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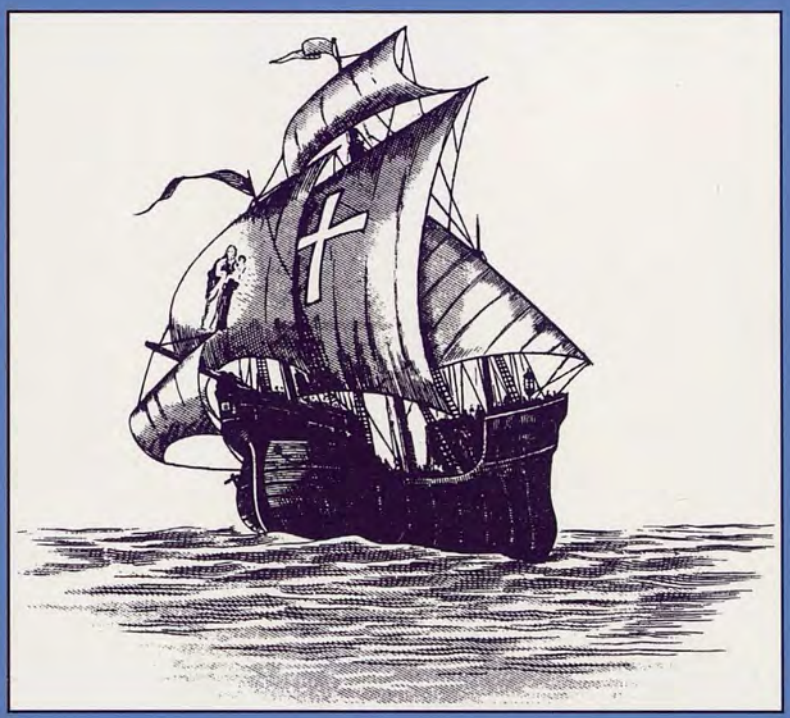
JACOBEAN PILGRIMS FROM ENGLAND TO ST. JAMES OF COMPOSTELA

FROM THE EARLY TWELFTH TO THE LATE FIFTEENTH CENTURY



CONSTANCE MARY STORRS

XUNTA DE GALICIA

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Edita:
Xunta de Galicia
Consellería de Cultura, Comunicación Social e Turismo
Xerencia de Promoción do Camiño de Santiago

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Imprime: Tórculo Artes Gráficas, S.A.L.
Dep. Legal: C-1999-98
I.S.B.N.: 84-453-2287-7

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SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA
1994

This work by the english profesor Constance Storrs, who, regrettably, is no longer with us, portains to the research she did for her doctoral thesis. It is a praiseworthy contribution to the study of the pilgrimages from the British Isles to Santiago de Compostela during the Middle Ages.

In this day and age, when the bibliography on pilgrimages has evolved significantly, it is fitting to give due recognition to the ground-breaking work of this author, and as a result, the dissemination of Jacobean studies on the British Isles.

The idea of diffusion of Jacobean studies, which inspired her throughout her long and fruitful life, germinated on the British Isles and prevails to this day through the work of the Confraternity of St. James, which promotes the Jacobean milestone and the Way of St. James.

The Ministry of Culture, Social Communication, and Tourism of the Xunta de Galicia considers that the reprinting of her work this Holy Year of Santiago de Compostela 1999 will pay due homage to Constance Storrs.

Jesús Pérez Varela

Minister of Culture, Social Communication,
and Tourism of the Autonomous Government.

FOREWORD

IT WAS with great expectation that I attended the first international conference arranged by the Confraternity of St. James in London and at Hengrave Hall, Suffolk, in March 1990. The main theme was to be Pilgrims from the British Isles to Santiago de Compostela in the Middle Ages, and the principal reason for my anticipation was that Constance Storrs was to be present. This lady, whom I had never met, had spearheaded research into this field some thirty years earlier and presented the results in a thesis for a London University Master's Degree in 1964.

On that occasion I gave a lecture, not without some misgiving, for much of the material was derived from the unpublished thesis. She was gracious and forgiving enough to invite me home to discuss the future of her research materials, which she decided to hand over to me and let me deal with their disposal. This brief and happy occasion was the one and only time I had conversation with her, for she died on August 24 of that same year. A Requiem Mass was said for her at Westminster Cathedral on Wednesday, December 5, 1990.

Constance Storrs had been a lecturer in Business Studies at what were then the Kingston and Regent Street Polytechnics. In the 1960's she took time off to engage in postgraduate study at University College, London; her choice of subject was that which I have quoted above, and her supervisor was the well-known economic historian Dr E. M. Carus-Wilson. There was little published material for her to work on. Some general works on the pilgrimage had been published, of which the latest and most detailed were the three volumes by Luis Vázquez de Parga, José María Lacarra and Juan Uría Riu 1948-9. They were the forerunners of well-researched studies of the pilgrimage in its wider contexts, and their work is still indispensable today. Although they were

hampered by working during the Second World War in Spain, they managed to get hold of an edition of the documents published by Rymer from the Public Record Office (*Foedera*, 1704-1735). This was the best entry into the narrower topic of pilgrims to Santiago from the British Isles.

It was on that famous institution, which has preserved millions of medieval documents (and this in marked contrast to other European monarchies) that Constance Storrs fixed her unwavering attention. Whatever else may have been superseded in her thesis, her salient contribution was to ransack the unpublished official records, like the Chancery Miscellanea, the Guild Certificates, the Treaty Rolls, the Exchequer Accounts and Customs Records. Although easier, it was no less laborious to sift through the published records, like the Calendars of Chancery Warrants, of Close Rolls, of Fine Rolls, of Patent Rolls, of Inquisitions Post Mortem etc. She also plunged into the Municipal Archives of Corunna in search of data on ship movements. As a result we have a much firmer grasp of the nature and scope, particularly of maritime traffic from the British Isles, the social classes which participated, the motives and approaches of pilgrims to their undertaking, the routes they took and what observations they made. As Constance Storrs concludes, this is only part of the story; countless others have escaped attention.

Constance Storrs received her degree of M.A. from the Queen Mother in 1964. At that moment she had no clear idea of what might happen to her years of labour. She did not know that the Confraternity of St. James was to be founded in London some seventeen years later and that her thesis was eventually located by that body at the University's Institute of Historical Research. Dr Mary Remnant, the noted musicologist, spent several years trying to locate the author whom she eventually found in the tiny village of Badwell Ash in Suffolk where she was living in retirement with her husband. Mrs Storrs was immediately invited to become an honorary member of the Confraternity and also invited to attend the Hengrave Hall Conference where she met many enthusiastic scholars. Those who were there can only thank Providence that we were able to show our gratitude for her labours just before she died.

Many attempts were made in the ensuing years to have the thesis retyped and submitted for publishing. Eventually we were fortunate enough to receive an offer from, appropriately, the Regional Government (the *Xunta*) of Galicia to publish the work in more or less its original form. I say this advisedly, because any attempt to revise the text to bring it up to date would have the effect of distorting the opening chapters and obscuring the work that

was done in the immediate postwar years. Nowadays, it is true, there are infinitely better histories of Spain in both English and Spanish, and the bibliography on the topic of pilgrimage in all European languages has expanded enormously. To take a few examples from English, there have appeared since the 1960s Victor and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* (New York, 1978), Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints* (Chicago, 1981), Benedicta Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind* (Philadelphia, 1982). On the immediate historical background there has been Richard Fletcher, *St James's Catapult. The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez* (Oxford, 1984); on medieval trade, Wendy R. Childs, *Anglo-Castilian Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Manchester, 1978) and Elisa Ferreira Priegue, *Galicia en el comercio marítimo medieval* (Santiago, 1988); on the *camino* itself there are Marilyn Stokstad, *Santiago de Compostela in the Age of the Great Pilgrimages* (Norman, USA, 1978), Horton and Marie Hélène Davies, *Holy Days and Holidays: the Medieval Pilgrimage to Santiago* (1982). And finally Book V of the Codex Calixtinus has been edited and translated by Paula Gerson et al. in two volumes, *The Pilgrim's Guide to Santiago de Compostela, Critical Edition and A Catalogue of Monuments.* A shorter edition, translated by James Hogarth, was published by the Confraternity of St James in 1992, and was the first full translation to appear in English.

Therefore, in view of the intrusive nature of revision, I would beg indulgence for our wishes to be respected, to leave the work as a monument to a researcher who laboured with a single purpose towards accomplishing a task that was only accomplished several years after her death at the age of 79.

Robert BRIAN TATE
Nottingham

ABBREVIATIONS

B.L.	British Library
CCR	*Calendar of Close Rolls*
CIPM	*Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem*
CPR	*Calendar of Patent Rolls*
E.E.T.S.	*Early English Text Society*
Foedera	*Foedera, Conventiones, Litterae et cujuscunque generis acta publica*, ed. T. Rymer
Historia	*Historia de la S.A.M. Iglesia de Santiago de Compostela*
K.R.	*King's Remembrancer*
L.S.J.	*Liber Sancti Jacobi*
PRO	Public Record Office
P.S.J.	*Peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela*
T/R	Treaty Roll

INTRODUCTION

THE practice of pilgrimage was an established feature of mediaeval Christendom and pilgrims frequented numerous local and «national» shrines. But above all these lesser ones there were three which attracted the faithful from every part of Christendom —Jerusalem, Rome and Santiago de Compostela. The first two were known from the early days of the Christian church although not publicly visited until the fourth century when the Roman Empire became Christian under Constantine; but of the third, the shrine of St James the Greater, little was known until about the middle of the ninth century when what was accepted as the saint's tomb was discovered in a far corner of Galicia in north-west Spain. From then onwards its fame spread, first eastwards to the Pyrenees and through France to the rest of Europe as far as Scandinavia and Hungary and, later, southwards with the movement of the Reconquest (the recovery of the Spanish peninsula from the Muslims who had occupied it in the early eighth century) into the rest of Spain. Thus from the relative obscurity of a local cult there developed the Jacobean pilgrimage which took its place beside the older ones of Jerusalem and Rome.

Because of its widespread and commonplace character mediaeval pilgrimage often went unrecorded, but it is discernable sometimes from chance references in monastic chronicles, entries in episcopal registers or deeds of gifts or benefaction from grateful pilgrims. All these, however, are rarely concerned with the pilgrims' journey but rather with something ancillary or collateral to it.

1. English narrative sources

There are, however, a few first-hand accounts of the journey to Santiago intended for contemporary readers. One such relates to the Crusading expedition of 1147. Three members of this expedition

described their voyage to northern Spain and down the west coast of Portugal: Duodechin,[1] Arnulf[2] and Osbert, an Englishman.[3] All sailed from England[4] but because bad weather split up the fleet, only part of it, the group known to Arnulf, reached Santiago. All went to Lisbon to take part in the siege and so to contribute to the «Crusade of Spain» (the Reconquest).

In the fifteenth century a number of pilgrims recorded impressions of their journeys: Margery Kempe[5] and the Seigneur de Caumont,[6] both in 1417; an unnamed pilgrim of 1425, recorded in the works of Purchas;[7] the author of the poem «The Pilgrims Sea Voyage and Seasickness»[8] (sometime in the reign of Henry VI); William Wey in 1456;[9] Leo of Rozmital in 1466[10] and Arnold von Harff in 1499.[11] The accounts vary in length and detail. Of the three by English writers —Margery Kempe, Purchas's Pilgrim and William Wey— the first is not greatly informative, but the other two contain much illuminating material and are complementary, since Purchas's Pilgrim travelled by the land route through northern Spain and William Wey went by sea direct to Corunna.

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1) His description appears in his letter to Cuno, abbot of St. Disibod, preserved in that monastery's annals: *Monumentae Germaniae Historia Scriptorum*, XVII, Hanover 1861, pp. 27-28.

2) «Epistola Arnulfi ad Milonem, episcopum Morinensem», *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica*, ed. Alexandre Herculano for the Academia das Sciencias de Lisboa, Lisboa, 1856-1891 (incomplete); I, pp. 392-407.

3) *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, ed. C.W. David, Columbia University Press, 1936. Because the accounts of Duodechin and Arnulf so closely resemble thar of Osbert they have not been included among foreign sources.

4) Infra pp. 103-104.

5) *The Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. S.B. Meech and H.E. Allen, E.E.T.S., Original Series, CCXII, London, 1940, pp. 104-110.

6) B.M. Egerton 890. (Voyage de Nompar, seigneur de Caumont a Saint Jacques de Compostelle et a nostre Dame de finibus terre).

7) *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas his Pilgrimes*, 20 vols. Glasgow, 1905-1907, VII, pp. 527-532.

8) *The Pilgrims' Sea Voyage and Seasickness*, ed. F.J. Furnivall, E.E.T.S., Original Series, XXV, London, 1867.

9) *The Itineraries of William Wey... to Jerusalem, A.D. 1458 and 1462 and to Saint James of Compostella A.D. 1456*, ed. B. Bandinel, Roxburghe Club, 1857.

10) *The travels of Leo of Rozmital through Germany, Flanders, England, France, Spain, Portugal and Italy*, 1465-1467, ed. M. Letts, Hakluyt Society, Series II, CVIII, London, 1957.

11) *The Pilgrimage of Arnold von Harff*, 1496-1499, ed. M. Letts, Hakluyt Society, Series II, XCIV, London, 1946.

2. English Official Records: *a* Chancery

These descriptions have their complement in English official records, which, whilst they rarely provide details of the journey, at least give the names of some hundreds of Englishmen (or subjects of the English crown) who made the pilgrimage to Santiago in the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and a large number of ships which conveyed pilgrims thither in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The Close and Patent Rolls contain numerous letters in favour of intending pilgrims—protections, safe-conducts, letters of attorney, letters of credence, permission to leave the country, to take out money and horses or to use an impressed ship. They also contain, between 1361 and 1396, a few licences to masters or owners of ships to convey a specified number of pilgrims to St James in Galicia, but many more such licences are to be found among *the French* or *Treaty Rolls*[12] which are therefore the best source for a study of the sea-borne pilgrimage of the late fourteenth and much of the fifteenth centuries. All these documents entered on the Close, Patent and Treaty Rolls were, however, permissive; that is to say they were grants to those about to make the pilgrimage and may not therefore be regarded as proof incontrovertible that every journey envisaged was actually made but, subject to the reservation that some perhaps were not used, they may be taken as substantial evidence of pilgrimage accomplished.

The *Inquisitions Post Mortem*, on the other hand, contain statements by pilgrims of journeys actually made and, in some cases, are recorded in a church missal. In these Inquisitions there were many legal proofs of age of minors coming out of wardship and among the witnesses testifying before the escheator about the date of birth of the minor were many who did so by reference to their journey or occasionally that of a close relative) to Santiago. The reliability of these legal proofs has been discussed by Fowler, Martin and Stamp. Fowler, who examined some Essex proofs, noted that they presented features which «forbid

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12) The P.R.O. Treaty Rolls for the reigns of Henry V and Henry VI may be found calendared in the *Reports of the Deputy Keeper of Public Records*, XLIV, 1883, pp. 545-638 and XLVIII, 1887, pp. 217-450, (Calendars of French Rolls) but this calendar omits certain essential details of the pilgrim sailings such as names of ships, numbers permitted or duration of licences. It must therefore be supplemented from the manuscripts.

our receiving them as literal statements of fact». He observed that they had a common form, in that the manner of recalling the birth was closely similar in many statements to the escheator and so he formed the opinion that not all pieces of evidence were of equal value or credibility, but thought that there was nevertheless a substratum of fact.[13] Martin followed up Fowler's observations by comparing some Newcastle proofs from the mid-fifteenth century and found that some witnesses' testimony given in different inquiries tallied almost exactly. She also found an instance of the early fifteenth century where a witness testifies to his father's death having occurred on two different occasions.[14] Stamp carried the discussion one stage further by noting that Fowler and Martin each drew examples from within the same county and by quoting examples of tallying evidence in two different counties —Kent and Essex. He offered no theories about their genuineness, however, but merely observed that they occurred next to each other among a number of proofs which had every appearance of being genuine.[15] In the present context we are concerned, not with the important matter of proving the attainment of a minor's majority and so establishing his title to property, but with one type only of the various pieces of testimony given before the escheator —the statement that the witness (or someone closely connected with him) had made the pilgrimage to Santiago. It is evident that the panels conform to a general pattern but it is not inconceivable that among those empanelled it was customary to include someone who had taken part in a known event— a pilgrimage. Thus it does not seem justifiable to reject every statement of every witness on every point. Moreover some statements could have been verified at the time of their making for they contain corroborating details and others are confirmed by different Chancery entries.[16]

Other Chancery records such as the Welsh Rolls and Chancery warrants, and also other official records such as the Papal Registers and

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13) «Legal proofs of age», R.C. Fowler, *English Historical Review*, XXII, 1907, pp.101-103.

14) M.T. Martin, «Legal proofs of age», *Ibid*, pp. 526-527.

15) A.G. Stamp, «Legal proofs of age», *Ibid*, XXIX, 1914, pp. 323-324.

16) John Amory stated that he started on his pilgrimage (having enfeoffed his chaplains) on 2 February 1332; *CIPM*, X, nº 124. His letters of protection were enrolled ten days before that date; *CPR, 1330-1334* p. 232.

Black Prince's Register[17] contain occasional references to matters incidental to the pilgrim journey.

2. English Official Records: *b* Exchequer

Exchequer records, on the whole, throw little light on pilgrim journeys. Payments for licences are indeed to be found[18] but since the purpose for which the licences were sought is seldom recorded it is impossible to identify pilgrim licences as such.[19] Similarly payments for poundage on exchange transactions at the ports were seldom accompanied by details of the destination abroad of the traveller changing his money.[20]

There are, however, three specially valuable Exchequer documents. One is the expense account of John Sheppey, prior of Rochester, who in 1346 combined diplomatic mission with the Jacobean pilgrimage, which includes enough details to reveal the route which he took as far as Vitoria.[21] Another is the list of payments made by John Haytfield for the ships which took part in Lancaster's expedition to Galicia in 1386,[22] and the third is a Bristol Customs Account for 1396-1397.[23] These last two contain the names of some West Country ships which, in some years, served the pilgrim traffic and so help to identify the men who owned and sailed them and perhaps, in the case of the second document, to explain the absence of enrolled pilgrim ship licences for 1386.

3. Spanish narrative sources

Spanish sources do not include any personal descriptive accounts of journeys such as those of Purchas's Pilgrim or William Wey,[24] but of primary importance is the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* or *Codex Calixtinus.*[25]

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17) *Register of Edward the Black Prince*, 4 vols., London, 1930-1933.

18) Infra, p. 127, n. 134.

19) These were not always paid for in money; infra, p. 126.

20) PRO, Exchequer Accounts Various, E101/514/18,19.

21) *Ibid.*, E101/312/16.

22) *Ibid.*, E101/40/19.

23) PRO, Exchequer, K.R. Customs, E122/16/30.

24) Supra, p. 16, nn. 7,9.

25) *Liber Sancti Jacobi, Codex Calixtinus*, 2 vols. I. Texto, Transcripción de Walter Muir Whitehill; II. Música, Reproducción en fototipia seguida de la transcripción por Dom Ger-

The original manuscript of this is preserved in the archives of the cathedral of Santiago and there is a fourteenth-century copy in the British Museum.[26] It is a symposium consisting of five parts[27] which was written, according to the last words of the fifth part, «in Rome, Jerusalem, Italy, Germany, France, but chiefly at Cluny».[28] Its date and author ship have been much discussed. The author of the most recent study of these two problems[29] has concluded that its various parts were composed between 1135 and 1157 and that the whole collection reached its form in France shortly before 1160. Certain parts (the preface, some of the discourses, most of the miracles, the prologue to the Translation, a letter of comment on the Crusade of Spain and an assurance of the veracity of the last book, which is called the «Pilgrims' Guide») purported to be the work of Pope Calixtus II and thus gave the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* its alternative title of *Codex Calixtinus*. But the Pope is not usually credited with the authorship of these parts and an opinion which has gained readier acceptance[30] is that the compilation was the work of the donor of the manuscript, a Frenchman (probably a Poitevin), Aymery Picaud of Parthenay-le-Vieux, who, with his companion Giberga, a Flemish woman, brought the book to the Apostle's city by 1164.

Book I of the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* comprises gospel texts followed by discourses intended for use at Mass, Divine Office and in the refectory. Of these the discourse for the feast of the Translation of the body of St James from Jerusalem to Galicia (30 December), known from its

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man Prado, O.S.B., Santiago de Compostela, 1944. *Liber Sancti Jacobi, Codex Calixtinus*, Traducción por A. Moralejo, C. Torres y J. Feo, Santiago de Compostela, 1951. *Le Guide du Pèlerin de Saint Jacques de Compostelle, Translation into French of Book (part) Five, J. Vielliard, Mâcon, 1938.*

26) B.M. Add. Ms, 12,213.

27) These parts or books were numbered consecutively I-V until the XVIIth century when the original Book IV, the Chronicle of Turpin, was extracted by Canon Alonso Rodríguez León, archivist of the cathedral of Santiago and the original Book V, the «Pilgrims' Guide» became Book IV. In the transcription of W.M. Whitehill there are thus two Books IV, of which the second bears the alternative designation of Book V. No confusion arises with references, however, because of the continuous pagination fo the text. The translation into Castilian by Moralejo, Torres and Feo preserves the original numbering of the books.

28) *L.S.J.*, (Book IV), p. 389.

29) P. David, *Études sur le livre de Saint Jacques attribué au Pape Calixte II*, Tirage à part du Bulletin des études portugaises, Lisbonne, 1946.

30) R. Louis, «Le Codex Calixtinus», *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de France*, Paris, 1951-1952.

incipit as *Veneranda Dies,*[31] contains a wealth of material about the contemporary concept of pilgrimage and about the treatment of pilgrims during their journey and in the Apostle's city itself in the twelfth century.[32]

Book II contains short descriptions of twenty-two miracles or cures attributed to the intervention of St James; Book III describes the Translation of the saint's body to Galicia and Book IV, the Chronicle of Turpin (sometimes called the Pseudo-Turpin), is the legendary story of Charlemagne's liberation of Spain from the Muslims.

Book V, known as the «Pilgrims' Guide» and written, as its author said,[33] for the assistance of those intending to make the journey through France and across Spain, contains much practical advice and information for travellers: the roads through France and Spain, the stages of the journey, the names of some towns and townships on the way, the rivers whose water was safe or not safe to drink, the characteristics of the regions through which travellers would pass and of their inhabitants (including a small Basque vocabulary), some of the shrines on the pilgrim roads and the major features of the city of Santiago.

Contemporaneous with the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* was the *Historia Compostelana,*[34] the history of the city of Santiago up to the death of Archbishop Gelmírez (late 1139 or early 1140) compiled by French canons of the cathedral and a Spanish clerk.[35] It recorded the growth to fame of the city and was not directly concerned with the pilgrimage although this may be perceived in the background.

Spanish chronicles; some of which allude to the discovery of the Apostle's tomb,[36] have little to say about pilgrims or the pilgrimage nor

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31) *L.S.J.*, I, (Book I), pp. 141-176.

32) *Ibid.*, pp. 152-167.

33) *L.S.J.*, I, (Book IV), pp. 352-354.

34) *Historia Compostelana* in *España Sagrada*, ed. H. Flórez; XX, Madrid, 1765, pp. 1-613.

35) M. Defourneaux, *Les Français en Espagne aux XIième et XIIième et siècles*, París, 1949, p. 71, n. 3.

36) L. Vázquez de Parga, *P.S.J.*, I, pp. 28-29.

are there any descriptive accounts comparable with the English, French or German ones of the later Middle Ages.[37]

4. Spanish Official Records

With Spanish as with English sources therefore it is necessary to look to official records, ecclesiastical and secular. The most important of these have been classified and collected by L. Vázquez de Parga, J. M. Lacarra y J. Uría Riu in volume III (Apéndice, Bibliografía, Indices y Láminas) of *Las Peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela*[38] under the following heads:

a Documents relating to the history of the pilgrimage and of the route.

b *Safe-conducts, licences and assistance given to pilgrims.*

c Certificates of pilgrimage.

d Foundation documents and privileges of pilgrim hospices, hospitals and cemeteries.

e Documents illustrative of the organisation and administration of the above foundations.

f Visitation records and lists of pilgrims.

g Legal protection of pilgrims and ordinances and decrees governing the practice of pilgrimage.

h Itineraries and accounts written by pilgrims.

i Liturgical and literary texts.

Of these the most interesting and important for the study of the English pilgrimage are several late fourteenth-century safe-conducts granted to Englishmen by the Crown of Aragon and several entries in the account book of Queen Isabel's treasurer (Pedro de Toledo) recording money gifts to English pilgrims either in Santiago or on the road thither. In addition to these many official documents of the cathedral of Santiago were included by its archivist and historian, A. López Ferreiro, in the Appendices to his history of the basilica: *Historia de la S.A.M.*

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37) Supra, p. 16, nn. 5-11.

38) 3 vols., Madrid, 1948-1949.

Iglesia de Santiago de Compostela.[39] The records of the Hostal de los Reyes Católicos in Santiago[40] which received so many poor, sick and pilgrims have numerous admission lists, lists of pilgrims and wills but only from the early sixteenth century. Taken as a whole the evidence which these sources yield is sparse.

Municipal records, too, are sparse. The city archives of Santiago no longer possess the fifteenth-century *Consistorios* or *Actas del Ayuntamiento* (1416-1422) known to have been in their custody in the mid-nineteenth-century, although they have an almost unbroken series of these from the early sixteenth century until the present day, many of which reveal the pilgrimage as an important annual event. In Corunna most of the municipal archives perished in Drake's firing of the port in 1589 but an important collection of mediaeval town charters has survived— the *Indice de Privilegios*, now housed in the Town Hall of Corunna. This collection contains numerous royal grants in favour of Corunna and certain other Castilian ports and two of the grants, numbers 26 and 30, reveal the presence of English ships in Castilian ports in 1398 and 1408 respectively. The third grant, an agreement of 1456 between the Municipality of Corunna and certain Bristol magnates[41], testifies to the close links between Bristol, the port from which so many English pilgrims sailed, and Corunna, their port of disembarkation.

5. Secondary Works

The foremost of the secondary works on the pilgrimage is the monumental symposium of L. Vázquez de Parga, J. M. Lacarra y J. Uría Ríu, *Las peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela*, in which is assembled most of the existing knowledge of the subject in the historical, artistic, literary, topographical, architectural and medical fields and which contains a selection of printed narrative sources and official records covering many aspects of the Jacobean pilgrimage.[42] In *Le Pèlerinage de Compostelle*[43] E. Lambert has examined the various religious orders

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39) 11 vols., Santiago, 1898-1909.

40) Now in the custody of the University of Santiago and in the process of classification.

41) Text in Appendix IV, pp. 193-196.

42) In vol. III, Apéndice, Bibliografía, Indices y Láminas.

43) E. Lambert, *Le Pèlerinage de Compostelle*, (Études d'Histoire médiévale), Paris, 1959.

and confraternities which contributed to the development of the pilgrim roads, the numerous pilgrim routes through France and across the Pyrenees, the evolution of the great hospice of Roncesvalles and the art and architecture of churches along the roads. M. Defourneaux in *Les Français en Espagne aux XI^ème et XII^ème siècles*[44] has discussed the important role of Frenchmen in the Spanish peninsula, their place in the Reconquest, the part played by Cluny and Cîteaux, the links between France and Spain forged by the pilgrimage, the Reconquest, old political alliances, and the influence of the Chansons de Geste on Spanish mediaeval literature. The work of A. López Ferreiro[45] remains the fullest history of the cathedral of Santiago and that of G. G. King[46] the fullest description of the pilgrim routes across Spain with all the pilgrim churches, remembered and forgotten.

For the commercial aspect of the pilgrimage from the mid-fourteenth century onwards —the pilgrim traffic— the study of E. M. Carus-Wilson of the trade of Bristol in the later Middle Ages[47] enables the Bristol share of the traffic to be seen in perspective as part of that city's foreign trade with Spain (conducted directly), and the political and maritime background against which the pilgrim sailings took place between 1368 and 1463 is examined by L. Suárez Fernández in his study of the maritime policies of the Trastamaran kings.[48]

Apart from these, numerous primary sources and secondary works either contain only single references or else deal with one special aspect of the pilgrimage. They appear in the footnotes to the text but do not seem to call for comment here or inclusion in the select bibliography.

The full history of the mediaeval Jacobean pilgrimage can only come, as one of its foremost scholars has observed, from the collaboration

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44) Paris, 1949.

45) A. López Ferreiro, *Historia de la S.A.M. Iglesia de Santiago de Compostela*, 11 vols., Santiago, 1898-1909.

46) G.G. King, *The Way of St. James*, 3 vols. New York, 1920.

47) E.M. Carus-Wilson, *Mediaeval Merchant Venturers*, 1954, Chapter 1; see also this author's *The Overseas Trade of Bristol in the Later Middle Ages*, Bristol Record Society Publications, VII, 1937.

48) L. Suárez Fernández, *Navegación y comercio en el Golfo de Viscaya, un estudio sobre la política marinera de la casa de Trastámara*, Madrid, 1959.

of those nations who took an active part in it,[49] and all that this brief study can hope to achieve is a beginning to the story of those English men and women of the Middle Ages who undertook the long journey by land through France and Spain or faced the storms of the Bay of Biscay to visit the place which English mediaeval scribes often called «St James in Gales».

49) L. Vázquez de Parga, *P.S.J.*, I, pp. 5,40.

1.

SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA: THE SAINT, HIS SHRINE AND HIS CULT

1. Santiago

THE story of St James[1] begins in the New Testament where, among the Apostles, were two men of that name: St James Zebedeus, called the Great and St James Alpheus, called the Less, perhaps because of his smaller stature, perhaps because of his youth. St James the Great, future patron of Spain and his brother St John the Evangelist, were the sons of Zebedee and Salome (sometimes also called Mary). St James was some years older than his brother and about twelve years older than Christ. They were natives of Galilee, possibly kinsmen of Christ and fishermen like their father and probably lived at Bethsaida. According to the gospel of St. Matthew the call to their mission came shortly after that of St Peter and St Andrew when, with their father, Zebedee, St James and St John were mending their nets on the shores of the sea of Galilee. At Christ's call they left their nets, followed the Master and listened to his teaching but returned occasionally to their fisherman's trade. They were present with their partners, Peter and Andrew, at the miraculous draught of fishes and this manifestation of divine power seems to have determined them to attach themselves permanently to Christ. They witnessed other miracles such as the cure of St Peter's mother-in-law and the raising of Jairus's daughter, and were present at the Transfiguration and the Agony in the Garden. Their zeal (or perhaps their anger at their Master's rejection by the Samaritans) earned from Him their title of Boanerges, Sons Of Thunder, and their ambition, or perhaps that of their mother, for a place in «the Kingdom», earned them the anger of their fellow Apostles and an illuminating rebuke from their Master that, whatever they felt ready to share of His sufferings, the reward was in his Father's giving.

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1) The salients facts of the saint's life are as given in A. Butler, *The Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs and other principal Saints*, ed. B. Kelly, 5 vols. 6th edition, 1949-1951, II, pp. 834-838.

Little is known of St James's work after the Ascension but apparently he left Judea some time after the persecution in which St Stephen met his death, and returned about a decade later to Jerusalem to meet his own at the hands of Herod Agrippa about 43 A.D. According to St Jerome's catalogue of illustrious men he preached to the Jews of the diaspora and in this obscure decade might have reached Spain with whose evangelisation he is credited, according to Spanish tradition. As Butler puts it: «That he preached there is constantly affirmed by the tradition of that church, mentioned by St Isidore, the Breviary of Toledo, the Arabic books of Anastatius, Patriarch of Antioch, concerning the Passion of the Martyrs and others».[2]

Around the obscure ten years between the Ascension and the martyrdom of St James in 43 A.D. various legends grew up and by the twelfth century there was a composite «Legend of St James» whose commonest elements were recorded in a work of that century, the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* or *«Book of St James»,* now in the archives of the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela.[3]

According to the legend, St James, accompanied by some disciples went to Spain to spread the gospel but, his evangelising labours having borne little fruit, he returned to Jerusalem. His teaching and miracles attracted the anger of Agrippa under whose rule he was beheaded and his body left unburied. His execution is recorded in the New Testament[4] and his courage and constancy during his trial and execution were commented upon by Clement of Alexandria and Eusebius.[5] By night (as the tradition has), his disciples recovered the body and carried it to the seashore where they found a ship ready moored but unmanned. Guided by some unseen power the ship set sail, voyaged for seven days and finally put in to the port of Iria (now Padrón) on the north-west coast of Spain in territory ruled by a pagan queen, Lupa. The disciples asked for a piece of land in which to give their master seemly burial but the queen, instead of granting their request, sent them to a neighbouring king who, out of dislike for Christians, cast them into prison.

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2) Butler, *op. cit.*, II, p. 837.

3) Supra, pp. 19-22.

4) Acts of the Apostles, XII, 1-2.

5) Butler, *op. cit.*, pp. 837-838.

Released by an angel, they fled from the kingdom with the king's army in pursuit, but were saved from capture when the pursuing army were drowned as the bridge which they were crossing collapsed. The disciples then returned to Queen Lupa and told the story of their rescue from imprisonment and the fate of the king's soldiers. She gave them permission to go to a neighbouring mountain to find oxen which they were to yoke to a cart and bring the body of their master into her domains. On the way they encountered a dragon which they destroyed and when they reached the mountain they found that the «oxen» were wild bulls which, however, they tamed and yoked to the cart and bore the Apostle's body to Queen Lupa's palace. Convinced by such happenings the queen was converted to Christianity and granted the disciples the land for which they had asked. On this land, sometimes known as Libredón (Liberum donum), the disciples laid the body of the saint in a marble tomb and over it built a small oratory. Shortly afterwards two others, either disciples or guardians of the tomb, were buried beside the saint.

Such is the tradition. Whether or not assent should be given to all the details of the story from the Ascension of Christ to the burial of the saint in this obscure corner of Galicia must remain a matter of opinion. Little clear indication of St James's preaching or his presence in Spain can be found among early writings even of such authorities as St Julian of Toledo (second half of the seventh century) although he is mentioned by an Englishman, Adhelm of Malmesbury (ca. 709). For when Adhelm composed his fourteen poems for the altars dedicated to Our Lady and the Apostles, he included in the dedication of St James's altar the words «Primitus Hispaniae convertit gentes».[6] But the tradition of St James's attempted evangelisation of Spain and of his burial there remain firmly rooted in the church in Spain to-day and therefore, whatever the foundations of that tradition, its existence and the events which stemmed from that existence cannot be disregarded as historical facts.

