forma, por división de la división, en lugar de preguntarse: «¿Cuál sería el principio universal comunitario que podría permitirnos convivir?». Al contrario. Se trata, frente a las divisiones que introduce la ley, a los cortes que la ley continuamente realiza, de trabajar sobre lo que pone en cuestión resistiendo, permaneciendo —resistir, permanecer, se trata de la misma raíz” (Agamben 2005).

La cuestión de ‘lo menor’ se encuadra dentro del análisis sobre el capitalismo que Deleuze y Guattari (1987) realizan superando modelos psicoanalíticos y de contradicciones de clases, para entenderlo como una multiplicidad de ‘líneas de fuga’ y sus minorías. Lo menor y lo mayor no se pueden entender de forma cuantitativa, sino como abstracciones ideales desde los que realizar evaluaciones cualitativas. Pese a que las minorías siempre superan en número a la mayoría, esta última se sitúa en una posición central, como modelo estándar que genera una axiomática a su alrededor fuera de la cual queda ‘lo menor’ en los márgenes. Así, el hombre blanco occidental, heterosexual, urbano, razonable y planificador, hablante de un lenguaje hegemónico, es una mayoría. En cambio, una minoría no tiene un modelo, pese a que en ocasiones pueden ser definidas o auto-definirse en base a nociones raciales, étnicas, lingüísticas, territoriales o de género, en búsqueda de reconocimiento, autonomía o derechos. Una minoría busca eludir la axiomática capitalista sin necesariamente entrar en contradicción directa con ella (Virno 2003). Esto es así porque el poder de lo menor y las minorías no reside en su habilidad por influenciar o imponerse al sistema mayoritario, sino en la potenciación de composiciones, conexiones, convergencias y divergencias “que no atraviesan necesariamente la economía capitalista o la formación estatal” (Smith and Deleuze 1997: x|ii).

A principios de los años 90, Žižek se sorprendía por la emergencia imparable de los ‘nuevos movimientos sociales’: ecología, feminismo, pacifismo, etc. “Estos difieren de los movimientos políticos tradicionales (partidos)... ellos quieren a la vez ‘menos’ y ‘más’ que los partidos tradicionales... rechazan entrar en la lucha política habitual, enfatizando su escaso interés en convertirse en partidos políticos como los demás, excluyéndose a sí mismos de la lucha por el poder. A la vez, sin embargo, dejan claro que su objetivo es mucho más radical que el de los partidos políticos: lo que persiguen es una transformación fundamental del sistema general de acciones y creencias, un cambio en el ‘paradigma vital’ que afectaría a nuestras actitudes más

íntimas... lo que está en juego entonces no es una creencia política sino una actitud hacia la vida. Y un proyecto de cambio radical en el ‘paradigma vital’, una vez formulado como un programa político, necesariamente socava las bases mismas de la democracia formal” (Žižek 1992: 99). Al igual que los movimientos sociales, la afirmación de una comunidad menor tiene que ver con la defensa de otros ‘paradigmas vitales’ que no pasan necesariamente por la sanción de la esfera pública estatal y mercantil. Sin embargo, como hemos visto previamente, las comunidades difieren de las sociedades en que en las últimas sus miembros se reúnen para conseguir un cierto objetivo (parar el cambio climático, la paz mundial, la preservación del patrimonio de la humanidad, el fin de la hegemonía masculina, etc.) y en las primeras esto no suele ocurrir (Castro Rey 16/11/2006). Es decir, la afirmación de lo comunal como movimiento menor no puede asociarse a un objetivo ideológico, social o económico, sino que se trata de afirmar una ‘existencia cualsea’ (Agamben 1993). En este sentido, podemos decir que mientras las sociedades menores luchan por un objetivo, porque la mayoría se transforme en otra cosa para alcanzar otro modo de existencia, otro ‘paradigma vital’, las comunidades son en sí representantes de otros modos de existencia y ‘paradigmas vitales’, cuya diferencia y forma específica de diferir y devenir a su modo ha de ser defendida.

Maragatería encarna hoy un territorio, un patrimonio y una población menor: ni las formas de entender la pareja naturaleza-cultura, la relación social y económica, el vínculo con el pasado, la toma de decisiones y las formas de propiedad, ni muchas otras, están en sintonía con las pautas que marca la gobernabilidad neoliberal, el estado moderno y las economías políticas de producción cultural contemporáneas. Los maragatos y su patrimonio pueden ser así objetos de enunciación pero no sujetos enunciativos: los paisanos representan la ‘tradicición’, los pueblos y sus formas de vida la ‘sostenibilidad’, las ‘raíces’ y el ‘equilibrio con la naturaleza’, la arquitectura maragata la ‘autenticidad’, y en su conjunto Maragatería representa parte del alma de la identidad Leonesa. Evidentemente, como sostenía Hall (1999), quién representa a quién es una cuestión relacionada con jerarquías de poder y capacidad de toma de decisiones. ¿Cuándo dejará la Maragatería de representar cosas para otros y comenzará a presentarse a sí misma? Es en este sentido que las prácticas patrimoniales menores han de ser presentadas como tales en su inmanencia y afirmadas en su diferencia: las fiestas maragatas, la propiedad comunal, las Juntas Vecinales, el valor de los caminos, lo artesanal, los ritmos lentos y las actividades de baja intensidad, entre otros. Todo ello sin sumergirnos en las luchas por el reconocimiento identitario, en las que se dilapidan las energías de grupos minoritarios que sólo luchan por ahondar su dependencia: ya desde Hegel y Nietzsche resulta evidente que quien busca reconocimiento afirma su inferioridad respecto a aquel de quién lo solicita. Hemos de invertir entonces el esquema predominante para que juegue a favor de lo inmanente: en lugar de seleccionar ciertos elementos y sancionarlos trascendentalmente como patrimonio de cara a la obtención de un valor, de la atracción de un turista, o de su inclusión en narrativas nacionalistas, podríamos ponerlos al servicio de la reproducción de las prácticas comunitarias. Esto implica revertir un pensamiento ya estratificado en las mentalidades postindustriales según el cual la realidad se supedita a la obtención de valor: ¿por qué no utilizar el valor para la construcción de realidad? ¿Por qué no representarse a sí mismos y redistribuir los valores para el bien común?

Queda aquí ya clara la labor del escritor/investigador: diluirse en la enunciación colectiva de un pueblo menor y sus múltiples dimensiones patrimoniales, para expresar sus potenciales y

fuerzas, servir como agente de transformación colectiva, o como catalizador. Como decía Klee (1966), “no podemos hacer mucho más”. Este proyecto es sustancialmente político ya que implica “construir una forma de conocimiento que respete al otro sin absorberlo o convertirlo en lo mismo” (Young 1990: 11). El trabajo del investigador aparece así como un “elemento verdaderamente genético, una virtualidad capaz de conectar, poco a poco, con otros discursos hasta constituir el discurso libre indirecto de una gente o una minoría, incluso si esta existe sólo todavía en potencia”, en otras palabras, su tarea sería la de “establecer relaciones no pre-existentes entre distintas variables para hacerlas funcionar al unísono en un todo único y no-homogéneo, y así participar en la construcción de ‘nuevas posibilidades de vida’” (Smith and Deleuze 1997: x|v). Se trata en este sentido de construir patrimonios menores a modo de fabulación, es decir, un anverso de los mitos y ficciones dominantes y un acto de resistencia que abre la puerta a un ‘punto de fuga’ sociopolítico. Esta afirmación ontológica abre otra paradoja: desde esta perspectiva, incluso investigadores que se mantengan en una aséptica posición de neutralidad desde la que afirman sólo querer ‘proteger el patrimonio’, han de verse obligados a defender la comunidad a la que las prácticas patrimoniales inmanentes se encuentran intrínsecamente ligadas. Así, el investigador forma un rizoma con lo investigado, estableciendo relaciones de solidaridad, compromisos y sentimientos inter-subjetivos con existencias otras y patrimonios otros que previamente no tenían cabida en marcos epistemológicos disciplinares – no existían. El investigador no critica, describe, o discursivamente apoya una u otra teoría, sino que deviene otra cosa y cambia en sintonía con lo estudiado.

Concluimos con la aparentemente ingenua frase de Haber que para nosotros está cargada de significado y alberga una crítica severa a los domicilios de investigación asumidos por la ciencia occidental: resulta fundamental “tomarse en serio” a los sujetos que investigamos. Desde su perspectiva, “las conversaciones con los sujetos y colectivos populares, movimientos sociales y comunidades locales, en fin, junto a quienes se forman solidaridades duraderas en las que nos reconocemos mutuamente, son la situación de la investigación... No es una conversación instrumental para recabar información acerca de cómo estos sujetos otorgan sentido a la realidad. Es una conversación con los sentidos otros de la realidad, una conversación que interpela y, a la corta o a la larga, conmueve. En segundo lugar... es una conversación con movimientos sociales y comunidades locales, es decir, colectivos políticamente movilizados para hacer frente al poder hegemónico. Nuevamente, no se trata de describir cómo los pobres o campesinos se organizan para obtener beneficios del Estado. Todo lo contrario. Es someterse al aprendizaje de la teoría que en esos contextos ya se construye a contrapelo del discurso hegemónico... Insisto, no para describir esa teoría, sino para tomársela en serio, y transformarse en esa conversación” (Haber 2011c: 23, 30).

3. Saliendo del texto. Sobre el valor del patrimonio en la sociedad postindustrial y cómo reapropiarlo para el bien común.

“Lo común es la base de cualquier hipótesis comunista actual. Esto es así debido fundamentalmente a dos condiciones conflictivas e interconectadas de lo común con respecto a la producción capitalista. Primero, la producción capitalista contemporánea es cada vez más dependiente de la producción y la productividad de lo común. Y, segundo, el común, al tener que ser compartido y de acceso libre, es incompatible con

la propiedad. En otras palabras, lo común y su productividad son destruidos cuando las relaciones de propiedad (privada o pública) se imponen en ellos; y, a la vez, la afirmación de lo común implica una destrucción de la propiedad. Las dinámicas de la lucha de clases actuales y el proyecto de superar la sociedad de clases se desarrollan en el terreno de lo común” (Hardt 2010a: 1 para.).

“Es como si en la actualidad hubiera dos tendencias para pensar lo político. Una, que creo proviene de Hegel y de Lacan que trata de pensar el cuerpo desde el lenguaje... y otra posición que trata de pensar el cuerpo desde su absoluta inmanencia. Esta segunda posición correspondería por ejemplo al vitalismo de Deleuze... donde no hay escisión, donde el cuerpo no está atravesado por el lenguaje... esa es la línea que desemboca en imperio en Hardt y Negri. Por eso hay una oposición entre los pensadores, por decirlo con palabras de Jorge, entre pensadores de la izquierda lacaniana, Rancière, Badiou y el propio Jorge Alemán, y por otro lado aquellos pensadores que tratan de pensar el cuerpo sin idea... Hay dos paradigmas subjetivos que están en guerra, dos normas de lo que es un sujeto... La primera norma o paradigma es estrictamente materialista, se deriva de una filosofía monista del sujeto, no hay diferencia entre el sujeto y el cuerpo. Por tanto la experimentación subjetiva es solo la experimentación con los límites del cuerpo... Por tanto podemos decir que el sujeto es experimentación de la muerte como límite final del cuerpo. El segundo paradigma corresponde a una filosofía del sujeto idealista, teológica, metafísica, el sujeto puede ser separado de su cuerpo” (Cano 03/02/2010: Min. 20-22).

Este último apartado apunta hacia el afuera del texto, es una línea de fuga que nos proyecta hacia otros territorios de investigación, a contextos pragmáticos de gestión y acción, y conecta la investigación con la realidad contemporánea a la que viene a añadirse. Una vez producido un sujeto ‘menor’ y garantizado un estatuto ontológico a las múltiples dimensiones en las que su(s) patrimonio(s) habitan, resulta esencial conectar esta investigación con el desarrollo del capitalismo postindustrial y el papel que juega el patrimonio dentro del mismo como valor inmaterial. Comprender cómo el patrimonio se produce y se consume es sólo un aspecto de la cuestión, pese a ser el más explorado por la literatura patrimonial crítica. Aquí nos interesa más entender en qué tipo de valor puede llegar a constituirse el patrimonio hoy, y las estrategias que se emplean para capturar este valor. Por supuesto, en paralelo y transversalmente a este proceso, el patrimonio se utiliza para vehicular transformaciones en las formas de gobernabilidad, construcción de naciones y etnicidades mediante la imbricación con identidades y memorias específicas (De Cesari 2010; Herzfeld 2010; Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996). Sin embargo, la cuestión del valor ha sido mucho menos estudiada. Es este un tema que subyace y recorre a modo de subtexto toda la investigación, desde la discusión filosófica de la cuestión del valor con Deleuze y Nietzsche, la deconstrucción de las teorías sobre los valores patrimoniales, al análisis de múltiples casos de estudio donde valores patrimoniales se ponían en juego. No resumo aquí todas estas cuestiones sino que las sintetizo para producir una nueva hipótesis que resulte útil fuera del texto, en contextos pragmáticos de gestión y actuación sociopolítica. Tampoco busco producir una teoría sobre el valor del patrimonio, sino que lo considero como una multiplicidad multidimensional: el patrimonio no es valioso *per se*, ni su valor

es *socialmente construido*, sino que sus valores emergen precisamente en la fricción entre sus múltiples ontologías. Sin embargo, decir que *todas estas ontologías son igualmente valiosas* sería ir en contra del sentido común y mis observaciones empíricas en el campo. Resulta evidente que lo que los ancianos maragatos consideran como patrimonio (la tierra, la iglesia local, los caminos, etc.) resulta de escaso valor en la jerarquía global del valor. La hipótesis aquí defendida es que el valor surge precisamente en la abstracción metacultural de estas realidades inmanentes y en la fricción entre sus diversos estatutos ontológicos: el patrimonio es así un valor inmaterial, en sintonía con el capitalismo biopolítico y el modelo de producción antropogénico (Marazzi 2000) en el que nos movemos. El patrimonio inmanente de los ancianos maragatos puede ser entonces valioso una vez que se selecciona metaculturalmente y se construye a través de cadenas de experiencias como un elemento consumible asociado a un ‘modo de existencia’, para lo cual es necesaria una tarea de mediación (social, institucional, académica, de mercado, etc.). El quid de la cuestión es cómo evitar que esta transformación ontológica del patrimonio de una realidad inmanente a una trascendental implique una apropiación del valor por parte de actores sociales exógenos al patrimonio y su proceso de transformación.

En cualquier caso, la pregunta fundamental que nos hacemos es: ¿por qué es hoy valioso el patrimonio? ¿Cómo se relaciona este valor con la economía contemporánea y qué estrategias se ponen en marcha para apropiárselo? Para ello debemos entender las transformaciones en el sistema capitalista y sus formas de propiedad, y cómo esto afecta, por derivación, a la organización de la producción, la distribución del beneficio y la captura del valor. Nos retrotraemos al siglo XIX para entender un fenómeno de transición similar al que vivimos en nuestros días. El antiguo régimen se caracterizaba por la importancia de la propiedad inmueble y de la extracción de rentas por parte de capitalistas, que se situaban en una posición externa a los procesos de producción del valor, que había sido producido por otros medios y actores sociales (Marazzi 2008). El nacimiento de la industria supuso un aumento de la importancia de los bienes muebles sobre los inmuebles, y de la generación de beneficio sobre la extracción de rentas. A la vez, generar beneficio involucraba forzosamente al capitalista en la organización del proceso productivo, imponiendo normas y formas de cooperación, estableciendo regímenes de cuidado, educación y castigo para disciplinar a los trabajadores, etc. (Hardt and Negri 2009). Así, la producción industrial se impuso como régimen de producción dominante en el siglo XIX occidental. Esto es así porque, pese a ocupar a una fracción cuantitativamente reducida de la población, el resto de formas de producción se veían forzadas a adoptar los principios de la producción industrial – mecanización, disciplina, control del tiempo, etc. (Marx 1973). Como habíamos visto con Guattari, es fundamental pensar en términos de maquinismo para entender el cambio no en forma de fases y rupturas sino como surgimientos de ‘sistemas provisionalmente dominantes’ (1979: 180). Lo industrial se convertía así en el sistema dominante del periodo, pese a convivir con formas de producción más arcaicas. Al igual que la industria en el siglo XIX, según Hardt y Negri hoy la producción biopolítica e inmaterial ha adquirido una posición hegemónica que se impone sobre otras formas de producción y la sociedad en su conjunto: “entendemos como inmaterial y biopolítica la producción de ideas, información, imágenes, conocimiento, códigos, lenguajes, relaciones sociales, afectos, y similares... la industria tiene que informatizarse; el conocimiento, los códigos y las imágenes se están convirtiendo en elementos cada vez más importantes en los sectores tradicionales de producción; y la producción de afectos y cuidados se está convirtiendo en algo esencial en los procesos de valorización” (Hardt

2010b: 349). En este contexto cobra sentido la cita de Lazzarato en la que afirma que “lo que se produce ya está vendido ... porque antes se convirtió en objeto de deseo” (Lipcovich and Lazzarato 20/12/2010). Desarrollos específicos de la sociedad postindustrial llevan a un cierto tipo de ‘política del valor’ (Appadurai 1994) que implica la valorización social de lo patrimonial, un desarrollo que no debemos entender como una imposición trascendental por algún tipo de *deus ex machina*, sea el mercado o el estado: más bien se trata de ciertos modos de existencia nuevos que llevan a nuevas evaluaciones sobre realidades distintas y cuyas valoraciones se transmiten por *contaminación recíproca* entre individuos y grupos, como bien explicaba el sociólogo Gabriel Tarde un siglo atrás (ver Lazzarato 2002). Una vez que esto sucede, el patrimonio ya se ha convertido, *en potencia*, en un bien de consumo. Resulta absurdo entonces pensar que cierto bien *se comodifica o mercantiliza*, deberíamos más bien decir que la patrimonialización de un determinado bien es la actualización específica de una virtualidad dominante: la máquina patrimonial.