Between the entombment of the saint and the discovery, in the ninth century, of what was accepted as his tomb, the face of the world was profoundly changed. Christianity, a persecuted religion until the time of Constantine, spread throughout the Roman Empire and finally

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6) *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina*, ed. J.P. Migne, París, 1844-1864, vol. 89, col. 293. (Poema de Aris Beatae Mariae et duodecim Apostolis dedicatis).

became the official Imperial religion. With the fall of the Empire, Spain, its richest province, lay open to the Germanic tribes: the Suevi who went westward into Galicia, the Vandals who took the richest lands of the south and the Alans who went to the east and the south-west. Their lack of unity made their conquest short lived and they, in their turn, were overcome by the more civilised and Christian (Arian) Visigoths who, from their capital, Toulouse, crossed the Pyrenees to take Barcelona in the early fifth century (414), defeated the Alans a few years later, drove the Vandals across the straits and subdued the Suevi by 456. By the end of the fifth century the Visigothic monarchy had restored unity to Spain but failed to maintain that unity since, on the one hand the monarchy was elective and therefore coveted by ambitious nobles some of whom sought support from without (Byzantium in the sixth century, Morocco in the eighth) and, on the other hand, the conquerors were Arian and the conquered Catholic. Ultimately, in the early eighth century, one of the numerous rebellions of nobles against an unwanted successor (Achila, son of Wittiza who died in 710) brought about civil war and the end of the Visigothic kingdom, for Achila had sought help from the Arabs in Morocco whose leader sent a small reconnaissance force in 710 which was followed the next year by an invading army.

In the conquest which resulted most of Spain came under Muslim domination, although in the north, in the region of the Asturias, behind the Cantabrian mountains, a nucleus of Christians entrenched themselves to keep alive the Visigothic tradition and form the inspiration and spearhead of the Reconquest whose first victory they won at Covadonga in 718 under a leader, Pelayo, who was subsequently elected king. For the most part, however, the Muslim occupation was confined to the richer southern half of Spain and the harsher north was a noman's land across which incursions and border forays were made for booty rather than for settlement. It was after about a century and a half of such co-existence that there occurred the strange event known as the discovery of the tomb of St James.[7]

Towards the middle of the ninth century, Teodomiro, bishop of Iria-Flavia, was informed of certain lights and singing over a thickly

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7) The story of the translation and discovery of the saint's body appears in a variety of texts which have been compared and analysed in L. Vázquez de Parga, *P.S.J.*, I, pp. 193-200.

wooded hill in Galicia between the rivers Sar and Sarela. Guided by local hermits and shepherds, the bishop, with his companions, visited the place and, after the undergrowth had been cleared, there was discovered a small oratory containing three tombs, one of slightly earlier date than the others and all holding remains. The earliest was declared to be that of St James and the others were thought to be those of his companions, saints Theodore and Anastatius. The king of the Asturias, Alfonso II (791-842), ordered the building of a small church of stone and clay[8] over the tomb and this was replaced by a grander one which the bishop of Iria-Flavia, Sisnando, began in the reign of Alfonso III (866-909). The news of the discovery of the saint's tomb began to spread through the kingdom of the Asturias and incidental references to the saint, his tomb and his church appeared in royal grants of 885 and 893.[9] His reputation was enhanced too by the story, current within a few years of the finding of the tomb, that he was present in person at the battle of Clavijo (near Logroño, in the Ebro valley) assisting the king of the Asturias, Ramiro I, in the struggle against the Moors and himself slaying many.[10] Whatever the facts, the title of Moorslayer (Matamoros) was given to St James and remained with him during the centuries of the Reconquest and «¡Santiago y cierra España!»[11] became the battle-cry of the Christian armies and even crossed the Atlantic on the lips of the Conquistadores. In gratitude for the Apostle's aid in routing the Muslims Ramiro I issued a decree from Calahorra that all Spain reconquered should give an annual tribute in perpetuity of first fruits of harvest and vintage to the church of Santiago.[12] This tax, the «Voto de Santiago» was paid at various times during the Middle Ages and at their close was subjected to critical examination.[13]

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8) *España Sagrada*, ed. E. Flórez, XIV, Madrid, 1758, p. 439.

9) A. López Ferreiro, *Historia*, II, Apéndices XVII, pp. 32-33, XXI, pp. 38-39.

10) For the story of this batle and comments on its place in the Santiago legend see T.D. Kendrick, *Saint James in Spain*, London, 1960, pp. 18-23; W. Starkie, *The Road to Santiago*, London, 1957, pp. 23-25.

11) «St. James! Close with the foe, Spain!» rather than «St. James and close Spain» according to the interpretation of M. Rabanal Alvarez, «Notas filológicas sobre «Santiago y cierra España», *Compostellanum, Sección de Estudios Jacobeos*, vol. II, Santiago 1957, pp. 181-197.

12) This would not apply to the Spanish March (Old Catalonia) conquered between 785 and 865 by Charlemagne and his successors and so part of the Carolingian Empire.

13) For a discussion of the *Voto* see T.D. Kendrick, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-38.

Apart from incidental references such as those mentioned above,[14] the earliest direct statement about the church was made by a chronicler of the tenth-eleventh century, Sampiro, who recorded that Alfonso III had the small church (built by Alfonso II over the body of the holy Apostle, St James) demolished and replaced by a finer one of stone with marble columns.[15] By the tenth century the fame of the pilgrimage had spread eastwards through northern Spain and across the Pyrenees. Early in that century the clergy and people of Tours were sufficiently interested in the Apostle's tomb to ask Alfonso III for details of the story, and these he gave in a letter of 906.[16] In the second half of the century pilgrims were coming from both Catalonia and France: Gotescalc, bishop of Puy, made the journey in 950,[17] Abbot Cesareo of Montserrat in 959[18] and Hugh of Vermandois, bishop of Rheims in 961.[19] The reasons for this spread of the pilgrimage beyond the frontiers of Spain are to be found in the changing political and military fortunes of both Arabs and Christians within the Spanish peninsula.

Within a half-century of their irruption into the Visigothic kingdom the invaders, a mixture of Berbers, Arabs and Syrians, were quarrelling over the spoils of conquest. Moreover, as the result of a revolution in Arabia, which substituted a secular caliphate for a religious one, the links between Al Andalus (Muslim Spain) and Damascus were severed and a separate Emirate of Cordoba established. Thereafter successive Emirs of Cordoba alternated between a policy of expediency or aggression: Abd Al Rahman II (822-852) concluded truces with the Christians of the north, Abd Al Rahman III (912-961) sacked their cities to check their advance south. By 939, however, the end of Muslim power was foreshadowed when Muslim forces were broken before Simancas, a Christian victory which, although it did not go unavenged, was a milestone in the Reconquest.

The Christians, save for those in the lands liberated by the Carolingian rulers and incorporated into their empire,[20] had remained at

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14) Supra, p. 33, n. 9.

15) *España Sagrada*, ed. H. Flórez, XIV, Madrid, 1758, p. 439.

16) For its authencity see L. Vázquez de Parga, *P.S.J.* I, p. 36.

17) *Ibid*, p. 42.

18) *Ibid*, p. 43.

19) *Ibid*, pp. 44-45.

20) Supra p. 18, n. 12

first in their mountain stronghold, their own dissensions as well as their numerical inferiority preventing any effective counter-attack; but by the early tenth century (914), they had established themselves south of the Cantabrian mountains as the kingdom of León with their capital in the city of that name, whence they raided Muslim territory. From the kingdom of León was to emerge the county of Castile, the land of border castles, subject at first to León but soon to become an independent monarchy with its first capital at Burgos, one of its own castles, founded in 882. From Castile was to derive later much of the thrust of the Reconquest but at the end of the tenth century it was from Navarre, the land of Basque peoples stretching on either side of the Pyrenees, that movement came.

Sancho «the Great» of Navarre (970-1035) was able, partly by marriage alliance, partly by the murder of his brother-in-law, the last count of Castile (in the struggle between the kingdom of León and the county of Castile, now aspiring to be a monarchy) to extend his dominions westwards to the borders of Galicia. His expansionist policy, by requiring roads and castles for military purposes[21] opened and helped to keep safe the route to the west, the «way of St James». Pilgrims could therefore travel more securely to the shrine and the developing cult of the Apostle both inspired the Reconquest and drew strength from it. Territorial expansion, however, was not the only contribution of Sancho «the Great». Navarre, his own kingdom, stretched on either side of the Pyrenees and so looked out on both France and the other Peninsular kingdoms. He invited into his domains monks of the recently reformed Benedictine order, Cluniacs, who introduced into Spanish religious houses the reforms already known in Burgundy, founded hospices for pilgrims along the pilgrim roads, forged important links with the Apostle's city, provided it with bishops and ultimately drew it into closer contact with Rome.

Nevertheless the threat from Islam was not yet banished, nor even the Apostle's city itself secure for in the last quarter of the tenth century there arose one of the greatest warriors of the Caliphate of Cordoba. Mohammed ben Abi Abner, better known as Al Manzor («the Victorious»), sacked the city of St. James in 997, razed everything to the

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21) L. Vázquez de Parga, *P.S.J.*, II, p. 17.

ground except the small oratory which held the saint's tomb[22] and forced Christian captives to carry the church bells of Santiago cathedral to Cordoba to serve as lamps in the mosque, where they remained until carried back by Muslim captives when Fernando III (1217-1252) reconquered the Muslim capital. This outrage, however, marked the ebb-tide of Muslim power (Al Manzor, the last of his kind, died in 1002) and with it the fragmentation of Al Andalus into taifas or petty kingdoms was never again strong enough to keep the Christians in subjection.

The eleventh century opened with the re-building of church and city, the former consecrated in the year of Almanzor's death, the latter fortified by Bishop Cresconio (1037-1066). Against the background of a collapsing Caliphate the taifas warred among themselves; even Cordoba itself was sacked in a revolt of 1031 and four years later the kingdom of Castile was born with Fernando I as its first king. Despite the difficulties which came of the division of his realms by his father (Sancho «the Great»), Fernando took the offensive and his work was continued by Alfonso I of Castile and VI of León (1072-1109) who carried his armies south to Cordoba and Seville and even to Tarifa, the original landing place of the Muslim invaders. Support was given to the Christian cause by the Papal proclamation of the «Crusade of Spain» in 1063. The Reconquest was to be regarded by western Europe as a holy war and, following this proclamation, Frenchmen and Italians came to fight in it.[23] After the re-capture of the ancient Visigothic capital (Toledo) in 1085 fresh Muslim forccs arrived from Morocco. These were recently converted Berbers, the Almorávides («vowed to God») who inflicted reverses but did not succeed in re-taking Toledo. The changing fortunes of the Christian cause are nowhere better typified than in the career of the great epic hero, Ruy Díaz de Bivar (El Cid) who at one time served his sovereign, Alfonso VI (Alfonso I of Castile) and at another fought on behalf of the Muslim king of Zaragoza and at yet a third reduced Valencia as an independent conqueror.

Meanwhile the cult of the Apostle grew steadily; the pilgrim routes became more frequented; the pilgrimages of archbishops and nobles

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22) R. Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne, jusqu'à la conquête de l'Andalousie par les Almoravides, 711-1100*, 4 tom., Leyde, 1861, III, p. 234.

23) M. Defourneaux, *Les Français en Espagne aux XI*ième *et XII*ième *siecles*. Paris, 1949, pp. 125-193. (Chap. III, «Les Croisades d'Espagne»).

added lustre to the cult and in 1075 a new basilica was started in the episcopate of Don Diego Peláez. The encouragement of the Cluniacs by Sancho «the Great» bore fruit in the election to the see of Iria-Flavia of Dalmatius, a former Cluniac visitor in Spain. Dalmatius attended the Council of Clermont (1095) and, in the consecration ceremonies over which Urban II presided, himself consecrated an altar to St James. At Clermont he petitioned the Pope for official transference of his see to Santiago because Iria-Flavia, originally an Imperial see, had long been in decline whereas the Apostle's city had so grown in fame and importance that the bishops of Iria-Flavia had fixed their residence there and had even referred to it as «Apostolic See».[24] Urban II granted the petition and in 1095 Santiago was officially recognised as a bishopric.[25]

Both the course of the Reconquest and the growth of the pilgrimage were reflected in the «fueros» or grants made to settlers in the latter part of this century. Some settlers were Christians who had lived in the south under Muslim rule (Mozárabes) but had fled from the persecution of the Almorávides. Others came from France and elsewhere beyond the Pyrenees but since many appear in the «fueros» as «franci» (foreigners or perhaps merely free settlers) it is not always clear whence they came unless they are referred to as «francigeni» (French) or unless the quarters in which they settled bore French names[26]. Settlements appeared on or near the pilgrim roads at Jaca, Puente de la Reina (founded in 1090 by Sancho Ramírez expressly for those of French stock), Sangüesa, Nájera, Santo Domingo de la Calzada, Burgos, Villafranca del Bierzo and these, if they owed their existence to the Reconquest, repaid the debt by contributing to the development of the pilgrim road: the *camino de Santiago*. Such settlements were, in fact, the repopulating aspect of the pilgrimage and had their counterparts on the other side of the Pyrenees.[27]

The increasing influx of pilgrims and the developing towns and townships of the pilgrim route linked Christian Spain with Europe and

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24) Bishop Cresconio had in fact been excommunicated for unauthorised use of the title at the Council of Rheims in 1049: A. López Ferreiro, *Historia*, II, pp. 482-483.

25) *Historia Compostelana* in *España Sagrada*, XX, p. 254-255.

26) M. Defourneaux, *op. cit.*, p. 251 for a discussion of these two terms in «fueros».

27) C. Higounet, «Les chemins de Saint Jacques et les sauvetés de Gascogne», *Annales du Midi*, LXIII, 1951, pp. 293-304.

contributed to the economic and commercial expansion of the Peninsula. According to various authorities quoted by Lacarra[28] commercial relationships were established, Spanish goods (copperware) were sold in Europe by the eleventh century and markets and fairs, some of them new settlements, were supplying the needs of an expanding economy.

It was during this phase of the development of cult and pilgrimage that St James's city acquired the second half of its title (de Compostela). In documents earlier than the eleventh century it was commonly referred to as *Sanctus Jacobus* but from the mid-century onwards it was sometimes given the name *urbs compostelana or urbs compostella* or simply *compostella.*[29] This, according to Canon Portela Pazos, after examination of a suggestion of Professor Pierre David and some evidence relevant to it,[30] was because the new city, built after the raid of Al Manzor, was a well-laid-out and graciously adorned place: *urbs composta. Composta* (a contraction of *composita*) and the suffix *—ella,* with its connotation of size, dignity and affection, would have given rise (according to the normal rules of contraction) to *Compostella* and, in Galicia, to *Compostela.* Such a suggestion seems to have sounder phonetic and semantic bases than the two other derivations proffered— *Campus Stellae* (Field of the Star) and *Compos(i)tum Tellus* (Burial place); for the former, apart from postulating a most unlikely vowel change, is an inaccurate title. The tomb was found in a thicket not in a field and there were lights over it, not a star.[31] The latter, *Compos(i)tum*, with a suffix *-ellum*, would have evolved to give *Compostelo.* It would appear, therefore, that this new name of the eleventh century designated the new city of Bishop Cresconio which, in the following century, was greatly enlarged and embellished and subsequently acquired its double title with both names: Santiago de Compostela.

2. de Compostela

In the twelfth century the pilgrimage passed through a phase which, in the opinion of a French historian, merits the title of «Golden Age»[32].

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28) J.M. Lacarra, *P.S.J.*, I. p. 491-492.

29) S. Portela Pazos, *«Origen del topónimo Compostelas», Compostellanum, Sección de Estudios Jacobeos*, II, Santiago, 1957, pp. 334-335.

30) *Ibid*, pp. 331-345.

31) *Ibid*, p.339.

32) M. Defourneaux, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

The Reconquest went on its course. The crusading zeal and martial energies of the Almorávides flagged, weakened by the material comforts of Al Andalus and the rise to prominence in Morocco of another group of Muslim warriors, the Almohades («unitarians»). Zaragoza fell to the Christians in 1118 and in 1146 the Almohades, coming from the Atlas mountains to the coast, crossed, like their predecessors, to conquer. Within a few years most of the taifas were in subjection and in 1195 the Christian forces were defeated at Alarcos (near Badajoz) —a defeat to be finally avenged within two decades. In the west the count of Portugal, Afonso Henriques, grandson of Alfonso VI and son of the Henry of Burgundy whom Alfonso had rewarded with the county of Portugal for his aid in the recapture of Toledo, extended his control southwards over lands loosely held by Muslims and, in 1143, was recognised as king. Just as the northern kingdoms had obtained help in the Reconquest from strangers across the Pyrenees and had allowed them to colonise the pilgrim route, so too Portugal, with her long western seaboard, accepted help from seafaring Crusaders, Englishmen among them, who, on their way to the Holy Land, visited the Apostle's shrine, fought in the siege of Lisbon of 1147 and, in some cases, remained as settlers in the new king's domains thus establishing England's links with Portugal.[33]

In the early part of the century the see of Santiago was occupied by one of its greatest bishops, Don Diego Gelmírez (1100-1139), elected on his return from Rome in 1100, a native of Galicia but French in outlook.[34] Despite the turbulence of the age manifold activities marked his episcopate (subsequently archepiscopate). He strove to make his see the premier one of Spain and, although he never obtained for it the primacy, he succeeded in making it a rival of Toledo. Additions were made to the interior of the cathedral, churches were restored, hospitals founded, civic works undertaken (some for the benefit of pilgrims), diocesan administration was improved and reform of the clergy initiated. Four years after his election he re-visited Rome and obtained from Pascal II the privilege of wearing the pallium, insignia of an archbishop and sign of loyalty to Rome. He also secured Papal recognition for the institution of seven cardinal priests, privileged to celebrate Mass at the

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33) H.A.R. Gibb, «English Crusaders in Portugal», *Chapters in Anglo-Portuguese Relations*, ed. E. Prestage, Watford, 1935, p. 22.

34) «Espagnol afrancesado» according to M. Defourneaux, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

Apostle's altar and to wear mitres like those of the Roman cardinals. He is also credited with having obtained for his basilica the special favour of a Jubilee Year, that is the granting of certain indulgences and remissions of sins (usually the prerogative of Rome) in those years in which the feast of St James (25 July) fell on a Sunday. This, however, according to the foremost authority on the history of the cathedral, is not satisfactorily documented[35] for the grant is merely inferential from a later Bull of Alexander III, «Regis Aeterni», of 1179 which is suspect and exists only in a fifteenth-century copy.

Bishop Gelmírez's hope of raising Santiago to the status of archbishopric was not fulfilled, however, until 1120, during the pontificate of Calixtus II (before his elevation Guy of Burgundy, archbishop of Vienne and brother of Raymond, count of Galicia whose Chancellor Gelmírez had been). The granting of metropolitan status to Santiago brought its archbishop into conflict with the Cluniac primate, Bernard de Sédirac, who, as occupant of the older Visigothic see of Toledo, claimed authority over the Apostle's see whereas it was under the direct protection of Rome.[36]

The basilica entered upon its second great period during the lifetime of Gelmírez. Don Diego Peláez had started fresh building in 1075 and in the first half of the following century the altar of St James was enlarged, work was begun on the cloister and the south front (the *Puerta de las Platerías*) and, because of a revolution of 1116-1117, the cathedral was fortified. When Aymery Picaud (who compiled the Liber Sancti Jacobi)[37] saw the basilica it was a vast structure with nine naves, three major and six minor ones.

The major naves occupied the whole height of the building and extended from the north, south and west doors to the pillars under the lantern, and the apse held the great chapel of San Salvador. Each major

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35) A. López Ferreiro, *Historia*, IV, Apéndice LIV, pp. 138-139. A list of the indulgences appears in the Register of the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds during the abbacy of Abbot Curteys (1429-1446), B.M. Add. Ms, 7096, fol. 116 but this does not illuminate the date of their origin.

36) *Documentación pontificia hasta Inocencio III (965-1216)*, ed. D. Mansilla, Instituto Español de Estudios Eclesiásticos, Roma, 1955, p. 107.

37) Supra p. 20.

nave had two minor ones about half the height of the building and above them were six more minor ones in the triforium. There were chapels in the apse, above the altar of St James and in the triforium. There were three main doors one on each of the three fronts (south, west and north) and seven smaller ones of which one also gave access to the Archbishop's palace. Beyond the north door, the one used by pilgrims from France, was the road leading to the pilgrims' hospice and, off the road, in a small open space, a «paradisus» to which nine steps went down, was a fine fountain (the work of «Bernardo, tesorero de Santiago») with a stone basin which had a bronze column in the centre and four lions from whose mouths gushed water to slake the thirst of weary pilgrims and save them from the rapacity of innkeepers.[38] All the cathedral doors had magnificent sculpture: on the north door was a Christ in majesty with the four Evangelists and other Biblical subjects; on the south was the arrest of Christ, His scourging and appearance before Pilate and on the west (which Aymery found the most beautiful)[39] was the Transfiguration.[40]

The basilica had nine towers and numerous altars. Beneath the high altar, in a marble tomb, was the body of the Apostle and over it a fine altar with a frontal of wrought silver and before the altar three lamps burning. This was the shrine which so many had come so far to seek and before which they kept watch on the vigil of the saint's feast. The building had occupied much of the twelfth century and towards its close the west door which Aymery described was replaced by Master Matthew's famous *Puerta de la Gloria* and early in the next century the seal was set on the work by the formal ceremony of consecration in the presence of Alfonso IX of León, a patron and protector of pilgrims.

The «Golden Age» of the pilgrimage was marked by a literary output both religious and secular appropriately exemplified by the *Historia Compostelana*, the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*,[41] the *Poema de mio Cid* and

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38) *Historia Compostelana* in *España Sagrada*, XX, p. 370.

39) *L.S.J.*,I, (Book IV), p. 382.

40) This door was subsequently replaced by that of Master Matthew (see next paragraph) begun in 1188 and fragments of his magnificent work described by Aymery, may be seen in the present crypt of the west door, the «catedral vieja».

41) These two works have already been mentioned in connection with source material, supra pp. 19-21.

the philosophical writings of Averroes. The *Historia Compostelana*, inspired by Don Diego Gelmírez, was the expression of the great archbishop's pride in his see whose story it told up to the time of his death in the cathedral in 1139. The *Liber Sancti Jacobi* was the contribution of a Frenchman who had followed the well frequented routes, knew the city and intended to honour the saint, promote his cult and help others who were to visit his shrine.[42] Both these works contributed to the advancement of the cult just as the architects and sculptors of the century added to the beauties and the fame of the cathedral.

The process of repopulation of the eleventh century gathered momentum in the twelfth and to the earlier settlements[43] others were added: Pamplona, Santo Domingo de la Calzada, León and in Santiago itself. The numbers of «fueros» granted in the twelfth century far exceeded that of the eleventh although they did not reach their maximum until the thirteenth.[44]

It was during the twelfth century that English interest in the shrine became manifest and several Englishmen made the pilgrimage: Ansgot of Burwell, Henry, bishop of Winchester, Patrick, earl of Salisbury, Hugh, earl of Chester, Saint Godric and others of whom little is known save that they failed to appear before the king's court because they had gone to Santiago.[45] The archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Becket, evidently held the shrine in great esteem and believed in the healing powers of St James for he recommended the pilgrimage to a woman possessed of the devil.[46] Henry II, in expiation for his part in the murder of Becket, promised to make a pilgrimage at the Pope's choice to Rome, Jerusalem or Santiago.[47] The course of the Reconquest and the work of Archbishop Gelmírez, with all that flowed from them, had elevated the Apostle's shrine to the front rank of the shrines

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42) Supra p. 19.

43) Supra, p. 37-38.

44) The numbers as given by W.C. Atkinson, *A History of Spain and Portugal*, London (Pelican edition), 1960, p. 83 are: 45 in the XIth century, 210 in the XIIth and 310 in the XIIIth.

45) A list of English pilgrims appears in Appendix I, pp. 157-169 and some are mentioned in the groups considered in chapter 5, pp. 131-153.

46) *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum*, Hanover, vol. XXVIII, 1885, p. 34.

47) J.J. Jusserand, *English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages*, London, 1920, (second edition), p. 352.

of Christendom, to a place beside the two great older shrines: proof, if any were needed, that the pilgrimage of St James had indeed reached its «Golden Age».

The thirteenth century witnessed the final stages of the Reconquest but not yet the unification of the Peninsular kingdoms. The disaster of Alarcos (at the end of the previous century) was avenged in 1212 when a combined force from León, Castile and Navarre won the victory of Las Navas de Tolosa. Thereafter the taifas were annexed in succession: León took Badajoz, Castile took Cordoba, Murcia and Seville and Aragon had Valencia. All that remained of Al Andalus was the Kingdom of Granada with its coastline stretching from Gibraltar to Almería. The taking of Cordoba and Seville were of particular importance for possession of the former avenged the outrage to the Apostle's city in 997[48] and the stolen bells were returned on the backs of Muslim captives; whilst the latter provided Castile with a southern seaboard and a naval base in which she was to build up a fleet by the following century. The Reconquest now became an offensive to be carried across the straits of Morocco but not yet an offensive of the whole Peninsula for, by the treaty of 1291, Castile and Aragon each had a separate sphere of influence.

Repopulation continued as more of Al Andalus was established under Christian rule and the grants of settlement («fueros») attained their maximum in this century.[49] Commercial and economic expansion continued too with imports of Flemish and English cloth into Cantabrian and Basque ports and exports of wool, skins, horses and wheat.[50] Trade with European countries increased and merchants from Galicia frequented the fairs of Champagne.[51]

In Galicia the seal was set on the work of Gelmírez and his successors by the consecration of the basilica in 1211 in the presence of Alfonso IX of León, patron and protector of pilgrims.[52] About four years

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48) Supra p. 35.

49) W.C. Atkinson, *loc. cit.*

50) A. Castro, «Unas aranceles de aduanas del siglo XIII», *Revista de Filología Española*, VIII, 1921, pp. 1-29.

51) J.M. Lacarra, *P.S.J.* I, p. 491.

52) His grant of protection is preserved in the archives of Santiago Cathedral, L. Vázquez de Parga, J.M. Lacarra y J. Uría Ríu, *P.S.J.* III, pp. 109-110.

before this a less spectacular event occurred which set the pilgrimage in a different light. It had become established custom over the centuries that the cathedral of St. James should remain open during the night for pilgrims to seek shelter and watch before the altar of the saint. The presence of a varied throng, however, had given rise to scuffles and even brawls over rights of precedence to keep watch. In some cases there had been bloodshed and, as this desecrated the church, it had become necessary at times to close it for re-consecration.[53] So frequent had been these occurrences that the archbishop had sought advice from Innocent III and was permitted by him to substitute a shorter, simpler ceremony of purification for the older, more elaborate form of re-consecration. Whether or not this change of procedure justifies the interpretation of Vázquez de Parga that the character of the pilgrimage was showing signs of deterioration by the thirteenth century[54] it is at least consistent with Powicke's view of the Crusades at the same time: that the ideal was growing dimmer and its expression becoming a formality; that the fact and the symbol were going their separate ways.[55] Yet if pilgrims sometimes forsook their pristine ideals their hosts also exploited them and Castilian and Leonese monarchs found it necessary to formulate detailed decrees for the protection of pilgrims and for severe punishment of those who infringed the decrees[56] and nothing less than Papal intervention served to check the traffic in spurious scallop-shells (the emblem of the pilgrimage) sold in various parts of Spain and even in Gascony and purporting to have originated in Galicia.[57]

From the early days of the thirteenth century Englishmen continued to make their way to Santiago and there is no decade in which we have not a record of at least two or three persons from this country going on the Jacobean pilgrimage.[58] There were clerics of all ranks; arch-

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53) *Documentación pontificia hasta Inocencio III (965-1216)*, p. 392.

54) L. Vázquez de Parga, *P.S.J.* I pp. 71-72, where he states that the real prilgrimage was no longer one of saints, kings and bishops but rather a confused, turbulent, anonymous mass from all parts of Christendom whose presence at the shrine was no longer the spontaneous expression of true devotion but rather a formal, utilitarian act to obtain some advantage.

55) M. Powicke, *The Thirteenth Century*, Oxford, 1953, pp. 80-83.

56) Three such decrees, one of Alfonso IX of León (probably of 1229) and two of Alfonso X (both of 1254) are preserved in the archives of Santiago cathedral. For their text see L. Vázquez de Parga, J.M. Lacarra y J. Uría Ríu, *P.S.J.* III, pp. 109-112.

57) *Documentación pontificia*, loc. cit.

58) Their names appear in the list of pilgrims in Appendix I and some are also mentioned in chapter 5, below.

bishops: York (1222), Dublin (1267): bishops; Durham (12017, Winchester (1221), Worcester (1271): lesser clergy like Sylvester Everdon (1235), a royal clerk destined for high office, and Roger Lovel of Witon (1257): members of religious orders like the prior of Ipswich (1248): parish priests like Matthew of Chaldon (1280) and Robert of Hamme (1283). Many nobles and gentry went too, some apparently more than once: Bohuns, earls of Hereford and Essex (1237, 1278), the earl of Warenne (1223), Normanvilles (1216, 1258), a Zouche (1220), Cantilupes (1224, 1236), Montforts (1236, 1272, 1275), Beauchamps (1248, 1250, 1272), Waleschefs (1257, 1270) and a Vescy (1276) and many others of similar rank or family. There were also soldier-pilgrims, little known ones like Peter Branch (1254) or commanders of military expeditions such as William Mortimer (1274), William Leyburn (1280) and there were citizens and burgesses: Walmer Essex and James Troys (both 1278), Henry Burg (1284), John Canterbury (1291).[59]

Not only pilgrimage linked England and Spain in this century. The Lord Edward, future Edward I, was betrothed to Eleanor, half-sister of Alfonso X (el Sabio) of Castile and in their marriage treaty which was negotiated by the bishop of Bath and Wells and by John Mansel, former Chancellor of Henry III, special privileges were sought for English pilgrims.[60] The Lord Edward, despite his father's fears for his son's safety,[61] went to Castile to claim his bride, watched his arms in the monastery of Las Huelgas (near Burgos), was girded knight by his prospective father-in-law, married Eleanor and took her back to Gascony. The chronicler recorded no visit by the Prince to Santiago although in the next century, almost at the close of his reign, Edward sent one of his yeomen, Reginald Lumbard, with offerings on his behalf.[62]

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59) In the case of these persons the date of the actual journey is inferential only. The dates given are those of entries on the Close or Patent Rolls, recording the issue of letters of Protection, safe-conduct or appointment of attorneys to act during the pilgrim's absence or the confirmation of a will or grant of some privilege to the intending pilgrim. Therefore it has not been thought necessary to quote, at this point, the volume and page number of the entry but this has been done in chapter 5 (devoted to individual pilgrims) when something is known of the pilgrim, his background or the circumstances of his journey. The value of such Chancery enrolments as source material has been discussed above on pp. 17-18 and the function of the various documents is noted below on pp. 67-70.

60) Matthew Paris, *Cronica Majora*, ed. H.R. Luard, 7 vols. Rolls Series, London 1872-1883, V, p. 397.

61) *Ibid.*

62) *CPR, 1301-1307*, p. 462; *CCR, 1302-1307*, p. 458.

In the fourteenth century the effects of the eclipse of Islam made themselves felt for if the Reconquest had ended the ascendancy of Al Andalus it had also left the Christian kings with their constitutional and territorial position complicated by the grants made to the Military Orders and thus with problems of adjustment to nobility, bourgeoisie and peasantry: problems whose solution, whilst of great consequence to the development of their kingdoms, was not so directly connected with that of the cult as had been the Reconquest which had inspired and stimulated both cult and pilgrimage. Likewise, repopulation, which had both accompanied the capture of Muslim territories and made pilgrim journeys safer and more comfortable, was no longer so necessary and the slackening of the re-populating movement is reflected in the numbers of settlers' grants («fueros») which, having attained their figure of 310 in the thirteenth century, now reached only 140 in the fourteenth.[63] Two other sequelae of the Reconquest also became apparent in the latter century. The now long established links with Europe which the Reconquest had both forged and used, brought involvement in European affairs to the Spanish kingdoms for both England and France were interested in the Castilian navy (strengthened by the capture of Seville)[64] whose control was of critical importance in the Hundred Years' War. Both supported opposing sides in the struggle between Pedro I of Castile and Enrique de Trastámara and after the latter's death the duke of Lancaster, John of Gaunt, was one of the claimants to the throne of Castile.

In the Apostle's city the pace of change slackened. Minor improvements were made to the cathedral and a few hospitals and hospices were founded, some housed in existing buildings. The historian of the cathedral has regarded the fourteenth century and its successor as a period of decadence whilst reserving judgement, however, on any reduction in the number of pilgrims.[65] Swedes, French, Germans and English made the journey, the last named in most years up to the beginning of the Hundred Years' War. For reasons which will be noted later in connection with the licensed sailings to Galicia,[66] their numbers fluctuated widely

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63) W.C. Atkinson, *A History of Spain and Portugal*, London, 1960, p. 83.

64) Supra p. 43.

65) A. López Ferreiro, *Historia*, VII, p. 403.

66) Infra pp. 111 et seq.

from the 1340s to the end of the century and at times their pilgrimage seemed closely associated with journeys undertaken for other purposes. The pilgrimage, from having influenced the course of Spanish politics, was itself coming under the influence of European ones.

In the first three decades of the fourteenth century there were, as in the preceding one, many English pilgrims bearing wellknown names:[67] Zouche (1308, 1309), Montalt (1309), Uvedale (1314), Bech (1315), Cammoys (1315), Cromwell (1316), Monthermer (1316), Audley (1329, 1331), Bohun (1330), Waleschef (1331), Beauchamp (1331), Despenser (1332), Hastings (1332, 1333, 1334).[68] One of these, Sir John Cromwell, was also bound for Avignon with a message for the Pope;[69] others were proxies: Reginald Lumbard in 1306 for the dying Edward I, William Boudon for Queen Isabella. Women pilgrims, of whom records have survived, were often widows: the countess Norfolk (1309), Eleanor de la Mare (1317), Isolda Belhous (1330) but some were wives travelling with their husbands like Rose, wife of John Montgomery (1330) or Agnes, wife of Reginald Herbert (1332). There were also heads of religious orders such as the abbots of Thorney (1316) and of Battle (1331). Those like Sir John Uvedale[70] or Sir Robert Corbet[71] who crossed from Dover with their mounts evidently intended to go part of the way overland; others like John Canty and his companions who sailed from a Somerset port[72] were presumably taking the longer sea route to Galicia. To judge from the number of enrolled protections and attorneys, 1332 was a favoured year but pilgrims were evidently numerous in 1315 also.[73]

From the late thirties to the mid-sixties there are fewer records of documents being obtained such as commonly preceded departure

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67) A list of pilgrims of the XIVth century appears in Appendix I, pp. 161-168.

68) These dates are inferential, see supra, p. 45, n. 59.

69) *Calendary of Chancery Warrants*, 1244-1326, p. 450.

70) *CCR*, 1318-1322, p. 510.

71) *Ibid.*, 1330-1333, p. 554.

72) *CIPM*, X, no.265.

73) In this year pilgrims were leaving the country in great numbers and taking out much with them; the numbers were alarming enough to result in a temporary suspension of pilgrim departures: *Calendar of Chancery Warrants*, 1244-1326, p. 413, but as they were not stated, they cannot be compared with the numbers on the Chancery enrolents.

overseas[74], yet we know from the testimony which they gave some twenty years later, that some made the pilgrimage and returned safely home.[75] English pilgrims of the forties included people of importance such as Eleanor Beaumont,[76] Margaret Bohun, Countess of Hereford and Essex[77] and the prior of Rochester, who combined pilgrimage with diplomatic mission.[78] In this decade there were probably difficulties[79] in making all three great pilgrimages for by 1345 the Papal Nuncio, Raymond Pelegrini, canon of London, was permitted to grant dispensations, subject to certain conditions, to Englishmen who were unable to fulfil their vow to go to Rome, Jerusalem or Santiago.[80] Similarly in the fifties only a few obtained Chancery letters or testified to a journey undertaken at this period[81] and again there were people of note among them: James Audley, presumably an envoy of the Black Prince from whose treasury he received his expenses;[82] Walter Manny, one of Edward III's ablest commanders, whose letters were enrolled in 1361.[83]

With the sixties came the early signs of those pilgrim sailings which were to continue, although in greatly varying numbers, until the late fifteenth century.[84] Most were commercial ventures authorised by royal licence[85] but there were occasional private parties. The terms of the licence included certain conditions[86] and licence holders were forbidden to convey certain categories of passengers—clerks, knights, esquires and other nobles. Between 1368 and 1390 no licences to convey pilgrims

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74) Infra, pp. 62-71 passim.

75) *CIPM*, XII, passim.

76) Infra, p. 151.

77) Infra, p. 151-152.

78) Infra, p. 139.

79) From 1344 onwards pilgrims (among others) needed the king's special licente to go abroad, *Foedera, Record Commission*, III, i, p4.

80) *Calendary of Papal Registers*, Letters II, 1305-1342, p. 494.

81) *CIPM* XII, nos. 229, 230, 285; XIV, nos 62, 66, 303.

82) *Register of Edward the Black Prince*, 4 vols., London, 1933, IV, (England), 1351-1365, p. 252.

83) *CPR, 1361-1367*, p. 51.

84) These sailings will be discussed in chapter 4, below.

85) Infra pp. 64-66.

86) See the texty of a licence of 1368 in Appendix III (a), p. 185

were enrolled but clearly Englishemn were still making the pilgrimage. A party of six from Barton and Beverley were imprisoned on their return journey of 1375 and were to be executed as enemies.[87] Others, on their way to the shrine, were passing through Aragon, having obtained safe-conducts from the Aragonese Chancery: William Angla, knight, in 1382, John Bigthon in 1389, Henry Tudesco and John Nell (both described as esquires) in 1398 and William Arundel in 1390.[88]

From 1390 to 1399 pilgrims went in every year in ships of West Country, south- or east-coast ports, the greatest number in 1395, a Jubilee or Holy Year[89] and (assuming that the licence holders honoured the terms of their licences) were all layfolk of «middling sort» as had been their precedessors of the sixties and, like them too, had fulfilled the requirements stated in the licence.

In the fifteenth century the aftermath of the Reconquest still presented Spain with problems[90] not to be solved until the coming of the Catholic Monarchs. Succession disputes and civil war continued and in Aragon only was there an attempt to settle questions of succession by resort to judicial process rather than fighting. This approach came of the Compromise of Caspe of 1412 which provided for the examination of the respective claims to the throne in order to determine the strongest claimant. The first judicial tribunal found in favour of a non-Catalan, Fernando of Antequera who, without bloodshed, became Fernando I (1412-1416), grandfather of the more famous Fernando, husband of Isabel of Castile and better known as Ferdinand the Catholic. In Castile no such solution was found. The minority of Juan II provided the nobles with the customary opportunity to fight for power and in remote Galicia they spared neither the Apostle's city nor even archbishop Alonso Fonseca, who attempted to check their violence and who, at the time of the pilgrimage of the Bohemian noble, Leo of Rozmital (1466), was

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87) *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey*, ed. T. Arnold, 3 vols., Rolls Series, London, 1890-1896, III, p. 333.

88) These names of Englishmen appear in the list of safe-conducts issued by the Chancery of Aragon (1378-1422), collected by Mlle J. Vielliard and printed in L. Vázquez de Parga, J.M. Lacarra y J. Uría Ríu, *P.S.J.*, pp. 30, 31, 32.

89) Supra, p. 40.

90) Supra, p. 46.

their prisoner in his own cathedral.[91] In the second half of the century Galicia was in the sad and horrible state of confusion and disorder pictured by López Ferreiro[92] but after the accession of Isabel some measure of order was obtained by the revival and strengthening of the Santas Hermandades (Holy Brotherhoods) which dealt with lesser offenders and by the establishment of royal courts of justice (Reales Audiencias) which checked the lawlessness of the magnates. This process was furthered too by the gradual absorption by Fernando of the Grand Masterships of the military orders whose accretions of territory during the Reconquest had brought uncomfortable retribution to their sovereigns. Fernando also imposed stringent penalties on the disorderly elements who seized, robbed or killed pilgrims on their way to the shrine.[93]

Political disturbances, however, did not discourage pilgrims who came from many parts of Europe: Italy, France, Hungary, Dacia, Sweden, Norway and England, some of whose ships were seen by William Wey in the harbour of Corunna in 1456[94] and by the mid-fifteenth century the pilgrimage was reputedly second only to that of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem.[95] Some pilgrims, from England as from elsewhere, were wealthy nobles who combined sightseeing with pilgrimage —the Seigneur de Caumont (1417), Leo Rozmital (1466), Lord Rivers, Baron Scales (1473), Nicolas von Popelau (1484), Balthasar, Duke of Mecklenburg (1498), Arnold von Harff (1499)— but not all were of this sort. Englishmen travelled by a variety of routes: in 1409 Thomas Swinburne, mayor of Bordeaux, went through France (with the French king's safe-conduct) to the frontiers of Guyenne[96] and presumably reached Santiago either by crossing the Pyrenees through the western pass (Roncesvalles) or taking the coast road via Irún. On the other hand, Margery Kempe who sailed in the Jubilee Year of 1417, crossed direct to Corunna.[97] Purchas's Anonymous Pilgrim of 1425 took ship from Plymouth to Bordeaux, entered Spain by way of Roncesvalles and

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91) *The travels of Leo of Rozmital through Germany, Flanders, England, France, Spain, Portugal and Italy, 1465-1467*, ed. M. Letts, Hakluyt Society, CVIII, London, 1957, p. 101.

92) A. López Ferreiro, *Galicia en el último tercio del siglo XV*, Santiago, 1883, passim.

93) L. Vázquez de Parga, *P.S.J.* I, p. 99.

94) *Itineraries of William Wey*, p. 154.

95) L. Vázquez de Parga, *P.S.J.*, I, p. 95.

96) *CPR, 1408-1413*, p. 82.

97) *Book of Margery Kempe*, p. 110.

followed the pilgrim road to the shrine.[98] In 1456 William Wey (fellow of Eton College) and James, earl of Wiltshire, sailed to Corunna[99] and in the same year an unknown poor shipman of Weymouth sailed to Portsmouth and reached Santiago from there.[100]

Numerous English pilgrims of this century used the direct sea route to Galicia and in most years there were licensed sailings from West Country, south- and east-coast ports[101] and most favoured were Holy or Jubilee Years[102] of which three in particular, 1428, 1434 and 1445 had the heaviest traffic although in 1451, 1456 and 1484 pilgrims going by sea were still numerous. Passengers' names have not survived (if indeed all were recorded on these voyages) but if the licence holders of these years did in fact carry the full numbers to which their licences entitled them, some thousands of English pilgrims visited the Apostle's shrine in the fifteenth century.

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98) *Hakluytus Postumus or Purchas his Pilgrimes*, VII, pp. 527-532.

99) *Itineraries of William Wey*, p. 153; PRO, T/R, C76/138 m21.

100) *An English chronicle of the reigns of Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V and Henry VI*, ed. J.S. Davies, Camden Society, 64, Old Series, 1856, pp. 72-74.

101) See the list of ships in Appendix II and further discussion of the licensed sailings Chapter 4 et seq. pp. 111-125.

102) Supra p. 40.

2.

PEREGRE PROFECTURUS: GOING ON PILGRIMAGE: MOTIVES, PREPARATIONS, HAZARDS AND HOMECOMING

THE practice of pilgrimage did not originate with the Christian era but was inherited from pagan times[1] and the earliest motive, although implicit rather than expressed, was veneration of a particular place for its association with a special person. The two great shrines of Rome and Jerusalem were revered for their associations with the origins of Christianity but the shrine of St James had a different appeal. For Christen-dom as a whole it was worthy of veneration because it held the body of an Apostle, but for the people of the Spanish peninsula the cult of the saint could not be separated from the aspirations of the Reconquest. Nevertheless, whether or not they joined the «Crusade of Spain» and fought for St James the Moorslayer, many Englishmen certainly visited his shrine. For the majority the motive was that of simple devotion attested only by their numbers. There were, it is true, times of greater appeal to such devotion: those years in which the feast of St James (25 July) fell on a Sunday and when pilgrims enjoyed special privileges and indulgences normally granted only by the see of Rome.[2]

1. Motives

Among the many English pilgrims of the Middle Ages three who went apparently with no other motive than devotion (and two at least without any extravagant show of it) were St Godric of Finchale, Margery Kempe and William Wey. Reginald, the monk of Durham who recorded St Godric's journey in his account of the saint's life and miracles,[3] did not give any clear indication of the date of the pilgrimage so it can be placed only imprecisely some time after the saint ceased to be

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1) L. Vázquez de Parga, *P.S.J.* i, p. 10.

2) Supra p. 40.

3) *Libellus de vita et miraculis Sancti Godrici*, ed. J. Stevenson, Surtees Society, XX, London, 1847, p. 34.

a merchant and before 1170, the year of his death. Margery Kempe's devotion and determination to visit the shrine in 1417 made her prepared to wait six weeks for a ship[4] and to submit to the indignity of being prevented from embarking[5] and to questioning by the bishop of Worcester to whose manor in Gloucestershire she was obliged to go before sailing.[6] William Wey too waited for 17 days and was evidently much interested in the ceremonies and processions in Santiago and Corunna.[7] Some travellers admitted that their motives were two-fold: pilgrimage and sight-seeing, like the German party of 1387 whose safe-conduct granted by the Crown of Aragon stated clearly that they wanted to see the country as well as to make the pilgrimage[8] or like Rozmital[9] and Von Harff[10] and Purchas's Anonymous Pilgrim[11] who, if they did not admit to a taste for travel, clearly showed it in their accounts. All manifested a lively interest in people and their motives call for no more censure than those of Crusader pilgrims of earlier centuries.

Crusaders who included Santiago in their journeys seem to have had mixed motives. Of a group who sailed from Dartmouth in 1147,[12] some reached the Apostle's shrine,[13] many took part in the siege of Lisbon which Afonso Henriques was recovering from the Moors, and others remained there to enjoy the commercial privileges which their services had earned.[14]

Sometimes a visit to the Apostle's shrine was incidental to, or combined with journeys undertaken for matters of state. Henry of Blois,

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4) *Book of Margery Kempe*, p. 106 l.35, p. 107 l.1.

5) *Ibid.*, p. 107 l.23-29.

6) *Ibid.*, p. 109 l.1-3.

7) *Itineraries of William Wey*, pp. 153-154.

8) L. Vázquez de Parga, *P.S.J.* I, p. 89.

9) *The travels of Leo Rozmital...*

10) *The Pilgrimage of Arnold von Harff...*

11) *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas his Pilgrimes*, VII, pp. 527-532.

12) *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, ed. C.W. David, Columbia University Press, 1936, pp. 59-65.

13) *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica*, ed. Alexandre Herculano, (incomplete) Lisbon, 1856, I, p. 406.

14) *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, pp. 111-115; H.A.R. Gibb, «English Crusaders in Portugal», *Chapters in Anglo-Portuguese Relations*, ed. E. Prestage, Watford, 1935, p. 22.

Stephen's brother, Papal legate, bishop of Winchester, abbot of Glastonbury and a devoted son of Cluny, which had many links with Santiago at the time of the bishop's journey, made one of his visits to Rome in 1151, not only for the sake of pilgrimage at the shrine of St Peter but also in the hope of obtaining from the Pope metropolitan status for his see of Winchester. On his return to England he avoided the journey overland for fear of the Tuscans, Burgundians and Lombards,[15] choosing rather to go by sea, and on this return journey he visited Santiago.[16] Others combined diplomatic mission and pilgrimage. Sir John Cromwell, steward of the household to Edward II, first delivered his sovereign's message to the pope and then, with the king's permission, went on pilgrimage to Santiago (1316-1317).[17] John Sheppey, prior of Rochester, envoy of both Edward III[18] and of his own bishop,[19] did the same.[20]

The asking of a favour or seeking of a cure have always been motives for pilgrimage and many cures and miracles were attributed to the intervention of St James.[21] Petitions were not always personal, but might be presented on behalf of a whole town or city. Two friars were sent in 1456 by the municipality of Barcelona to ask St James to lift the plague from their city.[22] Similarly Perpignan sent representatives in 1482[23] and Barcelona and Gerona in 1483.[24]

Closely associated with the motive of petition was that of thanksgiving, and some at least of the offerings at the shrine were evidence of gratitude. English pilgrims who went in thanksgiving were Ralph Alford about 1343, and the fellow-pilgrim whom William Wey saw first

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15) *Historia Pontificalis Saresberiensis*, ed. R.L. Poole, Oxford, 1927, p. 82.

16) *Ibid.*

17) *Calendary of Chancery Warrants, 1244-1326*, p. 450.

18) PRO, Exchequer, Various, Nuncii, E101/312/16.

19) *Registrum Hamonis Hethe 1319-1352*, ed. C. Johnson, 2 vols. Canterbury and York Society, XLVIII, XLIX, Oxford, 1942, II, p.737.

20) *CPR 1343-1345*, p. 373. (His letters of attorney).

21) *L.S.J.* I. (Book II), pp. 259-287.

22) L. Vázquez de Parga, *P.S.J.* I, p. 97.

23) *Ibid.*, p. 100.

24) *Ibid.*

in Plymouth on his outward journey and when he had been in danger in the waters of the Humber.[25] Wey's fellow-traveller of 1456, a Somerset man, was on his way to Santiago hoping for a cure but because he became so ill he turned back home, in spite of having promised to make the pilgrimage. He was later cured of his illness, and set off once more, this time in thanksgiving.[26]

Expiation too sent some on their journey, such as Henry Bolle and Michael Seymakere who stated before the escheator that their pilgrimage of twenty years before (1343) had been «for the amendment of their lives».[27] Theirs was evidently a penitential pilgrimage but it is not clear whether this was voluntary or imposed. The latter was an ecclesiastical sanction throughout the Middle Ages applicable to religious and secular penitents of all ranks. Henry II was required to atone for his part in Becket's murder by making a pilgrimage to a shrine of the Pope's choice and Santiago was among those suggested.[28] In 1283 Robert, rector of Hamme, was required by his diocesan, the bishop of Chichester, to seek remission of his sins of persistent immorality by visiting Rome, Santiago and Cologne in each of three successive years.[29] In 1325 Mabel de Boclonde, who had been convicted of adultery, was ordered to go to Santiago, this apparently being an alternative to being beaten with rods six times around various churches.[30] In the same year as Mabel's conviction and sentence John Maydez's godmother, having sinned with her godson (and thus offended against the spiritual relationship), was also sent to the Apostle's shrine.[31] John Lawrence, one of the murderers of Walter Stapledon, bishop of Exeter, received a very heavy sentence for his crime, of which a visit to Santiago was only part.[32] As a civil as distinct from ecclesiastical sanction, penitential pilgrimage was

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25) *CIPM* X, no. 475.

26) *Itineraries of William Wey*, pp. 155-156.

27) *CIPM, XI*, no. 611.

28) J.J. Jusserand, *English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages*, Second edition, London, 1920, p. 352.

29) *Registrum Epistolarum Johannis Pecham*, ed. C.T. Maartin, 3 vols., Rolls Series, London, 1882-1885, II, pp. 585-586.

30) *Registrum Hamonis Hethe, 1319-1352*, I, p. 202.

31) *Ibid*, p. 224.

32) *ibid*, p. 387.

part of the legal system of the Low Countries in the later Middle Ages[33] but doest not seem to have been much used in England. For membership of confraternities of St. James,[34] however, the distintion between voluntary and imposed pilgrimage was always preserved and only the former (to which no stigma was attached) was accepted as suitable qualification for membership.

Those who were unable to go to Santiago themselves might, unless their original promise or sentence required the journey to be made in person, appoint a proxy. Thus Edward I sent Reginald Lumbard in 1306[35] and Queen Isabella sent one of her clerks, William Boudon, in 1322.[36] A son might undertake to fulfil his dead mother's vow: Edmund of Woodstock, earl of Kent, had promised to carry out the vow taken by Queen Margaret before she died but, having learnt in Gascony of plots against him in Spain, he was unable to keep his promise and petitioned the Pope for leave for his wife and himself to commute the vow. Papal permission was granted on condition that the earl performed whatever penance Queen Margaret's confessor might impose and also gave to the cathedral of Santiago a sum equivalent to the expenses of the pilgrimage.[37] Akin to these proxy pilgrimages were the vicarious ones for which sums of money were left in wills. In some cases the beneficiary was named, in others the amount was to be given to anyone who would undertake to go. In the early fifteenth century several wills recorded in the episcopal register of Henry Chichele contained bequests of money for pilgrimage expenses: the vicar of Northgate in Canterbury left money to defray the expenses of some person to go to St James's shrine to pray for the repose of his soul and that of his mother.[38] The bequest of Lucia Visconti, countess of Kent and lady of Wake, was more personal. She left to her steward, Nicholas Aliard of Verona, several pieces of jewellery because he had promised on oath to make the pilgrimage to Jerusalem and Santiago to pray for the repose

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33) L. Vázquez de Parga, *P.S.J.* I, pp. 159-160.

34) Infra pp. 83-84.

35) *CPR, 1301-1307*, p. 462; *CCR, 1302-1307*, p. 458.

36) *CPR, 1321-1324*, p. 229.

37) *Calendary of Papal Registers, Letters II, 1305-1342*, p. 308.

38) *Registrum Henrici Chichele*, 1414-1443, ed. E.F. Jacob & H.C. Johnson, 4 vols., Oxford, 1938-1947, II, p. 104.

of her soul and of her husband's.[39] The will of Sir Gerard Braybroke contained a bequest of money with a promise of more, requiring that three priests should go, one to Jerusalem, another to Rome and the third to Santiago and St Michael's Mount in England.[40]

Some pilgrims' motives have the appearance of convenience rather than devotion or kindliness, for the journey might serve to put the pilgrim (at least temporarily) outside the reach of the law. Osmund of the hundred of Stofold in Wiltshire was in Salisbury gaol at the time of his departure, having been summoned to answer for his brother who had committed murder and fled, but «during the fighting» (possibly John's rebellion of 1193 whilst his brother Richard I was in captivity) Count John broke open the gaol, freed the prisoners and Osmund made for Santiago, whether from motives of contrition or prudence is not clear from the record of the case.[41] The motive of Philip Fox in 1283 was no clearer. He had been accused of robbery and breach of the peace and, during his absence, sentenced to be outlawed. But as he was unaware of the sentence because he had gone on pilgrimage, the Chancellor, having instituted an inquiry, authorised the pardon of the outlawry.[42] Pilgrimage might also be a diplomatic absence as was that of Ingelard of Warley (Keeper of the Wardrobe under Edward II) during the proscriptions of the Ordainers (1310)[43] or a pretext for servants and labourers to leave their place of abode and escape manorial service. This latter practice, current after the Statute of Labourers, was checked by the requirement of 1391 that such people were to carry letters patent stating the purpose of their journey and the date of their return.[44]

The importance of the vow of pilgrimage may be judged from the fact that it sufficed to excuse people from some of their obligations. It was accepted as valid reason for not answering a summons to appear

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39) *Ibid.*, pp. 280-281.

40) *Ibid.*, p. 411.

41) *Abbreviatio Placitorum*, Record Commission, 1811, p. 18a.

42) *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous*, Henry III and Edward I, 1219-1307, London, 1916, no. 2259.

43) T.F. Tout, *Chapters in Mediaeval Administrative History*, 6 vols., Manchester, 1923-1935, II, p. 269.

44) *CPR, 1391-1396*, p. 225.

in the king's court and absent pilgrims were allowed essoins of «ultra mare»[45] provided that the absence were genuine, otherwise the essoin might be turned into a default.[46] Even military service sometimes had to give place to pilgrimage as, for instance, when the sheriff of Westminster was instructed not to summon Walter Lindsay for a period of about six months[47] or when Ralph Normanville was granted leave of absence in a pact which he had made with Henry III.[48] Where fulfilment proved difficult or impossible, however, release from the vow might be obtained subject to certain conditions. This release was for voluntary pilgrimage only and did not apply to penitential pilgrimage which had to be made in person. In civil cases performance might be replaced by payment of a fine. Since the vow of pilgrimage was a solemn one, made publicly and often in church, release was not normally within the competence of a confessor or even the Ordinary (of the diocese) but was granted specifically in a Papal indult in favour of a particular petitioner to an archbishop, bishop or confessor or, in other cases, was a faculty granted to a papal legate or nuncio to be exercised at his discretion. People of all ranks were permitted to commute vows which they could not fulfil if the reason were adequate. In 1275 Heloisa Palma and her daughter, Isabella, finding that they had not the money for the journey, obtained from the archbishop of York permission to convert the vow into a contribution to the Holy Land subsidy.[49] Again in 1320, with the Papal mandate, the Archbishop of Dublin commuted the vow of Edmund Butler who had hoped to take his wife and son to Santiago but was prevented by the Anglo-Irish wars and instead of going he was to make a contribution (equivalent to his expenses) to the Holy Land subsidy.[50] Queen Isabella was allowed to commute her vow in 1322[51] and Matilda Bionie in 1330 because, when already on pilgrimage, «she was shipwrecked» and had not the resources to continue and was therefore released from her promise and was to enter a convent instead.[52] The

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45) *Curia Regis Rolls*, I-XII, passim.

46) *Statutes of the Realm*, I, p. 37.

47) *CCR, 1259-1261*, p. 216.

48) *CPR, 1216-1225*, p. 108.

49) *Register of Walter Giffard, 1266-1279*, ed. W. Brown, Surtees Society, 109, 1904, p. 227.

50) *Calendary of Papal Registers, Letters, 1305-1342*, II, p. 196.

51) *Ibid.*, p. 279.

52) *Ibid.*, pp. 316, 318.

Bishop of London was authorised in 1345 to commute the vow of the noblewoman, Elisabeth de Burgh, lady of Clare, who was to send to the cathedral of Santiago the offerings which she would have made in person.[53] Queen Philippa, wife of Edward III, had her promise commuted by Papal indult in 1347[54] and a knight of Hereford, Sir Peter Grandison, who was prevented by illness from undertaking the journey, was permitted to commute by an indult to the Bishop of Worcester and required instead to perform other works of piety.[55] The Hundred Years' War had evidently placed obstacles in the way of all three great pilgrimages, for in 1345 the Papal nuncio was permitted to dispense those of England who were unable to fulfil their vows to visit Rome, Santiago or the Holy Land, on condition of their giving the cost of their journeys to the war against the enemies of the Catholic faith and the defence of the faithful in the east.[56] Not all releases were final, however, some might be merely postponement. Roger Mortimer, earl of March, was permitted not to commute but to prorogue his vow for two years, during which he was to do additional works of piety (1355).[57]

2. Preparations

First in importance was the question of permission to leave the country. The Common Law position, as stated by Fitzherbert,[58] was that, whilst every man was free to leave the realm to merchandise or travel or for any other cause, this theoretical freedom gave place to the need to defend the realm and so the king could, at his pleasure, forbid any person to leave the country without permission—*licencia*. If, therefore, the intending pilgrim were, at the time of his departure, one of those whose status or condition precluded his leaving the country, he would obtain the king's permission. This permission—a mediaeval personal exit permit—was sometimes formally stated: «*Licenciam concedimus et dedimus*» together with the purpose for which it was

53) *Ibid.*, *1342-1362*, III, p. 112.

54) *Ibid.*, p. 252.

55) *Ibid.*, II, p. 494.

56) *Ibid.*, II, p. 494.

57) *Ibid.*, p. 349.

58) A. Fitzherbert, *La Nouvelle Brevium*, corrected and revised by Guillaume Rastell, London, 1567, f. 85a.

granted, in the Chancery document issued to those going abroad. But it was also given implicitly when those leaving the country obtained royal protection[59] for their «men, lands, things, rents»[60] or when they appointed attorneys to act for them in their absence.[61] In the latter case the wording of the letter of protection or attorney stated that the holder was about to set out on pilgrimage —*peregre profecturus* to St James in Galicia with the king's leave— *cum licencia regis*. Copies of licences in both these forms were enrolled on the Close Rolls and Patent Rolls but the practice long antedated the earliest enrolments for when, in 1155, Henry of Blois, bishop of Winchester, failed to obtain Henry II's permission to go abroad, he was severely punished for this omission.[62]

There were, of course, times when it was necessary to ensure that certain of the king's subjects did not go abroad without permission. During the Scottish wars, for instance, knights and men-at-arms were not free to cross the sea unless they had the royal licence.[63] Similarly in the reign of Edward III earls, barons, knights, men-at-arms (and destriers) were not allowed to leave the country unlicensed.[64] The same restrictions were placed on religious but not, apparently, to all going on pilgrimage until 1344 when pilgrims were specifically required to have a licence.[65] This requirement was reiterated in 1350, 1354, 1355, 1358, 1381,[66] although sometimes (1344, 1389) passage through Dover or Plymouth was permitted without licence.[67] By 1391 servants and laboures were using the pretext of pilgrimage in order to leave their place of employment and break their terms of hiring and, to check the practice,

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59) Infra, p. 67.

60) Protection of Sylvester Everdon, pilgrim in 1235, *CPR, 1232-1247*, p. 94. See also the form of simple protection for Thomas of London, *CPR, 1315-1317*, p. 220, in which it is stated that nothing is to be taken against his will, of his corn, rents, carriages or other goods, for the use of the king or other persons.

61) Infra, p. 68.

62) Matthew Paris, *Crónica Majora*, II, p. 210: «Henricus Wintoniensis, antistes... absque licencia regis ab Anglia clam recesit quapropter rex tria ejus complanari fecit castella».

63) *Foedera, Record Commission*, II, pp. 58, 95.

64) *CCR, 1330-1333*, p. 397.

65) *Foedera, Record Commission*, III, i, p. 4.

66) *Ibid.*, pp. 199, 272, 295, 353, 411: *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, III, 120a.

67) *Ibid.*, III, p. 10; *Ibid.*, III, p. 275a.

those leaving the hundred, rape or wapentake were to be furnished with «a letter patent under the king's seal» stating the reason for departure and the date of return.[68] Examples of the personal licence, whether for pilgrims or other restricted persons, are still to be found in the late fifteenth century.[69]

Closely associated with this type of licence was the check on the export of money. The statute of 1299 (bearing on both quantity and quality of money) expressly forbade the carrying out of the country of good silver money of native or any stamp except by licence, and instituted a form of exchange control whereby exchange tables were to be set up at Dover and other ports (where the king might direct) in order to provide currency for the necessary expenses of those going abroad.[70] Some personal licences therefore contained permission to take out money[71] and without permission in some form or other a traveller risked arrest and confiscation of the money. A Dominican friar, Brother Hugh Leye, was obliged to surrender his money in 1381,[72] and in 1410 both religious and secular travellers met with the same misfortune at Gravesend.[73]

In addition to the personal licence there was also the licence to convey pilgrims: the permit to be obtained by masters or owners of ships sailing from certain ports which allowed them to carry a specified number of pilgrims. One of these granted to Simon Whistlegray was enrolled in 1235 and in 1361 there appeared on the Patent Rolls a succession which continued almost to the end of the century and whose successors, enrolled on the Treaty Rolls and in the Register of Writs and Grants of Richard III,[74] lasted until the late fifteenth century.[75] Simon Whistlegray served Henry III as one of the masters of a large

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68) *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, III, p. 403.

69) *PRO, T/R, C76/152 m14; Ibid*, C76/156 m2.

70) *Statutes of the Realm*, (27. Edward I), I, pp. 131,132, 133.

71) CCR, 1302-1307, p. 482; PRO, T/R, C76/156 m2.

72) *CPR, 1377-1381*, p. 439.

73) *Early English Customs System*, ed. N.S. Gras, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1918, pp. 688, 689.

74) B.L. Harleian 433, fols. 171a, 171b, 172b, 174b, 175b.

75) Appendix III, pp. 173-182.

ship[76] and was allowed to convey pilgrims to Jerusalem, Santiago or elsewhere during a six months' period.[77] Whether or not his licence was a release from royal service is not apparent from its wording but the licences of the 1350s are best seen against a background of impressment and release from it during the Hundred Years' War. The needs of the war strained shipping resources and arrests and impressments were frequent. They bore heavily on merchants, curtailing their trade and dispersing their crews who, in default of employment in trade sought it elsewhere.[78] Despite petitions that impressment should cease it continued but release was possible by obtaining a royal licence which was granted for various approved purposes.[79]

The needs of shipping and its control were not, however, the whole explanation. During the Hundred Years' War the journey to Galicia took the king's subjects to enemy ports and could not therefore be undertaken unless the ship had the king's special licence.[80] Because pilgrim journeys offered opportunities for passing information and because of the national preoccupation with security, those who went to Castile (an ally of France for most of the Hundred Years' War) were obliged to promise (often on oath before some local official such as a port official, mayor or local abbot or prior) that they would not procure anything detrimental to Crown or kingdom nor betray the secrets of the realm. Possibly for security reasons also the licences sometimes excluded certain categories of passengers. William Cannings and his partners,[81] Walter Derby[82] and Simon Salerne[83] all licensed for voyages of 1368, were permitted only the «middling sort» and expressly forbidden to convey clerks, knights, squires and nobles.

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76) Nicholas, Nicholas Harris, *History of the Royal Navy*, 2 vols., London, 1847, I, p. 224.

77) *CPR, 1232-1247*, p. 98.

78) *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, II, p. 307a.

79) Some releases were for diplomatic missions: PRO, T/R, C76/15 m8; others were for the carrying of goods beetween English ports: ibid., C76/16 m4d; one was for a family party to sail to Santiago: *CCR, 1360-1367*, p. 197; another was to victual the navy: *CPR, 1367-1370*, p. 134.

80) *Foedera, Record Commission*, III, ii, p. 313.

81) *CPR, 1367-1370*, p. 21.

82) *Ibid.*, p. 226.

83) *Ibid.*, p. 135.

Like the personal licence, the licence to convey pilgrims was directed at checking the indiscriminate export of money. For in addition to the two promises of loyalty mentioned above, pilgrims had also to swear that they would not take out of the country gold or silver in bullion or specie in excess of their reasonable needs.

From the 1360s to the late fifteenth century the wording of these licences developed a standard formula with marginal variations only as changing circumstances made this necessary.[84] At first the form was comparatively simple, comprising the name of the holder, occasionally his status (master or owner), sometimes the ship's name and, in most cases, the number of passengers whom he was allowed to carry. Licences were granted «notwithstanding any ordinance or proclamation to the contrary», a phrase preserved with few exceptions until the late fifteenth century. By that time the standard formula had become slightly more detailed and less personal. The holder's status was invariably given, his vessel's name and tonnage (the latter a fifteenth-century innovation) and sometimes the «master and mariners competent to sail the ship» were included as well as the permitted number of pilgrims. Some late licences were valid not only for the holders named in them but also for his deputy or factor, and occasionally the ship might sail from any port in the county at the choice of the holder. The three promises remained as part of the formula until the late years of Edward III.

Both clerics and laymen (whose status demanded it) needed the king's licence before going abroad, but clerics also needed the permission of their superior —the bishop of the diocese, provincial of their order, abbot or prior of their religious house, dean of the cathedral chapter. Such leave of absence was not granted indiscriminately but in the light of the circumstances of the case— the rules of the order, the customs of the chapter. According to the customs of the chapter of Hereford cathedral (around 1250) one year's residence was required before leave of absence would be granted. Pilgrimages to an English shrine might be made every year but foreign ones only once a life-time and for these the duration of the leave of absence was fixed. Seven weeks was the time allotted for St Denis, sixteen for Rome and Santiago and twelve months for Jerusalem.[85] Superiors normally granted permission

84) See Appendix III, pp. 185-189, for examples of XIVth-XVth century licences.

85) *Archaeologia*, XXXI, p. 251, n. 1.

(in writing): John Grandisson, bishop of Exeter (1327-1369), gave several of his parochial clergy leave of absence for Santiago;[86] the bishop of Rochester permitted John Sheppey, prior of Rochester, to go to St James[87] in conjunction with his embassy of 1346 to the Papal Curia and the Provincial of the Dominicans gave Brother Hugh Leye leave to go to Santiago in 1381.[88]

Besides the procuring of a licence there were other affairs to be ordered. Pilgrims with property usually made arrangements for its disposal or management before departure. Roger de la Zouche, a Devon landowner, licensed to go in 1220, was given, with his licence, permission for all his chattels and one year's outgoings from his lands (his wife's dowry alone excepted), to be applied to the liquidation of his debts should any human disaster befall him on his pilgrimage.[89] Richard Grey, setting out in 1232, was promised by Henry III that there should be no change in his testamentary dispositions[90] and Humphrey Bohun, earl of Hereford and Essex, was granted the confirmation of his will before starting out in 1237.[91] In the late thirteenth century Clement de la Reye sold some of his land before going.[92] John Amory enfeoffed his chaplains of his manors before his pilgrimage of 1332[93] and William Atgate also enfeoffed his chaplain of his lands for his intended departure of 1334.[94]

The lands and property of the absent pilgrim, like those of the absent Crusader, were often under royal protection which could be obtained by formal application to the Exchequer for letters of protection[95] (granted to those going abroad for all approved purposes

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86) *Register of John Grandisson, bishop of Exeter, 1327-1369*, ed. F.C. Hingeston-Randolf, 3 vols., London and Exeter, 1894-1899, I, pp. 491, 589; II, pp. 638, 642, 657, 766.