La máquina patrimonial convierte en valor inmaterial (trascendencia-metacultura) la realidad social y sus prácticas (inmanencia-cultura). Las reinvenções y constantes rearticulaciones de la esfera social dentro del dinamismo capitalista llevan a la emergencia de nuevos valores inmateriales patrimoniales, en relación a formas específicas de dominación, que recodifican formaciones sociales previas para generar nuevas subjetividades e identidades (Thrift 2005). En este sentido, debemos evitar caer en los determinismos culturalistas y economicistas, que estudian el patrimonio bien como una economía política vinculada al turismo, o bien como un ámbito discursivo cargado de significado que ha de ser interpretado. El patrimonio es hoy un entramado complejo de procesos cargados de significado que a su vez producen valor, mientras la rearticulación del valor reorganiza estos significados, identidades y memorias. El patrimonio es a la vez representación y producción, o, en terminología de Guattari, un proceso de trasducción: “un signo que es a la vez representación y producción, y que por lo tanto tiene la cualidad semiótica que él [Guattari] considera más importante, es decir, la capacidad de intervenir en el mundo real” (Watson 2009: 156). En conclusión, las identidades y las memorias son valiosas en la jerarquía mundial del valor patrimonial, y los valores económicos generan identidades como subproductos de economías políticas de producción cultural (Rullani 2006). Así, en este nuevo periodo de sustitución de un modelo de producción temporalmente dominante por otro, el conflicto se establece entre lo inmaterial y lo material o, en otras palabras, en la fricción producida entre la reproducción gratuita de lo inmaterial - valor patrimonial, conocimiento, emoción, afecto, estética, etc. – y la no reproducibilidad del vector material – las geografías situadas específicas de cada elemento patrimonial (Rullani 2006). La cuestión de la autenticidad pierde relevancia en el ámbito de patrimonio: lo que cuenta son los equilibrios dinámicos que se establecen entre el potencial virtual del patrimonio y su actualización en lugares concretos. La ‘comida gastronómica de los franceses’ (Patrimonio Mundial Intangible) es virtualmente infinita, no cuantificable y reproducible, pero la *experiencia material* sólo puede realizarse en Francia, con ciertos chefs y productos específicos del terruño.

La insistencia contemporánea en cuestiones de control sobre la reproducibilidad de los valores inmateriales resulta evidente en el increíble desarrollo de patentes y derechos de autor que restringen el acceso a elementos en principio fácilmente compatibles: códigos genéticos, información sobre plantas medicinales en comunidades aborígenes, datos digitales compartidos online, y un largo etcétera. Todos estos elementos forman parte de la esfera de lo común, y si bien

pueden ser fácilmente apropiados por empresas o privados, controlar, restringir y tasar su uso resulta mucho más complicado. El problema añadido es que se trata de bienes cuyo valor y utilidad aumenta cuanto más son compartidos o utilizados: para el desarrollo de economías del conocimiento es fundamental la producción, propiedad y circulación libre y colectiva del saber. Lo mismo ocurre con la producción biopolítica, lingüística, afectiva o patrimonial: se puede imponer la producción de emociones y relaciones sociales, pero la creatividad y productividad que nacerá de estos será mínima (Hardt 2010b). El consumo de saber no es destructivo sino creativo, añade y no resta al mundo: al comprar un libro poseemos el papel pero no las ideas que contiene (Lazzarato 2006b). Estas ideas se añaden al potencial de conexión intercerebral del lector con el resto de la sociedad, aumentando las posibilidades de crear sinergias positivas e invenciones.

Igual que un libro, un elemento patrimonial no es valioso *per se*, sino que debe entrar en relación con un ensamblaje social, con un público, para ser valioso. El valor del patrimonio emerge de lo relacional, de la interferencia con las emociones, intereses y valores de una red social compleja. Los Petroglifos sólo se convirtieron en tales una vez que entraron en un nuevo modo de existencia en su totalidad: un estado del bienestar que educa a sus ciudadanos, que da valor al pasado y a la cultura, y que permite la existencia de tiempo libre para su consumo (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009). Igualmente, cuanto más este ‘saber’ se extienda en Maragatería, más petroglifos y elementos patrimoniales emergerán en la esfera pública, y más su valor aumentará. Este saber común produce un patrimonio común que incrementa las relaciones sociales y el valor de lo patrimonial en el área. Sin embargo, como bien vimos en el caso de los Petroglifos, una vez que estos son apropiados por la esfera pública (colocados bajo control o gestión estatal) su productividad se reduce drásticamente: la gente prefiere no mezclarse con la cuestión patrimonial al ser percibida como ‘parte del estado’, pero sí está dispuesta a hablar con Campos y compartir su conocimiento con él. Igualmente, cuando los valores patrimoniales son apropiados por actores sociales privados su productividad se reduce, no sólo porque se produce la ruptura comunidad-bien patrimonial, sino porque se genera una percepción negativa de lo patrimonial al repercutir no en el bien común, sino en el bien de unos pocos. Hemos visto ejemplos de estos procesos en Val de San Lorenzo o Santiago Millas, donde el interés por participar en la ‘economía patrimonial’ es inexistente e incluso se rechaza, o en el Camino de Santiago, donde la privatización del beneficio inmaterial que produce lleva a su banalización, a su segmentación de acuerdo a niveles económicos, y a la obliteración de potencial, de lo que no es pero que podría ser, por ejemplo en la generación de otras posibilidades territoriales en Maragatería (el Camino como vía de entrada para nuevos pobladores eco-rurales). Vemos entonces como “aquí surge una contradicción interna al capital: cuanto más lo común es cercado como propiedad, más se reduce su productividad; y sin embargo la expansión del común destruye las relaciones de propiedad de una manera fundamental y general” (Hardt 2010b: 349). En términos económicos, las formas de acumulación de plusvalor han cambiado en los últimos treinta años ya que estos son ahora externos a los procesos productivos clásicos. “Es en este sentido que la idea del ‘devenir renta del beneficio’ (y, en parte, de los salarios también) se justifica como el resultado de la captura de un valor producido fuera de los propios espacios de producción” (Marazzi 2010: 61).

En este sentido, el neoliberalismo no sólo se ha impuesto sobre la propiedad pública, sino fundamentalmente sobre el común. Lo que tradicionalmente ha sido llamado como ‘los comunes’, expropiados paulatinamente a partir del siglo XVII en Inglaterra y del XIX en España, se refiere al

mundo y sus recursos: la tierra, el agua, el aire, los bosques, los minerales, etc. (Van Laerhoven and Ostrom 2007). Sin embargo, ‘lo común’ se refiere no a estos elementos presentes en el mundo, sino a los bienes referidos previamente y que son producto del intelecto humano: ideas, lenguaje, emociones, tradiciones, etc., que también son cada vez más víctimas de la privatización neoliberal (Hardt 2010b; Harvey 2002). Dentro de este segundo ámbito de lo común se incluye el patrimonio, como hemos venido argumentando. De hecho, el funcionamiento de los mecanismos sancionadores del patrimonio a nivel nacional y estatal se parece cada vez más a los del funcionamiento de patentes y derechos de autor. Esto cuando el patrimonio es no directamente extirpado del común por el estado para su supuesta protección, y que ahora se privatiza debido a las políticas de reducción del sector público, como en Italia o Grecia (Eunjung Cha 15/07/2012).

Sin embargo, la forma generalizada de apropiación del valor en la economía postindustrial es la captura de rentas. Ya vimos previamente como el capitalismo contemporáneo captura valor sin participar en el proceso productivo, en cierta forma como los rentistas del antiguo régimen. Es por ello que Pasquinelli (2010b: 287), basándose en la idea de Serres del parásito (1982), considera que las formas de extracción del valor contemporáneas son parasitarias, ya que se apropian de la creatividad de la gente, su vitalidad y otros valores comunes sin aportar nada a cambio. La vuelta a un paradigma basado en la renta y ya no en el beneficio se observa por ejemplo en las patentes y los derechos de autor, que garantizan un ingreso basado en el control sobre una propiedad material o inmaterial común (Vercellone 2008). Esta transformación no es casual, sino que viene dada por la preponderancia del capitalismo financiero y las formas de propiedad inmaterial asociadas a la extracción de rentas que capturan el común y controlan los procesos sociales a distancia (Marazzi 2010).

La cuestión de la apropiación de rentas patrimoniales es otro tema que subyace en toda la investigación. Este tipo de procesos de captura del valor patrimonial externos a su producción aparecen en múltiples ocasiones, desde la promoción de formas de gobierno neoliberal por parte del grupo de financiación europea LEADER, como en la privatización de los beneficios comunes en Santiago Millas, Val de San Lorenzo, Castrillo de los Polvazares o el Camino de Santiago. Pese a toda la retórica discursiva alrededor de la sostenibilidad, ¿en qué basa su existencia en última instancia todo el sector terciario de la Maragatería y el Camino de Santiago? Evidentemente, no en el buen hacer de un ‘individuo emprendedor’, sino en los valores comunes presentes en el territorio en sus distintas dimensiones: modos de vida, artesanías, homogeneidad arquitectónica, tradición y rituales, etc. Sin embargo, el modelo neoliberal pretende restringir la participación en la comunidad política a un acuerdo entre individuos propietarios que intercambian bienes y servicios: los no propietarios se dejan en el margen como productores y consumidores dentro de una retórica democrática.

Sin embargo, la promoción de la subjetividad individualizadora deja de lado el hecho de que el valor surge del ensamblaje entre múltiples cadenas de experiencias: un patrimonio, modo de vida y prácticas inmanentes que se conectan a redes internacionales de turismo e inversión que actualizan el patrimonio local de forma trascendente como bien de consumo (externalidad, en términos económicos). En este sentido, Hardt y Negri (2009) son cautos en su juicio sobre las consecuencias que esta forma de producción implica. Por un lado, es cierto que hoy, más que nunca, los valores comunes se encuentran directamente en posesión de la gente: el patrimonio inmanente no es más que la producción de ideas, afectos, emociones, relaciones sociales y formas de vida

comunes, que se han sedimentado mediante un proceso de destilación histórica en un cierto conjunto de elementos. En este sentido, los medios de producción no se encuentran *en las manos* de un cierto grupo social, sino que *el grupo social*, sus cuerpos y sus vidas, se han transformado en el capital fijo del que se captura valor. Esto tiene que ver con la implantación de un modelo de producción ‘antropogénico’ (Marazzi 2000) encaminado a la producción no ya de objetos, sino fundamentalmente de subjetividad y formas de vida. En este proceso, se valorizan y introducen en la relación productiva “las facultades humanas, sus competencias, conocimientos y emociones – las adquiridas en el trabajo pero también y más fundamentalmente las que se acumulan fuera del trabajo y que son productoras directas de valor. Una característica distintiva del trabajo de cabeza y corazón, entonces, es que, paradójicamente, el objeto de producción es realmente un sujeto, definido, por ejemplo, por una relación social o una forma de vida” (Hardt 2010b: 353). Por otro lado, sin embargo, estas formas de producción de subjetividad neoliberal buscan precisamente una individualización máxima de los sujetos (Hernando Gonzalo 2002; Hernando Gonzalo 2012) y la ruptura de formas de solidaridad, cooperación y confianza comunes, sustituyéndolas por una supuesta convivencia social como individuos libres en democracias avanzadas (Rose 1997). Esta situación por la cual los valores hegemónicos permean y se imponen socialmente en las cosmovisiones y mentalidades de los sujetos, dificulta y hace precisamente más difícil que nunca la reapropiación de los valores comunes en torno al patrimonio. Como bien dice Žižek, “nuestros comunes están ahí fuera. Por supuesto, el problema es quien se los apropia, y pienso que aquí reside la lucha fundamental... cuanto más nuestro espacio se hace comunal, más tenemos la misma contradicción... cuando entras en Internet participas de un de intelecto común, pero a la vez resulta cada vez más fácil que este intelecto común sea privatizado, censurado, etc.” (Žižek 23/03/2011: min. 15) .Y la complejidad del entramado socioeconómico postindustrial exige, más que nunca, la participación activa de académicos comprometidos en la deconstrucción y reorientación de estas situaciones de cara al planteamiento de estrategias para la reapropiación del común.

La noción de política de Rancière nos ofrece un buen punto de partida. Para él, “la política comienza precisamente allí donde dejan de equilibrarse pérdidas y ganancias, donde la tarea consiste en repartir las partes de lo *común*” (1999: 5; 1996: 18). Nos preguntamos entonces qué implicaciones tendría un replanteamiento del reparto de lo común en el ámbito del patrimonio maragato. En primer lugar, esta reapropiación no debería concebirse como una ‘vuelta a la autenticidad’, pero sí en cierta forma como una reapropiación de los símbolos de la gente (García Canclini 1993). Toda intervención en lo social, y por derivación en lo patrimonial, es un proceso productivo, una producción nueva y no un retorno a lo anterior (Briones 2005b). En este sentido, reapropiación no ha de implicar una defensa de lo inmanente, una vuelta a la tierra o a una comunidad ideal o utópica que nunca existió (Barchiesi 2003), como si la defensa de lo comunal implicase un rechazo del valor inmaterial en una suerte de ludismo postindustrial. No podemos mantener la ficción romántica de la comunidad como un todo coherente y libre de conflictos (Mavhunga and Dressler 2007; Meskell 2012: 161). Ejemplos como el de Matavenero demuestran la dificultad de crear vínculos de solidaridad y comunidad a partir de ideales abstractos en el marco de una sociedad hiper-individualizada. Pero reapropiación tampoco implica una transición forzosa a lo postindustrial y la conversión del patrimonio de la comunidad, ya consciente de sí misma y de sus formas de autopresentación y representación (Corsin Jimenez 2009), en un patrimonio trascendente de cara a su explotación para el beneficio de la comunidad. Se trata entonces de experimentar

buscando una solución a medio camino entre inmanencia y trascendencia, en la fricción entre las múltiples dimensiones del patrimonio, lo local y lo global. Ejemplos en el ámbito de las comunidades aborígenes en Sudamérica apuntan ya en esta dirección, como el caso de la comunidad del Infierno en Perú donde los bienes comunes se comenzaron a gestionar en asociación con una empresa de ecoturismo. El estudio etnográfico de Stronza (2009) tras diez años de funcionamiento en esta comunidad apunta a la ambivalencia del modelo, que generó un patrón de gestión más efectivo e incrementó los beneficios, pero a la vez llevó a la fragmentación de la cohesión social y por lo tanto a la disminución “del potencial para la protección y gestión colectiva de los bienes comunes a largo plazo” (2009: 58).

En nuestro contexto de investigación, las Juntas Vecinales y las formas de solidaridad comunal proveen un buen punto de partida, ya que han demostrado que pueden adaptarse a entornos socioeconómicos cambiantes. Por ejemplo, en lugar de contratar seguros individuales contra el fuego en cada casa, algunas comunidades poseen depósitos comunales que abaratan costes y evitan la captura de capital por corporaciones externas. En un modelo que podría extenderse a todo el territorio, la Junta Vecinal de Tabuyo del Monte ha creado casas que se alquilan a turistas o visitantes y cuyos beneficios van a las arcas comunitarias. Para que cualquier tipo de proyecto funcione resulta fundamental ser pragmáticos y tener en cuenta el importante grado de pragmatismo y funcionalismo que prevalece en las comunidades estudiadas en Maragatería. Como vimos en el caso de los Petroglifos, la mayoría de la gente en Lucillo no estaba interesada en ellos *per se*, pero entendían que podía servir para atraer visitantes y hacer negocio. Lo mismo sucede con los trabajos, formas de organización y propiedad comunal, que tienden a abandonarse dada su escasa utilidad en la transición a economías postproductivistas según se explotan en la actualidad. Al igual que en Galicia, “en este momento ni los factores de desarrollo de tipo ambiental ni los relacionados con el ocio resultan opciones interesantes para las comunidades porque son externalidades de las que se benefician agentes ajenos a la propia comunidad” (Cabana Iglesia et al. 2011b: 34). Lejos de ser una utopía, el fomento de una ‘economía menor’ resulta mucho más adecuado para la Maragatería que grandes inversiones donde se dilapidan ingentes capitales procedentes de fondos europeos. Esta economía menor ya existe, pero en lugar de fomentarse, se condena: la atracción de población a través del Camino de Santiago, las redes de comercio entre artesanos y poblaciones móviles eco-rurales, las redes de productores agrícolas informales con proyectos sostenibles y respetuosos con la naturaleza (e.g., la comunidad británica de Lucillo), las redes de artistas plásticos, músicos, herreros, ceramistas, forjadores y artesanos varios venidos de distintas partes del mundo que conjugan el trabajo de la tierra con sus actividades, etc. En lugar de apoyar estas redes, se fomenta la creación de hoteles y restaurantes, que se conectan mediante señales y carteles entre sí y con atractivos patrimoniales de algún tipo, reflejando una concepción cuantitativa, racional y estriada del territorio, basada en las líneas que conectan puntos, es decir, objetos de consumo, productores y servicios con consumidores. Estos hoteles, casas rurales y restaurantes capturan los valores producidos por las redes menores del territorio sin generar nada nuevo o algún tipo de externalidad positiva.