87) *Registrum Hamonis Hethe 1319-1352*, II, p. 737.

88) *CCR, 1377-1381*, p. 439.

89) *CPR, 1216-1225*, p. 246.

90) *Ibid., 1225-1232* p. 467.

91) *Ibid., 1232-1247*, p. 246.

92) PRO, Ancient Deeds, Series D, 2116.

93) *CIPM*, X, no. 124.

94) *Ibid.*, IX, no. 670.

95) *Statutes of the Realm*, 27 Ed. I, I, p. 131.

and with the king's permission).[96] Applicants paid the appropiate fine and the documents were then issued by the Chancellor. As well as letters of protection many pilgrims obtained other letters appointing attorneys authorised to represent the absent traveller and to present to bailiff or sheriff as evidence of such authorisation. Both kinds of letters were obtained in great numbers by intending pilgrims throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and some also in the fifteenth. Most were valid for six or twelve months and a few for two, three or five years.

Some made wills before departure and these were recorded either in episcopal registers[97] or church missals.[98] Thus William Cook, in the testimony given before the commission of inquiry into Isabel Atbone's age, recalled that he still had the will made in 1318, the year of his pilgrimage.[99] But not all were prudent enough to make a will; some failed to do so until they fell ill in Spain; some died intestate for Alfonso IX of León found it necessary to decree in 1229 that sick pilgrims should be free to dispose of their effects without duress and that, in the event of death, their wishes should be respected.[100] In cases of intestacy it was for the pilgrim's friends to see to his burial, discharge his debts and promise innkeeper and chaplains to take any residual property back to his heirs. But if he had no friends his effects were to be distributed between the innkeeper (who should have cared for him and seen to his burial), the church where he was buried and the king, each taking an equal share.[101] Similar protection was granted by Alfonso X of León and Castile in 1254.[102]

Alien pilgrims and those from Scotland and Wales needed an English safe-conduct if they crossed into England or into the English domains in France. Thus in 1243 several Frenchmen and Alfonso, son of the king of Portugal, obtained English safeconducts for their passage through

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96) The personal exit permit, supra, P. 63.

97) Supra, p. 59

98) *The Victorian History of London*, ed. W. Page, London, 1909, I, p. 208.

99) *CIPM, VIII*, no. 58.

100) L. Vázquez de Parga, J.M. Lacarra y J. Uría Ríu, *P.S.J.* III, p. 110. (Text of the decree preserved in the archives of the cathedral of Santiago).

101) *Ibid.*

102) *Ibid.*, pp. 111-112. (Text of decrees of Alfonso X, also in the cathedral archives).

Gascony to Santiago.[103] Similary Scots crossing the border into England were provided with them: John Letham in 1320,[104] (shortly after the attempt to retake Berwick); Gilbert Armstrong, passing through England to cross from Dover in 1366, (soon after the peace of Brétigny);[105] the duke of Albany's party in 1406,[106] (after the northern rebellion) and John Hathington a few years later.[107] A party of Welshmen crossing the marches in 1284 (during the Welsh wars of Edward I), was also furnished with an English safe-conduct.[108]

In addition to the documents obtained for reasons of prudence or necessity some pilgrims might carry letters of special commendation or credence such as those which Nicholas and William Bech and James Audley received from Edward II in which he asked one of his merchants, Andrew Piers, to give them horses, money or anything else which they might need and undertook to re-imburse Piers for any expense incurred.[109]

Permission obtained, the will or other arrangements made and the appropriate letters in hand, there were the material needs of the journey to be envisaged. Santiago could be reached either by the short sea crossing followed by a long land journey through France and Spain or else by a longer sea crossing from one of the west-, south- or east-coast ports and then the shorter land route from a Galician or Portuguese port. Both routes required an adequate supply of money either from the pilgrim's own resources or from the generosity of others. Firstly the crossing had to be paid for and then those who were not going on foot would have to provide themselves with a mount (and, at times, with a permit to take it out of the country)[110] or else hire a horse or mule across the Channel. In times of fighting safe-conducts through parts of France and through Aragon would have to be purchased. Pilgrims using the long land route had to find lodging for the night en route either at

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103) *CPR, 1232-1247*, pp. 370, 371, 377, 383.

104) *Ibid., 1317-1321*, p. 428.

105) *Calendar of documents relating to Scotland*, 4 vols., Edinburg, 1881-1888,IV, no. 136.

106) *Foedera*, Hague edition, IV, p. 100.

107) *Calendar of documents relating to Scotland*, IV, no. 800.

108) *Calendar of Chancery Rolls (Various), 1277-1326*, London, 1912, p. 284.

109) *CCR, 1313-1318*, p. 310.

110) Supra p. 63; infra, p. 71.

an inn or in one of the various hospices attached to religious houses. Poor pilgrims might sleep in the cathedral (which remained open on the night preceding the Apostle's feast) although this was a rare privilege after the twelfth century. Rich and poor alike had to provide themselves with food between halts. Taxes and tolls might have to be paid although pilgrims were supposed to be exempt from these. Finally, it was customary to leave an offering at the Apostle's shrine.

There were diverse ways of finding the money. A prelate like the bishop of Winchester, Peter des Roches, who went to the Holy Land as well as Santiago,[111] was permitted in 1221 to ask the knights and free tenants of his church for financial aid.[112] Some pilgrims were fortunate enough to receive royal gifts: Henry III gave Arnold Cotin 10 marks in 1246[113] and Evers Redvers 5 marks in 1254;[114] Peter Branch received his arrears of pay (also in 1254) to enable him to go;[115] Margaret Norton was given ten shillings by Edward II in 1321[116] and James Audley received *L*33 6s 8d from the Black Prince to cover his expenses.[117] Several Englishmen received alms, either on the road to Santiago or else in the city, from the Catholic Monarchs (Fernando and Isabel) who went on pilgrimage in 1488.[118] Gilds and confraternities also helped for their ordinances sometimes required members to contribute a penny or half-penny to any brother or sister departing on pilgrimage.[119] Legacies for vicarious pilgrimages[120] also provided funds. The amount of money needed for the journey naturally depended on the pilgrim's mode of travel and the length of his stay, although, of course, the ideal as set forth in the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* was that of holy poverty not luxury travel.[121]

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111) *CPR, 1216-1225*, p. 286.

112) *Ibid.*, p. 318.

113) *Calendar of Liberate Rolls, 1226-1267*, 5 vols., London, 1916-1961, III, p. 56.

114) *CCR, 1253-1254*, p. 221.

115) *Ibid.*, p. 212.

116) *Archeologia*, XXVI, pp. 344-345.

117) *Register of Edwards the Black Prince*, 4 vols., London, 1930-1933, IV, (England, 1351-1365), p. 252.

118) L. Vázquez de Parga, J.M. Lacarra y J. Uría Riu, *P.S.J.*, pp. 37, 39. (Text of the account of Isabel's almoner, 1487-1488).

119) *English Gilds*, ed. Toulmin Smith, E.E.T.S. London 1870, pp. 177, 180.

120) Supra p. 59.

121) *L.S.J.*, I, (Book I), p. 156.

Money for the journey, however, could not be taken out of the country without formalities. From the thirteenth century onwards there were restrictions on the taking out of good silver money, and exchange tables at Dover and other ports provided pilgrims and travellers with the currency necessary for their journey abroad.[122] By the thirteenth century too there were money changers and bankers at Bordeaux[123] and numerous changers at Santiago itself since the twelfth century, if not earlier.[124]

Next there were the two practical matters of transport and clothing. The route chosen depended partially on the pilgrim's place of abode and also on the services available to him at various times.[125] But whatever the crossing chosen all pilgrims had first to make their way to the port of embarkation where they would await a ship[126] or expect to find one available because they had heard the sailing proclaimed in advance by a master or owner.[127] Those who intended to take their own mounts for the journey overland were not always allowed to do so unless this was provided by the terms of their personal licence.[128] Sometimes they were not permitted a good horse but had to be content with a nag or hack not above a maximum value stated in the licence.[129] Horses were not the most suitable mounts for all parts of the journey for they had to be led over the steep, rugged mountain passes and in Spain fodder for them was not always easily obtainable.[130] Mule transport was better and could be hired at various points along the *camino de Santiago*—the east-west route from the Spanish side of the Pyrenees to the Apostle's city.

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122) Supra, p. 64.

123) F. Michel, *Histoire du commerce et de la navigation à Bordeaux*, 2 vols., Bordeaux, 1867-1870, II, pp. 1-5.

124) *L.S.J.*, I, (Book I), pp. 160-167.

125) The factors which governed the choice of land or sea transport are noted below in chapter 3, pp. 87-89.

126) Like Margery Kempe or Wiliam Wey, supra, p. 56.

127) Proclamation of sailings was a practice of the late XIVth century. Thomas Asshenden and Thomas Norton were both permitted to proclaim their licensed sailings of 1391: *CPR, 1388-1392*, pp. 387, 390.

128) *CCR, 1318-1322*, p. 510; *ibid., 1330-1333*, pp. 527, 554; PRO, T/R C76/156 m2.

129) PRO, T/R, C76/147 m13.

130) *Pilgrimage of Arnold von Harff*, p. 276.

The other matter —clothing— had to take into account the route chosen and the anticipated date of departure. Winter journeys were uncomfortable and hazardous because of storms in the Channel and the Bay of Biscay and of snow and hail in the passes of the Pyrenees. Even in the «Golden Age» of the pilgrimage pilgrims were understandably fewer in the worst winter months.[131] According to the statements of English pilgrims in their testimony to commissioners inquiring into the age of minors coming out of wardship (legal proofs of age)[132] most journeys were undertaken around certain feast days between early February and late August —the Purification (2 February), the first Sunday of Lent, Palm Sunday, Good Friday, Easter Day, St Gregory (12 March), the Finding of the Holy Cross (3 May), St Augustine (28 May), Trinity Sunday, St Barnabas (11 June), SS. Peter and Paul (29 June), the Assumption (15 August), St Bartholomew (24 August), the Beheading of St John the Baptist (29 August). A few later departure dates were St Luke (9 October), St Denis (18 October), St Edmund (21 November), St Catherine (25 November), St Andrew (30 November) and very occasionally around Christmas. These dates were necessarily some time in advance of the actual sailings for pilgrims who came any distance would have to halt for the night, perhaps wait for others to join them and, having reached the coast, wait for a ship or favourable weather.[133]

At many times throughout the year the sea crossing, the high altitudes of the Pyrenees and the showers of Galicia could all be chill, and prudence demanded suitable clothing: an outer garment long enough to be warm yet not impede walking and a broadbrimmed hat for protection against wind, rain and sun. By the end of the middle ages both hat and cloak had become the conventional pilgrim dress. In addition most pilgrims carried a staff, either the long one —sometimes with bells at the top— or the shorter «tau» staff (a walking-stick with a small cross-bar at the top which gave it the form of a T) like the one which Master Matthew carved on the statue of St James on the west front of the basilica at the end of the twelfth century. Some staffs had a metal tip and were weapons as well as aids to walking.[134] A gourd was also

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131) *Historia Compostelana* in *España Sagrada*, XX, p. 499.

132) Supra, pp. 17-18.

133) Departure in unpromising weather was often a joint decision of the master and crew; G.J. Marcus, *A Naval History of England, I, The Formative Centuries*, London, 1961, p. 3.

134) *L.S.J.*, I, (Book I), p. 153. «Baculus defensio ets hominis contra lupem et canem».

carried which served as water or wine-bottle and a pouch or wallet to hold alms received from those generous to pilgrims. The staff and wallet or scrip were included in the religious ceremonies for departure of pilgrims and according to the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* they were formally conferred on each pilgrim in church with these words: «Receive this scrip, the sign of thy pilgrimage that well chastened and amended thou shalt enter the shrine of St James which thou seekest as a pilgrim and, thy journey accomplished, shall return to us in joy with the help of Him who liveth and reigneth God for ever and ever. Amen». And for the staff: «Receive this staff, the support of thy journey and the labour on the road of thy pilgrimage that thou mayest be strong enough to overcome all the company of the enemy and safely reach the shrine of St James and, having finished thy course, return to us with joy by the will of Him who liveth and reigneth God for ever and ever. Amen.»[135] Several English pilgrims —William Atgate, John Atwitheston and Walter Kayn— recalled that their staff and wallet had been blessed in the local church before they set out in various years between 1328 and 1334.[136] Some pilgrims might hear Mass as a prelude to departure;[137] others had their departure formally recorded in the church missal.[138] Both dress and insignia were treasured mementoes of the pilgrimage and those who returned safely kept them, together with the scallop shells which they had brought back from Galicia,[139] to wear in processions and at ceremonial banquets of their confraternities on the feast of St James.[140] Some pilgrims were buried with the pilgrim insignia which were discovered centuries later when their tombs were opened.[141]

Most pilgrims could expect to travel in company, perhaps in large groups in Jubilee Years. They set out on traditional dates and would meet others on the road, at the ports or on board ship. Some were parish groups, others travelled with friends or relatives, others formed part of the retinue of an important cleric or layman. Walter Gray, arch-

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135) *Ibid.*, p. 152.

136) *CIPM, IX*, nos. 670, 672, 673.

137) *Ibid.*, XIV, nos. 62, 66.

138) *Ibid.*, XII, no. 88.

139) Infra, p. 82.

140) Infra, pp. 83-84.

141) Queen Isabel of Portugal who went in 1325; L. Vázquez de Parga, *P.S.J.*, I, p. 80.

bishop of York, took Alexander, his marshal, and two others on his pilgrimage of 1222;[142] William Cantelupe the younger went with his vassal Peter de Montfort in 1236;[143] two brothers, Ralph and Simon Basset, went together in 1284;[144] the two Bech brothers, Nicholas and William, also went in 1315,[145] the same year as Ralph Monthermer, Philip Shyrugge and several others;[146] Sir Ralph Cammoys and John Haket were fellow-pilgrims in 1319.[147] Some were accompanied by their whole household: Simon Insula in 1276;[148] Sir William Leyburn in 1280[149] and Sir John Uvedale in 1322;[150] or took a private party from a West-Country port like Andrew and Elisabeth Luttrell in 1361[151] or James, earl of Wiltshire in 1456,[152] or Thomas Ormond in 1473.[153] Scots and Welshmen travelled in groups.

Not only pilgrims but those who conveyed them had preparations to make. Masters or owners of ships who were not free to sail as or from where they pleased or whose ships might be needed for the king's business had to apply for a licence to convey a number of pilgrims to Galicia.[154] Most licences were granted (to judge from the enrolments) in the early months of the year, January to April and a few in May or June. The master or owner could then make one voyage (outward and return) or several according to the terms of the licence and had usually to submit to certain restrictions. Some licences, for instance, were valid for «the middling sort» of pilgrims only;[155] others might have to yield

142) *CPR, 1216-1225*, pp. 237-328.
143) *Ibid.*, 1272-1281, p. 138.
144) *Calendar of Chancery Warrants, 1244-1326*, p. 18.
145) *CPR, 1315-1317*, p. 392.
146) *Ibid.*, p. 377.
147) *Ibid., 1317-1321*, p. 269.
148) *Ibid., 1272-1281*, p. 138.
149) *Ibid.*, p. 361.
150) *CCR, 1318-1322*, p. 510.
151) *Ibid., 1360-1367*, p. 197.
152) PRO, T/R, C76/138 m21.
153) PRO, T/R, C76/156 m2.
154) Supra, p. 64-65.
155) Supra, p. 65.

to prior claims.[156] Nearly always the three promises were required[157] which, although they were enjoined upon his passengers, were the terms upon which the master or owner was granted his licence.

The owner sometimes supervised the preparations speaking «many a Royalle word».[158] Carpenters made cabins which were none too robust: «many a febylle celle».[159] Sacks of straw were provided for passengers' bedding, and food and drink taken on board to give them their boiled or roast meat and hot malmesey.[160] Passage money entitled travellers to a place and meat and drink and it was the master's duty to put in if necessary at certain havens to obtain fresh water, bread and salt.[161] From the terms of his licence the master or owner knew the maximum number for whom he had to provide and knew too that to convey anyone unlawfully was to risk the forfeiture of his ship[162] or to carry numbers in excess of those permitted by his licence was to invite an official inquiry.[163]

3. Hazards

Whether the pilgrims' route lay by land or by sea there were many hazards to be faced, either from nature or from their fellow men. Bad weather added to the difficulties and dangers of the passes of the Pyrenees and of some of the rough roads of France and Spain. Storms delayed sailings or brought shipwreck and loss of life such as that of 1332 when many pilgrims were drowned off Dunster in Somerset.[164] Wherever their crossing pilgrims might have justifiable misgivings,[165]

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156) Licenses of 1428 were granted (in certain cases) provided that the earl of Salisbury's expedition were not impeded; *PRO, T/R, C76/110 ms 7,8.*

157) Supra, p. 65.

158) *Pilgrims' Sea Voyage and Seasickness*, E.E.T.S., XXV, London, 1967, p. 40, l.58.

159) *Ibid.*, p. 40, l.64.

160) *Ibid.*, p. 39, l.47, 49.

161) S. Heath, *Pilgrim Life in the Middle Ages*, London, 1911, p. 164.

162) *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, III, p. 120a.

163) *CPR, 1422-1429*, p. 403.

164) *CIPM*, X, no. 265.

165) For when they have take the see
At Sandwich or at Wynchlysee
At Bristow or where that hit bee
Theyr hertes begin to fayle. «*Pilgrims*» *Sea Voyage*, etc. p. 37, l.4-1.8.

even in the late Middle Ages when the voyage was well tried and the sailings to Galicia a familiar feature of Jubilee Years,[166] and the only comfort which one of the crew could offer was the promise of a storm or squall.[167]

Polluted water could cause sickness and death and many travellers had cause to be grateful to Aymery Picaud, author of the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, for his advice on the safe and unsafe drinking water on the journey from the Pyrenees to Santiago.[168] Barren desolate country had its hazards too, for those who were ill-provided with food and drink would die of hunger or thirst. The Landes of the Bordelais were especially feared for their desolation and shortage of everything. In the early twelfth century they were described as lacking bread, wine, fish, water and springs[169] and in the late fifteenth century a German traveller advised his readers to avoid the Landes if they could but, if they must pass through, to be sure to have plenty of food and drink for many had died of hunger and thirst and were buried by the roadside.[170]

Fever was an ever-present hazard and one to which Richard Adams succumbed in 1345 or 1346.[171] It might be caused not only by indiscriminate eating and drinking but also by stings and bites like those of the huge flies («guespe» or «tavones») of the Landes which attacked travellers' faces. Aymery Picaud warned his readers to be particularly careful to keep their faces covered when passing that way during the summer months.[172]

In most respects, however, pilgrims had less to fear from nature than from their fellows. As pilgrims they should have received kindness and hospitality from all whom they met, according to the exhortation

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166) Infra chapter 4, pp. 111-117.

167) Ye shall have a storm or a pery
Holde thou thy pese! Thou canst no whery
Thou medlyst wonders sore. *Pilgrims Sea Voyage*, etc. p. 37.

168) *L.S.J.*,I, (Book IV) cap. VI, pp. 353-354, «De fluminibus bonis et malis qui itinere Sancti Jacobi habentur».

169) *L.S.J.*, I, (Book IV), p. 355.

170) J.M. Lacarra, *P.S.J.*, II, p. 56.

171) *CIPM, XII*, no. 87.

172) *L.S.J.*, loc. cit.

of the author of the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*;[173] and they were protected by both pontifical and royal decrees. The Lateran Council of 1123 imposed sentence of excommunication on those who robbed pilgrims[174] and kings of Navarre and Castile punished severely anyone offending against their protective decrees.[175] The Trastamaran kings were less disposed (probably for political reasons) to protect pilgrims but by the fifteenth century it had become customary in Jubilee Years to take them under royal protection. Both Juan II of Castile and Fernando and Isabel made proclamations to this effect.[176] Nonetheless, despite royal protection pilgrims were subjected to every form of theft and fraud from robbery with violence to cheating over small change. The whole journey presented unlimited opportunities: on the road or aboard ship, in inns and hospices, even in the city of the Apostle itself.

On the road through Gascony many pilgrims had been robbed by a local lord, William Chisi, until Richard I captured his castle and hanged him in 1190;[177] John Newmarket was robbed by his own chaplain, who was caught with the jewels on him and imprisoned in 1233;[178] Oger de Acromonte seized both the persons and goods of pilgrims in 1252;[179] Emery Redvers was robbed near Capsus (Gironde) on his return from Santiago in 1254;[180] a fellow-passenger of William Wey on the «Mary White» had his purse cut from his belt and his money and jewels stolen;[181] some of Arnold von Harff's party in 1498 were set on and killed.[182]

At sea pilgrims occasionally suffered at the hands of pirates. A returning ship of 1243 was attacked by the Barons of the Cinque Ports

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173) *Ibid.*, pp. 388-389; cap. XI, «Quod peregrini Sancti Jacobi sint recipiendi».

174) J.M. Lacarra, *P.S.J.*, I, p. 267.

175) J.M. Lacarra, *P.S.J.*, I, p. 267; *Ibid.*, III, pp. 109-112.

176) A. López Ferreiro, *Historia, VII*, p. 356; L. Vázquez de Parga, *P.S.J.*, I, pp. 99-100.

177) *Chronicle of Roger de Hoveden*, ed. W. Stubbs, 4 vols., Rolls Series, 1868-1871, III, p. 35.

178) *CCR, 1231-1234*, p. 344.

179) *CPR, 1253-1254*, p. 140.

180) *CCR, 1253-1254*, p. 221.

181) *Itineraries of William Wey*, p. 156.

182) *Pilgrimage of Arnold von Harff*, p. 276.

who, making little distinction between French and English ships, plundered the English vessel and slew even their own countrymen.[183] In 1416 Englishmen captured pilgrims from Britanny[184] and in 1473 some from Ireland, but apparently spared their lives.[185]

In inns and hospices pilgrims were robbed at night and, in the fourteenth century, Englishmen were adept at robbing sleeping travellers. John of London robbed several in a hospice in Estella (Navarre) in 1318[186] and in the next year it was reported to the royal official (*merino*) of Sangüesa (Navarre) that Englishmen and others were roaming the roads in the guise of pilgrims in order to mingle with genuine ones in inns and taverns so that they might rob them while they slept. The miscreants reached Santiago unpunished but were caught on their return, brought to justice and hanged.[187] English thieves were apparently good alchemists, skilled in the administration of potions and sleeping draughts and in 1330 one was hanged in Estella for having drugged travellers' drink and then robbed them.[188] In 1335 a Richard of London was accused of doing the same; he denied it and the charge could not be proved.[189]

The frauds practised on the unwary were of infinite variety and ingenuity and well deserved the scorching censure of the author of the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* in the sermon for the Apostle's feast —Veneranda Dies[190]— and his scathing comments in the chapter on the lands and peoples on the pilgrim route.[191] Travellers passing through the pass of Cise (near Roncesvalles in the Pyrenees) who were exempt from toll (as pilgrims should then have been) and who refused to pay were assaulted

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183) Matthew Paris, *Cronica Majora*, ed. H.R. Luard, 7 vols., Rolls Series, London, 1872-1883, IV, pp. 208-209.

184) B.L. Vespasian, F, iii, 50a.

185) *CPR, 1476-1485*, p. 78.

186) J.M. Lacarra, P.S.J., I, p. 269.

187) *Ibid.*

188) *Ibid.*, p. 270.

189) *Ibid.*

190) *L.S.J.*, I, (Book I), pp. 141-176, of which pp. 160-167 describe the frauds practised on pilgrims and travellers.

191) *L.S.J.*, I, (Book IV) pp. 355-360; cap. VII, «De nominibus terrarum et qualitatibus gencium que in ytinere Sancti Jacobi habentur».

and the money extracted from them by main force.[192] On reaching the Apostle's city they might be met by some smooth-tongued lodging-house keeper who greeted them as friends from afar, offered good lodging in his house but gave only very bad accomodation. Innkeepers gave customers good wine to sample and then sold them wine of inferior quality; shopkeepers sold stale fish or meat or gave short measure of corn or wine by cunningly contrived measures. Some took in travellers and, having accepted their money, turned them out when others offered to pay more; others refused to give shelter unless pilgrims also bought meals or they cheated them over the true value of their coins. Shopkeepers in the city knew numerous tricks for adulterating quality and manipulating quantity for commodities of all kinds and even for overcharging in defiance of capitular and municipal ordinances which fixed both prices and standard measures of all foodstuffs and of most things which pilgrims needed.[193] Moneychangers used one scale for buying and another for selling and even those in charge of altar offerings in the cathedral were not above paying innkeepers commission if they brought in their customers to make offerings. All these practices had evidently been perfected by the twelfth century if not earlier.

Changes in the political climate affected the hazards to which pilgrims were exposed and the treatment which they received but probably not until the pilgrimage was losing some of its pristine fervour.[194] Pilgrimage probably was very little affected by diplomatic relations[195] so long as pilgrims remained bona-fide ones. But there were occasional indications during the Hundred Years' War that their treatment was governed less by their pilgrim status than by their nationality. In 1375 six pilgrims from Barton and Beverley were seized on their way home from Santiago at the town of «Bures»[196] and imprisoned because they were enemies.[197] Their capture took place

192) *Ibid.*, p. 356.

193) A. López Ferreiro, *Fueros municipales de Santiago y de su tierra*, 2 vols., Santiago, 1895-1896, I, chap. VI. passim.

194) Probably in the XIVth and XVth centuries, described as «centuries of decadence», supra, pp. 46-47

195) P.E. Russell, *The English Intervention in Spain and Portugal in the time of Edward III and Richard II*, Oxford, 1955, p. 10.

196) Either Borres on the road from Oviedo to Lugo or possibly Burgos, both in Castile.

197) *Memorias of St. Edmund's Abbey* ed. T. Arnold, Rolls Series, 3 vols., London, 1890-1896, III, p. 333.

after a change of dynasty and of political alignment in Castile. Under Pedro I (1350-1369), an ally of England, pilgrims could visit Castile unmolested and, in common with all Englishmen coming to that kingdom, even enjoyed certain privileges under the terms of the treaty of Libourne (1366).[198] In 1369 the throne passed to Enrique de Trastámara, an ally of France and therefore an enemy of England. Six years later English pilgrims were described as enemies and sentenced to execution.[199] A similar attitude was apparent in the reign of Juan I (1379), son of Enrique de Trastámara, when, in an interview at Bayonne in 1388, his ambassadors were asked by the duke of Lancaster that pilgrims and merchants of their respective countries should be safe by land and by sea and especially those who wished to go to Santiago.[200] The duke received the answer that such a suggestion was impossible by the terms of the alliance concluded with France by Enrique and ratified by Juan and that such «pilgrims» would be fine gentlemen and knights («grandes señores y caballeros»).[201] The hazard of capture as an enemy alien was of course minimised by the use of the longer sea crossing to Corunna which took pilgrims (in sizeable groups) to within some forty miles of Santiago. From 1395 onwards many pilgrims used this route and journeyed in Jubilee Years when they were frequently protected, by royal decree, from molestation, seizure or distraint.

Later in the fifteenth century there were also overtones of the Wars of the Roses. Louis XI had favoured the Yorkist cause as Dauphin but as king he transferred his support to the Lancastrian side and, although by the terms of a treaty negotiated by Queen Margaret, the subjects of either king could travel freely in each other's domains, so long as the troubles lasted Englishmen in France for any purpose had to shew evidence of Lancastrian allegiance and those travelling to Gascony for trade or any other purpose needed a licence from the king of France.[202]

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198) Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

199) «In qua quidem civitate capti fuerunt tamquam inimici et incarcerati et in compedibu fortiter positi et ligati per XV septimanas et statuta erat dies in qua debuissent decolari». *Memorials of St Edmund's Abbey, loc cit.*

200) *Crónica de los Reyes de Castilla*, Biblioteca de autores españoles, Madrid, 1953, II, cap. iii, p. 124.

201) *Ibid.*

202) E.F. Jacob, *The Fifteenth Century*, Oxford, 1961, p. 352.

Thus this political alliance, although the converse of its predecessor, made pilgrimage by sea rather than by land, if not a lesser hazard, at least a greater convenience.

Not all pilgrims survived the rigours and the hazards of the journey. Matilda Wolsey's husband, William, died on pilgrimage and his burial was witnessed by two fellow-pilgrims who testified to it in 1200;[203] Walter Flambard's brother also died on pilgrimage about the same time;[204] John Canty and his fellow-pilgrims were drowned (either on their outward or return journey) near the Somerset coast in 1332;[205] Robert Gamel reached Santiago but died on his way home in 1346.[206] Those who were fortunate enough to reach their goal paid their respects at the Apostle's shrine; visited other churches in the city; made their confession (in their native tongue for there were English-speaking confessors) and Communion; fulfilled all the conditions necessary for gaining the indulgences which had been the prerogative of the cathedral since the twelfth century,[207] and took part in whatever ceremonies were in progress, either for the Apostle's feast or for some other major feast. At these ceremonies English pilgrims of the fifteenth century enjoyed special privileges. In Santiago they were chosen before all others to carry the canopy over the Blessed Sacrament in the procession on Trinity Sunday.[208] In Corunna they heard a sermon preached by an English Bachelor of Sacred Theology.[209]

The duration of the feast of the Apostle was, by custom, the vigil, feast and morrow of 25 July. Most pilgrims, therefore, arrived on the vigil and left on the third day although some prolonged their stay. Margery Kempe's stay in 1417 lasted a fortnight[210] but some of the time would have been spent in returning to Corunna and waiting for

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203) *Curia Regis Rolls*, vols. I-XIV, London, 1922-1961, I, p. 151.

204) *Ibid.*, II, p. 101.

205) *CIPM.*, X, no. 265.

206) *Ibid.*, XII, no. 93.

207) Supra, p. 40.

208) *Itineraries of William Wey* p. 154.

209) *Ibid.*

210) *Book of Margery Kempe*, p. 110, l.28.

a sailing. William Wey in 1456 spent seven days in all in Galicia, four in Santiago and three in Corunna.[211]

4. Homecoming

Before leaving, pilgrims who were returning by the land route would have to provide for their material needs, food and drink to last until the next halt, perhaps new shoes bought from one of the numerous shoemakers of the city or, if they were poor, given by one of the gilds of Santiago.[212] Few went home without the emblem of the Jacobean pilgrimage attached to their hat, cloak or scrip. This was the scallop shell, either the natural one (*vieira*), common in the waters of Galicia, or a model in base or precious metal or in pottery or jet, which they bought from authorised stall-keepers outside the north door of the cathedral. In the twelfth century the scallop had come to be recognised as the emblem of St James and to symbolise his miraculous power because, according to a legend of unknown origin, he had saved the life of a young nobleman whose bolting horse had carried him into the sea where he would have been drowned but for the intervention of the saint.[213] He emerged from the water with numbers of scallop shells clinging to his clothes and the shell thus typified the efficacy of the saint and became his emblem. In the later Middle Ages a few pilgrims also took back a certificate of pilgrimage known as a *compostela* issued by the Cardinal Penitentiary of the cathedral. These certificates, although they provided proof that a penitential pilgrimage had been completed, were not in general use until after the close of the Middle Ages when they served the additional purpose of separating false from genuine pilgrims. The former were reaching the city in such number that they were forbidden to remain there beyond three days but the latter, if they presented their certificate to a notary public, could remain longer.[214] As *compostelas* became rarer after the pilgrimage faded into obscurity they were treasured among family papers and sometimes even entailed.[215]

When pilgrims reached home their dress, insignia and emblem became more than evidence of the pilgrimage accomplished. They were

211) *Itineraries of William Wey*, p. 153, 154.

212) L. Vázquez de Parga, *P.S.J.*, I, p. 79, no. 30.

213) *Ibid.*, p. 132.

214) P.P. Constanti, *Notas viejas galicianas*, 3 vols., Vigo, 1935, I, p. 352.

215) R. Ford, *Handbook for travellers in Spain*, 2 vols., London, 1845, II, p. 676.

the livery to be worn in processions on feast days (especially on the feast of St. James) and at confraternity meetings and banquets. These confraternities, founded usually by those who who had made the Jacobean pilgrimage, were known in France, Flanders, Germany and England from the thirteenth century onwards.[216] They were established in honour of the saint, to commemorate the pilgrimage (by special ceremonies on the vigil and day of the feast) and sometimes to provide funds for their members who wished to go to Santiago. Membership was originally restricted to those who had made a voluntary, not a penitential pilgrimage; but in the later Middle Ages brothers and sisters were admitted who had not actually been to Santiago. In England numerous confraternities, either dedicated to St. James or to other saints but with ordinances directed to honouring him or promoting his cult, were in existence by the fourteenth century. The fraternity of St. James in Holme, Norfolk, had been founded some «time without memory»;[217] that of St. James of Lynn, Norfolk, which had solemn High Mass on 25 July in the chapel dedicated to the saint, went back to «a long time before the Great Pestilence»;[218] that of Icklingham in Suffolk (1364) provided a taper to burn before the image of St. James.[219] At Burgh-le-Marsh in Lincolnshire a Jacobean gild was a thanksgiving offering for a favour received. It was founded in 1365 by five men who had vowed to make a pilgrimage and, having done so, met with a storm at sea. They promised that, if they reached home safely, they would build an altar in the saint's honour in their church of St. Peter. The gild altar commemorated their safe homecoming and their gratitude.[220] In Norwich the fraternity of St. James kept its gild day on the Sunday following the 25th of July.[221] The brethren of the gild of St. James of Sall, Norfolk, were all required to attend vespers on the vigil of the saint's feast and to say a psalter of the Virgin for the souls of departed; each member was expected to make an offering of a half-penny at the Mass on the feast day and gild funds provided a torch and three candles to burn before the image of St. James at Mass and vespers of 25 July.[222]

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216) L. Vázquez de Parga, *P.S.J.*, pp. 247-252.

217) PRO, Chancery Miscellanea, C47/42/235.

218) *Ibid.*, C47/43/251.

219) *Ibid.*, C47/46/427.

220) *Ibid.*, C47/39/91.

221) *Ibid.*, C47/43/297.

222) PRO, Chancery Miscellanea, C47/44/321.

In the church of St. James, Bury, Suffolk, the Jacobean gild was founded to provide lights before the saint's image;[223] in Gazely, Suffolk, the gild maintained its own chaplain.[224] In Lincoln three gilds gave financial assistance to pilgrims: the Tailors' Gild (1328) whose brethren provided a penny for those going to Jerusalem and a half-penny for Rome and Santiago,[225] the Gild of Corpus Christi in the parish of St. Michael on the Hill whose members were to contribute a penny towards the expenses of anyone going to Jerusalem, Rome or Santiago and to lend him the gild cross which he was to receive at the starting point of his journey (the Hospital of the Innocents, just outside the city)[226] and the Gild of the Resurrection (1374) whose brethren were to give at least a halfpenny apiece and to escort the pilgrim to the city gate.[227]

Gild members usually welcomed returning brethren and escorted them to the parish church where there would be a Mass or some other service of thanksgiving. If a brother or sister had been among the unfortunate ones who had died on pilgrimage gild ordinances required that his fellow-gildsmen 'shall do for his soul what would have been done if he had died in his own parish'.[228]

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223) *Ibid.*, C47/46/410.

224) *Ibid.*, C47/46/422.

225) *English Gilds*, ed. Toulmin Smith, *E.E.T.S.* London, 1870, p. 182.

226) PRO, Chancery Miscellanea, C47/40/135.

227) *English Gilds*, p. 177.

228) *Ibid.*, p. 182.

3.

ITER SUUM ARRIPUIT: THE JOURNEY BY LAND AND SEA

WHEN an English pilgrim of St. James started on his journey (*iter suum arripuit*) he might take any one of three routes. There was the shortest crossing from Dover to Calais or Wissant which took about eight hours in favourable weather and, if the crossing had been rough, there was the Maison Dieu, St. Nicholas of Calais, where pilgrims could rest and refresh themselves. From Calais pilgrims continued the journey on foot or on horseback through France, across Spain, often by way of Roncesvalles, along the route known by the mid-XIth century as the «Way of St. James», *camino de Santiago* or *camino francés* because so many Frenchmen used it. Alternatively there was the longer crossing from Southampton or some West Country port to Bayonne where, after disembarking, pilgrims joined a road which ran in a south-westerly direction through Irún to Burgos on the camino de Santiago, which they then followed to the Apostle's shrine. A third possibility was the still longer sea voyage, which took between four and fourteen days according to the weather, from various English coast on the west, south and east coasts direct to Galicia. Pilgrims might put in at Corunna (the most favoured port in the later Middle Ages) or occasionally at other ports of the Atlantic coast, Muros, Noya, Finisterre or Lisbon.[1] From the port they finished the journey overland. This third route was sometimes known as the «Way of Portugal» or *camino de Portugal.*

All three routes were used at various times during the Middle Ages but the use of a particular route was often determined by political or economic factors rather than the pilgrim's own choice. Crusaders of 1147, for instance, on their way to the Holy Land perforce made the whole journey to Galicia by sea.[2] On the other hand, Philip of Poitiers, whose

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1) The first four are quoted by J.M. Lacarra, *P.S.J. II, p. 37 and L. Huidobro y Serna, Las Peregrinaciones Jacobeas*, 2 vols., Madrid, 1950, I, p. 303. Lisbon was used by Crusaders, some of whom went to Santiago.

2) Infra, pp. 103-104.

pilgrimage was made in 1201 when the Angevin Empire extended over most of France and pilgrims could travel all the way to the Pyrenees through English territory, used the land route and on his journey through Poitou visited another famous shrine, St. Jean d'Angély.[3] A diplomatic mission to the Papal court during the «Babylonish captivity», such as that of the prior of Rochester in 1346, included a variety of routes. The Prior's outward journey took him via Dover and Wissant, through France and Gascony, and his pilgrim journey began at Bayonne where he joined the Irún-Burgos route; but on his return to England he sailed from Bordeaux to Southampton.[4] Michel has suggested that some ships going to Gascony for the wine harvest first went to Galicia, disembarked their passengers (pilgrims) there and then proceeded to Bordeaux, or that others disembarked them at Bordeaux, leaving pilgrims to cross the Pyrenees or take the road from Bayonne and thence across Spain.[5] If this opinion is tenable then it is possible that the organisation of the wine trade with Gascony influenced the passages available and therefore the route chosen. Since the wine ships sailed in convoy during the Hundred Years' War travelling with them would protect pilgrims although the time of the harvest was not always the most favoured by those who wished to be in Santiago for the Apostle's feast.

The system of political alliances also impinged on the safety, and therefore the choice of route after the mid-fourteenth century.[6] For, when Enrique de Trastámara overthrew Pedro I, the former was forced by his allies (the French) to forbid any Englishman to enter France without the king's leave and John of Gaunt's enterprise of 1386 exacerbated hostile feelings.[7] In the latter part of the century when the truce of Leulingham (1389) had brought some relaxation of the pressure on merchant shipping, when the dangers at sea were lessened and when signs of recovery from some of the ravages of the Hundred Years' War were becoming evident, there emerged a pattern of pilgrim traffic —the Holy or Jubilee Year sailings— which was to be maintained for

3) *Chronicle of Roger de Hoveden*, ed. W. Stubbs, 4 vols. Rolls Series, 1868-1871., IV, pp. 157, 161, 174.

4) PRO, Exchequer, Various, Nuncii, E101/312/16.

5) F. Michel, *Histoire du commerce et de la navigation à Bordeaux*, 2 vols, 1867-1870, I, p. 504.

6) The land route was not always safe for English pilgrims, supra pp. 79-80.

7) F. Michel, *op. cit.*, I, p. 513.

almost a century. From 1395 onwards licensed sailings to Galicia[8] enabled pilgrims to go by the direct route in the relative safety of a regular service.[9] If, therefore, (as Michel states) after Gascony was returned to France, the roads were shut to pilgrims,[10] they had an adequate alternative in the regular Jubilee Year sailings established half a century before the fall of Bordeaux.

1. By land

By the twelfth century, the time when the earliest known pilgrims from England were reaching the Apostle's shrine, the land route via France and Spain was, in its main outline, the established route of the whole Middle Ages. Up to the time of Sancho the «Great» of Navarre (970-1035) there were stretches of road between the Pyrenees and the Apostle's city known to be used by pilgrims either because there were along them monastic foundations for receiving travellers and pilgrims[11] or because, with the emergence of the county of Castile as a political entity, communications were maintained between places on the pilgrim way.[12] Throughout the eleventh century hospices and inns were established[13] and the work of Alfonso VI in León and Castile (León 1065-1109, Castile 1072-1109) and of Sancho Ramírez (1063-1094) in Navarre and Aragón, both grandsons of Sancho the «Great», promoted the development of the route in Spain and strengthened the ultramontane links which were to bring the whole of France into the network of European routes leading to the Apostle's shrine. As a result of their work and of the part played by Frenchmen in the «Crusade of Spain» there was, by the twelfth century, the established system of pilgrim routes described (although imperfectly) by a contemporary, Aymery Picaud, author of the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* in Book V of that work, popularly known as the «Pilgrims' Guide».[14]

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8) These sailings are discussed in Chapter IV, pp. 111-117.

9) Hazards were reduced because of the short land journey and from the early years of the fifteenth century the Castilian kings proclaimed special protection for pilgrims in Jubilee Years, supra p. 77.

10) F. Michel, *loc. cit.*

11) J.M. Lacarra, *P.S.J.*, II, p. 16.

12) Burgos and Nájera, the ancient capital of Navarre, *ibid.*, p. 17.

13) *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

14) Supra, pp. 19-21.

By the twelfth century there were, according to Aymery Picaud, four main arteries through France to the Pyrenees: the *Via Tolosana*, the *Via Lemosina* and the *Via Turonensis*. The *Via Tolosana*, so called because it passed through Toulouse, was the most southerly route and used by those who came from Provence, Italy, Greece and the eastern Mediterranean, some of whom, therefore, had also visited the two other great shrines of Rome and Jerusalem. It went by way of Arles with the shrine of St. Trophime and then through St. Gilles where the Knights Hospitallers had their Grand Priory. Across the Rhône, in a south-westward direction, was Montpellier where pilgrims might find shelter in various hospices. From Montpellier two roads led to Toulouse; one ran inland via St Pons and Castres and on this was to be seen the shrine of William of Aquitaine, standard-bearer to Charlemagne, which Amery commended to his readers.[15] The other, reputedly more frequented, kept closer to the coast and went by way of Béziers, Narbonne and Carcassonne and travellers who used it could stop at the shrine (again at Amery's suggestion) of Tiberius, Modestus and Florentius, all of whom suffered martyrdom under Diocletian.[16] At Toulouse, the next important town, was the shrine of St Sernin and from there the route went south-westwards to the foothills of the Pyrenees and to Oloron where the eastern mountain crossing started. The road climbed to the summit where stood the famous hospice of Santa Cristina de Somport, endowed by kings of Aragon and viscounts of Béarn, protected by Popes and considered by Aymery Picaud to be one of the three greatest hospices in the world.[17] From Santa Cristina the road went down a valley through which the river Aragón wound down to Canfranc, the first township of any importance on the way down the mountains, a mere customs post with no life of its own.[18] At the foot of the valley, in a quiet green plain, was Jaca, a place of some importance in Amery's day, with a church of St James and a hospice for pilgrims, who passed through without paying toll, exempt by a grant of Sancho Ramírez of Aragón.[19] After Jaca the route continued westward close to the river Aragón, leaving

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15) *L.S.J.*, I, (Book IV), p. 364.

16) *Ibid.*, p. 365.

17) *Ibid.*, p. 353.

18) J.M. Lacarra, *P.S.J.*, II, p. 421.

19) L. Vázquez de Parga., J.M. Lacarra y J. Uría Riu, *P.S.J.*, III, p. 109; (Customs tariff of this king).

to the south the famous monastery of San Juan de la Peña (an old foundation which came under Cluniac reform during the reign of Sancho the «Great» of Navarre) and it finally reached Puente la Reina (in Aragon).

The importance of the *Via Tolosana* was probably increased by the reconquest of the Ebro valley in the early twelfth century, for there was thereafter an alternative route for making the three great pilgrimages —Jerusalem, Rome and Santiago. Instead of sailing through the Straits of Morocco and up the Atlantic coast of Portugal and Galicia, it was possible, by the mid-century, to use the land route through Provence, disembarking for this purpose at Marseilles and joining the *Via Tolosana* at Arles or Montpellier. Two Englishmen who could have used such a route were Henry of Blois and St Godric of Finchale. The bishop, who left Rome about 1153, did not go north through Tuscany, Lombardy and Burgundy but returned by sea,[20] but whether his sea passage ended at a Mediterranean port and continued through Provence and across the Spanish kingdoms or took him around the Atlantic coast and into the English channel is not clear from John of Salisbury's explanation.[21] Similarly the return journey from Jerusalem of St Godric of Finchale might (for lack of detail on the part of his biographer, Reginald of Durham)[22] have taken him too along the *Via Tolosana*.

The *Via Podiensis*, named from Le Puy (Notre Dame du Puy), starting, according to Aymery, in Le Puy, was favoured by the Burgundians and Teutons. An English pilgrim who was on (or very near) it in the early XIVth century was Matilda Bionie who met with disaster when the boat in which she and her fellow-pilgrims were travelling was upset on the river Rhône near Valence (1330).[23] The route went south-west through the Cevennes, past Conques and the shrine of Sainte Foy (another shrine commended by Aymery to his readers)[24] and down the valley of the Lot to Cahors. To the north-west of Cahors but off the

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20) Marino itinere rediens'; *Historia Pontificalis, Joannis Saresberiensis*, ed. R.L. Poole, Oxford, 1927, p. 82.

21) *Ibid.*, «Peregratis Hispanis usque ad Sanctum Jacobum...Reversus est.»

22) «...Atque in regrediendo Beati Jacobi limina adiit.» *Libellus de vita et miraculis Sancti Godricix*, ed. J. Stevenson, Surtees Society, XX, 1847, p. 34.

23) *Calendar of Papal Registers, Letters II, 1305-1342*, p. 318.

24) *L.S.J.*, I, (Book IV), p. 365.

route of the «Pilgrims's Guide» was Rocamadour, a shrine of the Virgin which came into favour in the second half of the twelfth century and was thereafter sometimes included in Jacobean itineraries.[25] From Cahors the road continued, always in a south-west direction, to Moissac, crossed the river Garonne and reached Ostabat where the western crossing of the Pyrenees began.

The *Via Lemosina*, which took its name from Limoges, crossed central France. Aymery took its starting point as Vézelay where, he commented, «the most worthy body of the blessed Mary Magdalen should rightly be venerated.»[26] The route went on in a general south-western direction through La Charité and Bourges, past the shrine of St Leonard of Limoges (which pilgrims were to visit) to Prigueux. The river Garonne was crossed at La Réole and the route continued southwards ending, like the *Via Podiensis*, in Ostabat, the start of the western crossing of the Pyenees.

The *Via Turonensis*, named from Tours, started (according to Aymery) from Orléans but was evidently linked with Blois to the south-west, Paris, Amiens and St Omer to the north, Liège to the north-east and Rheims to the east-north-east. Along it came pilgrims from the Baltic lands, Flanders, northern France and sometimes from England. Aymery Picaud made no mention of English pilgrims on any of his four routes but the *Via Turonensis* was evidently convenient for those who made the Channel crossing. Within a half-century of Aymery's writing a prominent English cleric, Philip of Poitiers, bishop of Durham, who had crossed from Dover to Wissant early in 1201, was on the *Via Turonensis*, visiting the shrine of St John Baptist at St Jean d'Angély (Poitiers) and en route for Santiago.[27] From Tours Aymery's route went past Poitiers, famous for its association with St Hilary and then Saintes, through Blaye, past Bordeaux near the tomb of St Severinus and through the Landes of the Bordelais to join the other two routes at Ostabat, starting point of the mountain crossing.

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25) A group headed by Sir Geoffrey Poulgon visited Rocamadour in 1383 with a safe-conduct from Richard II, *Foedera*, Hague edition, III, p. 157.

26) *L.S.J.*, I, (Book IV), p. 365.

27) *Chronicle of Roger de Hoveden*, ed. W. Stubbs, 4 vols., Rolls Series, London, 1868-1870, IV, pp. 157, 161.

If Aymery's description of these four roads seems no more than a succession of minor shrines to be visited with the major one of Santiago as the climax, it was in fact his intention to confine himself to certain places in order to enable his readers to form some opinion as to the cost and length of the journey.[28] His choice of four main routes was substantially sound, however, because evidence of the passage of pilgrims existed in the halts or «sauvets» along or near all four routes (of the Pilgrim's Guide) and often in the shadow of a monastery or commanderie. The origins of such halts may be traced to the eleventh and twelfth centuries and, whilst it is true that they were part of the general rural expansion and resettlement taking place in Gascony (and also on the other side of the Pyrenees), their location was influenced, if only in part, by the pilgrimage and some of them were the nuclei from which larger centres —bourgs or even cities— sprang.[29]

Aymery's preoccupation with shrines led him to omit references to pilgrim hospices along his four routes[30] although in his mention of the three great hospices of the world he included one on the Jacobean route, that at Santa Cristina de Somport at the end of the *Via Tolosana*.[31] Perhaps his most curious omissions are references to Cluniac houses (since the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* was, he said, composed in part at Cluny[32] and since the Cluniacs played an important role in the development of the cult of St James) and, for his English readers, references to the hospice of Sauve Majeure (La Grande Sauve), a monastery near Bordeaux and not so far off the *Via Turonensis*. Its renown and its connection with the Jacobean pilgrimage would probably have been familiar to twelfth-century readers and possibly also to Englishmen in Gascony in later centuries. Many pilgrims received hospitality from the community there and some were given or lent a

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28) *L.S.J.*, I, (Book IV), p. 362.

29) This aspect of the pilgrimage journeys in the south of France, the repopulation of Gascony in the XIth and XIIth centuries, is the subject of an interesting study by C. Higounet, «Les chemins de Saint Jacques et les sauvetés de Gascogne», *Annales du Midi*, LXIII, 1951, pp. 293-304.

30) Some of these omissions have been noted in connection with other roads known to have been used by pilgrims: E. Lambert, *Le Pélérinage de Compostelle*, (Études d'histoire médiévale), Paris-Toulouse, 1958, pp. 42-48.

31) *L.S.J.*, I, (Book IV), p. 353.

32) *Ibid.*, p. 389.

horse or an ass for the journey. Before entering Spain they could make their confession, receive the insignia of the pilgrimage (the staff and scrip)[33] from the abbot, draw up their will and, if they so wished, leave valuables in the abbey's safe-keeping. Grateful pilgrims made gifts to the abbey and community, among them an Englishman, Ansgot of Burwell who because (as he said in a letter to the bishop of Lincoln) of the great kindness shewn, to him and his, presented to the abbey and its monks the church of Burwell with its chapel of Agethorp and church of Carlton.[34]

Three of Aymery's routes —the *Via Podiensis, Via Lemosina* and *Via Turonsensis*— converged upon Ostabat which, as meeting point of routes and starting point of the mountain crossing, had various pilgrim hospices. Local tolls, of which the tenths were part of the revenues of the cathedral of Santiago,[35] were sometimes extracted by unscrupulous collectors from unwilling pilgrims who should have been exempt[36] and who evidently made known the extortions of the collectors to the cathedral authorities in Santiago for, in the sermon for St James's feast day, *Veneranda Dies*, the collectors were among those severely castigated.[37] Ill-treatment of pilgrims was also known later in the century to Richard I for, in 1177, as duke of Aquitaine and in control of Dax and Bayonne, he sent troops to the entrance of the pass of Cise and, at sword's point, exacted a promise from Basques and Navarrese that they would no more molest and illtreat pilgrims passing that way.[38] Pilgrims, however, were still paying dues, justly or unjustly, some two and a half centuries later when Samuel Purchas's anonymous pilgrim went through

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33) Supra, pp. 72-73.

34) *Calendar of documents preserved in France illustrative of the history of Great Britain and Ireland*, 918-1206, ed. J.H. Round, London, 1899, p. 488; E. Martène et U. Durand, *Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum*, 5 vols, Paris, 1717, I, p. 247. The former gives a date of 1110, the latter of 1090 which is suspect since it is not within the episcopate of Robert, bishop of Lincoln, 1093-1123.

35) J.M. Lacarra, *P.S.J.*, III, p. 72.

36) *L.S.J.*, I, (Book IV), p. 356.

37) *Ibid.*, I, p. 171; «Et quid de illis dicam qui a peregrinis Sancti Jacobi capiunt tributa? Portageri Ostevalle, sive Sancti Johannis sive Sancti Michaelis pedis portuum Cisere qui ab eis tributa iniusta accipiunt, penitus dampnantur.»

38) *Chronicle of Roger de Hoveden*, ed. W. Stubbs, 4 vols. Rolls Series, London, 1868-1871, II, p. 117.

the pass at San Juan Pie del Puerto (farther up the road from Ostabat) in 1425:

> «And from thennez to Petypont St Jenouhe,
> the ferst toune of Naveron sicurly:
> Up in a hee hull hit is faire sette,
> And ther man schall make her tribett,»[39]

From Ostabat the route went to San Juan Pie del Puerto and, having passed through, pilgrims were confronted with the steep face of the mountains through which they took either the road to the right via the Valcarlos and came out at San Salvador de Ibañeta or else the way to the left up to the top —the dreaded pass of Cise (*Portus Ciserae*). Their next stopping place was Roncesvalles, famous for its association with the rearguard action of Charlemagne's paladins and welcome for its hospice, Nuestra Señora de Roncesvalles, founded in the early twelfth century by the bishop of Pamplona, Don Sancho de Larrosa (1124-1142). The hospice cared for poor and sick pilgrims and many who came through the gates were grateful for its hospitality. By the fourteenth century this was so well known that Edward II permitted its messengers to come to England in 1321 to collect alms for its charitable work[40] which continued until the end of the Middle Ages for Purchas's pilgrim saw it in 1425.[41]

After Roncesvalles the route descended via Burguete and Viscarret to Pamplona, a day's journey. There pilgrims found more hospices, some known in Aymery's time, others later foundations, capitular, royal and private. Pamplona in the fifteenth century was:

> «The chief citie of the Reme of Naveron:
> a fair Cite and a large.»[42]

At Pamplona the route went southwards to Puente la Reina (Navarre) and pilgrims who had taken the western crossing via

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39) *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas his Pilgrimes*, 20 vols., Glasgow, 1905-1907, VII, p. 528.

40) *CPR, 1321-1324*, p. 15.

41) Robert Brian Tate and Thorlac Turville-Petre, *Two Pilgrim Itineraries of the Later Middle Ages*, p. 24.

42) *Ibid.*

Roncesvalles were there joined by those who had taken the eastern one via Santa Cristina de Somport and Jaca and had passed through Puente la Reina (Aragon) and Monreal. All were now on the main highway across the peninsula. This highway was already well trodden by the twelfth century and from Puente la Reina led to Logroño by way of Estella. The latter was a pleasant place, with good bread, excellent wine and plenty of meat and fish[43] and there were hospices for travellers and lepers. Logroño, on the other bank of the Ebro, was one of the towns rebuilt by Alfonso VI of León and Castile after his inclusion of the district known as La Rioja in his kingdom (1076) and was still a frontier town when Purchas's pilgrim passed through in the early fifteenth century:

> «Then to the Groun in Spayne,
> This is the last toune certaine
> Of the realme of Naveron.»[44]

A little to the south-west of Logroño was Navarrete and to the west of this Nájera with various hospices for wayfarers and pilgrims. It had once been the capital of Navarre and an episcopal see until the bishops moved their residence to Calahorra in the twelfth century. Pilgrims passing through Nájera could make a short detour to the south to visit the shrine of San Millán de la Cogolla who, according to tradition, accompanied St James to the battle of Clavijo. Then, continuing along the main highway they came to Santo Domingo de la Calzada. This saint, so called because he had cleared roads and built bridges, had made a hermitage for himself and a hospice for pilgrims in the eleventh century. By Aymery's time settlers, encouraged by Alfonso VI of León and Castile, had enlarged the small hermitage into a growing township with a fine church and, by the fifteenth century, when Purchas's pilgrim passed, the miracles of Santo Domingo were famous.

From Santo Domingo the route went through Belorado and Villafranca, up through the forest of Oca and on to Burgos. Once out of the forest the traveller was, according to Aymery, in Spain and the Tierra

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43) *L.S.J.*, I, (Book IV), p. 351.

44) Robert Brian Tate and Thorlac Turville-Petre, *Ibid.* ll. 43-45, pp. 33-34. See p. 144 for Purchas's Pilgrim's error on this point.

de Campos, where everything abounded: gold, silver, fine horses, bread, wine, meat, fish, milk and honey but where there were no trees and where the inhabitants were evil and vicious.[45] Purchas's pilgrim too found it a pleasant region with good food:

«And witelez ther ben bothe gud and fyn.»[46]

The city of Burgos, famous for its association with the Cid, Castile's national hero, was already of some age by the time of the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*.[47] When the Apostle's tomb was discovered Burgos had a castle and bourg and grew rapidly with the course of the Reconquest to become the capital of the new kingdom of Castile. Its hospice and inns were already numerous by the twelfth century and their numbers increased as the settlements of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Vitoria, San Sebastián, Segura, Salvatierra, Tolosa) opened up the route from France which avoided the crossing of the Pyrenees and ran from Bayonne to Irún and thence south-west to Burgos which thereafter was the junction of two important pilgrimage routes. Outside the city was the famous royal foundation of Alfonso VIII of Castile, the Hospital del Rey, dating (most probably) from the late twelfth century and placed under the jurisdiction of the equally famous abbey of Las Huelgas. The Hospital was not, of course, known to Aymery but both city and abbey were known to travellers of the thirteenth century and it was in the latter that the Lord Edward kept vigil the night before he was knighted by his father-in-law Alfonso X of Castile (El Sabio) and married the princess Eleanor in Burgos cathedral in 1254. The city was known to Aymery as *Urbs Burgas*[48] and Purchas's pilgrim found it a fine, well fortified place:

«And so forthe from thennez to Borker that citee,
A faire toune and a muche sicurly,
And from thennez to Hospitall de Reyne.»[49]

After Burgos the road went westward, dropping to the south-west to Castrogeriz (known to Aymery as *Castro Sorecia*)[50] and, rising

45) *L.S.J.*, I, (Book IV), p. 359.

46) Robert Brian Tate and Thorlac Turville-Petre, ll. 66 p. 34.

47) This book was compiled between 1135 and 1157.

48) *L.S.J.*, I, (Book IV), p. 351.

49) *Ibid.* ll. 69-70 p. 35.

50) *L.S.J.*, loc. cit.

again, through Frómista, a city known in the ninth century, one time rival of Burgos and the *Frumesta* of the *Pilgrim's Guide,*[51] from where it reached Villalcázar de Sirga, near which (on the right hand side of the road) was a monastery and pilgrim hospice dedicated to Saints Facundus and Primitivus which Aymery included in his list of shrines to be visited.[52] Still rising in a north-west direction the route reached Carrión de los Condes, the Karrionus of the *Pilgrim's Guide* and a «fine industrious city with plenty of bread, wine, meat and all manner of things»[53] —an opinion shared by El-Idrisi.[54] Further to the west was Sahagún, named after St Facundus and built on the site of an ancient monastery which had been destroyed by the Muslims and subsequently restored. It regained some of its prominence when Alfonso VI of León and Castile asked Cluniac monks to introduce reforms about 1079, after which it became the mother house of Cluny in Spain. Pilgrims and travellers were given shelter in the eleventh century and, because of its Cluniac connections, French ones were particularly welcome. Later foundations included a Franciscan house of the thirteenth century and, without the walls, a lazaretto well-known by the fourteenth century.

From Sahagún two routes ran to Mansilla de las Mulas; the more northern one followed the track of the *Via Trajana*, the southern one went through desolate country and was less used in the earlier Middle Ages. From Mansilla the way was north-west to León.

León, descendant of the Roman *Legio Septima Gemina*, was capital of the Kingdom of León before the latter's union with Castile. Aymery described it as a «city of king and court and full of all good things.»[55] When, in the second half of the eleventh century, the remains of San Isidoro, «the Egregious Doctor», were brought back from Seville, the city began to attract attention, for many sick and infirm sought cures for their palsy, blindness, deafness or other afflictions and many cures were attributed to the saint's intervention. Hospices for pilgrims

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51) *Ibid.*

52) *Ibid.*, p. 376.

53) *Ibid.*, p. 352.

54) J.M. Lacarra, *P.S.J.*, II, p. 213.

55) «Inde Legio, urbs regalis et curialis, cunctis felicitatibus plena». *L.S.J.*, I, (Book IV), p. 352.

cures were attributed to the saint's intervention. Hospices for pilgrims and travellers existed by the twelfth century; more foundations followed and, in the later Middle Ages, the number of churches exceeded even that of Pamplona or Burgos. The city was linked too with yet another shrine for, before or after their journey to Santiago, many pilgrims went north to Oviedo where, in the cathedral of San Salvador, there was an «Arca Santa» or Holy Chest, containing relics of Christ's Passion, brought from Jerusalem in the early eighth century. This pilgrimage, although not mentioned by Aymery, was known in the late eleventh century and from then onwards was so closely associated with the Jacobean one that for a pilgrim of St James to omit a visit to Oviedo was to visit the servant and ignore the master:

«Quien va a Santiago
Y no a San Salvador
Sirve al criado
Y deja al Señor.»

Purchas's pilgrim made the journey to Oviedo in 1425 and found the going arduous. In the cathedral he saw many relics, among them two pots, reputed to be those of the marriage feast of Cana:

«By younde Brugge on thy right hand,
To Sent Salvador the way is liggand,
where ii pottes may thou se,
In the wich water turnet to wyn at Architriclyne.»[56]

From León pilgrims went south-westwards, past the village of San Martín, to Puente de Orbigo, the bridge and hospital of Orbigo, the *Orbega* of the *Pilgrim's Guide*[57] and many who passed that way in 1434 would have witnessed a knight of León's famous passage-of-arms. In that year, when the feast of St James fell on a Sunday, Suero de Quiñones resolved to hold a tourney, a «Passo Honrosso», by the Jacobean road in a field near the bridge. With his sovereign's permission, he and his knights jousted for thirty days with any who would take up his challenge and accept his conditions. From the Puente de Orbigo the road mounted to a height from which could be seen Astorga, the most

56) Robert Brian Tate and Thorlac Turville-Petre, ll. 79-82, p. 35.

57) *L.S.J.*, I, (Book IV), p. 352.

important place between León and Santiago, an ancient town which had suffered at the hands of Al-Manzor in the late eleventh century and which Aymery knew as *Urbs Osturga*.[58] Various confraternities there supported hospices, some for travellers and pilgrims, some for the sick or infirm and one was of special interest to Englishmen for it was dedicated to St Thomas Becket and founded shortly after his martyrdom.[59] In the early fifteenth century Purchas's pilgrim found Astorga a fine town in its mountain setting:

> «That is a cite and faire is sette,
> There the gret mountaines togeder be mette»:[60]

From Astorga the road went on to Molinaseca and crossed the river Sil at Ponferrada where again pilgrims might find a hospice or, if they had fallen ill, a hospital. Northwest of Ponferrada was Cacabelos, rebuilt by Bishop Gelmírez of Santiago[61] and further again to the northwest was Villafranca whose name reveals it as a settlement of *Franci* (in the eleventh century). After the road had changed from the left to the right bank of the river Valcárcel it passed through Herrerías, a hamlet on whose outskirts was a hospice for English pilgrims known as the «Hospital de los Ingleses) in the late twelfth century.[62] A few miles further on, at La Fava, the road forked, one prong going north-west to Lugo, the other west-north-west to Cebrero, the *Portus montis Februarii* [63] of the *Pilgrim's Guide* and the «Mount of Fave» of Purchas's pilgrim.[64] The road up the pass of Cebrero was a difficult part of the route, particularly in the winter months, but wayfarers found shelter in the monastery hospice at the top. It was a very ancient foundation, possibly of the ninth century, was well known in Aymery's day and still caring for pilgrims in the later Middle Ages.[65] To the north-west of Cebrero was Triacastela, to which rascally innkeepers of the twelfth century sent their agents

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58) *Ibid.*

59) J.M. Lacarra, *P.S.J.*, II, pp. 275-276.

60) Robert Brian Tate and Thorlac Turville-Petre, ll. 109-110, p. 35.

61) *Historia Compostelana* in *España Sagrada*, XX, p. 69.

62) A. López Ferreiro, *Historia*, IV, Apéndice LII, p. 131.

63) *L.S.J.*, I, (Book IV), p. 352.

64) Robert Brian Tate and Thorlac Turville-Petre, l. 116.

65) J.M. Lacarra, *P.S.J.*, II, pp. 313-315.

to bring back unwary pilgrims.[66] On this part of the route (according to Aymery) it was customary for pilgrims to pick up stones to provide cement for the cathedral of Santiago and to carry them as far as Castañeda (*Castaniolla* of the *Pilgrims's Guide*). After the fertile valley of Sarria and Barbadelo, on the hill, (another place to which innkeepers of Santiago sent their touts to bring in pilgrims) the way went down to Portomarín, (the *Pons Minee* of the *Pilgrim's Guide*),[67] on the bank of the Miño where pilgrims crossed, their last important river before reaching their goal.

On the last stretch they passed through Palas de Rey (*Palacium Regis*)[68] where the road from Lugo came down from the north-east, then to Castañeda to which they had carried their stones for the building of the cathedral. Thence the road was almost due west and when they came to the Lavacolla (*Lavamentula* in the twelfth century)[69] they bathed to remove the dust of the journey. When they had one more mile behind them they saw, from the eminence of the Monte do Gozo (*Montem Gaudii*)[70] or Mount Joie,[71] the towers of the cathedral of Santiago. At that point many mounted travellers dismounted and finished the journey on foot and those already on foot removed their shoes and went barefoot.

Englishmen who saw the city and cathedral in the first half of the twelfth century[72] saw the basilica as Aymery described it;[73] those who went towards the end of the century saw the work of Master Matthew on the west front either in progress or completed. But besides the basilica there were nine other churches, many monasteries and hospices and a market and fair. If any were fortunate enough to be there in 1211 they would have witnessed the formal ceremony of consecration. Those of the thirteenth century would have observed few changes in the cathedral

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66) *L.S.J.*, I, (Book I), p. 162.

67) *Ibid.*, (Book IV), p. 352.

68) *Ibid.*

69) *Ibid.*, p. 354.

70) *Ibid.*

71) Robert Brian Tate and Thorlac Turville-Petre, l. 131, pp. 36, 53.

72) Their names appear in Appendix I, p. 157.

73) Supra, pp. 40-41.

for then the major structure was complete and, save for less important additions to chapels, alterations to the south door (*Puerta de las Platerías*), the replacement of the lantern by a cupola and improvements to the Bishop's Palace, the basilica of the mid-twelfth century was the same which pilgrims saw until the end of the Middle Ages.

However, not all English pilgrims of St James had come from Roncesvalles. From the thirteenth century onwards another route became more frequented because it spared pilgrims the lengthy, arduous and often dangerous crossing of the Pyrenees. Several factors combined to make this route available. About 1125 a bridge was built across the river Adour at Bayonne; then Gascony came into the English orbit as the result of the marriage of Henry II with Eleanor of Aquitaine and thereafter a number of Englishmen found themselves in Gascony on the king's business and, finally, the grants of settlement («fueros») of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries opened up new centres of population in eastern Castile.[74] So by the thirteenth century it became possible to go from Bayonne to Irún and thence through Tolosa and Segura and the mountain tunnel of San Adrián to Vitoria from where a road ran south-west to Burgos on the main highway to Santiago. Thus Englishmen, whether they crossed from Dover and went through the French king's domain and the lands of the English Crown or whether they sailed to Gascony, could use this new route and indeed there were many who made the pilgrimage throughout the thirteenth century.[75] The details of one such journey were recorded in an expense account submitted to the Exchequer in the early days of the Hundred Years' War. John Sheppey, prior of Rochester, concluded his diplomatic business at the Papal Curia in the spring of 1346 and made his way from Montpellier through the Agenais to Bayonne. From there his pilgrimage began. He obtained Basque safe-conducts for himself and his mounted party from Bayonne to Segura and thence through the mountain of San Adrián to Salvatierra.[76] The road through the mountain led to Vitoria from where there was a well used route to Burgos on the main Jacobean highway. Later in the century and in the succeeding one political factors (the alignments of the Hundred Years' War) made this way less

74) Supra, p. 37.

75) Infra, Appendix I, pp. 157-161.

76) PRO, Exchequer, Various, Nuncii, E101/312/16.

convenient and, with the return of the Papal Court to Rome, the combination of embassy and Jacobean pilgrimage naturally became rarer and English pilgrims could reach Santiago by sea either by special sailings to Galicia or perhaps in association with the sailings of the wine fleets which disembarked them at a Galician port before returning to Gascony for their cargoes.[77]

2. By sea

The sea route to the Apostle's shrine was, like the land route, known to English pilgrims of the «Golden Age». Since it was determined by physical features: channels, currents, winds and tides, it was, in all essentials, the same route as that taken by the Viking raiders and their successors, the Norman pirates. Englishmen came by sea to Galicia during the episcopate of Don Diego Gelmírez (1100-1139) and put in at Padrón[78] and others, members of a Crusading expedition of 1147 came by way of Corunna and the river Tambre.[79] Their fleet, numbering between 160 and 190 vessels was composed of various groups: Anglo-Normans led by William and Radulph,[80] a group from Norfolk and Suffolk under the command of Hervey of Glanville, men of Kent led by Simon of Dover and men of London led by Andrew,[81] men from Bristol and Hampshire and some Scots and Bretons.[82]The combined fleet left Dartmouth on 23 May and part only reached the Apostle's shrine after a voyage of 17 days. Two days out of Dartmouth they were becalmed for most of the day and only came within sight of the Pyrenees on 28 May. They then ran into heavy seas and the fleet dispersed. By 30 May some landed at «San Salvador»,[83] put to sea again and sailed west

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77) Supra, p. 88.