Toda alternativa pasa entonces por una revisión profunda de los presupuestos de las distintas disciplinas y políticas operando en el territorio: la planificación urbanística, arquitectónica, paisajística y territorial, la gestión del patrimonio, de los fondos de desarrollo rural, de la política de infraestructuras, medio ambiente, bosques y ríos, y de la gestión turística. Esto implica además

pensar necesariamente no sólo en las distintas dimensiones ontológicas del patrimonio, sino en las distintas escalas a las que manejarlo. Así por ejemplo, no es lo mismo que un pueblo lance un proyecto como el de Tabuyo del Monte que constituir una red de hoteles, restaurantes y casas vecinales comunales aglutinadas en un proyecto que tome la forma de parque cultural o patrimonial para ensalzar el valor inmaterial del territorio en base a su ‘diferencia’ - ya que la diferencia y la alteridad generan valor (Briones 1998). Concebido a escala macro-territorial, un parque cultural en Maragatería funcionaría igualmente como entidad en competencia global dentro de las jerarquías de valor patrimonial: la diferencia residiría en que el valor capturado en los flujos de turismo e inversión revertirían a la comunidad y garantizarían su reproducción, en lugar de acumularse en manos privadas. Así, los ingresos podrían reinvertirse en el propio patrimonio, su cuidado y mejora, lo que a su vez permitiría la reproducción de modos de existencia locales sin necesidad de ser cooptados o subvencionados por instituciones o entes privadas. También incrementaría el poder de negociación frente al Ministerio de Defensa para la eliminación del Campo de Tiro Militar, al plantearse la existencia de una alternativa real para el desarrollo del territorio que no pase por su conversión en ‘espacio basura’ (Koolhaas 2002). A la vez, el patrimonio se convertiría no en una entidad metacultural que trasciende a la comunidad, sino algo de lo que la comunidad participa y de lo que recibe algo, por lo que le conviene establecer una relación positiva con el mismo: una relación de identificación. Se evitarían así situaciones como las que hemos analizado en varios casos de estudio en las que los individuos son mayoritariamente pasivos, o activamente se sitúan en contra, de los procesos patrimonializadores. Resulta evidente entonces que, como bien señalaba Winter (2011), la relación entre la identidad y el patrimonio no tiene nada de esencial. Articulaciones específicas que favorecen ciertas formas de patrimonialización sobre otras generan unas identidades particulares, incrementan o disminuyen sentidos de pertenencia, e influyen en la construcción de memorias individuales y compartidas. Como he desarrollado en otro trabajo previo (Alonso González 2010c), este tipo de proyectos comunitarios ya se han puesto en marcha en lugares como la Val di Cornia (Italia) o en la Oficina del Historiador de la Ciudad de La Habana (Cuba). En resumen, mientras las políticas neoliberales a nivel global (facilitación del espacio de actuación de multinacionales sobre lo estatal), nacional (transferencia de capital público a manos privadas mediante el mecanismo de la deuda soberana), y hasta los niveles más bajos de la escala administrativa (gestión de los fondos europeos LEADER dirigida a ‘emprendedores’ individuales), funcionan en base al principio de transferencia de capital común y público a manos privadas, resulta entonces necesario revertir este proceso con intervenciones a distintas escalas, siendo la que proponemos una de ellas.

¿Cuál es la labor del investigador en todo esto? Como ya hemos visto, desde una perspectiva Deleuziana ‘producir conocimiento’ no implica elaborar representaciones cada vez más detalladas donde lo visto se corresponda con lo dicho, es decir, un perfeccionamiento epistemológico. Se trata, por el contrario, de problematizar un campo de acción, de generar ‘cuestiones de interés’ (Latour 2004a). El investigador explora su campo de investigación para plantear las preguntas adecuadas y buscar soluciones. ¿Puede, por ejemplo, ser el empoderamiento de la comunidad una solución para algo? ¿Qué papel puede jugar el patrimonio en este ámbito? Un planteamiento que recuerda la discusión del incesto según Levi Strauss (1971): el incesto no es una cuestión que requiere una respuesta, sino que ofrece una respuesta a una cuestión que nosotros todavía no conocemos. Igualmente, el investigador debe ser fiel al principio de la inmanencia. Esto implica trazar los

movimientos menores en el campo investigado, las acciones, conexiones y movimientos del pensamiento que ocurren en el meido de las cosas, en cada momento, en lugar de buscar explicaciones transcendentales o ventrilocuísticas como el mercado, la ideología o el estado y plantearlas como cuasas últimas o teleológicas que dan cuenta de procesos patrimoniales reales. Sin ser el objetivo último de la investigación, el patrimonio puede jugar un papel fundamental en este ámbito. El papel del investigador ha de estar a mitad de camino entre la comunidad y la disciplina. En lugar de retrotraerse a críticas ideológicas o a la representación de un ideal político específico, o concebir la investigación como un terreno neutro en el que describir, criticar o potenciar procesos de patrimonialización, la disciplina ha de concebirse como una herramienta útil para producir transformaciones en el mundo real. Sólo así el investigador puede “involucrarse en la transformación de la realidad – es decir, realizar un trabajo politizado – y a la vez renovar el núcleo de la disciplina. La cuestión es si resulta factible abrir la definición de la disciplina al impacto de las fuerzas del mercado y de los avances técnicos como un impulso para desarrollar sus códigos, y al mismo tiempo comprometerse en la práctica y operar como agentes críticos” (Zaera-Polo 2008: 79). Este posicionamiento conecta con la forma de entender la producción de conocimiento por Fals Borda (1991). Para él, esta ha de estar siempre ligada a un proyecto político de transformación de la sociedad. El conocimiento y su producción acompañan los cambios sociopolíticos y los dirigen, siendo útil en la transformación y direccionamiento del conocimiento de formas distintas. Según Restrepo y Rojas, esto no supone un ataque a la objetividad de la ciencia, sino más bien es un reconocimiento del hecho de que el conocimiento científico es siempre utilizado por distintos actores sociales para dirigir la transformación de la sociedad (2010). En este sentido, el investigador patrimonial ha de situarse como un mediador, conocedor de los procesos de patrimonialización y de su funcionamiento en casos concretos (renovación y desarrollo disciplinar), a la vez que como agente que usa su conocimiento sobre las formas de producción de valor patrimonial y de cómo reapropiarlo al servicio de la comunidad para facilitar su empoderamiento y el de sus habitantes (trabajo crítico en contextos reales).

Comprender la máquina patrimonial como generadora de diferencias identitarias y de jerarquías socioeconómicas y culturales mediante la construcción social de representaciones culturales de la diferencia que producen valor. Reapropiarse la máquina patrimonial. Deconstruir las representaciones culturales de la diferencia, garantizando un estatuto ontológico a la alteridad sociobiológica, reconociéndola como producto de un proceso de transformación histórica. Trabajar de forma simétrica con la alteridad y buscar fórmulas que permitan su reproducción y la proliferación de modos de vida en territorios abiertos. Empoderar a las comunidades locales mediante la reapropiación de los valores patrimoniales inmateriales (comunes) para el bien común. Utilizar y aprovechar que la diferencia genera valor (no por dejar de hablar o por ignorar esta realidad esto va a dejar de ser así) para capturar flujos de capitales que buscan consumir estos valores, precisamente derivados de la existencia de comunidades en relación inmanente con su patrimonio, y con su otredad e identidad relacional preservadas respecto a ‘la mayoría’ desenraizada e individualizada. Revertir estos capitales capturados hacia la comunidad local para garantizar su reproducción y mantener la puerta abierta a la existencia de otros modos de existencia, otras identidades y memorias, otras líneas de fuga hacia territorios inexplorados. Este es el papel fundamental que el patrimonio ha de jugar en la Maragatería del siglo XXI. Que sepamos llevarlo a cabo o no, está en nuestras manos.

18. Annexes.

Annex 1.

Chapter Summary in Spanish / Resumen en español de los capítulos de la investigación.

1. Prefacio.

Este capítulo presenta sucintamente las motivaciones personales y condiciones bajo las que se desarrolló la investigación en Maragatería de un modo informal. Aún así, considero fundamental explicar las razones y las motivaciones que se encuentran detrás de cada trabajo ya que en muchos casos estas explican y dan sentido al contexto general de la investigación.

2. Introducción.

La introducción busca introducir al lector al contexto general de la investigación a nivel teórico, metodológico, geográfico y temporal. De este modo, se centra el tema de estudio y se formulan las preguntas fundamentales de investigación y los principales temas a tratar en el estudio.

3. El concepto de Patrimonio.

En este capítulo se lleva a cabo un repaso tanto histórico como analítico del concepto de patrimonio y su vinculación con otras cuestiones que podríamos encuadrar en el campo de los estudios de patrimonio. La posibilidad de abordar la historia ‘de la historia’ del patrimonio viene dada por la explosión en el número, variedad y amplitud del número y calidad de los estudios realizados. Pese a todo, el concepto resulta sumamente elusivo y todavía hoy subsiste una indefinición generalizada del término. Mientras las instituciones y los técnicos suelen mantener posiciones cercanas al positivismo y a la historia cultural, existen posicionamientos críticos en la academia con concepciones muy abiertas del mismo. Patrimonio llega a ser considerado por algunos autores como todo aquello a lo que un individuo o una comunidad otorgan un valor y consideran digno de ser preservado. Se deja así de lado el determinismo de que todo patrimonio debe ser forzosamente una herencia del pasado, y en particular una herencia material. De este modo el concepto se abre a la cuestión de la intangibilidad y su compleja definición, un tema todavía escasamente tratado en España.

En nuestro país se producen en muchas ocasiones situaciones en las que los expertos e instituciones buscan ‘enseñar el patrimonio y sus valores’, ya que el público no lo demanda *per se* con la misma intensidad y desde hace tanto tiempo como, por ejemplo, el público inglés. Estas cuestiones son sin embargo pasadas por alto en muchas investigaciones patrimoniales cuyos sujetos de enunciación (académicos, institucionales, etc.) convergen y participan de redes de conocimiento internacional sin tener en cuenta la especificidad de su público y sus demandas locales. Esta situación se produce en Maragatería, donde el concepto de patrimonio no es relevante ni existente en la mentalidad de la mayor parte de sus habitantes vernáculos.

Después de realizar un repaso del ‘debate patrimonial inglés’ mantenido entre Hewison, Samuel, Wright y Lowenthal fundamentalmente, se discute el papel de las agencias internacionales en el mantenimiento y potenciación del concepto y práctica del patrimonio de un modo Universalista, básicamente por parte de la UNESCO. Se aborda críticamente el marco de trabajo de la UNESCO a partir de autores que han señalado sus fallas epistemológicas y ontológicas. Normalmente, estas críticas apuntan a la reificación, cosificación, y disneyficación que conlleva la práctica del patrimonio como un universal bienintencionado y vinculado con flujos de turismo e inversiones a nivel global. Así, los términos del debate giran en torno a cuestiones fundamentalmente relacionadas con la identidad y la memoria, mientras que otras privilegian cuestiones económicas y políticas en la construcción del patrimonio. Aunque, eso sí, la mayor parte de los autores consideran que las unas no pueden ser entendidas sin las otras.

La vinculación del campo de estudios patrimoniales con las cuestiones de memoria ha sido fundamental ya que se ha producido una fiebre conmemorativa desde los 1980s, que ha llevado a la construcción de innumerables monumentos, placas, eventos, etc. Cuestiones alrededor de cómo la memoria se proyecta en la cultura material y cómo sus significados se mantienen o desaparecen en los paisajes sociales marcan el interés de los investigadores del patrimonio desde una perspectiva más materialista tanto a nivel ideológico como pragmático: los arqueólogos por ejemplo abordan estas cuestiones directamente desde la materialidad.

Sin embargo el aspecto que más ha interesado a los investigadores es la vinculación a cuestiones identitarias. Este giro tiene mucho que ver con situaciones políticas específicas en el mundo anglosajón donde políticas de multiculturalidad son oficiales en estados como EEUU, Australia o Reino Unido, aunque también en otros como Suecia u Holanda. Este énfasis en cuestiones identitarias en relación plantea en la mayor parte de las ocasiones la identidad de un modo dialéctico, como la creación de un yo a través del otro. Mi trabajo procura descentrar esta conceptualización mostrando que las cuestiones identitarias son al fin y al cabo difícilmente discernibles a través de la cuestión del patrimonio, y sobre todo, que existen otras muchas variables de análisis como los autores post-estructuralistas nos muestran: la *agency*, la constitución del sujeto a través de estrategias de poder, etc.

En definitiva, la reducción de todos los conflictos sociales a cuestiones de reconocimiento social y políticas de la identidad puede llevarnos a una simplificación de las luchas políticas contemporáneas y a otorgar al patrimonio un rol que no es el suyo *per se*. Como intentaré mostrar con el caso de estudio de una eco-aldea, las configuraciones de la materialidad en modo dialéctico son tales cuando los grupos sociales sienten la necesidad de crear jerarquías y diferenciaciones de clase que expresan a través de formas patrimoniales.

Estos puntos de vista ya han sido adelantados por autores como Smith, que han propuesto el concepto de ‘Discurso Patrimonial Autorizado’ para referirse al poder de los expertos y burocracias para controlar y dar forma a las subjetividades sociales a través del uso del patrimonio, como igualmente apuntan Bennett y Greenhill para el caso de los museos. Los usos políticos del patrimonio giran entonces alrededor de luchas de poder donde instituciones buscan legitimidad y discursos alternativos emergen pero normalmente carecen de la capacidad de plasmar en el paisaje social sus visiones diversas del patrimonio o el pasado. Pese a ello, gran parte de los autores analizados muestran su conformidad con la continuación del proyecto Ilustrado, dentro del cual el patrimonio podría cumplir un papel importante.

4. Hacia un marco conceptual Deleuziano.

Mi investigación se fundamenta en gran medida en la filosofía de Gilles Deleuze y el trabajo que él, en compañía de Félix Guattari, han inspirado en las ciencias sociales contemporáneas, desde la teoría no-representacional a la teoría del actor-red, entre otras. Lejos de tratarse de un autor post-moderno, argumento cómo su obra se encuadra dentro de un post-estructuralismo compatible con conceptos científicos. De hecho, mi exposición da cuenta de cómo su filosofía de la ciencia permite trabajar con conceptos propios de las ciencias de la complejidad, en las que se inspiró en gran parte para desarrollar sus trabajos. Su filosofía se basa en las ideas de inmanencia, materialismo y empirismo, lo que permite conectar tanto con las ciencias sociales en sus ramas estructuralistas y marxistas pero dándoles una vuelta de tuerca que nos permita dar cuenta de los desarrollos de los procesos de patrimonialización desde una perspectiva diversa. De este modo, podemos liberarnos desde un principio de la concepción esencialista del patrimonio, que considera que existen ciertas propiedades intrínsecas en él que lo hacen valioso, para comenzar a discutir otras posibilidades de conceptualización del patrimonio en sus aspectos tanto ideológicos como materiales: es decir, como este se construye tanto en las mentes como en los paisajes físicos.

La filosofía deleuziana nos lleva a cuestionar la existencia de identidades que presuponen la identidad, la homogeneidad y la permanencia como condiciones transcendentales que garantizan las formas identitarias. Dos visiones de la ciencia social y del patrimonio emergen a partir de este cuestionamiento. La primera considera la investigación como el resultado de la aplicación de conceptos extrínsecos a su objeto de estudio: sabemos lo que son las relaciones sociales, la cognición, la familia, la religión, la política, etc. y nuestro objetivo es ver cómo estas entidades funcionan en contextos reales. La otra estrategia, que Latour ha llamado simétrica y que sigue a Deleuze, implica el carácter directamente creativo de la ciencia: la ciencia como productora de nuevas realidades y de patrimonios, no solo como un agente externo que ‘documenta’ procesos de patrimonialización y genera representaciones del mismo.

Esta última posición, que yo he tratado de aplicar en mi investigación, no representa la mayoría de las investigaciones en el campo, que mantienen una perspectiva generalmente de “juicio externo” de los procesos de patrimonialización analizados. La filosofía deleuziana impide aplicar este tipo de razonamiento al considerar que todo análisis científico de la realidad parte siempre de esa misma realidad, es inmanente a la misma. De este modo, la actividad científica genera planos transcendentales donde las representaciones conceptuales creadas no cuadran con la realidad inmanente: así por ejemplo las “divisiones” dentro del campo de patrimonio resultan absurdas, entre tangible-intangible, material o inmaterial, etc. Estas categorizaciones sirven solo para crear una apariencia de científicidad que esconde la complejidad de la realidad.

En este sentido Deleuze forma parte de un grupo de filósofos franceses de postguerra que se encargaron, entre otras cosas de:

- Romper con la separación entre los conceptos y la existencia como tal.
- Sacando la filosofía de la academia para traerla a lo cotidiano.
- Afirman que el conocimiento es un tipo de práctica, superando la dicotomía entre filosofías del conocimiento y de la acción.
- Critican el psicoanálisis y le dan un giro político a la filosofía.

Deleuze va más allá en su ruptura con la fenomenología y otras corrientes filosóficas presentes en la Francia del momento. En palabras de Žižek, “el hecho de que no podemos conocer la realidad completamente no es por tanto un signo de la limitación de nuestro conocimiento sino una muestra de que la realidad es incompleta en sí misma, abierta, una actualización de los procesos virtuales de cambio y devenir (2004: 56).

De este modo, la epistemología Deleuziana no implica ni pura praxis o teóresis, es una poiesis, un proceso de producción en la interferencia entre praxis y teóresis. Pensar científicamente no implica buscar una correspondencia entre lo que se dice y lo que se observa, ni sistematizar u ordenar ideas, sino problematizar cuestiones vinculando grupos de singularidades a través de sus diferencias. Deleuze no buscaría la deducción ni la inducción, sino el modelo de Peirce de abducción. Desde esta perspectiva no es necesario presuponer un campo epistemológico u ontológico universal a partir del cual establecer diferencias entre diversas coordenadas sociales y políticas, sino que podemos dar cuenta de cada realidad por sí misma en su propio contexto. Así, el investigador ofrece un punto de vista más, una calibración desde sus horizontes de percepción que conlleva una serie de aceleraciones y deceleraciones que llevan a la producción e un conocimiento como tal. Lo importante no es aquí generar representaciones acertadas o lo más cercanas a la realidad, sino más bien buscar una ética que calibre lo que es relevante o digno de ser estudiado. Distintas éticas y ámbitos de investigación generan sus propios campos de referencia dentro de los cuales ciertas verdades cobran sentido, generan lealtades dentro de los campos de investigación. Así, ciertas aprehensiones y visiones ganan preeminencia y se consideran más importantes que las otras, como ocurre dentro del campo de patrimonio, a través de valoraciones específicas de los grupos de investigación.