78) *Historia Compostelana* in *España Sagrada*, XX, p. 505.

79) This expedition had various chroniclers; supra, pp. 15-16.

80) H.A.R. Gibb, «English Crusaders in Portugal», *Chapters in Anglo-Portuguese Relations*, ed. E. Prestage, Watford, 1935, p. 9.

81) *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, ed. C.W. David, Columbia University Press, 1936, pp. 55-57.

82) H.A.R. Gibb, *loc. cit.*

83) This, according to one chronicler (Osbert) was known as *Mala Rupis* and has been identified as Gozón, 12 miles north-west of Gijón and 7-8 miles from Cabo Peñas, *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, p. 60. Almost due south of the landing place was Oviedo in which was the cathedral of San Salvador.

to Ribadeo, around Cabo Bares to Ortiguera and thence to *Turrem Faris* (Corunna). They did not land there, however, but sailed west, rounded the coast and reached the mouth of the river Tambre and subsequently the Apostle's shrine. The others sailed on to Oporto, a voyage of another nine days and lent their swords to Afonso Henriques, first king of Portugal, then engaged in the Reconquest. The journey was not only a twofold Crusade but it established Anglo-Portuguese links which were later to bring more English pilgrims along the *camino de Portugal*, for some of the Crusaders settled in Lisbon and were granted special privileges in a covenant with Afonso Henriques.[84] The first bishop of Lisbon was an Englishman, Gilbert of Hastings.[85] Other Crusaders took the same route in the third Crusade (1189) and again took part in the Reconquest, the capture of Silves (near Cape St Vincent in the Algarve) but their chronicler made no mention of a detour to Santiago.[86] According to the Arab geographer, El-Idrisi, who wrote around the mid-twelfth century, English sailors were so familiar with the coasts of Spain and the waters of the Bay of Biscay that the latter was «the sea of the English».[87] In his list of sea routes he included one which went from Bayonne to Santiago.[88]

In the thirteenth century, as the result of various factors,[89] a new land route from Bayonne came into use but the sea route was still used especially if pilgrims were also going to the Holy Land. Simon Whistlegrey was licensed in 1235 to convey pilgrims to Jerusalem, Santiago or elsewhere in his «Gladyhyne».[90] His route could have taken him either to Gascony to disembark passengers at Bayonne or to the Cantabrian coast and via the *camino de Portugal.*

Throughout the fourteenth century many Englishmen used the sea route to Galicia although the vicissitudes of the Hundred Years' War

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84) *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, pp. 111 et seq.

85) *Ibid.*, p. 179.

86) Matthew Paris, *Cronica Majora*, ed. H.R. Luard, 7 vols, Rolls Series, London, 1872-1883, II, p. 341.

87) H.A.R. Gibb, op. cit., p. 9.

88) C.E. Dubler, «Los caminos de Compostela en la obra de Idrisi», *Al-Andalus*, XIX, (1949), p. 103.

89) Supra, p. 102.

90) *CPR, 1232-1247*, p. 98.

sometimes made journeys overseas difficult.[91] John Canty and his companions sailed from a Somerset port in 1332[92] and Reginald Bokking went by sea in 1336.[93] In the late 1360s there were several sailings and a considerable number in the 1390s.[94] In the latter part of the century the voyage to Galicia was well known to West Country mariners who had conveyed so many pilgrims[95] and whose traditional knowledge and seaman-ship served the expeditions of Cambridge and Lancaster, the former to Lisbon, the latter to Corunna. Lancaster's passage of 1386 took about a fortnight (9-25 July) but some of the time was spent in relieving the hard-pressed English garrison at Brest. According to Froissart Lancaster's forces remained for a month lodged in «certain fisher houses» outside the town of Corunna (whilst their ships were unloading) before proceeding to the Apostle's city[96] but in fact his fleet was still in Plymouth Sound on 8 July and too badly needed in England to permit of such a delay.[97]

In the following century Margery Kempe used the sea route in 1417 but made no mention of the crossing, recording merely her departure from Bristol with fair wind and weather and a pasage of seven days.[98] William Wey's voyage in the May of 1456 took only four days. With five other ships he sailed in the «Mary White» from Plymouth and his first sight of the Spanish mainland was «Ortyngez» (Cabo Ortegal), then, further west around the coast, «Cappryez» (Cabo Prior) and «Sesarke» (Islas Sisargas) after which sails were furled and his ship put into the harbour of Corunna. On the outward voyage he made no mention of the English or French coastal landmarks but on his return to England from Corunna he sailed within sight of Browsam Rock, Longshypps, three rocks, Popyl Hopyl, Mountsbay and the Lizard and then put in

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91) Supra, p. 63.

92) *CIPM*, X, no. 265.

93) *Ibid.*, no. 392.

94) These licensed sailings are considered in further detail in chapter 4, pp. 95-102.

95) P.E. Russell, *The English Intervention in Spain and Portugal in the time of Edward III and Richard II*, Oxford, 1955, p. 420.

96) The Chronicle of Froissart, translated by Sir John Bourchier, Lord Berners, 6 vols, London, 1901-1913, IV, p. 301.

97) Russell, *op.cit.*, pp. 421-422.

98) *Book of Margery Kempe*, p. 110, l.10, l.25.

at Plymouth.[99] Ships which came from northern and eastern ports sailed down the east coast past Orwell and the Goodwins to Sandwich. From there one course went to Calais and another down the English Channel, past the Needles (Isle of Wight), marking Guernsey to the south, past Weymouth, Dartmouth, the Lizard and Land's End. Mariners then steered for Ushant, rounded the coast of Brittany, went past Noirmoutier to the Gironde estuary, south to Bayonne and along the north coast of Spain by Santander to Cape Ortegal and Finisterre. Thence their course took them down the west coast of Portugal to Cape St Vincent and «the river of Seville».[100]

Ships from England using these sea lanes might put in at a variety of ports.[101] Their destination was not always stated, however, in documents connected with the voyage. In the rare cases where a port of disembarkation was named it was «La Groyne» (Corunna) or «the parts of La Groyne». Corunna had several advantages. It was the best harbour and well placed for reaching the Apostle's shrine and in the late XIVth century collective safe-conducts could be obtained for pilgrim ships. They were made out in favour of the ship's owner and commonly included the name of the ship, her captain and the number of pilgrims.[102] The use of safe-conducts for trading vessels of all kinds was current in the Hundred Years' War and by the fifteenth century was established practice.[103] Merchant ships of both Castile and England obtained individual ones from each other's Chancery and many appear on English Chancery enrolments.[104] The mercantile ones were sometimes disregarded either by pirates or in the name of reprisals for ships captured by each country. Those for pilgrims seem to have been respected althought there were occasional violations. An English vessel,

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99) *Itineraries of William Wey*, pp. 153, 155.

100) *Sailing directions for the circumnavigation of England and for a voyage to the Straits of Gibraltar*; from a XVth century manuscript, ed. J. Gairdner, Hakluyt Society Publications, LXXIX, London, 1889.

101) Supra, p. 87. In the late XIVth century English ships were using a number of Cantabrian ports according to a grant of Enrique III of Castile: Indice de Privilegios, no. 26, Ayuntamiento de La Coruña.

102) L. Vázquez de Parga, *P.S.J.*, I, p. 84.

103) L. Suárez Fernández, *Navegación y çomercio en el Golfo de Viscaya, un estudio sobre la política marinera de la casa de Trastámara*, Madrid, 1959, p. 106.

104) PRO, T/R, C76/96-159, passim.

the «Catalina» was seized as a reprisal by the citizens of Corunna in 1440 but when this came to the knowledge of the archbishop and chapter of Santiago cathedral, they instructed one of the canons, Fernán Rodríguez, to make representations to the Municipality of Corunna and to obtain the ship's release since, as a pilgrim ship, it was exempt from reprisal measures. As a result of the canon's intervention the ship's captain, «Richarte Armissa» was given back his vessel, everything in her which had been impounded and also a sum of money which had been demanded of him.[105]

That year, 1440, was not, however, a Jubilee Year and pilgrim sailings outside such years were rare[106] and so perhaps viewed with suspicion. Sixteen years later, in 1456, there were no incidents recorded by William Wey when he disembarked at Corunna and English pilgrims were well received and even granted certain favours.[107] This was at a time when English merchant ships bringing goods into Corunna did so only with a safe-conduct from the Municipality.[108] This «Regimen de salvoductos»[109] characterised Anglo-Castilian trading relations and the protection afforded by collective safe-conducts was strengthened by the practice of the Castilian kings of issuing special decrees in Jubilee Years.[110] In 1489, however, by the Treaty of Medina del Campo, the subjects of Henry VII and of the Catholic Sovereigns were allowed to trade and stay in each other's territories without passport[111] and safe-conducts had no longer their previous importance although they did not cease immediately for Spaniards in England.[112] With the development

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105) A. López Ferreiro, *Historia*, VII, p. 160.

106) Infra, pp. 111-117.

107) *Itineraries of William Wey*, p. 154.

108) See Appendix IV, no. 39 of the Indice de Privilegios of the Municipality of Corunna for an agreement of 1456, incorporating a royal licence of the previous year, between the Municipality of Corunna and several (named) Bristol merchants, providing for the mutual free entry into each other's ports of two (named) ships. The corresponding English safe-conducts for the two Spanish vessels mentioned in the agreement appear among the English Chancery enrolments for 1456: PRO, T/R,C76/138 ms 8, 14.

109) L. Suárez Fernández, *loc.cit.*

110) A. López Ferreiro, *Historia*, VII, Apéndice XV, pp. 56-58.

111) *State Papers Spanish, 1485-1509*, pp. 21-24.

112) *Ibid.*, pp. 25, 30, 31, 32.

and the growth of Anglo-Spanish trade in the early Tudor period[113] the sea route to Galicia remained the chosen route of English pilgrims until the end of the Middle Ages. The political and economic aspects of Anglo-Spanish trading relations in this period the sea route to Galicia remained the chosen route of English pilgrims until the end of the Middle Ages.

113) The political and economic aspects of Anglo-Spanish trading relations in this period have been examined by G. E. Connell Smith, *Forerunners of Drake*, London, 1954.

4.

LICENCIAM CONCEDIMUS ET DEDIMUS
LICENSED SAILING AND LICENCE HOLDERS, 1361-1484

SOME of the earliest English pilgrims, it has been noted, came to Santiago by the sea route and many used it during the Middle Ages subject to the vicissitudes of war and the availability of ships. It was not, however, until after the treaty of Brétigny that a pattern of pilgrim sailings became clear. From then onwards the master or owner who wished to convey pilgrims to Galicia applied to the Chancery for permission to do so and received a document formally granting it —*Licenciam concedimus et dedimus*— upon certain conditions.[1]

With the exception of that granted to Simon Whistlegrey over a century earlier[2] these licences began in 1361 and continued until 1484. Until 1423 there were sailings in non-Jubilee as well as in Jubilee Years although they were more numerous in the latter. After 1423 sailings were, with very few exceptions, confined to Jubilee Years.[3]

The first licensed sailings were those of 1361 to Andrew Luttrell and his private party[4] and to Richard Badding and Paul Portsmouth for their commercial venture[5] to be followed by several more in 1368 and 1369 sponsored by men of Winchelsea and Bristol (some in partnership) who were permitted to carry pilgrims in their ships[6] provided that certain conditions were observed. The period was one of respite after the treaty of Bretigny (1361) and the Anglo-Castilian alliance (1362) during which the pressure of shipping was temporarily reduced. In the 1370s, despite two years in which the feast of St James fell on

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1) The reasons for the issue of licences have been suggested supra pp. 64-65 and a description of their form appears on pp. 66-67.

2) *CPR, 1232-1247*, p. 98.

3) See the list of licences in Appendix II, pp. 173-182.

4) *CCR, 1360-1367*, p. 197.

5) *CPR, 1358-1361*, p. 586.

6) *CPR, 1367-1370*, pp. 122, 134, 135, 137, 140, 212.

a Sunday (1372 and 1378), no licenses were enrolled. In 1369 the death of Pedro I of Castle brought into power a Trastamaran king, Enrique II, who was allied with France and so hostile to England; this alliance put the Castilian navy at the disposal of France, either at La Rochelle awaiting instructions[7] or (later) at Gravelines, in the French king's pay.[8] Ships therefore were needed for war purposes and became acutely short after the disasters of La Rochelle in which so many were captured or burnt.[9]

Similarly in the 1380s licensed sailings are not prominent on the Chancery enrolments and again the needs of the war may explain their absence for in this decade much of the West Country and east coast shipping was drawn into the expeditions of Cambridge and Lancaster. Cambridge took only a few ships (twenty-five) and these were only assembled with difficulty[10] but his voyage took place in the late June of 1381, an appropriate time for those hoping to be present in Santiago for the feast of St James. Moreover the ships were immobilised for six months[11] and so not available for either pilgrims or merchandise. At the same time there were other calls on straitened resources (reinforcements for Brittany, safe-guarding of the coasts and shipping threatened by the Castilian navy, the expedition to help Philip van Artevelde). Lancaster's expedition of 1386 was on a larger scale and absorbed some hundred odd ships of almost every port from Bristol to Newcastle-on-Tyne,[12] a total of about 14,000 tons' burden, ranging from the large «Mary» of London of 300 tons to the «Saintmaryboat» of 45 tons, and even this was insufficient without some foreign vessels. Some of the ships impressed for the expedition conveyed pilgrims in the following decade: the «Leonard» of Winchelsea carried 200 in 1391,[13]

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7) P.E. Russell, *The English Intervention in Spain and Portugal in the Time of Edward III and Richard II*, Oxford, 1955, p. 235.

8) *Crónica de Don Pero Niño*, ed. J. de Mata Carriazo, Colección de Crónicas Españolas, vol. I, Madrid, 1940, p. 261.

9) A list of those destroyed appears in N.H. Nicholas, *History of the Royal Navy*, 2 vols. London, 1847, II, pp. 510-513.

10) Russell, *op.cit.*, pp. 304-305.

11) *Ibid.*, p. 314.

12) PRO, Exchequer, E101/40/19, (John Haytfield's list for payment).

13) PRO, T/R, C76/74 m11; the holder of this licence had conveyed pilgrims in 1368: *CPR, 1367-1370*, p. 135.

the «James» of Poole took 60 in 1394,[14] the «cog John» of Bristol took 160 or more in 1395,[15] the «James» of Poole another 80 in 1395[16] and the «Trinity» of Plymouth 60 in 1398.[17] Several others, the «Cog John», «Trinity», «Nicholas», «Saintmarycog» and «Mary», all of Bristol, resumed their normal trading operations by 1396.[18] Clearly the expedition occasioned considerable re-deployment of shipping resources and diverted many West Country ships from the pilgrim traffic.

After Leulingham (1389) the sailings shared in the general revival of trade and between 1390 and 1399 some fifty licences were enrolled, almost half of them for the Jubilee of 1395.[19] In 1390 three sailings were licensed for one ship apiece from Winchelsea, Ipswich and Dartmouth and two of these carried 200 pilgrims[20] In 1391 there were five licences, one for a London ship, the «Isabel»,[21] the others for West Country ships and the numbers conveyed ranged from 80 to 200.

By 1394 there was a slight increase to eight licences although the numbers of pilgrims carried never exceeded 100 and one ship from Yarmouth, the «Gabriel», conveyed only 40.[22] In the following year (a Jubilee) over twenty licences were enrolled and as well as Devon and Dorset ships some came from Yarmouth, Hartlepoole and Newcastle-on-Tyne. The largest took 180 or 200 pilgrims but the majority carried between 40 and 80. Licences were normally for one sailing but some owners obtained more than one licence as did Thomas Caneway for his «James» of Poole.[23] The Jubilee Year saw the peak of the sailings of the century and in the remaining years there were respectively 2, 1, 3, and 2 enrolled licences and, with the exception of one ship of Winchelsea, all were for West Country ships and their passengers ranged from 40 to 80 only.

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14) PRO T/R, C76/78 m13.
15) *CPR, 1391-1396*, pp. 572, 604.
16) *Ibid.*, p. 537.
17) PRO, T/R, C76/82 m5.
18) PRO, Exchequer, K.R. Customs, E122/16/90.
19) List in Appendix II, pp. 173-175.
20) PRO, T/R, C76/74 ms 11, 12.
21) *Ibid.*, C76/75 m4.
22) *CPR, 1391-1396*, p. 405.
23) Ibid., pp. 557, 602.

In the early years of the fifteenth century again the sailings were from West Country ports and up to the year 1403 numbers carried were small. From then no licences were enrolled until 1410 and, in that year, for one ship only —the «George» of Plymouth which was to convey 100 pilgrims.[24] Between 1411 and 1415 the sailings continued and again most of the ships came from Devon and only a few from other ports —Ipswich, Lynn and Southampton— and still the numbers never exceeded 70 and were frequently 40 or 50. 1417 was a Jubilee Year but, because of the preparations for Henry V's second expedition to France, there appear to have been few sailings. Margery Kempe's experience confirms this for she waited six weeks at Bristol for a ship to Galicia and eventually sailed on a ship which came from Brittany.[25]

From 1423 to the end of the century most pilgrims sailed in Jubilee Years, even those who went illegally,[26] and outside such years very few licences were enrolled. In 1423, which was a Jubilee Year, seven licences were granted of which six were for Dorset or Devon vessels and two for those of other ports. One ship only carried a large number of pilgrims (200) —the «Holygost»— belonging to Ralph Huskard, one of the searchers of the port of Southampton.[27] The rest took 60 or 70 pilgrims. Between this Jubilee Year and the next one sailing only was licensed, that of John Nichol of Penzance whose «Katherine» conveyed 24 pilgrims in 1424.[28] The Nichols of Penzance, John and Richard, were among the few who took pilgrims outside Jubilee Years : Richard had taken 24 in his «Mary» in 1415, John took 24 in his «Katherine» in 1424 and 40 in his «Michael» in 1440.[29]

In the three succeeding Jubilee Years (1438, 1434, 1445) thousands were conveyed, sometimes only 20 per ship, sometimes as many as 200. For 1428 fifty-four licences were issued authorising the carrying of 2,842 pilgrims, perhaps 20 in a ship such as the «Mary» of Ipswich, perhaps

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24) PRO, T/R, C76/93 m13.

25) *Book of Margery Kempe*, pp. 107, l.1, 108, l.23.

26) Infra, p. 118.

27) PRO, T/R, C76/106 m14.

28) *Ibid.*,C76/107 m5.

29) *Ibid.*, C76/97 m5; C76/107 m5; C76/121 m15.

200 as in the «Valentine» of Southampton.[30] Ships of the West Country predominated but some belonged to Southampton, London, Ipswich, Newcastle-on-Tyne and Hull.

In 1434 the licences reached a maximum of sixty-one and, if all the ships carried their authorised numbers, which varied this year between 20 and 100, some 2,990 pilgrims sailed. The licences, therefore, were slightly more numerous than those of 1428, but the numbers conveyed only exceeded those of 1428 by about 150 because in 1434 some ships took only 30 or 40 pilgrims and one only, John Bilbrok's «Mary» of Southampton, carried 100 passengers,[31] only half the number conveyed by the «Valentine» of Southampton in 1428. As in the previous Jubilee Year ships of Dorset, Devon and Cornish ports predominated but there were also some from Southampton, London, Ipswich, Harwich, Lynn, Cromer and Hull.

For the Jubilee of 1445 only thirty licences were enrolled but several ships carried large numbers, 200, 140, 120, 100, so that in all some 2,260 persons sailed to Galicia.[32] After this year, however, a decline in numbers both of licences and of passengers became apparent; fifteen licences only were enrolled for the Jubilee of 1451 authorising the passage of some 814 persons and two ships carried large numbers (100), the rest took numbers ranging from 20 to 80. West Country ships continued to serve the pilgrim traffic but their numbers declined relatively for, of the fifteen licences issued, seven were for West Country ships, one for a ship of Winchelsea and seven for ships of east coast ports, particularly East Anglian ones.

No appreciable change was apparent in the next Jubilee Year, 1456, when sixteen licences were enrolled and 811 passengers authorised. Two vessels only carried 100 —the «Mary» of Fowey and the «Mary Talbot» of Lynn;[33] the rest, mostly West Country ships, carried 20, 30, 40, 50, 60 or 80 passengers. The ships mentioned by William Wey as sailing

30) *Ibid.*, C76/110 m8.

31) Ibid., C76/116 m14.

32) This approximate total cannot include those carried by the earl of Oxford in his «Jesus» of Orwell since no limit was placed on the number to be carried; *ibid.*, C76/127 m7.

33) PRO, T/R C76/138 ms 21, 25.

from Plymouth[34] in thos year were not among those whose licences were enrolled.

From this year until 1484 progressively fewer licences were enrolled. There were ten for the Jubilee of 1462 which authorised the carrying of some 920 pilgrims, 300 of them in the «Trinity» of Newport,[35] 100 in the «Mighel» of Poole[36] and numbers ranging from 90 to 30 in the remaining ships. Most vessels still belonged to West Country ports but three were ships of Portsmouth, London (Westminster) and Lynn.

For 1473 (a Jubilee) enrolled licences numbered a mere seven and their authorised passengers totalled 430. Of these seven licences four were for East Anglian vessels, two for ships of Kent and one only for a Devon ship.

The last licences of the century, granted by Richard III and not among the Chancery enrolments[37] were for the Jubilee of 1484. They numbered only ten of which four were for East Anglian ships, two for Bristol ships, one for a London ship and one for a Plymouth ship and two for ships whose home port was not entered in the licence. No authorised numbers were included in these licences.

Some fifteenth-century pilgrims took ship:

> «At Sandwich or at Wynchelsee
> At Bristow or where that hit be»[38]

and some sailed from Plymouth, Dartmouth, Weymouth, Southampton, Rye, Winchelsea, Dover, Yarmouth, Kingston-upon-Hull and Newcastle-on-Tyne. The ships which carried them belonged to home ports all along the coasts from Pembroke to Newcastle-on-Tyne. The earliest licences, those of 1368 and 1369, were, with the exception of that for Simon Salerne's 'Leonard' of Winchelsea, for Bristol ships but the

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34) *Itineraries of William Wey*, p. 153.

35) PRO, T/R, C76/146 m15.

36) *Ibid.*, m21.

37) They are in the Register of Writs and Grants of Richard III, B.L. Harleian, 433, ff. 171b, 172b, 174b, 175.

38) *Pilgrims' Sea Voyage and Seasickness*, E.E.T.S., XXV, London, 1867, p. 37.

sailing of the 1390s included few of these. Instead there were ships of other home ports: Mountesbay, Saltash, Falmouth, Fowey, Plymouth, Dartmouth, Exmouth, Poole, Winchelsea, London, Ipswich, Yarmouth and Hartlepoole. Up to the three Jubilees of 1428, 1434, 1445, most pilgrims sailed in Devon ships although a few belonged to Penzance, Weymouth, Southampton and Ipswich. In the three great Jubilee Years most sailings were in West Country or south coast ships but some came from as far north as Newcastle-on-Tyne[39] and Kingston-on-Hull[40] and some from East Anglian ports.[41] When, by 1451, the number of enrolledlicences had diminished considerably, there were as many ships of East Anglian ports (or with East Anglian names) as of West Country ones. East Anglian ships had little part in the sailings of 1456, being represented only by the 'Mary Talbot' which, however, conveyed a sizeable fraction of the total number permitted on all licences for the year.[42] In the next Jubilee Years of 1462 and 1473 when the enrolled licences were still declining, ships of widely scattered home ports took part in the sailings and in 1484 the few sailings recorded were divided almost equally between West Country and east coast port ships.

The numbers of pilgrims authorised in the licences, although they amount to several thousands, reflect only in part the volume of the traffic. Some ships, although licensed, may have had to yield to prior claims as the terms of their licence required. Andrew Luttrell, for instance, was granted an impressed ship provided that it was not needed for the Seneschal's return to Gascony in 1361.[43] Two licences of 1428, one in favour of John Monke and his partners,[44] the other for Richard Bytenay[45] were valid so long as the earl of Salisbury's expedition to France were not impeded. Similarly Richard Skilman's licence of 1451 was granted provided that his «Mary» of Southwold were not requisitioned[46] and Simon Hagun's of the same year allowed his «Trinity» of

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39) William Bigg's «Katherine» in 1428; PRO, T/R, C76/110 m11.

40) The «Trinity» of Hull, jointly owned, in the same year; ibid., m16.

41) John Hood's «Katherine» of Kingsbridge (1428); ibid., m13 and Thomas Andrew's «Bartholomew» of Harwich (1434); ibid., C76/116 m13.

42) Supra, p. 115.

43) *CCR, 1360-1367*, p. 197.

44) PRO, T/R, C76/110 m8.

45) *Ibid.*, m11.

46) *Ibid.*, C76/133 m11.

Winchester to carry pilgrims if it was not required by Lord Rivers.[47] Apart from such cases, however, most licences were probably used (since they had to be paid for) and most ships probably took their full quota although, if they were also carrying merchandise, fewer pilgrims than the number authorised might be accommodated. Conversely some ships took more than their permitted numbers[48] and others made the voyage (in 1434) without any licence at all, an abuse for which the licence holders had to answer.[49]

Total numbers carried depended too on the period for which the licence was valid and, consequently, how often it might be used. Licences of 1368, for instance, to Walter Derby and William Cannings of Bristol and to Simon Salerne of Winchelsea, ran for six months[50] spanning the most favoured part of the year for pilgrimage. Derby and Salerne also had licences in the following year which ran for twelve months and the terms of the latter's licence make it clear that there was no restriction on the number of voyages.[51] In contrast most of the licences for the 1390s, even for the jubilee of 1395, were valid «for one voyage only»; or «to take them (pilgrims) once and bring them back to England».[52] In the licences of the fifteenth century, whether for Jubilee or other years, there were rarely such restrictions. Enrolments began early in the year[53] and nothing in their wording seems to preclude use throughout the season.

Most licence holders were professional merchants or traders although a few were taking a private party on pilgrimage. In 1361 Andrew Luttrell took his wife and 24 people with their mounts[54] and in 1456 James, earl of Wiltshire took his retinue of thirty servants in the «James» of Weymouth or in any other ship of his choice.[55] At other times the earl

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47) *Ibid.*

48) In the summer of 1428 an official inquiry was held into this: *CPR, 1422-1429*, p. 493.

49) These illegal sailings were also investigated in 1435: *CPR, 1429-1435*, p. 471.

50) *CPR, 1367-1370*, pp. 134, 135, 140.

51) *Ibid.*, p. 212.

52) *CPR, 1391-1396*, pp. 45, 246, 251, 362, 537, 565, 566.

53) Supra, p. 74.

54) *CCR, 1360-1367*, p. 197.

55) PRO, T/R, C76/138 m21.

was engaged in trading activities with Aquitaine and Brittany[56] but this licence of 1456 contained no mention of conveying pilgrims. Such licences as these, however, were exceptional and for specially privileged people. They were not those granted for trading in certain classes of merchandise or with countries outside the king's friendship. These latter were commercial licences granted to merchants commonly engaged in financing, sponsoring or organising trading ventures or else to the masters of their ships. The holders of such licences, although merchants as far as their business activities were concerned, were men of all walks of life. Some belonged to great families; others were royal servants or officials (constables, chamberlains, justices of the peace, tax-collectors, customers or searchers in the ports); others were burgesses of varying wealth and influence (mayors, sheriffs); others were members of seafaring families or even pirates.[57]

The Courtenay family of Devon, for instance, had several members who owned ships and sponsored pilgrims' sailings. Sir Peter, son of the second earl and nephew of the primate (William Courtenay), who had been standard-bearer to Edward III, constable of Windsor Castle, governor of Calais, chamberlain to Richard II and constable of Bristol Castle, was granted a licence early in 1395 to convey 200 pilgrims in his barge.[58] Sir Philip, owner of Powderham Castle, was a younger brother who commanded the Western fleet. He owned several ships some of which were used to convey Henry IV overseas and one of them was licensed to carry pilgrims in 1397[59] and another in 1445 although in the latter case the licence was issued in favour of a master, John Godyng.[60] Another son, Edward, owner also of several ships; sponsored three voyages, all outside Jubilee Years. He held one licence for his «Mary» of Dartmouth to take 60 pilgrims in 1411,[61] another for his «Mary» of Kingswear to take 40 in the following year[62] and another

56) E.M. Carus-Wilson, *The Overseas Trade of Bristol in the Later Middle Ages*, Bristol Record Society, VII, 1937, p. 119.

57) In the wider sense current in the fifteenth century, infra, p. 121, n. 78.

58) *CPR, 1391-1396*, p. 537.

59) PRO, T/R, C76/81 m3.

60) *Ibid.*, C76/127 m4.

61) *Ibid.*, C76/94 m25.

62) *Ibid.*, C76/95 m1.

for his «Margaret» of Plymouth to take 50 in 1413.[63] In the Carew family of Pembroke, Sir Thomas, who had been in charge of the Western fleet in 1417, owned a Dartmouth ship, the «Patrick», which he licensed for the Jubilee pilgrimage of 1428.[64] A noble trader, John de Vere, earl of Oxford, owner of the large, new «Jesus» of Orwell, petitioned Henry VI for leave to take her on a maiden voyage to Galicia in 1445. As a staunch Lancastrian he promised the king that it should be at his disposal in time of need and asked that his licence to convey pilgrims should be granted «without fine or fee».[65] Whether the latter request succeeded is uncertain but the licence was enrolled and the earl was permitted any number of pilgrims.[66] The Bourghchiers too were engaged in trade: Sir William, knight, was licensed to carry 40 pilgrims in his «Trinity Fitzwayn» of Barnstaple for the Jubilee of 1451.[67] No licence was enrolled in his favour in the following Jubilee Year (1456) although he was one of the commissioners of inquiry into the peculiar pilgrim sailing of the «Anthony» of Dartmouth.[68] Henry, Viscount Bourghchier (Treasurer of England in 1455 and earl of Essex in 1461) bought wool on the king's behalf and in return was granted a trading licence.[69]

Besides such patrician traders there were many prosperous burgesses, often of seaport towns, whose wealth was in property and in shipping and whose knowledge of local affairs fitted them for official duties in the service of the Crown.

In Bristol, which had direct trading links with Spain, several prominent men were granted licences to convey pilgrims in 1368 and

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63) *Ibid.*, C76/96 m37.

64) *Ibid.*, C76/110 m7.

65) *Original Letters*, ed. H. Ellis, Series I, vol.i, pp. 110-111, (Letter xxxvi).

66) PRO, T/R, C76/127 m7.

67) *Ibid.*, C76/133 m11.

68) *CPR, 1452-1461*, p. 305. This ship was originally the «Mary» belonging to the Bishop of St. Andrews and freighted with a cargo of wine. It was captured by William Kidd, brought into Exmouth from where it was released unwittingly by Thomas Gille to a William Kennedy posing as the bishop's brother. To elude arrest it entered various ports and finally put back into Dartmouth whence it sailed with a fraudulent pilgrim licence, held by Phillip Allen: PRO, T/R, C76/138 m2.

69) *Ibid.*, C76/138 m6.

1369 which had unusually generous terms. Walter Derby, for instance, one of the city magnates, held a licence for 1368 which ran for six months and set no limit on the number of pilgrims carried so long as they were not of the prohibited categories but the «middling condition, with no great estate».[70] His licence of the following year, granted subject to any prior claim which Edward III might make on his ship the «Gracedieu», was to run for twelve months during which Derby might convey as many as he pleased to Galicia and bring back merchandise.[71] Several of his contemporaries also held licences for these two years. Walter Frompton of Melcombe Regis (Dorset),[72] deputy royal butler, Bristol shipowner and collector with Derby of the subsidy on cloth, conveyed pilgrims (also of «middling condition») in his «Trinity» of Bristol in 1368.[73] William Cannings, of the Bristol dynasty, was property owner, member of various mercantile partnerships, collector of the subsidy on cloth and finally mayor of the city.[74] He was joint holder of one licence of 1368 which ran for a half-year[75] and another of 1369 which ran for a full year[76] and like his contemporary, Derby, was permitted to bring back merchandise.

When, after an interval of twenty years,[77] licences again appeared on the enrolments, pirates were among the licence holders.[78] Two of these were Thomas Norton, subsequently sheriff of Bristol, and John Hanley (or Hawley) the elder, with whom Norton was associated. Norton's licence of 1391 was for one voyage only which he was authorised

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70) *CPR, 1367-1370*, pp. 134-135.

71) *Ibid.*, p. 226. These are his only two pilgrim ventures on the enrolments. The «Gracedieu» did not survive La Rochelle; she appears among the list of those burnt in 1372: N.H. Nicholas, *History of the Royal Navy*, 2 vols, London, 1847, II, pp. 510-513.

72) *CPR, 1367-1370*, p. 40.

73) *Ibid.*, p. 140.

74) *The Great Red Book of Bristol*, ed. E.W.W. Veale, Bristol Record Society, VIII, 1938, p. 295.

75) *CPR, 1367-1370*, pp. 134-135.

76) *Ibid.*, p. 212.

77) For the intervening decades see supra pp. 95-97.

78) The term «pirate» had a wider sense in the fifteenth century when it embraced not merely privateers of the worst type but also merchants, some of whom had letters of marque; C.L. Kingsford, *Prejudice and Promise in XVth century England*, Oxford, 1925, Chapter IV, «West Country Piracy and the school of English seamen».

to proclaim throughout the kingdom and no limit was set on the number of pilgrims whom he might carry and he was also permitted to return with merchandise.[79] John Hanley the elder was a merchant and Spanish ships at the same time that Hanley was a commissioner of inquiry into another piracy.[80] For the Jubilee Year of 1395 there were burgesses of both Bristol and Newcastle-on-Tyne as well as West Country knights among the numerous licence holders. Thomas Knapp, Bristol burgess, member of a commission of oyer and terminer and mayor of the city in 1392, had three licences: two enrolled in May for his «Cog John» and «Barnabas» in which he might take any number of pilgrims, and a third enrolled in July for his «Cog John» to carry 160.[81] Two burgesses of Newcastle-on-Tyne, John Aukland and William Johnson, sponsored a joint venture for this Jubilee but conveyed only 40 pilgrims.[82] Another partnership, of two West Country knights, Sir John Rodney and Sir Humphrey de Stafford, owned a new ship, the «Katherine» of Lyme, which they licensed for a single voyage with 40 pilgrims.[83] Rodney was a local Justice of the Peace and a commissioner of array in Somerset.[84] Another Justice of the Peace in Cornwall, Martin le Ferres, «esquire», also owned ships one of which conveyed 60 pilgrims.[85]

In the early years of the fifteenth century, the «grand era of piracies»,[86] another privateer, Henry (Harry) Pay of Poole, included the pilgrim traffic in his manifold activities. Pay was one of the legends of his age. He raided the Spanish coasts in the late sixteenth century, licensed his «Mary» of Poole to carry 80 pilgrims in 1401,[87] captured ships and goods in defiance of truces[88] (including one ship of Corunna)

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79) *CPR, 1388-1392*, p. 387.