Deleuze desarrolló con Guattari una serie de grupos conceptuales que permiten dar cuenta de ciertos desarrollos en el ámbito de las ciencias sociales y que durante mi trabajo cobran gran importancia. Cayendo en un reduccionismo, estos conceptos se pueden reducir a parejas binarias, donde una de ellas cae dentro del campo del poder estatal o del mercado y la otra ofrece movimientos liberadores. Así ocurre con los conceptos de estriado/suave para referirse a los territorios y espacios, o Royal y Menor para referirse a las ciencias. Otros binarismos nos llevan al campo del pensamiento de lo social a partir de las relaciones entre transcendencia e inmanencia y de los polos de lo virtual y de lo actual, que suplantán a la pareja de lo real y lo posible para abrir el espectro de las causalidades que operan en lo social.

Igualmente, el trabajo de Deleuze permite situar mi investigación dentro del plano de las ciencias sociales sin ser exclusivamente positivista, práctica o instrumental, pero sin dejar de tener, o intentar tener, un impacto sobre la realidad estudiada de formas diversas. Se trata de un trabajo a mitad de Camino, donde el científico social “cartografía” el mundo dejando que este responda y permita a la vez mejorar la investigación a la vez que su propio funcionamiento. Esto es lo que Deleuze llama “ciencia menor”, que busca explorar y abrir nuevas trayectorias y formas de pensar la realidad de Maragatería. La ciencia oficial busca reterritorializar contextos, reproducir lo sestados de cosas y las formas existentes de conocimiento. Las ciencias menores subordinan sus operaciones a las formas sensibles de la realidad y a la intuición, siguiendo flujos de materia y vinculando diversas multiplicidades. Esto se relaciona con formas ontológicas de concepción de la realidad. Por ejemplo, en las ciencias físicas, el punto de vista oficial se centra en Caminos y rutas fijos, mientras la física menor se centra en flujos y ondulaciones. Existe así una física que reafirma, mide y

representa la naturaleza, y otra física del *continuum*, que analiza ritmos internos y mide las capacidades y propiedades de las singularidades en contexto.

El capítulo analiza además la relevancia de ciertos conceptos deleuzianos para el ámbito de los estudios de patrimonio. Así, la pareja virtual/actual se relaciona con el concepto de “procesos de patrimonialización” para explicar que estos no han de ser vistos simplemente de forma dinámica sino más bien como procesos en los que multiplicidades de potencial virtual se actualizan a través de actores sociales en modos diversos, preservando así la inmanencia de los procesos y la no-determinación de las prácticas: la creación de patrimonio es así siempre un proceso que implica creatividad, imposición de cierto orden y distribución de agencias, jerarquías y poderes. Otro concepto discutido es el de “mecanismos de emergencia”, que pretende sustituir al de causalidad directa que suele ser utilizado en el ámbito de los estudios patrimoniales. Así se evita el determinismo y la atribución de excesiva agencia a ciertos actores en los procesos de patrimonialización (estado, mercado, expertos, etc.). De este modo, resulta posible entender los procesos de patrimonialización como el resultado de múltiples micro-agencias que se complementan y suman hasta lograr la construcción social del patrimonio a distintos niveles. De este modo, la tendencia que lleva a los actores sociales a construir el patrimonio deja de ser considerada de un modo causal directo para entenderse como una casi-causa virtual, un atractor en términos de la teoría de la complejidad.

Estas cuestiones no son planteadas desde un punto de vista epistemológico que se plantee cómo “conocer mejor el patrimonio”, sino más bien desde un punto de vista estrictamente ontológico en el que las teorías aparecen directamente como generadoras de realidad. De este modo, ignorar la hibridez de los objetos patrimoniales y la complejidad de los procesos de emergencia, buscando fijar y estabilizar los significados y las prácticas, lleva a la estriación del espacio y a la imposible apertura de nuevos potenciales y formas de patrimonialización. Así, este punto de vista llevaría a un deseo fascista que busca controlar y manejar estos procesos. Considerados pues desde un punto de vista político, los procesos de patrimonialización han de ser estudiados de un modo simétrico que permita y promueva la generación de diferentes formas de uso del patrimonio y de apropiaciones variables del mismo.

5. Una economía política para los comunes patrimoniales.

El capítulo realiza un análisis que podría encuadrarse dentro de la economía política. Para ello, se realiza un estudio del capitalismo contemporáneo desde el punto de vista de los teóricos postoperaistas Michael Hardt y Antonio Negri. Así, se concibe el capitalismo como una máquina de producción de valor y valores, y se da cuenta de una transición hacia el llamado capitalismo cognitivo, donde la forma de generación de valor económico y cultural tienden a fundirse. En este sentido, se considera fundamental dentro de la economía postindustrial el paso de la formación de valor desde la producción material hacia la producción de inmateriales como el arte, el conocimiento, ciencia, etc. El capitalismo pasa, por así decirlo, de ser una máquina productiva a ser una máquina de captura de los valores producidos por lo social, lo que Hardt y Negri concibe como la dicotomía entre el Imperio capitalista y la Multitud social productiva..

A partir de aquí, se discuten las formas en las que se han concebido los valores del patrimonio en distintos autores a partir de los años 1990 y cómo en gran parte estas definiciones de valor

patrimonial siguen estando cargadas de esencialismos en distintas versiones, que no conciben el valor como un proceso de emergencia o como agenciamiento de distintos valores relacionales, una forma de intersubjetividad social que produce valor. En su lugar, se propone una teoría relacional de la formación de valores patrimoniales y de cómo estos son apropiados por distintos dispositivos sociales dentro de relaciones de poder. Para ello es fundamental concebir el capitalismo como un parásito en la terminología de Serres desarrollada por Matteo Pasquinelli y adaptada a las nuevas teorías del capitalismo cognitivo.

Finalmente, se realiza una propuesta para intentar concebir de formas de reapropiación de valores patrimoniales por parte de las comunidades locales, para lo que resulta fundamental concebir el patrimonio como un bien común, ni público ni privado. Para realizar esta elaboración, se discute fundamentalmente el trabajo de Hardt y Negri dando cuenta de otras aproximaciones al tema que no es en absoluto nuevo pero que aquí se aplica al contexto patrimonial.

6. Métodos y trabajo de campo

El trabajo de campo en Maragatería ha precisado del uso de una gran variedad metodológica, lo que Levi Strauss llamaría un “bricolaje” metodológico. He procurado seguir, a la vez que mejorar, otras etnografías patrimoniales como las elaboradas por Andrews en Bermudas, Herzfeld en Tailandia, Roma y Creta, o Breglia en México, mezclando una sólida base de conocimiento histórico con un acercamiento etnográfico. Así, se han llevado a cabo decenas de entrevistas formales siguiendo formatos semi-estructurados, donde el entrevistador conducía el diálogo hacia ciertos temas de interés dejando liberado al entrevistado para explayarse y ampliar el ámbito de posibles temas de interés a partir de sus puntos de vista. Mayor información o, si se quiere, información de mayor interés para la investigación, se consiguió mediante conversaciones informales en todo tipo de situaciones, desde fiestas en pueblos hasta prospecciones arqueológicas en el campo. A las entrevistas hemos de añadir la observación antropológica tanto externa como participante, en distintos eventos y situaciones.

En ocasiones asumí el punto de vista del “etnógrafo interno”, siendo consciente de que la labour antropológica de comprar distintos sentidos comunes se me podía escapar por mi cercanía al contexto de estudio. Esto se compensa no solo por el entrenamiento antropológico sino también por mi alejamiento personal del área durante varios años. Igualmente, la presencia de un antropólogo alemán durante dos meses y la de un director de cine italiano durante cuatro, además de conversaciones con otros expertos en el ámbito como con mi supervisora Margarita Fernández Mier, ayudaron a comprender algunos elementos que para ellos resultaban más llamativos y distintivos como foráneos.

A esto se suma la utilización de otra metodología, la de la película etnográfica. La realización de un film permitió la grabación de 65 horas de material etnográfico, no sólo entrevistas sino también situaciones de todo tipo y la observación de una gran variedad de eventos. Igualmente, la cámara provee al etnógrafo un punto de vista diferente, ya que los actores sociales se comportan de un modo distinto delante de la misma. También el etnógrafo presencia la realidad a través del enfoque de la cámara que provee otra visión de la realidad, si se quiere de corte más expresivo o estético.

Finalmente, a este cúmulo de metodologías se le une el análisis de la cultura material. Este trabajo supone un acercamiento más allá de la perspectiva folklórica y busca comprender el rol de la materialidad tanto como relejo como catalizador de diversas dinámicas sociales. Se llevó a cabo un análisis de lo material tanto diacrónico como sincrónico, buscando caracterizar los distintos procesos en marcha a nivel comarcal, sus parecidos y diferencias a varios niveles.

La contrastación de datos de cultura material con la etnografía resultó fundamental, ya que procesos materiales similares eran interpretados de modo distinto por distintos grupos sociales dentro de cada comunidad e igualmente en distintas comunidades geográficamente hablando. Este bricolaje conceptual permite dar cuenta de Maragatería como un objeto de estudio multidimensional, variable y dinámico, manteniendo la complejidad del mismo al máximo sin caer en reduccionismos. Finalmente. El análisis busca contribuir a la depuración y el perfeccionamiento de las metodologías de estudio en contextos patrimoniales, dentro de los cuales mi propio estudio se encuadra.

7. Maragatería: contexto.

El capítulo plantea un resumen de las características más relevantes de la comarca a nivel geográfico, demográfico e histórico. La Maragatería ha sido históricamente caracterizada como una región de suelos pobres, siendo este hecho considerado fundamental en el modo en el que el poblamiento y el devenir históricos de sus habitantes ha evolucionado. El complejo modo de hábitat y explotación del área han llevado a algunos autores a hablar en términos de ecología cultural de la Maragatería, donde actividades agropecuarias siempre tuvieron que ser combinadas con otras para mantener un equilibrio económico.

En términos históricos, Maragatería posee un poblamiento prehistórico bastante desconocido, aunque el reciente descubrimiento de los Petroglifos de Filiel-Lucillo ha acrecentado el interés arqueológico sobre la misma y cabe esperar que el conocimiento arqueológico del área aumente en este sentido, no sólo gracias al interés de investigadores académicos sino también al de los propios actores sociales de la comarca.

El poblamiento de la Edad del Hierro es más conocido aunque la ausencia de excavaciones sistemáticas más allá de las investigaciones desde el punto de vista de la arqueología del paisaje llevadas a cabo hasta el momento, no permiten hablar con claridad del periodo, ya que la malla poblacional romana se superpone a la de la Edad del Hierro sin interfaces claras de división tanto a nivel formal como de material arqueológico en muchas ocasiones.

La población romana fue intensa ya que desde Asturica Augusta se organizaba la explotación del oro de la comarca y de la montaña del Teleno, calculándose una población para el área en aquellos tiempos mucho más elevada que la actual, debido a la acumulación de mano de obra esclava. El fin de la explotación aurífera y las consecuencias que de ella se derivaron para el área son mayoritariamente desconocidas.

Igualmente, el periodo que va desde el siglo II hasta el X, cuando comienzan a aparecer las primeras referencias escritas a pueblos del área, es totalmente desconocido debido a la ausencia de estudios arqueológicos para la época. A partir del siglo XIV comienzan a aparecer las primeras referencias al grupo étnico que llevó a la paulatina transformación del nombre de la comarca conocida como “Somoza” y que pasó a llamarse “Maragatería” y a ser conocida como tal en toda

España. Los maragatos eran normalmente arrieros que transportaban mercancías por el noroeste español fundamentalmente. Estos arrieros que trabajaban con mulas llegaron a acumular grandes fortunas durante la Edad Moderna y el siglo XIX. La presencia de este grupo social diferencial condicionó la vida social, económica y cultural del área hasta nuestros días, por la distinción de las prácticas heredadas en primer lugar, y en segundo lugar por la desbandada del grupo social maragato de la elite una vez que el ferrocarril desestructuró su forma de sustento económico en el noroeste.

De hecho, la demografía del área sufrió una conmoción desde finales del siglo XIX que ha continuado hasta nuestros días. La población se ha reducido así en 100 años en un 80 por ciento, además de haber envejecido ampliamente. Sin embargo, lo maragato no desapareció del imaginario colectivo pese a la desaparición de la comarca del grupo social que le imprimía forma y carácter, siendo sus formas estéticas recuperadas de cara a la patrimonialización de la comarca durante las últimas décadas.

8. A modo de entrada. De la diferencia a la otredad: la construcción del ‘paisano’ como carácter subalterno en Maragatería.

El capítulo presenta un recorrido que parte de la construcción social de la diferencia maragata como grupo étnico ligado a una tierra y a unas ciertas prácticas folklóricas para llegar a dar cuenta de la marginación real de los habitantes vernáculos de la Maragatería en nuestros días, que han sido socialmente contruidos como “paisanos”, siendo estos mayoritariamente campesinos y ganaderos con unas perspectivas y modos de entender el mundo diferenciales de las modernas-contemporáneas.

Así, se analizan las distintas fases en la construcción social de la diferencia maragata partiendo de los estudiosos de época ilustrada como Sarmiento o Jovellanos, que ya daban cuenta de la curiosidad que los maragatos con sus pintorescos vestidos y extrañas prácticas despertaban entre el pueblo madrileño. Igualmente, ellos comenzaron la imparable elaboración de teorías sobre el origen de los maragatos y su procedencia étnica. Estas teorías continuaron elaborándose durante los siglos XIX y XX y continúan siendo elaboradas en nuestros días. La novedad del siglo XX fue sin embargo la construcción del maragato como objeto de estudio “científico” por parte de la antropología física. Esta buscó en la realización de estudios comparativos de huesos y morfologías de cuerpos maragatos primero, y más recientemente a través de la realización de análisis genéticos, el origen del carácter diferencial maragato.

En cualquier caso, estos estudios se encuadran siempre y formulan preguntas de investigación que se encuadran dentro del mito maragato, ya que se plantea normalmente, bien para descartar o confirmar, si los maragatos son bereberes, judíos, celtas, cartagineses, áreas, fenicios, etc. a estas corrientes se une posteriormente la antropología social a partir de los años 1960. Esta va a buscar en sus inicios el estudio de las etnias diferenciales dentro de España, espoleada por la llegada de una ola de investigadores estadounidenses que estudiaban comarcas y sus habitantes considerados como apegados a la tierra donde nacieron. Estas comarcas son estudiadas preferentemente cuando existe algún tipo de mito a su alrededor, siendo los pueblos malditos objetos de estudio preferencial (pasiegos, maragatos, gitanos, vaqueiros de alzada, etc.).

No será hasta los años 1980 cuando comience la deconstrucción del mito maragato en los trabajos de Melis Maynar y otros autores. Sin embargo, esto no va a acabar con la producción y elaboración de representaciones de todo tipo sobre el mundo maragato, que pasan de ser realizadas en el mundo académico y folklorista a la esfera de lo social como cultura popular. Se produce así la construcción y reconstrucción de viviendas de estilo maragato y un resurgir del folklore asociado al mismo en lo que he denominado como “máquina patrimonial”, que genera una serie de nuevos valores tanto estéticos como económicos, además de nuevas jerarquías sociales y formas de representación y exposición pública del valor.

En paralelo, esta construcción (material, ya no sólo social) del patrimonio, conlleva una marginación del resto de las propias comunidades de los grupos que ostentan distintas perspectivas y sets de valores alejados de los dominantes y que difieren de las mentalidades patrimoniales. Así, dentro de una misma esfera social coinciden distintas mentalidades que han sido formadas en periodos históricos diferenciales, desde lo pre-industrial a lo moderno y lo post-moderno. Dentro de estas últimas mentalidades se encuadran las que he denominado como “subjetividades patrimoniales”, aquellas que invierten en lo social, emocional y económico en el ámbito de lo patrimonial y que se plasma en la reconstrucción de casas y el fomento de representaciones folklóricas maragatas.

Este “culto a las raíces” es discutido desde distintos puntos de vista y es conectado con discursos políticos nacionalistas donde la búsqueda de raíces se realiza para proveer de legitimidad a discursos y movimientos políticos, en el caso de Maragatería del leonesismo. Estas sociedades vernáculas de las que supuestamente los “paisanos” forman parte, son representadas como parte de las raíces del pueblo mientras que son a la vez marginadas de la economía real del pueblo en lo patrimonial y pierden capacidad de actuación además de voz dentro de los mismos. El “paisano” se convierte así en el protagonista de programas de televisión a nivel provincial, como representante de los valores últimos de la tierra y la tradición.

En Maragatería, esta representación cobra más fuerza debido al reconocimiento de la vivacidad y carácter único de su folklore tradicional. Así, mientras la construcción social de lo maragato sirve como ideal platónico que dirige la construcción patrimonial, los “maragatos” son marginados frente a los nuevos habitantes y elites locales que se vinculan representativamente con ellos precisamente para diferenciarse jerárquicamente, convirtiéndolos así en representacionales y no concibiéndolos como sujetos con capacidad de acción en el presente.