80) Kingsford, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

81) *CPR, 1391-1396*, pp. 572, 604.

82) *Ibid.*, p. 565.

83) *Ibid.*, p. 566.

84) *CPR, 1388-1392*, p. 136; *Ibid., 1391-1396*, p. 93.

85) *CPR, 1391-1396*, p. 566.

86) L. Suárez Fernández, *Navegación y comercio en el Golfo de Viscaya, etc.*, Madrid, 1959, p. 84.

87) PRO, T/R, C76/85 m6.

88) Nicolas, *op. cit.*, II, p. 351.

and intercepted Castilian shipping on its return from Flanders.[89] His raids on Gijón and Finisterre and his desecration of the latter's church and theft of its crucifix so enraged the Castilian admiral Don Pero Niño, that he attacked and fired Pay's native town as a reprisal (1405).[90]

For the Jubilee of 1428 Bristol burgesses were again among the numerous licence holders. Thomas Fish, collector of customs and subsidies, burgess and finally sheriff of the county of Bristol,[91] owned a barge, the «St John» of Bristol which carried 100 pilgrims.[92] John Papenham, exporter, shipowner and later sheriff, had well established trading connections with Lisbon and one of the ships in which he had a share (jointly with William Piers), the «Cog John», took 80 pilgrims for this Jubilee[93] and the same number for the following one.[94] The younger Hanley (Hawley), like his father, was pirate, merchant, shipowner and member of a commission into piracy.[95] He seized not only Spanish ships but also those of his fellow-countrymen and in 1428 petitioned for and obtained a licence for his «Mary» of Dartmouth to convey 40 pilgrims to Galicia.[96]

In the year in which the enrolled licences attained their greatest number (1434), some were held by the ship's owner or owners, others by employed masters and others jointly by both master and owner. The licence of John Papenham for his «Mary» of Bristol (80 pilgrims) was held in his own name and so was that of Richard Trenode, a searcher in all ports from Bristol to Minehead[97] for his «George», whereas that of John Coyle and William Wenard (partners), the latter as an assessor for the war subsidy,[98] for their «Margaret» of Topsham, was in the

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89) L. Suárez Fernández, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

90) *Crónica de Don Pero Niño*, ed. J. de Mata Carriazo, Colección de crónicas españolas, vol. I, Madrid, 1940, p. 207.

91) *Calendar of Fine Rolls, 1422-1430*, p. 22, 107.

92) PRO, T/R, C76/110 m8.

93) *Ibid.*

94) *Ibid.*, C76/116 m13.

95) *CPR, 1413-1416*, p. 36.

96) PRO, T/R, C76/110 m11.

97) PRO, Exchequer, K.R. Customs, E122/182/9.

98) *Calendar of Fine Rolls, 1430-1437*, pp. 54, 74, 174.

name of the master, Richard Petty.[99] Similarly Peter July was licensed to sail Henry Tremayne's «Trinity» of Falmouth.[100] Joint licences were issued to Robert Stedde, master of the «Gabriel» of London and her owners, Hugh Dene and Robert Russaw;[101] to John May, master of the «Katherine» of Hull and her owner, Thomas Marshall of Kingston-upon-Hull, collector of customs and subsidies.[102]

In 1445, the year of fewer licences but greater numbers per ship, Bristol men were again among the licence holders. John Burton, assessor of a tax and collector of customs and subsidies,[103] who had been appointed to inquire into abuses of a previous Jubilee Year sailing,[104] obtained a licence for his «Katherine» of Bristol; Robert Sturmy, shipowner and exporter, pioneer in the direct trade between Bristol and the Levant,[105] held a licence for his «Santa Anna», one of those carrying considerable numbers (200).[106] Another burgess, Henry May, owner of various Bristol ships, licensed one of them, the «Mary» to carry 120 pilgrims.[107] Sir Philip Courtenay's ships were often licensed in the name of a master: the «Trinity Courtenay» in the name of John Godyng,[108] already familiar with the Galician route from his sailing of 1434,[109] and the «Mary Courtenay» in the name of John Hinchin.[110] A London mercantile partnership, David Selly and Nicholas Lolle, was engaged in trade with Spain for which purpose it owned Devon and Cornish ships and employed local masters.[111] Their «James» of Landhelp had two licences for the sailings of this year (1445), one in their own name and another in the name of the master, John

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99) PRO, T/R, C76/116 ms 9, 14. (Two sailings).

100) *Ibid.*, C76/108 m11; C76/116 m9.

101) *Ibid.*, C76/116 m11.

102) *Calendar of Fine Rolls*, 1430-1437, pp. 54, 74, 184.

103) *Ibid.*, pp. 53, 54, 57.

104) *CPR, 1422-1429*, p. 493.

105) E.M. Carus-Wilson. *The Overseas Trade of Bristol in the Later Middle Ages*, pp. 85, 117.

106) PRO, T/, C76/127 m4.

107) *Ibid.*, m7.

108) *Ibid.*, ms4, 10.

109) *Ibid.*, C76/116 m11.

110) *Ibid.*, C76/127 m10.

111) *Ibid.*, C76/116 m5.

Stubbe.[112] Selly also licensed another of his ships, the «Katherine» of Plymouth, sailed by Thomas Higgs.[113]

In 1451 when nearly half the enrolled licences were for East Anglian vessels, most licences were in the owner's name although that of the master frequently appears also. Robert Sturmy's licence for one of his east coast ships, the «Katherine» of Boston, was valid for any deputy whom he might appoint.[114] John Pigot, merchant of Lynn and in the trade with Denmark, held a licence for his «Katherine» of Lynn[115] and Richard Arnold held one for his «Mary» of Cromer to be sailed by John Buk, a Dartmouth man with previous experience of the voyage to Galicia.[116] Similarly two Southwold ships, the «Mary» belonging to Richard Skilman and the «Christopher» belonging to John Waynefleet, were both licensed in their owner's name.[117]

By the following Jubilee Year (1456) when West Country shipping had regained some of its former part in the pilgrim traffic nearly all licences were issued in favour of owners. Robert Sturmy once more licensed one of his many ships, the «Katherine Sturmy».[118] A prominent burgess of Southampton, subsequently sheriff, Vincent Pytlesden, who had trading connections with Brittany, Aquitaine and Spain, owned Plymouth ships and held one licence for merchandise and another for pilgrims.[119] William Brown of Norfolk, who owned ships of Blakeney and Cley, licensed them in his own name but his «Edward» of Blakeney seems to have been sailed by another member of the family—Simon.[120]

In the following Jubilee Years of 1462 and 1473 all licences were issued in favour of shipowners such as Richard Colfe and his partner John Dancaster of Plymouth and John Hall of New Sarum but they were

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112) *Ibid.*, C76/127 ms4, 7.
113) *Ibid.*, m8.
114) *Ibid.*, C76/133 m11.
115) *Ibid.*
116) *Ibid.*, C76/133 m11; C76/116 m9.
117) *Ibid.*, C76/133 m11.
118) *Ibid.*, C76/138 m15.
119) Ibid., ms19, 25.
120) *Ibid.*, m15.

also valid for any factor or deputy.[121] An exceptional case seems to have been the licence granted in 1466 (not a Jubilee Year) to David Ambrose master of the «Mighel» of Penzance.[122] Again for the Jubilee of 1473 all licences were valid for a factor or deputy.[123]

Holders paid for their licences in money or in services. Thomas Knapp, Bristol burgess,[124] who obtained a licence in 1395 to convey as many pilgrims as he pleased in his «Cog John» and «Barnabas», was required to levy sixpence on each pilgrim «to the king's use» and the numbers were to be checked by the mayor.[125] In contrast to this monetary payment the partners John and Richard Slug and John Colard were granted their licence of the same year in return for «the good service rendered to the king (Richard II) in his passage from Ireland in the past sixteen weeks».[126] If this practice of capitation fee or levy still obtained in the next century, excess passengers (1428) or unlicensed sailings (1434)[127] would have defrauded the Exchequer in addition to being unlawful and so constituted a double abuse to be investigated.[128] If the shipowner placed his vessel at the king's disposal the «fine or fee» payable might be waived; a request which the earl of Oxford made for his «Jesus» of Orwell in 1445.[129] Trading licences of all kinds (among which must be included those to convey pilgrims) were often granted in the reign of Henry VI to discharge royal debts. John Bale, for instance, was compensated in 1448 for all expenses incurred in connection with the siege of Calais by the grant of a licence to export wool.[130] Thomas Cannings of Bristol had a similar licence in the following year,[131] and Henry Bourghchier also in 1456.[132] In the latter year too Vincent

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121) *Ibid.*, C76/146 ms15, 21.

122) *Ibid.*, C76/150 m9.

123) *Ibid.*, C76/157 ms12, 26, 28, 30, 31.

124) Supra, p. 122.

125) *CPR, 1391-1396*, p. 572.

126) *Ibid.*, p. 568.

127) *CPR, 1422-1429*, p. 495; *Ibid.*, 1429-1435, p. 471.

128) *Ibid.* See also supra, p. 118.

129) *Original Letters*, ed. H. Ellis, Series I, vol. i, pp. 110-111 (Letter xxxvi).

130) PRO, T/R, C76/130 m6.

131) *Ibid.*, C76/131 m10.

132) *Ibid.*, C76/138 m6.

Pytlesden held licences both for commodities and for conveying pilgrims, of which the former was granted for services rendered.[133] When licences were purchased at the Exchequer (for privileges of various kinds) the cost varied between half a mark and twelve marks and the monies were part of the Chancellor's profits of the Seal.[134]

133) *Ibid.*, m19, 25.

134) Some of these appear in PRO, Exchequer, E101/213/11, but without details to indicate the purpose of the licence.

5.

PEREGRINI SANCTI JACOBI
ENGLISH PILGRIMS OF ST JAMES

SEVERAL English sovereigns manifested an interest in the pilgrimage to Santiago but, unlike some of their Castilian and French cousins, never actually reached the shrine. Henry II promised at Avranches to make an expiatory pilgrimage, at the pope's choice, to Rome, Jerusalem or Santiago;[1] formally announced his intention of going to the last named; presented gifts to Spanish envoys and asked Fernando II of León for a safe-conduct[2] —but the journey was not undertaken. His expiation was made at Canterbury instead. In 1176, his son, Prince Henry, asked his father's permission to go but was refused, his father believing (says the chronicler) that the proposal was not made from religious motives but rather on the advice of false friends seeking to snatch the Prince from paternal chastisement.[3] Richard I was the champion of pilgrims on two occasions, once in 1177 when, near the pass of Cise (the Gascon approach to the western crossing of the Pyrenees), he made Basques and Navarrese promise to cease molesting Jacobean pilgrims[4] and again in 1190 when he besieged the castle of William Chisi, a Gascon lord, captured it and hanged the castellan for having robbed pilgrims of St James who passed through his domains.[5] The devout Henry III could not make the pilgrimage because he had taken the Cross, but he promised to send either the Lord Edward or else his own seneschal.[6] The Lord Edward, despite Henry's misgivings

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1) J.J. Jusserand, *English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages*, Second Edition, London, 1920, p. 352.

2) *Chronicle of the Reigns of Henry II and Richard I*, 2 vols, ed. W. Stubbs, Rolls Series, London, 1867, I, p. 157.

3) *Ibid.*, I, p. 114.

4) *Chronicle of Roger de Hoveden*, 4 vols, ed. W. Stubbs, Rolls Series, 1868-1871, II, p. 117.

5) *Ibid.*, III, p. 35.

6) Matthew Paris, *Cronica Majora*, 7 vols, ed. H.R. Luard, Rolls Series, London, 1872-1883, VI, p. 254.

for his son's safety,[7] went to Castile for his marriage to Eleanor, half-sister of Alfonso X, but the chronicler recorded no journey to the Apostle's city,[8] although at the end of his reign Edward I sent a proxy.[9] Two English queens, Isabella (wife of Edward II) and Philippa (wife of Edward III) promised to make the pilgrimage but neither was able to keep her vow.[10] Edward III, in a letter to Alfonso XI of Castile, mentioned the possibility of a journey to Santiago and thanked the king for his promise of a safe-conduct should the journey be made[11] and Richard II, in whose reign so many licences for pilgrim sailings were issued, professed in one of them (1390) to a special devotion to St James.[12]

Yet, if no English king or queen reached Santiago, many of their subjects did so and most of mediaeval English society was reflected in the names of those who made the Jacobean pilgrimage. There were churchmen of all ranks: archbishops, bishops and parish clergy; there were clerks of the royal household —future chancellors and ambassadors among them— and there were members of religious orders, both mendicant and monastic. In common with all the king's subjects they went with royal permission —the personal exit permit or licence—[13] and there seems to have been no restriction on conveying them abroad on pilgrimage until the mid-fourteenth century, although all were bound by current restrictions about carrying out money. Permission from ecclesiastical superiors was of course necessary for both secular and regular clergy and for the latter the rules of the order had to be respected. The rules of cathedral chapters laid down certain conditions for the making of foreign pilgrimages and limited the period of absence of capitular clergy;[14] bishops who granted their diocesan clergy leave of

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7) *Ibid.*, p. 397.

8) Varios secondary works state that the Lord Edward made the pilgrimage but this has not (so far) been substantiated from any primary source, although the Prince was certainly on the way of St. James when he stayed in Burgos and Las Huelgas just before his marriage.

9) *CPR, 1301-1307*, p. 462; *CCR, 1302-1307*, p. 458.

10) *Calendar of Papal Registers, Letters, II, 1305-1342*, p. 279; *Ibid.*, III, p. 252; *Foedera, Record Commission*, III, p. 24.

11) *CCR, 1343-1346*, p. 449.

12) «Ob specialem devotionem quam ad beatum Apostolum sanctum Jacobum gerimus et habemus». PRO, T/R, C76/74 m11.

13) Supra, pp. 62-64.

14) Supra, p. 66.

absence usually allowed a specific period of leave according to the time required for the journey.[15] Lay pilgrims were as varied as ecclesiastical ones; their ranks included members of noble families, landowners and gentry, knights, squires and yeomen, soldiers of distinction, citizens and burgesses, the poor man who had to beg his way, adventurous Crusaders and a host of anonymous passengers carried to a Gascon or Galician port. Marchers, Scots and Welshmen, sometimes made the journey through England and obtained an English safe-conduct for this purpose[16] and occasionally an alien visitor set out from this country.[17]

A royal alien, for instance, Prince Sigurd of Norway, was among those of the Golden Age —the twelfth— who came to England before going to Santiago. In this century Scandinavian countries felt the influence of the religious movements of Western Europe, became more closely linked with the Papacy and took part in Crusades. Prince Sigurd, one of the sons of King Magnus Bareleg of Norway (1093-1103), so named from his kilt), took the Cross four years after his father's death and, having entrusted his share of the kingdom to his elder brother, Eystein, set out for Santiago and the Holy Land. According to an early thirteenth-century copy of some of the chronicles of the kings of Norway,[18] Sigurd reached England in the summer of 1107, remained until the following spring and then sailed for Flanders. By autumn he was in Santiago where he spent the winter. From Galicia he sailed down the coast to Lisbon, capturing Muslim pirates on the way. He continued his journey through the Straits of Morocco, visited Roger II, the Norman king of Sicily and went on to Jerusalem. His pilgrimage completed, he returned home and, after the death of his elder brother, succeeded to the throne as Sigurd I of Norway.

The journey of the Englishman, Ansgot of Burwell (Lincolnshire) was undertaken about the same time but by a different route. Ansgot

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15) Four months by Bishop Grandisson: *Register of John Grandisson, bishop of Exeter, 1327-1369*, ed. F.C. Hingeston-Randolf, 3 vols, London and Exeter, 1894-1899, I, pp. 491, 589; II, 638, 639, 642, 657, 766.

16) Supra, p. 68-69.

17) In the brief identification which follows, pilgrims have been classified broadly into clerics and laymen and then according to their status at the time of making their pilgrimage (although this may have changed subsequently). Women are described in a separate group.

18) Discussed by F.R. Cordero Carrete, «Datos para la historia compostelana en una saga del siglo XII», *Cuadernos de Estudios Gallegos*, Fasículo XLVIII, Año 1961, Madrid, 1961.

and his party, returning from the Apostle's shrine, halted at the Benedictine house of Sauve Majeure (La Grande Sauve) near Bordeaux where they were so well received that, in gratitude, Ansgot gave the abbot and community two churches and a chapel (1110).[19]

Of the Jacobean pilgrimage of St Godric little appears in his biographer's account.[20] Before becoming a hermit and founder of Finchale (Durham), he had been a merchant seaman for sixteen years and sometime before his death in 1170 had made two pilgrimages to Jerusalem. On the first of these he returned by way of Santiago, either all the way by sea or else as far as Marseilles and then along the *Via Tolosana*, through the newly conquered Ebro valley[21] and across northern Spain.

One pilgrim of the mid-century was an outstanding figure of his age. Henry of Blois, younger brother of King Stephen, was bishop of Winchester, abbot of England's richest abbey, Glastonbury (1126-1171), classical scholar and antiquarian and a devoted son of Cluny. Henry's support of Stephen helped to establish him on the throne but involved them both in conflict with the Papacy. Henry's failure to attend the Council of Rheims earned him Papal disapproval and suspension and, although he made satisfaction for his disobedience, his ambition of raising Winchester to an archbishopric remained unfulfilled because Eugenius II was uncertain of his loyalty and distrustful of his influence over his brother, the king.[22] Disappointed, therefore, in his hopes and fearful of his reception in north Italy and Burgundy (where he had previously stayed on visits to Cluny) he returned to England by sea (c.1135) stopping en route at the Apostle's shrine.[23]

Two noble pilgrims of the second half of the century were the earls of Salisbury and Chester. The pilgrimage of the former, Patrick,

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19) Supra, p. 94.

20) *Libellus de vita et miraculis Sancti Godrici*, ed. J. Stevenson, Surtees Society, XX, London and Edinburgh, 1847.

21) Supra, p. 91.

22) *Historia Pontificalis Johannis Saresburiensis*, ed. R.L. Poole, Oxford, 1927, p. 81. «Credebatur fratrem suum contra ecclesiam instigare».

23) *Ibid.*, p. 82.

whatever its beginnings, ended in tragedy in 1168 when, on his return journey, he was killed by Guy de Lusignan,[24] a crime which earned its author banishment and a sentence which, in Stubb's opinion, contributed to the loss of Palestine.[25] The latter, Hugh II, was involved (as head of the Breton rising) in the rebellion of 1173. It was on his return from pilgrimage in this year that he joined Robert Mellenti and the sons of Henry II when they went to the French court[26] but after the collapse of the rebellion Hugh was pardoned and restored to favour.

In the thirteenth century many churchmen went on pilgrimage. Philip of Poitiers, bishop of Durham (1197-1208) set out shortly after the turn of the century. He had been one of Richard I's chancery clerks and had accompanied the king on Crusade. He executed various diplomatic missions for both Richard and John and supported the latter in his quarrel with Innocent III. Within a few years of his consecration he journeyed from his see in the February of 1201 «immediately after the feast of the Purification», crossed from Dover to Wissant and possibly went down the *Via Turonensis*, for by Easter was at the shrine of St Jean d'Angély, at Chinon in May and returned from Santiago within the year.[27] Twenty years later the bishop of Winchester, Peter des Roches, was preparing to go to Santiago and Jerusalem. Like his predecessor of the previous century (Henry of Blois) he too was «a grand seigneur, a wealthy, independent figure in the great world of the West».[28] In 1221 his letters of protection were issued, witnessed by Hubert de Burgh,[29] his will confirmed[30] and he was authorised to ask financial aid of his free tenants ofthe church of Winchester for his voyage to the Holy Land. According to Walter of Coventry he had left for Santiago by 1225[31] and by August of 1231 he was back in Winchester apparently encompassing the fall of Hubert de Burgh.[32]

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24) *Chronicle of Roger de Hoveden*, ed. W. Stubbs, 4 vols., Rolls Series, London, 1868-1871, I, p. 274.

25) W. Stubbs, *A Historical Introduction to the Rolls Series*, London, 1902, p. 197.

26) *Chronicle of the reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, ed. R. Howlett, 4 vols, Rolls Series, London, 1884-1889, IV, p. 256.

27) *Chronicle of Roger de Hoveden*, I, pp. 157, 161, 174.

28) M. Powicke, *The Thirteenth Century*, p. 48.

29) *CPR, 1216-1225*, p. 286.

30) *Ibid.*

31) *Memorials of Walter of Coventry*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols., Rolls Series, London, 1872-1873, II, p. 260.

32) Powicke, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

He was followed a year later by Walter de Grey, a statesman prelate who had been Chancellor and bishop of Worcester and was later to be Regent during Henry III's absence from the kingdom in 1242. At the time of his pilgrimage (1222)[33] he occupied the see of York, having obtained it after the election of Simon Langton which was quashed by Innocent III. His brother, Richard, who inherited most of the Archbishop's private estates, also made the pilgrimage some ten years later, for among his preparations was a grant from Henry III promising that there should be no change in Richard's testamentary dispositions.[34]

Later in the century a safe-conduct and letters of attorney were enrolled for Fulk Sandford (or Basset), archbishop of Dublin (1257-1271), one time prebendary and treasurer of St Paul's and deputy for the Lord Edward as Justiciar of Ireland. In the spring of 1267 he came to England with Henry III's safe-conduct for his pilgrimage and return journey.[35] A fellow bishop, Godfrey Giffard, left a few years later (1271). One of the sons of Hugh Giffard, guardian of the young Lord Edward and younger brother to Walter, archbishop of York, he was Henry III 's chancellor (1267-1268) at the time of his election to the see of Worcester, which he occupied from 1268 to 1302. From his protection and attorneys enrolled early in 1271[36] he expected to be absent from Easter of 1271 to Easter of 1272.

Besides the greater churchmen, household clerks and parish clergy went on pilgrimage, although some of the former subsequently attained to high office and the latter were not necessarily poor incumbents. Sylester de Everdon, for instance, described as «king's clerk» in his protection for the pilgrimage of 1235,[37] was in fact an important member of the household of Henry III and within a few years of his journey became Chancellor and finally bishop of Carlisle. Master Roger Lovel of Wyton, another of Henry's clerks, seems to have been specially favoured for his journey of 1257 for his protection and leave of absence were granted for an indefinite term.[38] Matthew, described

33) CPR, 1216-1225, p. 328.
34) *Ibid.*, *1225-1232*, p. 467.
35) *CPR 1266-1272*, p. 53.
36) *Ibid.*, p. 510.
37) *CPR, 1232-1247*, p. 94.
38) *CPR, 1247-1258*, p. 537.

simply as «Parson of the church of Chaldon» (Dorset), was evidently a substantial enough tenant to need protection for his lands whilst abroad on pilgrimage.[39] Diocesan clergy might sometimes go at their bishop's direction. The pilgrimage of Robert, rector of Hamme, was a penitential one imposed in 1283 by his diocesan, the bishop of Chichester.[40]

Lay pilgrims of the century were often members of great families. In the Normanville family of Rutland, Ralph, the elder, intended to go to Santiago but his involvement with the Charter barons complicated his departure. At the time of Henry III's accession one of Ralph's sons, Gerold, was still unransomed; another, Thomas, was a hostage for him and a third, Ralph, was in the royal service. Their father, therefore, made a pact with the king (then a minor) that Gerold and Ralph were to remain in the king's service; Gerold's outstanding ransom of 200 marks was to be remitted and Thomas was to be released to serve the king. Meanwhile their father was granted leave of absence for his pilgrimage at Easter provided that his sons continued to serve and that he himself did not delay unduly and resumed service upon his return.[41] The Ralph who went some forty years later in 1259[42] was probably one of the sons whose retention in Henry's service had the appearance of surety for their father's return.

Of the Cantelupe family two members at least reached the Apostle's shrine. Peter's journey was pleaded unsuccessfully in 1224 as grounds for essoin.[43] William (the younger), steward of the household, Chancellor of Henry III and father of St Thomas, bishop of Hereford (1275-1282), who was accompanied by his vassal, Peter de Montfort, on the pilgrimage of 1236.[44]

Three of the marcher Bohuns, earls of Hereford and Essex, made their preparations: Humphrey, second of Hereford and first of Essex,

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39) *CPR, 1272-1281*, p. 356.

40) Supra, p. 58.

41) *CPR, 1216-1225*, p. 108.

42) *Ibid., 1258-1266*, p. 20.

43) *Curia Regis Rolls*, 14 vols, London, 1922-1961, XI, no. 2445.

44) *CPR, 1232-1247*, pp. 138, 140. De Montford apparently made another pilgrimage in 1272; *Ibid., 1266-1272*, p. 625.

sometime marshal of the royal household, made his will in 1237[45] for his Jacobean pilgrimage and within the decade had also been to the Holy Land. His grandson, the third (referred to as the «young») earl, whose father had died immediately after Evesham, had his attorneys and protection enrolled in 1278.[46]

Around the mid-century three of the Beauchamps obtained the customary documents for absence on pilgrimage: Thomas was in a party of 1248 which included Richard Clare, earl of Gloucester;[47] William, future earl of Warwick went with his father in 1251[48] and Richard in 1272.[49]

In 1248 too one of the Bassets of Sapecote Leicestershire, Ralph, baronial leader and constable of Northampton, made the pilgrimage[50] possibly from Gascony where he was at that time on Henry III's service[51] and in 1284 two of his descendants, Ralph and Simon (brothers) were granted royal protection for their lands as intending pilgrims.[52]

Soldiers too found opportunity to visit the Apostle's shrine, not only obscure ones like Emery Redvers (in the service of Henry III's mother) who was robbed in Gascony on his return journey in 1254[53] or Peter Branch who, in the same year, needed his arrears of pay for his pilgrimage expenses,[54] but future outstanding commanders like William Latimer, commander of the army in the expedition to Gascony of 1294, who had made his journey in 1275[55] or William Leyburn, commander

45) *CPR, 1232-1247*, p. 178.
46) *Ibid.*, *1272-1281*, p. 249.
47) *Ibid.*, *1247-1258*, pp. 11, 12.
48) *Ibid.*, p. 93.
49) *Ibid.*, 1266-1272, p. 635.
50) *Ibid.*, 1247-1258, p. 9.
51) *Ibid.*, p. 31.
52) *CPR, 1281-1292*, p. 119; *Calendar of Chancery Warrants, 1244-1326*, p. 18.
53) *CCR, 1253-1254*, p. 221.
54) *Ibid.*, p. 212.
55) *Ibid.*, *1272-1281*, p. 361.

of the fleet in the same expedition, who travelled with his household about fourteen years previously in 1280.[56]

Nor were citizens and burgesses unrepresented: James Troyes and Walmer Essex, described as «citizens of London», appointed their attorneys and obtained letters of protection early in 1278[57] and in 1291 Henry Burg, London citizen, obtained a safe-conduct[58] and John Canterbury, London alderman, made similar preparations for departure.[59] In the fourteenth century when the 'Gascon dilemma' was to be resolved by resort to arms in the Hundred Years' War, numerous clerics and laymen still went on pilgrimage. Until around the mid-century there were few restrictions on pilgrims as such but from 1344 onwards certain measures of control were introduced for pilgrims of whatsoever condition. Within the limits of this control and despite the war they still went in considerable numbers which, however, varied according to prevailing opportunities.

Early in 1316 William Clopton, abbot of Thorney (1305-1322), under whose direction fenland on the abbey estates was reclaimed, appointed one of his fellow monks as attorney and obtained protection for his lands for six months.[60] The abbots of Battle and Strata Marcella-by-Poole made similar preparations for their journey of 1331.[61]

John Sheppey, prior and later bishop of Rochester, royal treasurer (1356-1360), who combined pilgrimage with diplomatic mission in 1345-1346, was one of the most distinguished members of his community. Both scholar and administrator, he was highly thought of by Edward III who entrusted him with an embassy to Pope Clement VI[62] and also by the bishop of his diocese who saw in him a worthy successor for the see

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56) *CPR, 1272-1281*, p. 361.

57) *Ibid.*, p. 256.

58) *Ibid., 1281-1292*, p. 125.

59) *Ibid.*, p. 419.

60) *CPR, 1313-1317*, p. 440.

61) *Ibid., 1330-1334*, p. 43.

62) *Registrum Hamonis Hethe, 1319-1352*, ed. C. Johnson, 2 vols., Canterbury and York Society, XLVIII, XLIX, Oxford, 1942, II, p. 736.

of Rochester[63] which he subsequently occupied (1353-1360). Before setting out John appointed attorneys,[64] confided his community to the care of the bishop and was provided with letters of commendation, one from the king to Pope Clement and another from his bishop to the Cardinal Archbishop of Sabina.[65] The whole of his diplomatic journey from Dover to Avignon and thence across the Pyrenees to Castile may be read in the account of his expenses tendered to the Exchequer upon his return.[66]

A Scottish bishop, William Landel of St Andrews (1342-1385), came south on pilgrimage in 1361. With Edward III's safe-conduct he had visited King David II, taken prisoner after the battle of Durham (Neville's Cross, 1346) and his numerous safe-conducts suggest that he was a much travelled man. In 1361 he was among a party of pilgrims which included an archdeacon of his diocese, a Master Gilbert Armstrong (described as a Moravian clerk of Scotland), burgesses of St Andrews and various knights. Their journey, facilitated by the English king's safe-conduct,[67] was made during a lull in the Hundred Years' War and at a time when, according to Ramsay, relations with Scotland were more friendly and Scots, whether pilgrims, students or visitors, were encouraged to come south.[68] In the year following his journey to Santiago the bishop also visited the shrine of St Thomas at Canterbury and in the next year went to Rome. Three years later Gilbert Armstrong, the clerk in his company, crossing from Dover (en route for Santiago) was provided with a safe-conduct and Edward III's permission to take out of the country 10 men and 10 marks for the expenses of his pilgrimage.[69]

William Boys, abbot of Evesham (1344-1367), made a round of pilgrimages in the year preceding his death but was only permitted to

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63) *Ibid.*, p. 738.

64) *CPR, 1343-1345*, p. 375.

65) *Registrum Hamonis Hethe*, II, p. 738.

66) PRO, Exchequer, Various, Nuncii, E101/312/16.

67) *Foedera, Record Commission*, III, ii, p. 605.

68) J.H. Ramsay, *Revenues of the Kings of England*, 2 vols., Oxford, 1925, II, p. 239.

69) *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, 4 vols, Edinburgh, 1881-1888, IV, no. 136.

do so subject to clearly defined restrictions. His journey was to take him to Amiens, Cologne, Assisi and Santiago and, by the terms of his licence, he was required to promise on oath before the Chancellor (Simon Langham, bishop of Ely), that he would not turn aside from his pilgrimage nor send messengers, letters or money to any other parts nor procure anything to the king's prejudice.[70]

A Dominican travelling in 1381 fell foul of the port authorities of Plymouth. Brother Hugh Leye, friar of London had obtained his Provincial's leave to go on pilgrimage[71] but had no royal licence and so was obliged to surrender the money and books in his possession to the searcher of Plymouth (Humphrey Passour) who was permitted to return them only «if the arrest had been for the cause stated and no other».[72]

As in the previous century there were clerks and parish clergy. Among the former were members of the royal household: William Boudon, for instance, was the proxy whom Queen Isabella sent in 1322[73] between making her vow and obtaining permission to commute it;[74] Bouchard de Vernon, granted a safe-conduct in 1327,[75] was one of Edward III's household chaplains and Edward Bech, whose letters of attorney were enrolled in 1332[76] was clerk and keeper of the Wardrobe to Edward III and finally became a canon of Salisbury cathedral.

Among the parish clergy were Richard Lughteburgh, parson of Melles, whose protection was enrolled at the end of 1315, presumably for a journey of the following year;[77] Stephen Horsale, who went with a number of others in 1331[78] and William Yarewell, parson of Brayton, whose attorneys and protection were issued early in 1334.[79]

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70) *CPR, 1364-1367*, p. 217.
71) Supra, p. 67.
72) *CPR, 1377-1381*, p. 439.
73) *Ibid., 1321-1324*, p. 229.
74) *Calendar of Papal Registers, Letters II, 1305-1342*, p. 299.
75) *CPR, 1327-1330*, p. 35.
76) *Ibid., 1330-1334*, p. 248.
77) *Ibid., 1313-1317*, p. 377.
78) *Ibid, 1330-1334*, p. 34.
79) *Ibid., 1334-1338*, p. 491.

Laymen on pilgrimage sometimes combined official business with their journey to Spain. Reginald Lumbard, king's yeoman, was sent in 1306 by Edward I to offer gifts on his behalf at the shrine of St James[80] and also to see the king of Castile.[81] In the following year Roderick Ispania went as an emissary of Prince Edward[82] and a steward of the royal household, Sir John Crombwell, first discharged Edward II's business at the Papal Curia before making his pilgrimage of 1316-1317.[83]

As in the thirteenth century laymen were often members of well-known families: Alan Zouche, keeper of Caerphilly Castle, whose letters were enrolled in 1308,[84] Sir William Zouche of Haringworth, who went in 1317,[85] two knights of the Bech family, Nicholas (the absentee Constable of the Tower in 1340) and his brother William, who were provided in 1315 with special letters of commendation from Edward II, asking his merchant, Andrew Piers, to give them any necessary assistance for their pilgrimage.[86] Sir James Audley, who also went in 1315, shared in this royal favour[87] and on his crossing was captured by Flemish pirates.[88] The earl of Gloucester's son, also James, went in 1329 and 1331[89] and again in 1358 on a mission for the Black Prince.[90]

In 1330 one of the Bohun family, John, earl of Hereford and Essex (1326-1336), Constable of England, went in company with Sir John Mereworth and John Legh, having obtained letters of protection and appointed attorneys for a year[91] and in the following year a cadet of another noble house, John Beauchamp, younger brother of the earl of

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80) *Ibid.*, *1301-1307*, p. 462.

81) *CCR, 1302-1307*, p. 458.

82) *Ibid.*, p. 482.

83) *Calendar of Chancery Warrants, 1244-1326*, p. 450.