9. Antes del patrimonio: ‘redes inmanentes’ y la economía política de las Juntas Vecinales y los tamboriteros maragatos.

Este capítulo desarrolla el concepto de “mallas patrimoniales” para dar cuenta de contextos en los que las prácticas culturales de una comunidad, sean estas inventadas o se remonte a siglos atrás, funcionan y se reproducen sin ningún ente transcendente que las organice, financie u ordene de un modo racional y que las caracterice como “patrimonio”. En oposición a esta idea de transcendencia se conciben las fiestas en los pueblos de Maragatería como prácticas y expresiones culturales inmanentes a la comunidad, peses a que estas son en su mayor parte “inventadas” en el sentido desarrollado por Eric Hobsbawm. El objetivo de este capítulo es entonces el de descentrar la

relevancia del concepto de autenticidad, que siempre implica la busca de ideales de pureza y rechaza lo híbrido hacia evaluaciones de un corte más político. Aquí lo fundamental resulta comprender el rol del patrimonio en la reproducción de la comunidad. El capítulo analiza cómo la fiesta maragata ha tomado su forma actual, buscando para ello comprender el equilibrio fundamental alcanzado por los dos pilares de la fiesta: el tamboritero y la Junta Vecinal o Concejo.

El análisis cobra más relevancia si tenemos en cuenta que las Juntas Vecinales han sido abolidas recientemente por el nuevo gobierno del Partido Popular en España en 2012, aunque la lucha encarnecida que estas están desarrollando para sobrevivir hace que el desenlace de la cuestión sea impredecible. Su desaparición supondría el fin de la inmanencia y estabilidad de las fiestas y obligaría a recurrir a entes externos para organizarlas y financiarlas. Esto es así porque la Junta Vecinal financia con sus recursos propios a los tamboriteros que amenizan las fiestas, de modo que sin ellas los tamboriteros y al economía festiva en general quedaría cortocircuitada siendo su lugar ocupado por orquestas o grupos musicales modernos.

La presencia de tamboriteros en Maragatería está documentada desde el siglo XVI y de un modo u otro su presencia cultural ha sido continuada desde entonces, aunque es probable que existiese una ruptura durante los años 1980 cuando se desmiembra la organización folklórica creada por el régimen franquista de los Coros y Danzas populares. A partir de ahí habrá un resurgir popular de lo maragato que también tendrá su expresión en el ámbito de los tamboriteros, ya que muchos de ellos se jubilan de sus trabajos habituales, vuelven a Maragatería, y retoman los tonos y músicas que habían conocido durante su infancia, una vez que el folklore deja de ser asociado con el régimen franquista.

A esto se une la creación de grupos folklóricos que se convierten en parte fundamental de las fiestas y que representan a la comarca en el exterior. Sin embargo, la separación entre exhibidor y participante no es grande y las fiestas preservan una gran vitalidad interior, aunque la participación queda parcialmente limitada a las personas de mayor edad. Por su parte, las Juntas Vecinales son instituciones existentes desde tiempos medievales que permiten a los pueblos disfrutar y gestionar sus bienes comunales. El capítulo repasa su evolución histórica y los intentos de abolirlas en distintos periodos históricos. A día de hoy llegan muy debilitados después de la desestructuración del agro durante los años 1960, pero preservan funciones fundamentales para la reproducción de la comunidad, siendo una de ellas la organización y financiación de las fiestas, que mantienen viva la malla patrimonial de la cultura de los pueblos de Maragatería, alejada de la exhibición y del museo.

10. Allanamiento de morada: Bombardeando patrimonio en El Teleno.

El Campo de tiro del Teleno es uno de los muchos espacios militarizados de la geografía española. Sin embargo, este tiene un carácter especial tanto por lo conflictivo que fue el proceso de su expropiación como por el hecho de ocupar (además de disparar sobre) lugares habitados. Más aún, el Campo de Tiro se encuentra en un área de alto interés arqueológico y patrimonial. El campo comenzó a ser utilizado a comienzos de los años 1980. El proceso llevó a movilizaciones en toda la comarca de Maragatería y a la creación de una concienciación colectiva en la comarca nunca vista previamente.

El profesor Tomás Pollán, de la Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, fue condenado por su defensa enconada de la comarca contra el Campo de Tiro a un año de cárcel por injurias contra el estamento militar. Pese a que finalmente se llevó a cabo la susodicha expropiación, la gran resistencia ofrecida por la comarca permitió que el Campo de tiro no se ampliara en los años sucesivos. Sin embargo, conflictos de todo tipo se sucedían, llegando a producirse muertos, contaminación de diversos tipos, destrucciones materiales, etc. Muchos de ellos venían dados por el hecho de que los obuses pasaban sobre los pueblos habitados.

El conflicto alcanzó su punto álgido con el incendio que asoló el monte de Tabuyo, que fue provocado por la explosión de uno o dos misiles MILAN que se salieron del ámbito de recepción de misiles del propio campo para explotar en el monte y provocar un devastador incendio. El bosque proveía de recursos comunales al pueblo desde hacía varias generaciones y su quema supuso un golpe moral para el mismo. En el momento de la recuperación y repoblación del bosque, se evidenció cómo las instituciones y académicos otorgaban un rol marginal a las comunidades locales y su concepción de lo valioso o apreciado. Las comunidades locales no sólo han sido desposeídas de recursos para limpiar y controlar el bosque, dejándolo en manos públicas y en ocasiones también privadas, sino que la labour de “recuperación” implicaba la construcción social del bosque como “naturaleza” por parte de expertos y técnicos forestales y como campo de experimentación de biólogos y ambientalistas académicos. En el caso de Tabuyo esto resultó evidente con la realización de unas jornadas técnicas de repoblación en las que no se menciona siquiera a la comunidad local ni al Campo de Tiro como causante fundamental del incendio, aludiéndose constantemente a causas naturales como relámpagos como causantes del mismo y el viento como agente fundamental que hizo imposible apagar el mismo en el caso de Tabuyo.

Igualmente, el ejército promueve un giro ambientalista a partir de estos altercados para legitimar su posición y justificar la existencia de Campos de tiro por toda la geografía española como áreas de protección ambiental y como reservas naturales, contando para ello con el apoyo de científicos de renombre incluso dentro del Centro Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas (CSIC). En los últimos tiempos, la crisis y lo anticuado de los métodos utilizados en el Campo de Tiro han hecho que su uso disminuya en gran medida, planteándose la construcción del Teleno como objeto patrimonial y como recurso a utilizar para favorecer el desmantelamiento del mismo.

11. El *Camino de Santiago*: ¿Una profecía autodestructiva?

El *Camino de Santiago* ha sido hasta tiempos recientes escasamente investigado desde una perspectiva etnológica y antropológica. Generalmente, el foco de los estudios realizados hasta el momento se centra en el contexto histórico y evolución del *Camino* durante el periodo medieval. Sin embargo, la reciente inclusión del *Camino de Santiago* dentro de distintas puestas en valor de cara al turismo y a la estructuración del territorio del norte español y el europeo en general, con los conflictos a los que lleva estas evoluciones, hacen necesario aumentar las investigaciones en este sentido.

Las primeras revalorizaciones del *Camino de Santiago* se llevaron a cabo bajo la España franquista que buscaba vincularse con metonímicamente con la idea del Santiago Matamoros. Así a partir de los años 1960 comienzan los primeros intentos de puesta en valor. Sin embargo, no será hasta los 1980 cuando la Unión Europea, las comunidades autónomas españolas, e incluso la

UNESCO, reconozcan el valor histórico y cultural del *Camino* y su funcionalidad como eje vertebrador del territorio español y europeo, al poder convertirse en un itinerario transversal en toda Europa cuyas orígenes pueden trazarse hasta países del este europeo como Polonia.

El *Camino* de Santiago atraviesa Maragatería de lado a lado y sus efectos han sido contradictorios a nivel económico. Para la mayoría de las personas locales, jubilados y de mayor edad, el *Camino* de Santiago y la llegada de peregrinos es un acontecimiento estacional propio del verano que repercute escasamente en ellos. Son empresarios quizás los que a nivel económico más han aprovechado la oportunidad para abrir estacionalmente albergues privados y obtener beneficios. Esta economía política del *Camino* de Santiago centrada en los albergues genera un segundo nivel de discursividad y diferencia relacional. El primer nivel se centra en las formas adoptadas por los propios peregrinos y sus tipologías, que han sido estudiadas por diversos investigadores anglosajones a partir de las dicotomías de turista-peregrino, centrándose en modelos y formas de concebir la pureza y la autenticidad del caminante. Sin embargo, el segundo nivel, en el que me centro fundamentalmente, es el del agenciamiento formado por los Hospitaleros del Camino, los Albergues públicos y privados, las políticas sobre el *Camino* y los albergues, y los sujetos que escapan a estas categorizaciones.

Desde este punto de vista, se analizan los albergues que siguen lógicas de mercado y cómo funcionan en relación con el *Camino* de Santiago. Posteriormente, se estudian las lógicas “menores” y los albergues y proyectos alternativos surgidos a raíz del *Camino* de Santiago. Principalmente, me centro en el proyecto de la Taberna de Gaia y el la Encomienda Templaria de Manjarín, liderados por dos individuos cuyas visiones del *Camino* de Santiago y de las formas de entender cómo debería ser gestionado y manejado son extremadamente críticas y, en el caso de la Encomienda Templaria de Manjarín, se trata inclusive de “proyectos-otros”. En esta situación, la Encomienda se sitúa en otro plano diferenciado que deja en evidencia las formaciones claramente mercantilistas y materialistas del resto de proyectos, al tratarse de una iniciativa sin ánimo de lucro y que busca apoyar un tipo de *Camino* de Santiago abierto a todos y no dirigido hacia una mayor transcendencia y turistificación sino más bien hacia una inmanencia de las prácticas y una mayor diversificación de las prácticas y de las formas de “vivir” y experimentar el *Camino* de Santiago.

Finalmente, se replantean las formas en las que se ha concebido el *Camino* de Santiago históricamente y en la contemporaneidad, analizando las formas y las experiencias fenomenológicas que genera el Camino, es decir, el tipo de subjetividad política que emerge relacionamente. Así por ejemplo, la Encomienda Templaria genera un tipo de subjetividad que escapa a los esquemas racionales-modernos de organización espacial y social, obligando al visitante a adaptarse e interaccionar en un esquema espacio temporal diferente, que fomenta la interacción y la relación con otros peregrinos y con los propios miembros de la comunidad Templaria. En conclusión, se plantea la necesidad de explorar diversas situaciones como la de Maragatería en el *Camino* de Santiago, que muestran cómo distintas iniciativas a nivel local proponen alternativas a una gestión del *Camino* de Santiago como patrimonio cultural que se muestra insostenible a medio y largo plazo.

12. La vuelta al campo en Prada de la Sierra: de comunidades imaginarias a comunidades reales.

El pueblo de Prada de la Sierra fue abandonado, como otros en la región, durante los años 1960 y 1970, junto con el fin de la economía preindustrial. A partir de los años 1990 y con especial fuerza en los últimos años, ha nacido en España el fenómeno de la vuelta al campo, que ya se había producido en economías más avanzadas como la inglesa o la estadounidense unos decenios antes. Así, diferentes modelos de repoblación surgen en distintos pueblos, desde Foncebadón a Manjarín, Rabanal del *Camino* y la propia Prada de la Sierra. El caso de Prada de la Sierra resulta de especial interés porque se trata de una “comunidad imaginada” y su interés en repoblar el pueblo entra en conflicto abierto con otras formas de ver lo rural y el pueblo.

Además, a diferencia de otros pueblos, el lugar no se repuebla de modo real, inmanente, sino que su repoblación se planea, se racionaliza y se discute sin que haya personas dispuestas en realidad a vivir en el mismo de forma permanente. Así, una asociación busca la institucionalización de la repoblación entrando en conflicto con el ayuntamiento de Santa Coloma de Somoza y con el ganadero que, después de que sus habitantes abandonaran el pueblo y este pasa a ser convertido en suelo rústico, ocupó con su ganado vacuno Prada de la Sierra. Él considera que los miembros de la Asociación Nueva Prada de la Sierra sólo quieren recuperar el pueblo para convertir sus antiguas propiedades en segundas residencias, consiguiendo que el ámbito público construya carreteras y provea servicios fundamentales como electrificación y agua corriente. De este modo, también lamenta que en caso esto llegase a materializarse, el pueblo sería solo ocupado durante las vacaciones estivales mientras seguiría estando abandonado el resto del año.

A los valores de identidad y memoria que los asociados argumentan, él opone ideas de producción ecológica de calidad y el valor de los espacios productivos agropecuarios en general frente a la concepción recreativa del espacio. La llegada de una persona dispuesta a habitar realmente Prada de la Sierra llevó a una transformación de la Asociación Nueva Prada de la Sierra. Esta persona se convirtió en presidente de la misma Asociación y cambió el modo de relacionarse tanto con las instituciones como el propio fundamento del proyecto en sí mismo. Así por ejemplo del objetivo previo de reconstruir la iglesia como eje nodal a partir del cual reconstruir la comunidad, el nuevo presidente insiste en la necesidad de recuperar los bienes comunes del pueblo como la escuelas, que son de su propiedad y no de la Iglesia, pudiendo ser útiles para la misma. Así, la vida de Prada de la Sierra entra en una nueva etapa con la llegada de su primer habitante en 2012.

13. La ‘Fiebre de las Piedras’: prácticas de adquisición de conocimiento patrimonial y la pseudoarqueología en Maragatería.

El capítulo analiza un proceso que he denominado, siguiendo a su propio iniciador, Juan Carlos Campos, como la “fiebre de las piedras”. Con ello me refiero al descubrimiento de los Petroglifos prehistóricos de Filiel y Lucillo que despertó un amplio interés social por el patrimonio y los restos prehistóricos en las comunidades locales de la comarca. Este proceso se utiliza como caso de estudio en relación con las prácticas y vías de adquisición/creación de conocimiento patrimonial. El capítulo argumenta así que las formas de producción de conocimiento patrimonial son simultáneamente epistemológicas y ontológicas, planteando esto muchas cuestiones

problemáticas sobre la interrelación entre agencia y estructura, proceso y estabilidad, y otras problemáticas centrales de la teoría social.

El capítulo discute las teorías desarrolladas por Latour en su artículo sobre los criterios expositivos del Museo de Ciencia Natural de Nueva York, en los que aboga por una ruptura de la diferenciación entre epistemología y ontología no sólo en las formas de adquisición de conocimiento sino también en las formas de expresión cultural de las que participa el patrimonio y el museo. En este sentido, se analizan las distintas respuestas sociales de las comunidades locales y otros actores sociales en relación al descubrimiento de los petroglifos, tanto en ámbitos institucionales como académicos.

El capítulo da cuenta de los acontecimientos que ocurrieron una vez que Juan Carlos Campos descubrió los petroglifos, lo que él hizo a partir de ese momento, los canales que usó para su difusión, y a qué actores sociales recurrió en busca de ayuda sobre el tema y cómo proceder con ellos, ya que en principio no reveló su localización geográfica. Igualmente, se analizan los distintos actores que participan en el proceso de construcción social de los petroglifos como patrimonio y como un elemento metacultural a ser protegido, a la vez que exigen a las instituciones su preservación y su puesta en valor. Así, se propone una concepción del concepto patrimonial como un agenciamiento donde diversos actores co-construyen de forma relacional los valores del patrimonio. Se busca así cuestionar los modelos esencialistas de concepción del valor patrimonial y movernos en dirección hacia una teoría relacional del mismo.

Desde esta base etnográfica y de estudio de campo el capítulo pasa a una discusión basada también en datos empíricos contextualizados en la discusión a nivel académico e internacional sobre la pseudoarqueología o paraarqueología. Para ello, me centro fundamentalmente en el debate Holtorf/Kristiansen, que condensa los problemas fundamentales de este debate, una vez se ha dado cuenta de las líneas y estructuras básicas de lo que la pseudoarqueología significa y cómo se entiende. Mi caso de estudio busca un cambio de modelo hacia una concepción matizada de la pseudoarqueología, ya que hay siempre distintos actores moviéndose a distintos niveles y en ocasiones a mitad de *Camino* entre las instituciones, la academia y lo social. Se elabora a partir de esta discusión el concepto de “sujetos bisagra” que, como Juan Carlos Campos, no son pseudoarqueólogos pero tampoco arqueólogos profesionales, sino más bien mediadores a mitad de *Camino* entre la academia y lo social, que tienden a ser cada vez más abundante. Más aún en contextos como el leonés donde la fuerza de la academia y de los técnicos y expertos en arqueología no es tan intensa como en otras áreas.

Finalmente, estas reflexiones teóricas se relacionan con los procesos que en Maragatería cuadran de un modo más certero dentro de la definición clásica de pseudoarqueología y que tuvieron que ver con el descubrimiento de un “misterioso” círculo en las inmediaciones del monte Teleno. En lugar de referirse, como Campos, a ámbitos académicos e institucionales, otro grupo de actores en la comarca y a nivel provincial prefirió llevar estos descubrimientos al ámbito de los programas de difusión de misterios en televisión y radio y sembrar la desconfianza con respecto a la academia. Aún así, se propone una idea de la pseudoarqueología que no busque “juzgarla” desde un punto de vista ético-valorativo desde una supuesta objetividad científica, sino que muestra como también ella misma construye estos objetos que considera como misteriosos y estudia a su manera como un patrimonio, llevando a cabo incluso labores de protección y difusión del patrimonio que permiten a la gente entrar en contacto de un modo u otro con el mismo.

14. De la realidad a la exposición: el remanso de paz patrimonial de Santiago Millas.

El capítulo analiza una situación única en Maragatería donde las manifestaciones más evidentes de las economías y subjetividades cobran una fuerza considerable rompiendo la comunidad en dos precisamente a partir del desplazamiento espacio-temporal metafórico y material de la comunidad local frente a los foráneos que llegan a Santiago Millas y compran viviendas viejas restaurándolas, o construyendo nuevas viviendas desde los cimientos y después recubriéndolas de piedras y de estilos para asemejarlos a los modelos maragatos clásicos.

Pese a que el pueblo había quedado prácticamente abandonado una vez que las élites maragatas emigraron hacia otras zonas de la geografía española, dejando sus grandes mansiones abandonadas y condenadas a la ruina, a partir de los años 1980 comienza una recuperación de estas casas maragatas en ruinas y una revalorización de la cultura maragata en general. En esta revalorización participaron en un primer lugar las élites locales, que incluso fomentaron en alianza con las instituciones públicas locales la creación de un museo de la Maragatería. Se consideraba así que Santiago Millas era en cierto modo el “alma” de la Maragatería, y en consonancia con ello una imagen folklórica de la misma resultaba útil para transmitir esa idea. Del mismo modo, el museo permitía incrementar el valor abstracto del pueblo de cara al incremento del valor de su patrimonio inmobiliario y su capacidad de atraer turismo. Esto se relaciona con intentos del ayuntamiento local de crear proyectos inmobiliarios que creasen chalets adosados de estilo maragato dirigidos al comprador de clase alta urbano, proyecto que finalmente fracasó debido al estallido de la burbuja inmobiliaria.

Posteriormente, el capítulo estudia las otras formas de representación cultural generadas en el pueblo pero en este caso por actores foráneos al mismo, en el sentido de que no están registrados en el mismo como habitantes, no han nacido en él, y pasan escasos periodos en el mismo. Estos habitantes de clase alta compran, construyen o restauran grandes casas de estilo maragata y han llegado a formar una asociación para proteger sus intereses y realizar actividades de todo tipo durante los periodos en los que se encuentran en el pueblo, generalmente en navidad y verano. Esta asociación y sus miembros no sólo se encuentran en oposición directa al ayuntamiento local sino también a la comunidad, siendo los objetivos, condicionantes de clase, y valores de los distintos actores irreconciliables y diferentes.

Estas dinámicas relacionales se analizan en el caso de estudio de las Jornadas de Patios Abiertos que se realizan en Santiago Millas cada dos años bajo la dirección de la Asociación misma. Durante estas jornadas, los patios de las macro-casas maragatas se abren al público, se ofrece comida y bebida, y se realizan actos culturales. Curiosamente, algunas casas maragatas falsas, o casas que pretenden ser de origen maragato y no lo son, se presentan como tales ante el público. Sin embargo, los habitantes vernáculos que poseen patios maragatos, no los abren al público y rechazan participar en el evento. En la edición de 2011 se produjo por primera vez en la comarca la participación de un tamboritero maragato dentro del contexto del museo como tal, convirtiéndose así en una representación de cara a un público, algo que resulta absurda a los ojos de la comunidad local que considera que los tamboriteros y su tarea pueden ser presenciados en distintas fiestas en el área en su contexto habitual. En este y otros sentidos, los miembros de la asociación forman un grupo que genera jerarquías y desplazamientos espacio-temporales que

generan al habitante vernáculo como un sujeto subalterno tanto a nivel de clase como a nivel del progreso temporal.

15. El pueblo Arco-Iris: la virtual, la real y la ausente comunidad de Matavenero.

El capítulo presenta un análisis etnográfico de una comunidad hippie en el pueblo abandonado de Matavenero, en las inmediaciones de Maragatería aunque oficialmente situado en la comarca del Bierzo. Esta comunidad nació en los años 1980 gracias a la iniciativa de un grupo de personas de Alemania y Suiza, a los que rápidamente se sumaron distintas personas españolas y de otras naciones. La comunidad alcanzó rápidamente los 240 habitantes con 40 niños nacidos allí mismo, con unos objetivos claros y más o menos compartidos por todos los miembros de la comunidad. Esta había surgido fundamentalmente del movimiento Rainbow, un movimiento internacional a su vez directamente derivado del fenómeno hippie de los años 60, iniciado en los EEUU y que se extendió rápidamente hacia Europa. La evolución de la comunidad muestra cómo sin embargo esta pasó progresivamente de ser una comuna hippie a redefinirse internamente como una eco-aldea. Esta variación implicó transformaciones en las formas de organización social y económica que el capítulo describe detalladamente. A nivel general, puede decirse que se abandonó la utopía de una comunidad horizontal sin propiedad privada y donde todas las actividades y tareas eran compartidas. De aquí se pasó a una comunidad con preocupaciones ecológicas pero individualizada, donde los individuos ya no buscan tanto la convivencia y la propiedad común sino más bien el vivir en equilibrio con la naturaleza y aislados del mundo exterior de un modo individual, como proyecto de auto-realización personal.

El capítulo analiza igualmente las formas de relación con aspectos que difícilmente pueden encuadrarse como procesos de patrimonialización, pero que sí vinculan materialidades con ciertas formas de memoria y de relación con el pasado y la identidad de la comunidad. En este sentido, la materialidad es utilizada para construir una idea de comunidad abierta en lugar de para crear rupturas y diferencias entre individuos y grupos. Esto se ejemplifica por ejemplo en la decisión de mantener los antiguos espacios comunales como centro o “alma” de la comunidad, en particular las escuelas, que, convertidas en bar, hostel y panadería, todavía hoy se mantienen como centro de la comunidad y de su vida pública.

Finalmente, el capítulo reflexiona sobre las implicaciones reaccionarias que este tipo de comunidades conllevan en muchas ocasiones al seleccionar los individuos que pueden participar en las mismas en ocasiones en relación a criterios clasistas y excluyentes. Igualmente, la presencia de individuos hiper-individualizados imposibilita a largo plazo la creación de comunidades enraizadas en el territorio con todo lo que ello implica, acabando la comunidad por fragmentarse y convertirse en un marco dentro del cual proyectos individuales de vida se desarrollan, con diferentes grados de implicación y participación en ideologías libertarias y comunitarias.

16. La máquina patrimonial: de la producción comunal a la captura del común en Val de San Lorenzo.

El capítulo realiza un ejercicio de etnohistoria en el que se repasa la evolución de Val de San Lorenzo, un pueblo poco común en la provincia de León y en Maragatería por su importante

industrialización que contrasta con el nulo desarrollo industrial del área. La tradición textil preindustrial existe desde la Edad Moderna en el pueblo, llegando la industrialización solo a mediados del siglo XIX y de forma marginal, lenta y tardía. De hecho la evolución industrial utiliza maquinaria de segunda y tercera mano proveniente de Cataluña mayoritariamente, un área que por su parte se encontraba a remolque de las industrias textiles británicas. Se trata así de una tradición textil industrializada pero de forma escasamente intensiva y periférica.

El análisis realizado explora las diversas tendencias dentro del proceso industrializador que surgieron a partir de diferentes influencias de corrientes migratorias que habían salido precisamente a consecuencia del proceso industrializador hacia Buenos Aires y La Habana fundamentalmente. Surgió así un modelo que propugnaba un modelo comunal de producción industrial que se fue llevando a cabo paulatinamente, y un modelo liberal individualista que se fue implantando en paralelo. Curiosamente, las ideologías socialistas y comunistas que llegaban de Argentina fundamentalmente lo que hacían era transformar los modos de producción pre-industrial y adaptarlos a la época industrial.

El estudio se centra fundamentalmente en los procesos acaecidos después de los años 1980 cuando la industria textil entró en una progresiva decadencia que llevó al cierre de la mayor parte de las fábricas tanto comunales como privadas. A partir de aquí, el ayuntamiento y las elites locales decidieron comenzar un proceso de patrimonialización del pueblo que contemplaba la creación de dos museos además de reglamentaciones urbanísticas de diverso calado. En este proceso de patrimonialización se produce una confrontación entre diversos actores que tiene su plasmación en la materialidad del lugar, y que lleva a plantear diversas cuestiones alrededor de la función de la expresión cultural, el valor y las relaciones de poder en torno al proceso patrimonializador. En conclusión, el proceso patrimonializador analizado en una perspectiva amplia muestra cómo la modernización e industrialización del pueblo rompió con la idea de comunidad y desacralizó las prácticas sociales, mientras que el momento post-industrial patrimonializador busca recuperar un ideal estético de comunidad como representación con fines materialistas que favorecen a actores específicos y no a la comunidad como un todo. El patrimonio se convierte así en una representación social de la diferencia y de la jerarquía y superioridad expresada de unos grupos sociales sobre otros.

Annex 2. The Material Culture of Houses in Maragatería.

The material study of Maragatería comprised a classification of the 3802 houses analyzed according to their aesthetic external appearance. The investigation was complemented with in-depth ethnographic analyses of the internal parts of the houses. The categories employed are as follows:

Traditional (Dark blue): Houses whose external appearance has remained largely untouched since their construction during the pre-modern era. Normally, this implies that stone walls remain in sight and roofs are made on straw or old tiles. Most of these houses are abandoned.



Image 100. Traditional houses. Source: Author.

Modernized (Red): This category comprises the traditional houses, originally built in stone, in which architectonic interventions have been carried out to include modern materials such as concrete, plastic, metal in walls, windows, doors or roofs. In general, houses within this category reflect an attempt to gain a symbolic and functional link with modernity and to break with the past.



Image 101. Modernized houses. Source: Author.

Modern (Light blue): Houses that have been built from the scratch with a functional and modern logic and using modern materials. This implies that no specific references to the past or tradition are present in the architectural display, that tries to move away from the traditional regime of signs.



Image 102. Modern houses. Source: Author.

Restored (Green): This category includes a broad array of houses. The main distinctive trait of the category is that architectural changes are geared to restoring a link with the past and this is reflected in the materiality. Thus, a traditional house that has been restored according to traditional patterns, or the stylistic criteria created through the heritage discourse, is included here (picture on the left). Also, some houses built from the scratch to look like old traditional houses are included here. The decision to include this latter group of houses here is justified by their concentration in specific villages (Santiago Millas, Valdespino de Somoza, Lagunas de Somoza and Val de San Lorenzo, picture on the right). Also, all the houses in Castrillo de los Polvazares have been included within this category because an overall heritage intervention has been carried out to guarantee the preservation of the look of the village and its houses.



Image 103. Restored houses. Source: Author.

Ruined (Purple): Houses or groups of houses that have collapsed partially or completely.



Image 104. Ruined houses. Source: Author.

Industrial (Orange): This category is only included in some analysis when relevant. It comprises industrial buildings of all kinds.



Image 105. Industrial building. Source: Author.

Analysis 1. Tables 2 to 6 show the percentage of houses of each category in every village, ordered from high to low. Tables 7 and 8 include all the information, the first ordering the villages according to a percentage, and the second to the total number of houses in each village.

TABLE 2

Tradicional

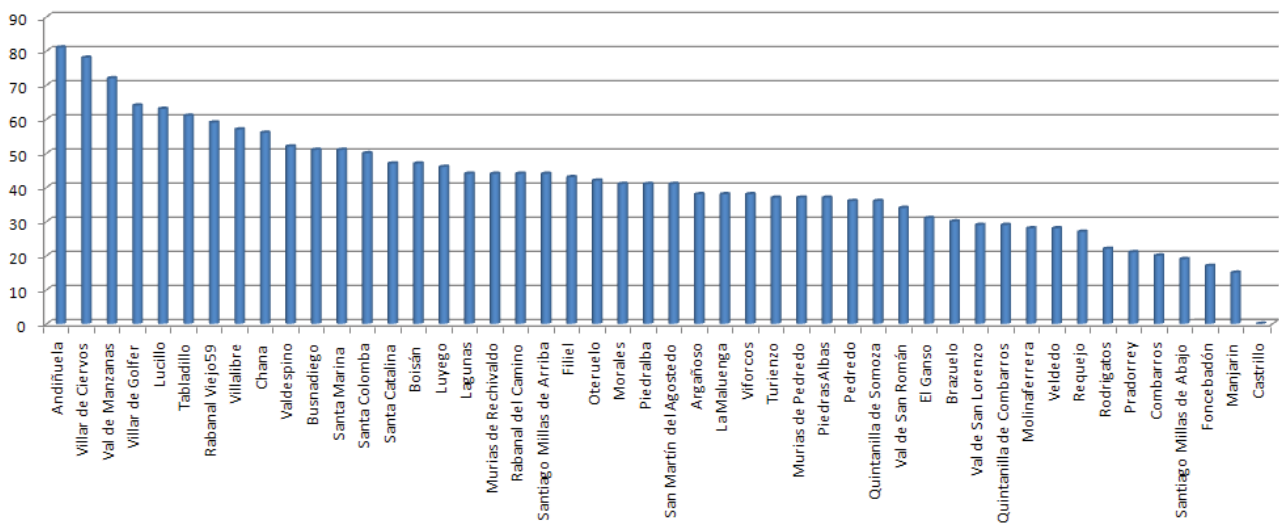


TABLE 3

Modernizada

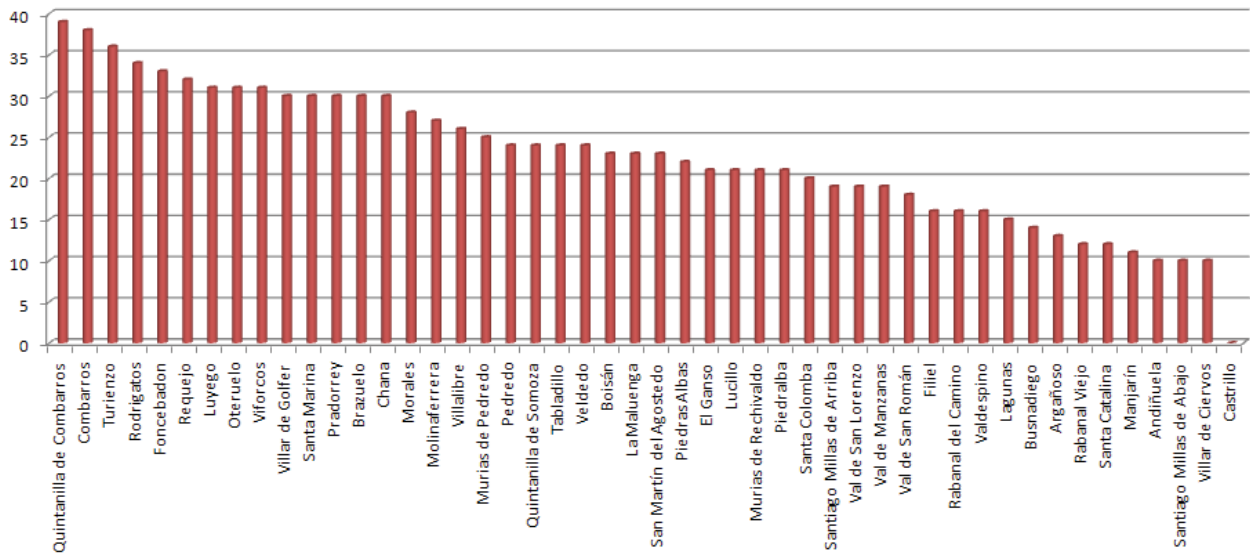


TABLE 4

Moderna

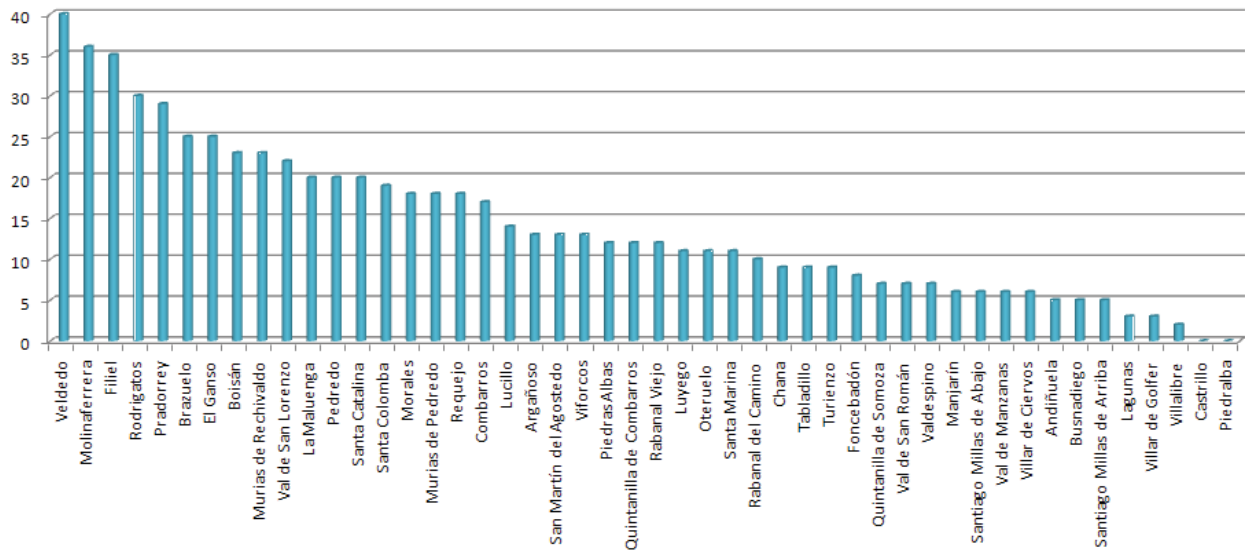


TABLE 5

Restauradas

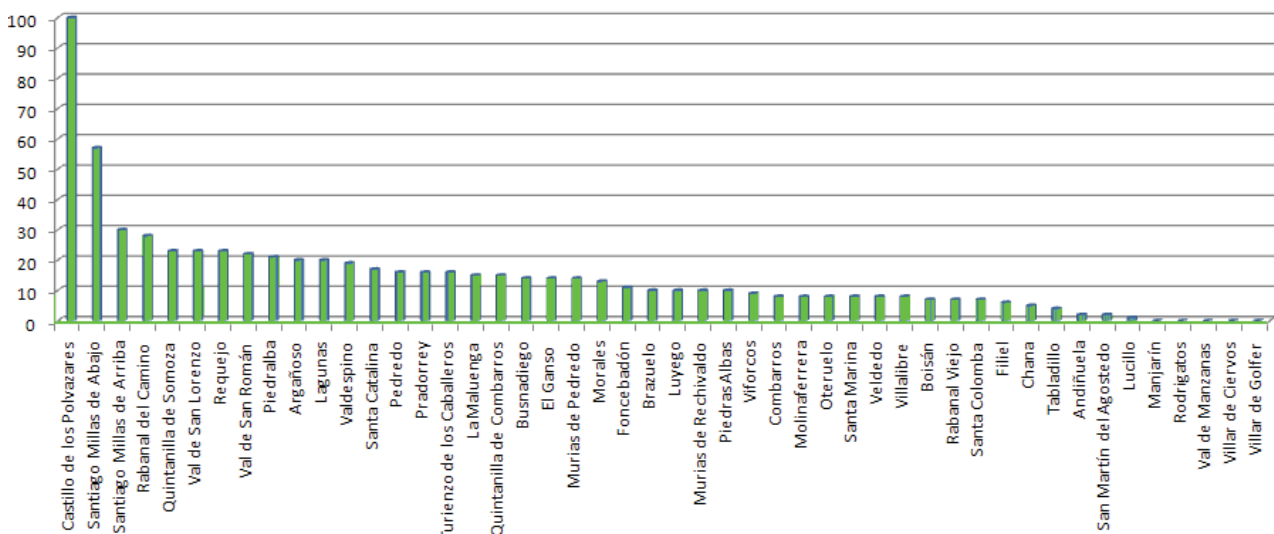


TABLE 6

Ruina

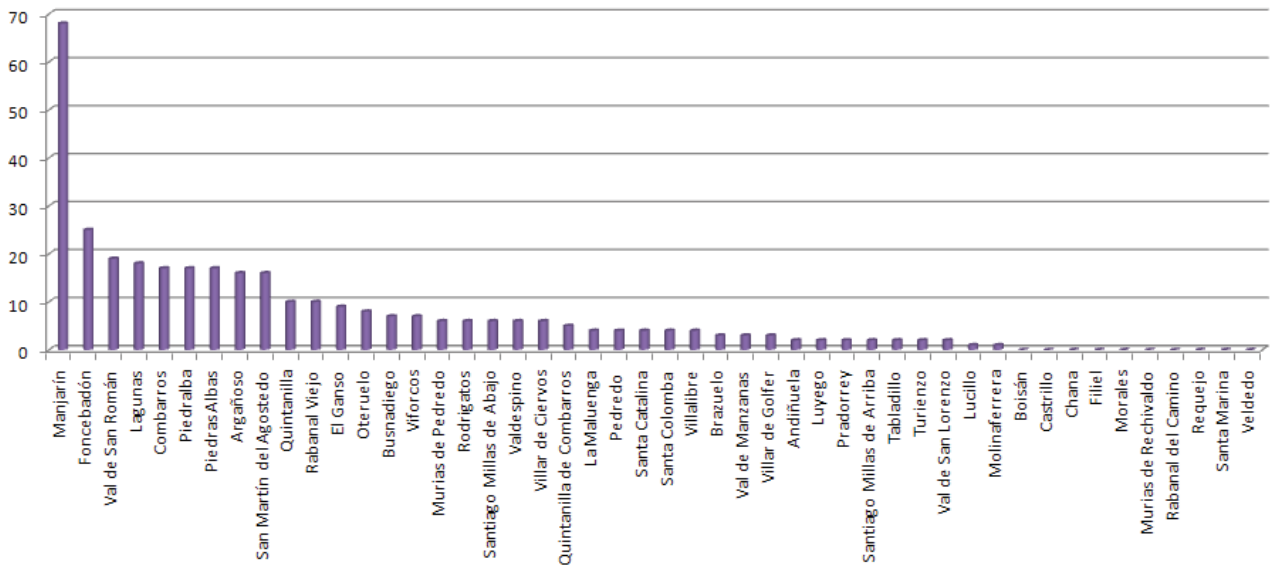


TABLE 7

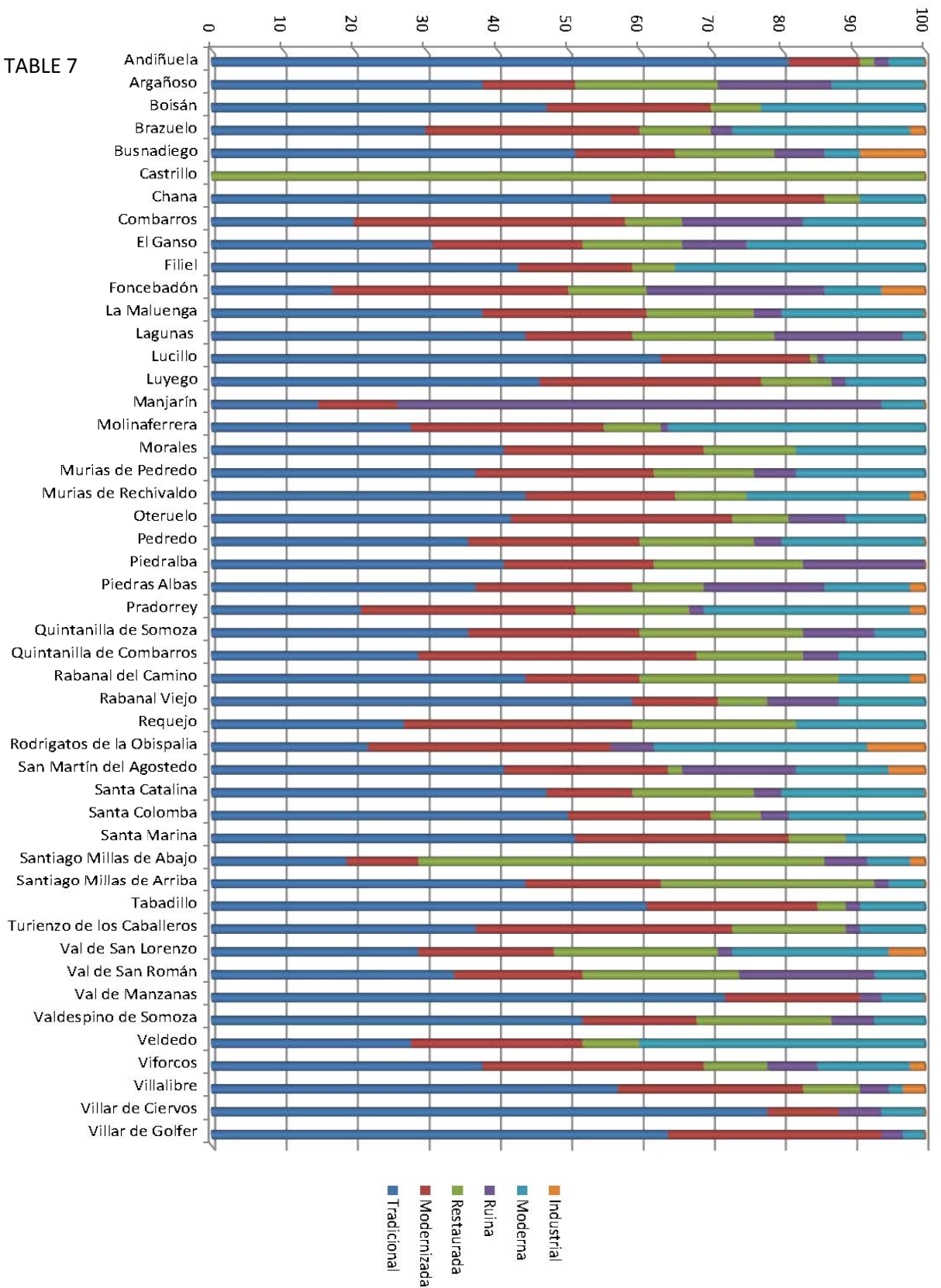
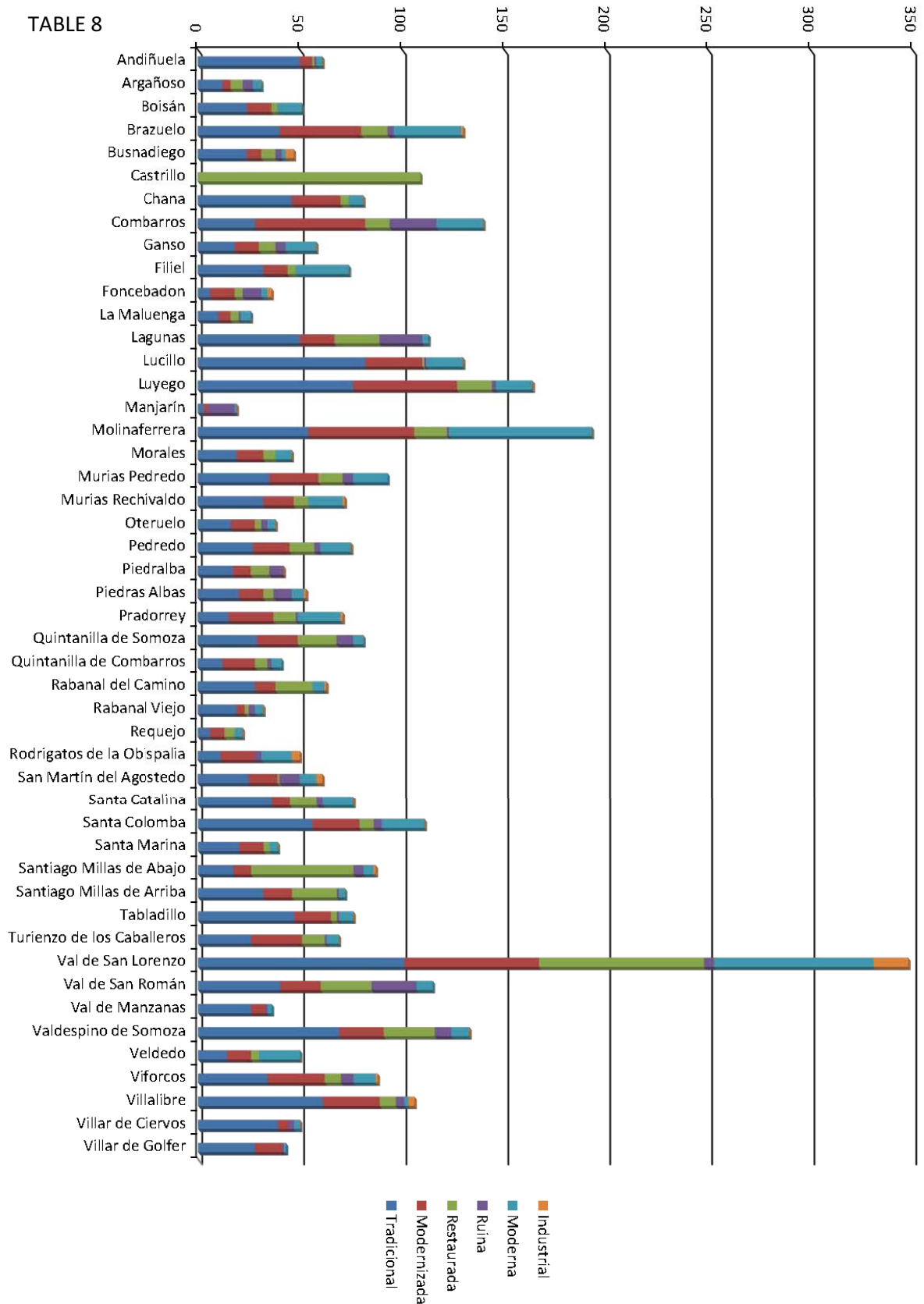
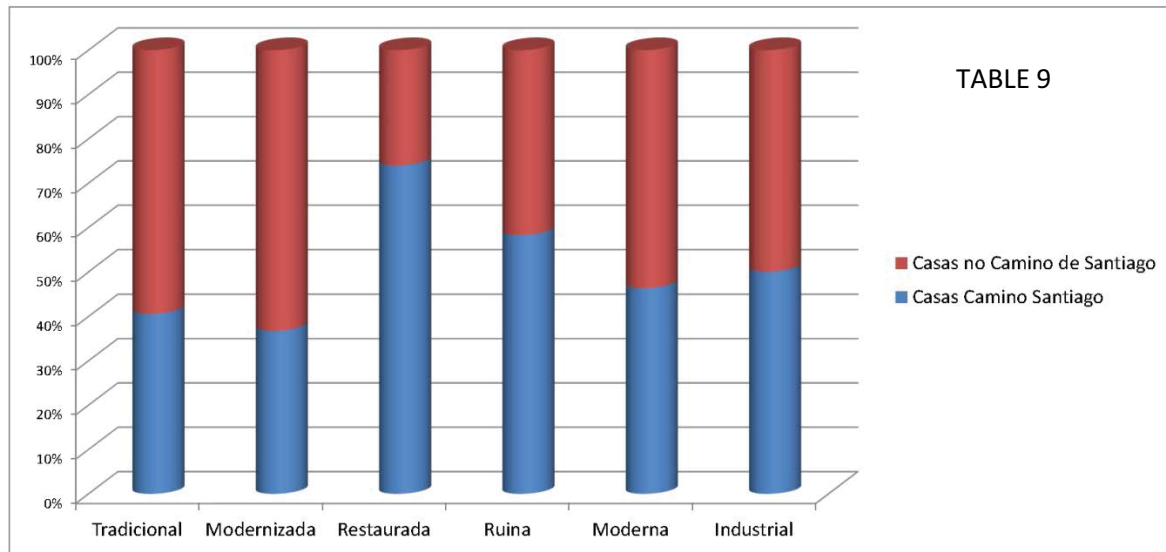


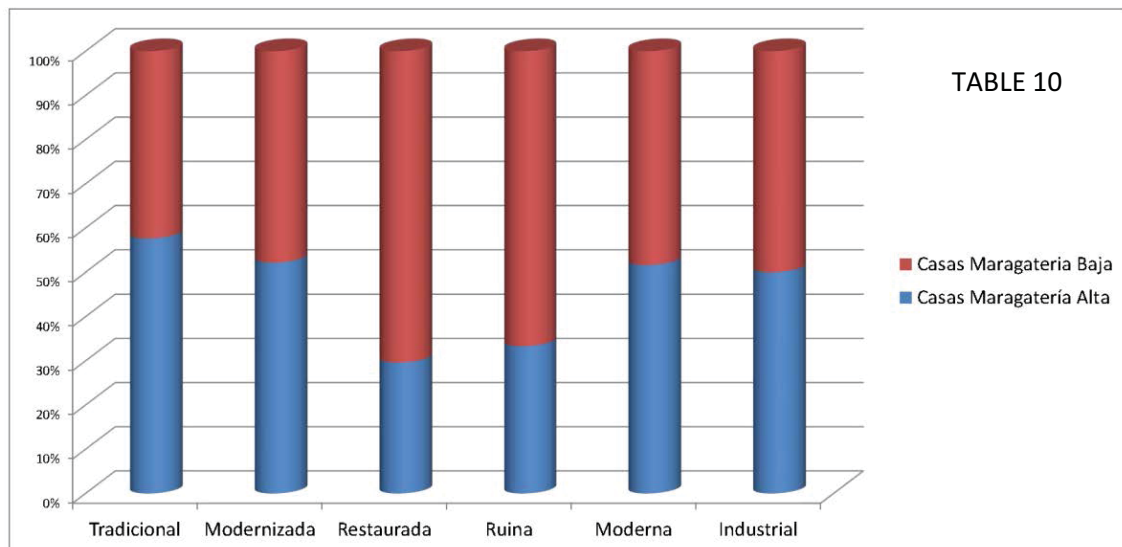
TABLE 8



Analysis 2. Table 9. Percentage of houses of each category in villages located along the *Camino de Santiago* (Blue) and outside the *Camino* (red).



Analysis 3. Table 10. Percentage of houses of each category in the *Maragatería Baja* (Low Maragatería, in red) and *Maragatería Alta* (high Maragatería, in blue). The former comprises the area where rich *maragato* elites traditionally lived, which resulted in a monumental architecture in many villages of the area. This comprises villages such as Santa Colomba de Somoza, Castrillo de los Polvazares to Santiago Millas and Val de San Lorenzo. The higher Maragatería is characterized by a ‘mountain’ architecture, with a prevalence of slate in roofs rather than tiles, and a less monumental architecture. Villages in this area include Lucillo, Molinaferrera, Luyego or Filiel.



Analysis 4. Image 106 (6 pics). Sample layouts of the *maragato* villages analyzed. Only the villages with city council are displayed here: Brazuelo, Santa Colomba de Somoza, Luyego, Santiago Millas, Lucillo, and Val de San Lorenzo.

Brazuelo



Lucillo



Santa Colomba de Somoza



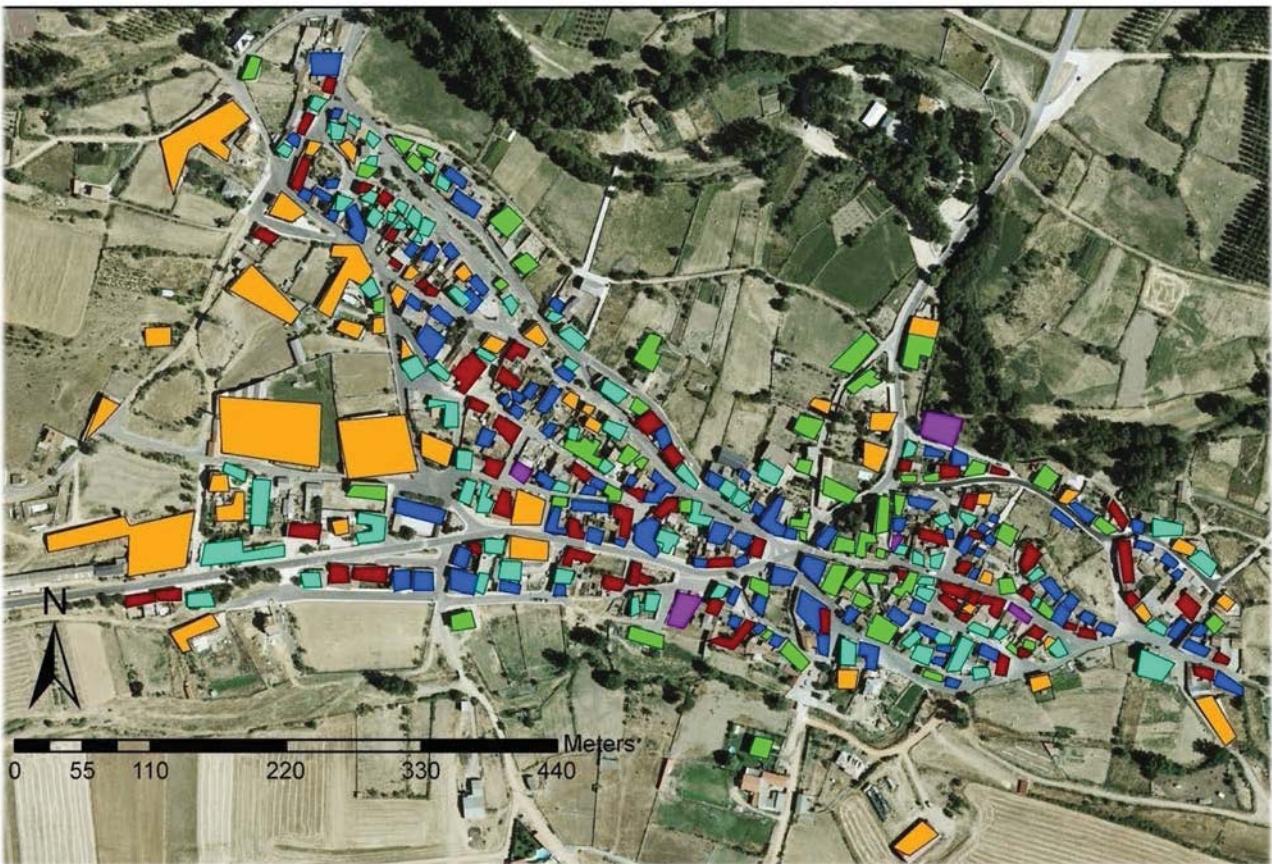
Santiago Millas (Barrio de Abajo)



Luyego



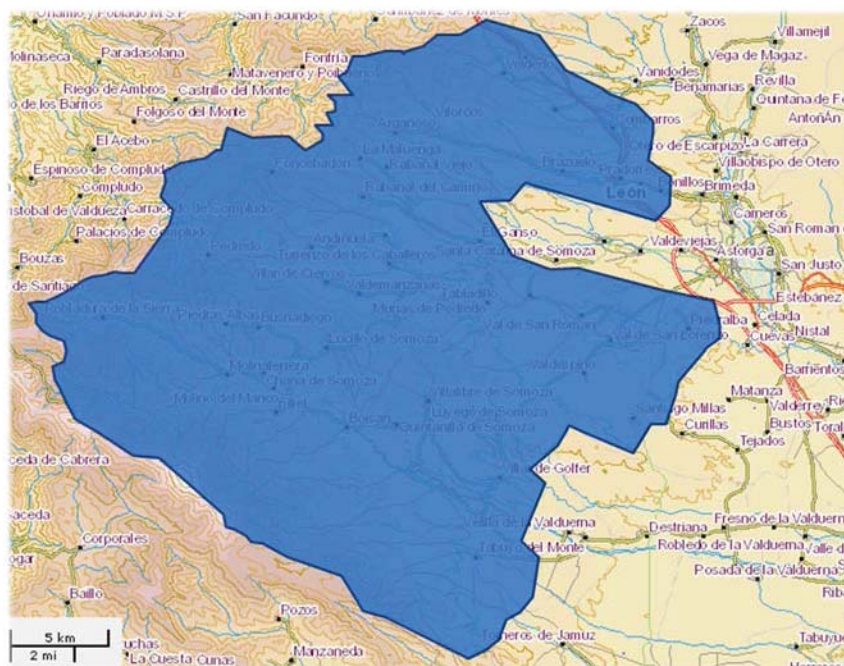
Val de San Lorenzo



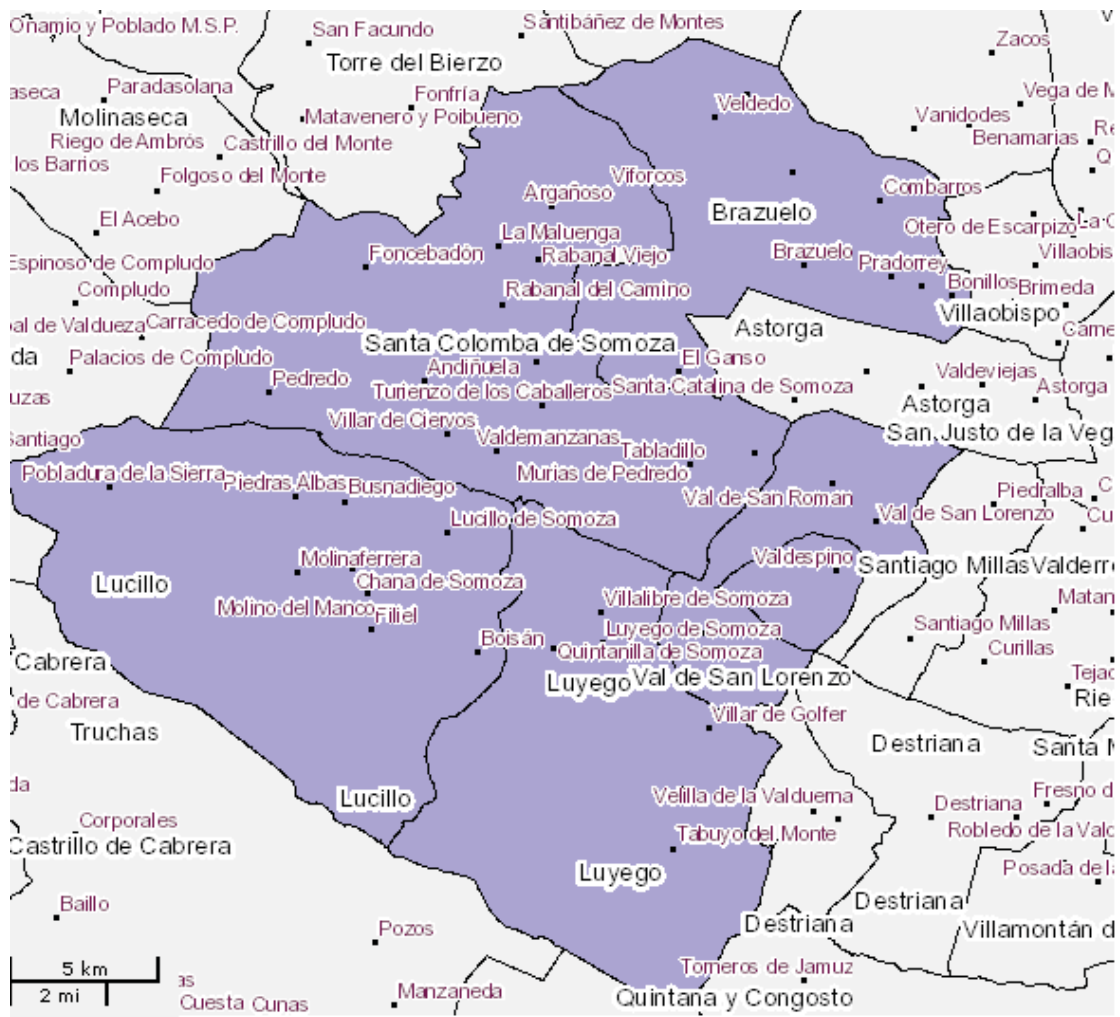
Annex 3. Maps of Maragatería.



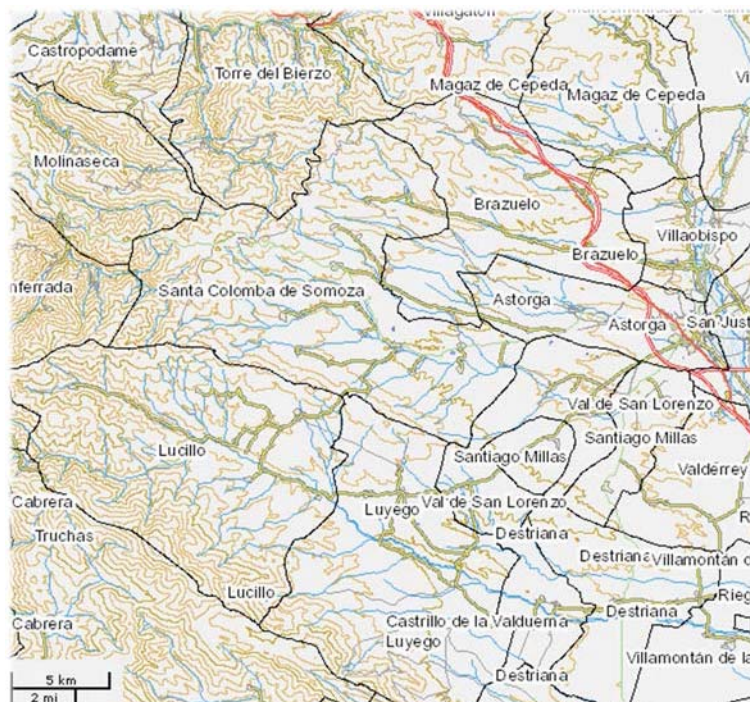
Map 1. Maragatería (blue) within the Autonomous Community of Castilla y León.



Map 2. The administrative borders of the Maragatería area.



Map 3. Villages and municipalities in Maragatería.



Map 4. Hydrography and road network in Maragatería.



Map 5. Orography of Maragatería.

Annex 4. Interviews.

The table includes only interviews that have been referenced in the text. The absence of names in some of the references derives from the informal character of part of the conversations, or from the decision of interviewees to hide their identity.

<i>Number</i>	<i>Reference</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Format</i>
1	Shepherd, Santa Colomba	July 2009	HD Video
2	Group of elders, Morales del Arcediano	November 2008	Notebook Notes (NN)
3	Retired egg seller, Val de San Lorenzo	January 2009	Mp3 Audio
4	Ublines, retired bell ringer and gravedigger, Rabanal del Camino	July, 2010	HD Video
5	Farmer, Prada de la Sierra	August, 2010	HD Video
6	Dutch dweller, Pedredo	September, 2010	HD Video
7	Retired female farmer, Lucillo	June, 2009	HD Video

8	Hunter in charge of the hunting ground of Val de San Lorenzo	12 September, 2011	NN
9	Antonio <i>El Jamonero</i> , tamboritero, Astorga	April, 2010	Mp3 Audio
10A	Maxi Arce, <i>tamboritero</i> , Astorga and Castrillo de los Polvazares	August, 2009 (with David Andrés Fernández, <i>tamboritero</i>)	HD Video
10B	“	August 2010	NN
11	Spas, <i>tamboritero</i> , Filiel	July, 2010	HD Video
12	Morán, artisan, Luyego	September, 2011	HD Video
13	Paco, <i>tamboritero</i> , Val de San Lorenzo	August, 2010	HD Video
14	Returned <i>maragata</i> migrant to Switzerland	July, 2010	HD Video
15	Returned <i>maragata</i> migrant to Argentina	July, 2010	HD Video
16	David Andrés, <i>tamboritero</i> , Astorga	10 June, 2012	NN
17	David Andrés, <i>tamboritero</i> , Astorga	August, 2009 (with Maxi Arce)	HD Video
18	David Andrés, <i>tamboritero</i> , Astorga	29 June, 2012	NN
19	Martín Martínez, Official chronist of Astorga	April, 2008	Mp3 Audio
20	Miguel, retired farmer, Valdespino de Somoza	July 2010	HD Video
21	Morán, Platform against the El Teleno Military Gunfire Range	August, 2009	HD Video
22	Manolo, <i>Ecologistas en Acción</i> , Luyego	July, 2008	HD Video
23	Señor José, retired farmer, Boisán	October, 2008	Mp3 Audio
24	Member of the Platform against the El Teleno Military Gunfire Range	August, 2009	HD Video
25	Tomasa, retired shepherd, Tabuyo del Monte	July, 2010	HD Video
26	Five inhabitants from Tabuyo del Monte involved in the extinction tasks during the fire of 1998	August, 2009	HD Video
27	<i>Hospitalero</i> from Portugal at the municipal shelter of Astorga	February, 2009	NN
28	Enrique Notario, owner of the restaurant ‘Gaia’ in Foncebadón	May, 2010 Interview split into two days	HD Video
29 A	Tomás <i>el Templario</i> , Manjarín	January, 2012	NN
29B	“	July, 2009	HD Video
29C	“	August, 2010	HD Video
29D	“	June, 2011	NN
30	Marco, Italian pilgrim from Torino	July, 2010	HD Video
31A	Carlos, farmer, Prada de la Sierra	July 2009	HD Video
31B	“	August 2010	NN

32	Retired woman from Prada de la Sierra	April 2012	Mp3 + NN
33	Ernesto, former president of the <i>Asociación Nueva Prada de la Sierra</i> until 2011, Madrid – Prada de la Sierra	July 2009	Video HD
34	Yearly meeting of the <i>Asociación Nueva Prada de la Sierra</i> .	29th April 2012	Mp3 Audio
35	Antonio Santos, new president of the <i>Asociación Nueva Prada de la Sierra</i> since 2011, Prada de la Sierra	29th April 2012	NN
36A	Juan Carlos Campos, discoverer of the prehistoric carvings of Filiel	18th June 2012	NN
36B	“	July 2009	HD Video
36C	“	12th January 2011	NN
37	A man and his mother, hidden identities	November 2011	NN
38	Juan Carlos Campos and a group of elders from Chana de Somoza	September 2010	HD Video
39	Franco, retired farmer, Lucillo	August 2009	HD Video
40	Luis Antonio, painter, Lucillo	July 2009	NN
41	Concha Casado, ethnographer	December, 2008	NN
42	José Manuel Sutil, Diocesan Archivist, Astorga and Santiago Millas	12 th April 2012	NN
43	Woman, retired farmer, Santiago Millas (in a group with other two woman)	15 th August 2009	NN
44	Woman, retired, housewife (with other woman)	15th August 2009	NN
45	Man, retired, newcomer to Santiago Millas from Madrid. President of the <i>Asociación de Amigos de Santiago Millas</i> .	15th August 2011	NN
46	Man, member of the <i>Asociación de Amigos of Santiago Millas</i> .	15th August 2011	NN
47	Man, newcomer and owner of a fake Maragato house in Santiago Millas, from Santander (with his wife)	15 th August 2011	NN
48	Man, retired farmer from Santiago Millas (with his wife)	14 th August 2011	NN
49	Man, tourist in Santiago Millas (first alone, then with his wife)	14 th August 2011	NN
50	Javi, tamboritero maragato from Val de San Lorenzo	15th August 2011	NN
51	Lena, German musician, Matavenero	July 2010	HD Video
52	Nina, German teacher, ex-habitant from Matavenero (Pioneer), now living in Requejo and	June 2009	HD Video

	owner of the shop ‘ <i>La Cueva de Merlin</i> ’		
53	Lortchs, German ex-habitant from Matavenero (Pioneer), now living in Requejo	June 2009	HD Video
54	Jorge, baker, lives seasonally in Matavenero (Pioneer)	July 2010	HD Video
55	Portuguese ex-habitant of Matavenero (Pioneer), lives in Requejo, shop owner.	July 2010	HD Video
56	Eldar, 1 st generation of children coming out from Matavenero, lives in Asturias and Galicia.	June 2009	HD Video
57	Goyo, retired cook, lives in Matavenero	August 2010	HD Video
58	El Ulli, German inhabitant of Matavenero (Pioneer)	July 2010	HD Video
59	Rolf, Swiss, ex-inhabitant of Matavenero (Pioneer). Lives in Requejo, owns a shop in Astorga	June 2009	HD Video
60	Newcomer to Matavenero coming from Barcelona and current teacher	August 2010	HD Video
61A	Guillermo, ex Regional deputy and mayor of Val de San Lorenzo	May 2009	HD Video
61B	“	July 2011	NN
62	Stefano, Romanian inhabitant of Fonfría and Poibueno	July 2010	HD Video
63	Cionita, retired textile producer, Val de San Lorenzo	October 2008	Mp3 Audio
64	De Cabo, retired textile producer, Val de San Lorenzo	September 2008	NN
65	Man from Murias de Rechivaldo, retired handworker (with other local man)	June 2010	HD Video
66	Mary, member of the Order of Saint James, temporally in charge of the Rabanal del Camino shelter	July 2010	HD Video
67	Paco, retired, from Murias de Rechivaldo.	June 2010	NN
68	Carlos Huerta, ex <i>hospitalero</i> in the shelter of Murias de Rechivaldo	February 2009	NN
69	Hospitalero 1 at the private shelter of Murias de Rechivaldo	July 2010	HD Video
70	Isidoro, owner of a private pilgrim’s shelter in Murias de Rechivaldo	August 2009	HD Video
71	Hospitalero 2 at the private shelter of Murias de Rechivaldo. Former Hospitalero of Foncebadón.	July 2010	HD Video
72	Tess, British newcomer, part of the British community in Lucillo	August 2012	HD Video

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