84) *CPR, 1307-1313*, pp. 96, 142.

85) *Ibid.*, *1313-1317*, p. 610.

86) *CCR, 1313-1318*, p. 310. William apparently made another pilgrimage in 1332: *CPR, 1331-1334*, p. 234.

87) *CCR, 1313-1318*, p. 310.

88) *Archeologia XXVI*, p. 345, note 5.

89) *CPR, 1327-1330*, p. 466; *Ibid., 1330-1334*, p. 102.

90) *Register of Edward the Black Prince*, 4 vols, London, 1930-1933, IV, p. 252.

91) *CPR, 1330-1334*, pp. 24, 27, 30.

Warwick and member of the royal household, also made the usual preparations.[92] There followed in 1332 Hugh Despenser (eldest son of the «younger» Despenser, executed by the supporters of Isabella and Mortimer in 1326), earl of Winchester, whose letters were enrolled in April for an absence of six months[93] and also John de Vere, earl of Oxford (1331-1360), who, at the time of his pilgrimage, was a minor and whose affairs were therefore left in the hands of Sir Robert Bousser and Sir Robert Wauton.[94]

The visit to Santiago of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, in 1386 was part of a great enterprise: the long-prepared, long-awaited but not completely successful expedition to Galicia in support of his claim to the throne of Castile. The duke, with his duchess and their children, reached Santiago on the feast of the Apsotle and, according to Froissart: «The fyrst voyage they made, they went to the chyrche and all theyr chyldren and made theyr prayers and offrynge with grete giftes».[95]

In the century largely occupied by the war with Scotland and the Hundred Years' War knights and men-at-arms were not always free to cross the sea without the king's licence[96] and their opportunities to make the pilgrimage were thereby limited. Several —Sir John Mere, Sir Thomas Hastings, Sir Edward Kendal, Sir Robert Corbet of Norton—[97] obtained permission in 1332 to cross from Dover and take their horses and equipment on pilgrimage. In 1335 Sir Robert Morley, future admiral of the fleet (1341), had his letters of attorney and protection enrolled[98] and in August 1361 (during the truce of Bretigny) letters of attorney were also enrolled for one of Edward III's best known captains, Sir Walter Manny, «the gallant Hainhaulter»[99] who had

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92) *Ibid.*, p. 43.

93) *Ibid.*, p. 273.

94) *Ibid.*, p. 259.

95) *The Chronicle of Froissart*, translated by Sir John Bourchier, Lord Berners, 6 vols., London, 1901-1903, IV, p. 301.

96) *Foedera, Record Commission*, II, i, pp. 58, 95; III, i, pp. 4, 10, 18, 24, 30; III, ii, pp. 140, 199, 266, 263, 272.

97) *CCR, 1330-1333*, p. 527, 528, 539, 554.

98) *CPR, 1334-1338*, p. 162

99) M. Kisack, *The Fourteenth Century*, Oxford, 1959, p. 159.

served in Brittany, Gascony and the Netherlands and had been with Edward in his last, as in his first campaigns.[100]

Although by the end of the century there was an established pattern of sailings to Galicia[101] which continued until late in the fifteenth century and although many hundreds must have reached the Apostle's shrine, few only can be identified, some from the public records, others from their own descriptions.

In the first decade of the fifteenth century two prominent figures made their way to Santiago. Robert Stewart, the ambitious duke of Albany, was Regent of Scotland as the result of his sovereign's capture whilst fleeing to France after the Scrope rebellion. In 1406 the duke, with two servants, protected by Henry IV's safe-conduct, passed through England en route for Santiago.[102] The pilgrimage of 1409 of Sir Thomas Swinburn, mayor of Bordeaux, was combined with urgent business for Gascony was in danger of encirclement, the position of Bordeaux precarious and the garrison only lately provisioned and as yet unpaid. Therefore in the early summer of the year Sir Thomas was sent from England with money to pay the garrison and, with a safe-conduct from the French king (Charles VI), was permitted to go to the frontiers of Bordeaux and Guyenne and afterwards to continue with his company of thirty to the shrine of St James.[103]

Of the pilgrim who went in 1425 not even the name is known[104] nor the circumstances of his journey. His account, whilst not bereft of interest, reveals a man of imperfect observation whose facts are sometimes confused and inaccurate. His description of the Asturian feminine headdress fits better that of the Basque women; his comment on Pamplona: «Thereto commeth bothe Bote and Barge»[105] eludes explanation; according to him Logroño was:

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100) *Ibid.*, p. 148.

101) Supra, p. 89.

102) *Foedera*, Hague edition, IV, p. 100.

103) *CPR, 1408-1413*, p. 82.

104) He is referred to as «Purchas's Anonymous Pilgrim» and his story appears in Tate and Turville-Petre.

105) *Ibid.*, p. 528.

«The last toune certaine
Of the Realme of Naveron:[106]

but had in fact been incorporated in Castile since the late eleventh century (1076). He manifested, however, much interest in the different kinds of money used on various parts of the journey through Spain: the «Jakkez» to be obtained at «Petypont St Jenouhe»[107] (St Juan Pie del Puerto) which were of little use after Logroño, «For there beginneth the Marvedisez» (Maravedises) and:

«The Grote of Spayn is silver fyn
four score for a Coron schal thou have.»[108]

Like other travellers he commented on the plenty or scarcity of food near Roncesvalles:

«Witelez there ben full necessary
For in that passage my mouthe was dry;»[109]

on the approach to Burgos:

«A gud contraie and evell wyn
And witelez ther ben bothe gud and fyn;»[110]

between Astorga and Villafranca del Bierzo:

«A faire countraye and vinez also.
The Raspis groeth ther in thi waie.»[111]

and like his successor, William Wey (but unlike his predecessor, Aymery Picaud), Purchas' Pilgrim recorded little of the appearance of the basilica of Santiago but told his readers much about the indulgences offered to pilgrims.

Two pilgrims of the Jubilee Year of 1456 were in striking contrast: an unnamed, poor shipman of Weymouth and William Wey, fellow of

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106) *Ibid.* ll. 44-45.
107) *Ibid.* l. 17.
108) *Ibid.* ll. 50-51.
109) *Ibid.* ll. 31-32.
110) *Ibid.* ll. 65-66.
111) *Ibid.* ll. 112-113.

of Eton College and later member of the Augustinian community of Edington (Wiltshire). The shipman, whose story was learnt by the writer of a contemporary chronicle,[112] had already made one Jacobean pilgrimage and was back in England late in the year (about Michaelmas) in company with a fellow-pilgrim, a Dutch brewer, with whom he was lodging in Weymouth. On two occasions the shipman was visited at night by a ghost and, having told his parish priest about the apparition, was advised to make his confession. When the ghost appeared for the third time the shipman asked it who it was and was told that it was the spirit of his uncle. The spirit begged the shipman to have Masses said for the repose of his soul (at the Apostle's shrine) but the unhappy shipman, having been robbed on his return from Santiago, had no money for another journey. However, instructed by the ghost to beg his way, he went to Portugal and from there to Santiago.

William Wey's journey[113] was undertaken by permission of the royal founder of Eton (Henry VI) and his account of what he saw and did in Santiago and Corunna, together with his accompanying comments and supplementary material, is probably the fullest English individual contribution to the story of the mediaeval pilgrimage. It falls into four main sections. In the first he wrote of his outward voyage and his sight of the coast of Galicia, his experiences in Santiago on the vigil and feast of Trinity Sunday, with descriptions of the clergy and ceremonies of the basilica, of his three days' stay in Corunna and the ceremonies of the feast of Corpus Christi and, finally, of his return to England and the landmarks of the English coast. This was followed by a miscellany which included comments on Spain and its regions, other happenings of the year, two stories illustrating the efficacy of St James and a Galician song (words and tune) sung by small boys to obtain coins from pilgrims. The second part consists of what he was told in Spain («*Hec subscripta audivi in Hispania*») about the evangelisation of the Peninsula by St James, the translation of the saint's body back to the country of his mission and the encouragement of the Jacobean cult by Pope Gregory III. In the third part Wey enumerated the various relics of Christ

112) *An English Chronicle of the reigns of Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V and Henry VI*, ed. J. S. Davies, Camden Society, 64, Old Series, 1855, pp. 72-74.

113) *The Itineraries of William Wey... to Jerusalem, A.D. 1458 and A.D. 1462 and to Saint James of Compostella A.D. 1456*, ed. B. Bandinel, Roxburghe Club, 1857.

and of certain saints to be seen in Padrón and Santiago and in the fourth part he described fully the indulgences obtainable at the Apostle's shrine.

Wey left Eton on 27 March, reached Plymouth on the 30 April where he remained until 17 May and whilst there he was sought out by a man needing guidance on a matter of conscience —the keeping of his vow of pilgrimage. The pilgrim was a Somerset man who had promised to visit the shrine of St James but who, when Wey spoke to him, was feeling so ill that he felt about to die and preferred to do so in his own home rather than on his way to Santiago. He therefore asked Wey if, despite his vow, he might return home. Wey's advice to him was to continue his journey since it was better to die on pilgrimage rather than at home, considering what great indulgences were granted to pilgrims. The advice was not taken, however, for the pilgrim set out for home but shortly afterwards resumed his pilgrimage and had a second meeting with Wey in Corunna as the latter was on his way back to England.[114]

On 17 May Wey set sail in the «Mary White» of Plymouth in company with five other pilgrim ships: one each of Portsmouth, Bristol, Weyouth, Lymington and the «Cargryne» whose home port Wey did not mention. They were four days at sea, came within sight of the Spanish coast, noted various landmarks and put into the harbour of Corunna on 21 May. From there they reached Santiago on the vigil of Trinity Sunday and Wey had the opportunity of learning many interesting details about the cathedral: its various ranks of clergy, its organisation and financial administration. He was present at the vespers for the vigil, whose ceremonies were carried out by cardinals in pontifical robes and, on the feast itself, he took part in the procession and was present at Mass. In these latter ceremonies English pilgrims were specially privileged for some of the cathedral clergy asked if there were present any English of good family[115] and, when informed that there were such, these were chosen, in preference to those of all other nations, to be asked to carry the canopy over the Sacrament (Corpus Christi). Of the six who performed this office Wey knew (or asked) the names of four.

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114) The two encounters are included by Wey in a continuous passage apart from his itinerary but have here been separated to preserve the chronological sequence of events.

115) «Aliqui generosi Anglie».

From Santiago Wey returned to Corunna and during his three days' stay there again enjoyed certain privileges reserved exclusively for Englishmen: communication with Jews, Mass and procession of the Virgin on the Wednesday and, on the Thursday, the feast of Corpus Christi, procession in the Franciscan church and a sermon preached by an English bachelor of Sacred Theology. It was on this day, in the house of the Franciscans, that he met the pilgrim from Somerset who had sought him out in Plymouth and thus he heard the happy ending of the pilgrim's story. The sick man who had preferred to turn back for home rather than risk death on pilgrimage had travelled twenty miles with great difficulty and pain and when he reached the hospice where he was to spend the night he was cured of the infirmity which had afflicted him for many years. So, restored to health and travelling twice as fast as on the previous day, he resumed his pilgrimage, sailed from Plymouth and once more fell in with William Wey (then on his return journey) in the house of the Friars Minor. Having heard his story, Wey asked him if he had confessed his sin (his intention to break his vow of pilgrimage) and received an affirmative answer.

In Corunna harbour Wey noted English, Irish, Norman, Breton and other ships, eighty in all, of which thirty-two were English. Wey's boat left Corunna on 28 May but after six days had to put back into port (3 June) and finally sailed on 5 June and reached Plymouth on 9 June, sighting first Browsam Rock, then Longships, Popyl Hopyl, Mountsbay and the Lizard.

Besides the actual journey and ceremonies Wey's interest ranged over a variety of subjects: the snow-capped mount Sturies, the university of Salamanca, the various kingdoms of Spain and the Muslim kingdom of Granada, the figs of Málaga. He also mentioned several happenings of interest in the year of his pilgrimage: the capture of the king of Granada (by Enrique IV of Castile) and the placing of the Muslim ruler's golden crown on the head of the statue of St James on the high altar of Santiago on Trinity Sunday, the collapse of St Peter's tower at Bordeaux. His imagination was evidently struck by the Galician folk-song and dance performed by the small boys in the hope of obtaining coins from pilgrims and he brought back to England both words and music.[116]

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116) Galicia has a long tradition of folk music and many pilgrims must have heard Galician melodies sung or played by Gallegan bagpipers. Wey's transcript is thus an interesting

In the brief story of St James as recounted by Wey[117] there is a curious omission. The story, having told of St James's death, translation and arrival at Padrón, proceeds immediately to the encouragement of the cult by Pope Gregory III (731-741) which would place the origin of the Jacobean cult about a century earlier than the discovery of the tomb from which it is commonly regarded as having developed.

Of those who went for the Jubilee of 1473 two of the best known were John Paston and Lord Rivers. John, as his brother, Sir John, said in a letter to Edmund Paston, was due to sail from Yarmouth (not far from his home) in the early July and was to return within the month by way of Calais when Sir John hoped to see him.[118] Anthony Woodville, second Lord Rivers and Baron Scales (in virtue of his first marriage), a romantic figure of the Yorkist nobility, scholar, aesthete and «a literary knight in an age of Gothic baroque»[119] was, at the time of his pilgrimage, guardian of the Prince of Wales and chief butler of England. To while away some hours of the crossing he had borrowed from Louis de Bretaylle a manuscript of the «Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers»[120] which he subsequently translated and had printed by Caxton, the first printed work to appear in England. In Spain he indulged his collector's tastes and brought back various manuscripts. His first wife, Elisabeth Scales died on this pilgrimage; he himself made his intended journey to Jerusalem a few years later and was among those executed by the Protector in 1483.[121]

Women pilgrims are not numerous in official records nor were they so in Chaucer's description of the pilgrimage to Canterbury.[122] No protections or attorneys for the heads of religious houses of women

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example of the migration of folk music in the wake of the Jacobean pilgrimage. Two other transcripts appear in L.Vázquez de Parga, J.M. Lacarra y J. Uría Ríu, *P.S.J.*, III, pp. 129-130, one of the XVth century by Hugo Riemann, the other a modern one by Señores Isorna y Filgueira Valverde, as a Solesmes plainsong melody.

117) Among those things which he had heard, supra, p. 147.

118) *The Paston Letters, 1422-1509*, ed. J. Gairdner, 4 vols, London, 1900-1901, III, p. 94.

119) E.F. Jacob, *The Fifteenth Century*, Oxford, 1961, p. 570.

120) P.M. Kendall, *Richard III*, London, 1956, p. 125.

121) *Dictionary of National Biography*, LXII, pp. 410-413.

122) Readers of Chaucer's «Canterbury Tales» will remember that the pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Thomas included only three women out of twenty-nine pilgrims and that only one of the three, the Wife of Bath, had been to St. James.

appear on the English Chancery enrolments and one bishop (at least), Hamo de Hethe, bishop of Rochester (1353-1360) forbade the abbess of Malling (Kent) or members of her community to go abroad on pilgrimage.[123] Yet lay women penitents as well as men were required to undertake the journey to Santiago and gild ordinances made the same provision for women as for men who were intending to go on pilgrimage. However, most women pilgrims were either widows or else travelled with their husbands. The former usually undertook the journey to pray for the repose of their husband's soul or to fulfil a vow which death had prevented his keeping. The affairs of state took perhaps a year or so to settle and after that they made their preparations. Thus Mary Duston of the Northampton family obtained her protection early in the reign of Henry III (1235).[124] The widowed countess of Norfolk, Alice Bigod, daughter of the count of Hainault, whose husband, the earl marshal had died in 1306,[125] made her preparations for pilgrimage some three years after his death[126] and from then until her own (1317) was abroad on various occasions, possibly visiting other shrines. The letters of Eleanor, widow of John de la Mare were obtained in 1317,[127] within three years of her husband's death and after the escheator's investigations had been completed and the joint enfeoffment verified.[128] Launia Atwell, John's widow, lady of the manor, went on pilgrimage in 1320, within a year of being widowed[129] and, in 1329 (or perhaps the following year), Felicia Somerville, widow of Sir Roger, knight and commissioner of peace for the East Riding.[130] The misfortunes of Matilda Bionie have already been mentioned.[131] Her pilgrimage frustrated by shipwreck and her funds exhausted, she had her vow commuted to entry into the com-

123) *Registrum Hamonis Hethe, 1319-1352*, ed. C. Johnson, 2 vols, Canterbury and York Society, XLVIII, XLIX, Oxford, 1942, II, p. 735.

124) *CPR, 1232-1247*, p. 106.

125) He had been among those who refused to go to the relief of the earl of Lincoln in Gascony (1297) unless the king went in person and is remembered for his reply to Edward I: «By God, Sire! I will neither go nor hang!», for which he was deprived of his marshal's office.

126) *CPR, 1307-1313*, p. 195.

127) *Ibid., 1313-1317*, p. 619.

128) *CCR, 1313-1318*, p. 24.

129) *CPR, 1317-1321*, p. 491.

130) *Ibid., 1327-1330*, p. 454.

131) Supra, p. 61.

munity of Barking Abbey.[132] At the time of her pilgrimage (probably early in 1330) she must, therefore, have been either unmarried or a widow. Isolda Belhous was the widow of John who held lands in Essex and had commercial or financial dealings with London and Genoese merchants.[133] Her husband had been to Santiago in 1314[134] and in 1331 she too made the pilgrimage.[135] Alina Burnell, a wealthy widow, to judge from the list of manors which she held, some of the king, some of the earl of Cornwall,[136] obtained letters for her pilgrimage in 1330 and 1331[137] and survived her husband by some thirty years. Another knight's widow was Matilda or Maud Banyard. After the death of her husband, Robert, she appointed attorneys for her journey of 1332 «beyond seas»[138] and, just over a year later, another two for her pilgrimage to Santiago[139] and so may have postponed her departure or made more than one pilgrimage. Matilda Holand, daughter and heiress of Alan Zouche, who had himself made the pilgrimage in 1308,[140] was the widow of Robert, household official of Earl Thomas of Lancaster and involved in the Lancastrian conspiracy of 1317 and in the death of Piers Gaveston, for which he was deprived of his extensive estates by Edward II but re-granted them by Edward III. His widow first provided an income for two chaplains to celebrate daily Mass for the repose of her husband's soul and her own[141] and then appointed attorneys for her journey of 1335 or 1336.[142] Eleanor, widow of John Beaumont, kinswoman of Edward III and patron and protector of religious houses[143] went on pilgrimage in the spring of 1344,[144] the year before her marriage to the earl of Arundel. In 1344 too, letters of attorney were enrolled for Margaret Bohun, wife of Humphrey, earl of

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132) *Calendar of Papal Registers, Letters II, 1305-1342*, p. 316.

133) *CCR, 1313-1318*, pp. 588, 600.

134) *CPR, 1313-1317*, p. 183.

135) *Ibid., 1330-1334*, p. 70.

136) *CIPM, XI*, no. 489.

137) *CPR, 1327-1330*, p. 514; *Ibid., 1330-1334*, p. 69.

138) *Ibid., 1330-1334*, p. 379.

139) *Ibid., p. 513.*

140) Supra, p. 142.

141) *CPR, 1334-1338*, p. 33.

142) *Ibid.*, pp. 163, 235.

143) *Ibid.*, 1343-1345, pp. 45-46, 488.

144) *Ibid.*, p. 244.

Hereford and Essex, and her journey was to include several shrines and her attorneys to act for twelve months,[145] a term which would have permitted a visit to Jerusalem also.

Sometimes husbands accompanied their wives: Rose Montgomery and her husband, John, king's yeoman and life tenant of the royal manor of Cruker and Farlington, each appointed attorneys for their absence of 1332[146] and, in the spring of the same year, Reginald and Agnes Herbert also made these preparations and, like the Montgomerys, were expecting to be back by midsummer.

A pilgrim of 1417 was the mystic, Margery Kempe, whose autobiography recorded her spiritual experiences.[147] Margery, daughter of a burgess of Lynn and wife of a freeman of the borough, developed (after fifteen or sixteen years of married life) a desire for asceticism. Her visions and behaviour troubled some of the ecclesiastics of her day and Bishop Repington of Lincoln sent her to the archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Fitz-Alan, a defender of orthodoxy against Lollardry, whom she did not scruple to upbraid for the worldiness of his household and who accepted her rebuke.[148]

She desired to visit the shrine of St James before her death and, having received from a sympathetic benefactor seven marks for this purpose, journeyed to Bristol which she reached on 26 May 'the Wednesday of Whitsun week'. In Bristol she was befriended by a Thomas Marshall of Newcastle who paid her passage and she also received another ten marks for her expenses. For six weeks no pilgrim passages were available because all ships were requisitioned for the king's service[149] and all attempts by other pilgrims to find passages in other ports were unsuccessful. Finally a ship from Brittany put in and was prepared for the transport of pilgrims but a rich man of Bristol refused to let Margery embark and she was obliged to appear before the bishop of Worcester (Thomas Peverel, at that time at his manor of Henbury in

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145) *Ibid.*, p. 350.

146) *Ibid.*, *1330-1334*, p. 256.

147) *Ibid.*, p. 247.

148) *The Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. S.B. Meech and E.H. Allen, *E.E.T.S.*, Original Series, CCXII, London, 1940.

149) E.F. Jacob, *The Fifteenth Century*, Oxford, 1961, p. 273.

Gloucestershire) who received her kindly, heard her confession and gave her gold for her journey. Having returned to Bristol she went on board and sailed on 7 July (probably). There was fair wind and weather and they reached Santiago seven days later. Of her experiences there (it was a Jubilee Year) little appears in her account and after fourteen days she set sail again and reached England after a crossing of five days.[150]

Yet all these English pilgrims of St James from the «Golden Age» to the late fifteenth century are but half-revealed and half-concealed by contemporary records. For, besides those who can be identified, there were countless others: Crusaders who stopped at the shrine of St James on their way to the Holy Land, the victims of attack by the barons of the Cinque Ports in 1242, the numerous Welsh and Scottish marchers who took money in 1315, the fellow-pilgrims of William Canty drowned off the Somerset coast in 1332, the hundreds of passengers aboard licensed ships, those who travelled illicitly, the lesser folk, who, throughout the period, travelled in the retinue of great churchmen or laymen and those with no property to need letters of protection to safe-guard it nor any obligations to fulfil which warranted the appointment of attorneys. Of such there can be no record for their journeys were mere customary happenings, obscure in the anonymity of the commonplace.

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150) Henry V's second expedition to France.

151) *The Book of Margery Kempe*, pp. 104, l.31 to 110, l.32.

APPENDIX I

PILGRIMS FROM ENGLAND, 1107-1484

Date	*Name*	*Evidence*
1107	King Sigurd of Norway	Norwegian chronicle
1110	Ansgot of Burwell	Letter to bishop of Lincoln
1147	Unnamed Crusaders	English chronicle, German monastic annals
1153	Henry of Blois	Historia Pontificalis
1168	Earl of Salisbury	English chronicle
1170	Godric Saint	His life
1173	Count of Chester	English chronicle
1193	Osmund of Ehelham	Plea
1199	Durill Philip	Plea
1200	Wolsey William	Essoin
1201	Bishop of Durham	English chronicle
”	Gerald, Warin son of,	Essoin
”	Eneford Walter	Essoin
”	Lildecot Simon	Essoin
1202	Flambard Walter, brother of	Essoin
1207	Robert, William son of	Essoin
1208	Meisnill William	Essoin
”	Philip, Robert son of	Essoin
”	Russell William	Essoin
”	Terry, William son of	Essoin
1214	Bekenfield Simon	Essoin
1216	Normanville Ralph	Pact with Henry III
1219	Shoreham Roger	Essoin
1220	Zuche Roger de la	Safe-conduct, confirmation of will
”	Cokfield Adam	Essoin
1221	Bishop of Winchester	Protection confirmation of will

Date	*Name*	*Evidence*
1222	Alexander, marshal of Archbishop of York	Protection
”	Burgh Richard de	Protection
”	Giffard Elias	Protection
”	London William	Protection
1222	Marmiun Robert	Protection
”	Warners Sanford	Protection
”	Archbishop of York	Protection
1223	Apibus Eustace	Protection
”	Blundus William	Protection
”	Branche Richard	Protection
”	Cailly Adam	Protection
”	Clere Ralph	Protection
”	Costentin Geoffrey	Protection
”	Crevequor Hamo	Protection
”	Dunton Reinerus	Protection
”	Greminston Durand	Protection
”	Mesneres Richard	Plea
”	Say Geoffrey	Protection
”	Vallibus Robert	Protection
”	Varenne, count of	Protection
1224	Cantilune Peter	Essoin
1227	Savage Robert	Protection
1228	Hodding Ralph	Conveyence of land
1232	Newmarket John	Restoration of property stolen on pilgrimge
”	Pontarch Peter	Restoration of confiscated lands and chattles
1234	Bedington Peter	Protection
1235	Duston Mary	Protection
”	Everdon Sylvester	Protection
”	Wade Henry	Protection
1236	Cantilupe Wiliam the younger	Protection
”	Longchamp Henry	Protection
”	Montfort Peter de	Protection
1237	Bohun Humphrey earl of Hereford and Essex	Confirmation of will
1238	Talbot John	Protection
1246	Cotin Arnold	Gift of money from the king for his journey
”	Gresle Thomas	Protection

Date	*Name*	*Evidence*
1248	Albiniaco Oliver	Protection
”	Bassingburn Warin	Protection
”	Beauchamp Thomas	Protection
”	Ipswich, prior of	Protection
”	Muncipun Giles	Protection
1250	Ardern Thomas	Protection
”	Beauchamp William	Protection
”	Beauchamp Simon	Protection
”	Pernell Tony	Protection
1252	Payn Robert	Protection, Attorneys
”	Ros William	Protection
1253	Newton Henry	Protection
1254	Branch Peter	Disbursement of arrears of pay
”	Brigaud Raymond	Safe-conduct
”	Chineros Guy	Safe-conduct
”	Redvers Emery	Gift of money from the king to compensate for robbery on his return journey
1257	Lovel Roger	Protection
”	Wahull Walter	Protection
”	Waleschef Ralph	Protection
1258	Crioyle John	Protection
”	Macclesfield, warden of the hospital of	Protection
”	Muntchancy William	Protection
”	Neville Hugh	Protection
”	Normanville Ralph	Protection
1259	Lacelles William	Protection
1260	Albinaco William	Protection
”	Estruz John	Protection
”	Lindsay Walter	Freedom military service
1261	Bosco John	Protection
”	Fanacurt Gerald	Protection
”	Lenham Nicholas	Protection
1262	Aclun Robert	Protection
”	More William	Protection
”	Stoteville Robert	Protection
”	Tweng Marmaduke	Protection
1267	Archbishop of Dublin	Safe-conduct, protection

Date	*Name*	*Evidence*
1268	Alditely John	Attorneys
”	Mucegros John	Attorneys
1270	Cankewell Baldwin	Protections
”	Waldeschef Ralph	Protection
1271	Bereham Richard	Protection
”	Frisholk William	Protection
”	Waldeschef Richard	Protection
”	Worcester, bishop of	Protection, attorneys
”	Wytacre Jordan	Protection
1272	Ardern Thomas	Protection
”	Beauchamp Richard	Protection
”	Bertram Richard	Protection
”	Bluet William	Attorneys
”	Meyne John	Attorneys
”	Montfort Peter de	Protection, attorneys
”	Mortimer William	Passage through Dover
1274	London Adam	Safe-conduct
1275	Latimer William	Attorneys
”	Montford Peter de	Attorneys
1276	Alrelin Nicholas	Protection
”	Kaynes Robert	Protection
”	Insula Simon	Attorneys, safe-conduct, protection
”	Peverel Hugh	Attorneys
”	St. Maur Lawrence	Attorneys
”	Vesci John	Protection
1277	Hersing G—	Legal proof of age
1278	Ardern Thomas	Protection
”	Berthram Robert	Protection
”	Bohun Humphrey, earl of Hereford and Essex	Protection, attorneys
”	Essex Walmer	Protection
”	Grey John	Protection, safe-conduct
”	Pabenham John	Protection
”	Troys James	Protection and attorneys
”	Walebrus William	Protection
1280	Belmont Godfrey	Protection
”	Chalvedon, Henry of	Protection
”	Johnson Matthew	Protection
”	Keynes Robert	Protection
”	Leyburn William	Safe-conduct

Date	*Name*	*Evidence*
1280	Mohun William	Protection
”	Poitevin Bartholomew	Protection
1281	Berlay Robert	Protection
”	Breus William	Safe-conduct, protection
”	Walter Robert	Protection, attorneys
1283	Acon William	Protection
”	Butler Robert	Protection
”	Fox Philip	Pardon of outlawry
”	Hamme, Robert rector of	Episcopal penance
1284	Bassett Ralph	Protection
”	Bassett Simon	Protection
”	Burg Henry	Safe-conduct
”	Jerworth, Madoc son of	Safe-conduct
1285	Barry John	Protection
1287	Lumbard Adam	Legal proof of age
1291	Canterbury John	Protection
1292	Ware Roger	Protection, attorneys
1293	Arkeby Alan	Legal proof of age
1300	Coleman Richard	Legal proof of age
”	Kemperly Thomas	Legal proof of age
1303	Wise Richard	Legal proof of age
1306	Lumbard Reginald	Safe-conduct, letter of credence
1307	Ispania Rodrick	Permit to take out money
1308	Attegore John	Legal proof of age
”	Elis Thomas	Legal proof of age
”	Neve Miles	Legal proof of age
”	Tuddlesham John	Legal proof of age
”	Wyther Roger	Legal proof of age
”	Zusche Alan	Protection
1309	Bigod Alice	Protection
”	Grey Nicholas	Attorneys
”	Montalt Robert	Attorneys
1310	Swotting Robert	Attorneys
1311	Cousin Raymond	Safe-conduct
”	Gayton Phillip	Protection, attorneys
”	Jersey Richard	Protection
”	Knowel Robert	Attorneys
”	Poneyn Michael	Legal proof of age
”	St. Blemund Isambert	Protection
”	Woodward William	Legal proof of age

Date	*Name*	*Evidence*
1312	Sutton John	Legal proof of age
”	Vernay John	Legal proof of age
1313	Daunay Nicholas	Protection, attorneys
”	Insula Bona William	Protection, attorneys
1314	Archer William	Proof of age
”	Bacon Edmund	Protection
”	Belhous John	Protection
”	Greenfield Baldwin	Protection, attorneys
”	Ruddleston John	Legal proof of age
”	Uvedale John	Protection, attorneys
1315	Abbethorpe Robert	Safe-conduct
”	Audley James	Letter of credence
”	Beche Nicholas	Attorneys, letter of credence
”	Beche William	Attorneys, letters of credence
”	Bellafago Geoffrey	Protection
”	Boyland Richard	Attorneys
”	Cammays Ralph	Protection
”	Cayley Thomas	Protection
”	Dakeney Thomas	Protection
”	Lughteburg Richard	Protection
”	Monthermer Ralph	Protection
”	Shyrugge Thomas	Attorneys
1316	Briauzon John	Safe-conduct
”	Burdelaga Oliver	Protection
”	Cave John	Protection
”	Cromwell John	Protection
”	Ffhyde John	Legal proof of age
”	Grey Richard	Protection, attorneys
”	Humphrey Walter	Protection
”	Kyme Philip	Protection
”	Scott Simon	Legal proof of age
”	Somerville Edmund	Protection
”	Thorney, abbot of	Protection, attorneys
”	Walecote Ralph	Attorneys
1317	Ferre Guy	Protection
”	Lee Geoffrey	Protection
”	Mare Eleanor de la	Protection
”	Radington John	Protection, attorneys
”	Zouche William	Protection

Date	*Name*	*Evidence*
1318	Caleye Coppinus	Safe-conduct
”	Cook William	Legal proof of age
”	Ispania Richard	Protection
”	St.Philibert John	Protection
”	Tregoz Thomas	Protection
”	Wace Reginald	Legal proof of age
1319	Cammays Ralph	Protection
”	Kyme Philip	Protection
”	Mountpiliers Thomas	Attorneys
”	Spicer Robert	Protection
1320	Atwell Launia	Attorneys
”	Cromwell Ralph	Attorneys
”	Ingham Oliver	Protection, attorneys
”	Letham John	Safe-conduct
”	Norton Margaret	Gift from Edward II
”	Patemere John	Protection
”	Rose Robert	Protection, attorneys
1321	Clement William	Attorneys
”	Glemyn John	Protection
”	Hodelston Adam	Protection
”	Mar Donald	Protection
”	Moyne William	Attorneys
”	St. Andrew Thomas	Attorneys
”	Tregoz Thomas	Protection, attorneys
1322	Boudon William	Protection, safe-conduct
”	Uvedale John	Passage through port
1323	Caleby Adam	Attorneys
1324	Bodrigan Otto	Attorneys
”	Ithehall William	Attorneys
”	Hinton William	Attorneys
1327	Vernon Bouchard	Safe-conduct
”	West Thomas	Attorneys
”	Woodhall Ralph	Attorneys, protection
1328	Badewe John	Legal proof of age
”	Carbonel Thomas	Legal proof of age
”	Chapman John	Legal proof of age
”	Kinton Thomas	Legal proof of age
”	Lee Geoffrey	Protection
”	Molt William	Legal proof of age
”	Newport Thomas	Proof of age
”	Walter Nicholas	Protection

Date	*Name*	*Evidence*
1328	West Thomas	Protection, attorneys
”	Wright William	Proof of age
”	Wyard John	Safe-conduct
”	Wytheston John	Proof of age
1329	Audley Hugh	Protection
”	Audley James	Attorneys
”	Croyke Richard	Attorneys
”	Fish John	Proof of age
”	Hurant Gerald	Proof of age
”	Insula Gerard	Attorneys
”	Skinner William	Attorneys
”	Somerville Felicia	Protection
1330	Belhous Isolda	Protection
”	Bohun John	Protection, attorneys
”	Brionie Matilda	Commutation
”	Burnel Alina	Protection
”	Claxby Alan	Proof of age
”	Denton Richard	Protection, attorneys
”	Kayn Walter	Proof of age
”	Lendemore Richard	Proof of age
”	Marshall Ralph	Attorneys
”	Rowand Roger	Attorneys
”	St. John Peter	Attorneys
1331	Audley James	Attorneys
”	Allen William	Protection
”	Battle, abbot of	Protection
”	Beauchamp John	Protection
”	Cove John	Attorneys
”	Horsale Stephen	Protection
”	Llewellyn Kedwick	Protection
”	Ospringe, master of the hospital of,	Protection
”	Stanton Thomas	Attorneys
”	Strata Marcella, abbot of,	Protection
”	Waldeschef Walter	Protection
”	West Thomas	Protection
”	Wyard John	Protection
1332	Ace John	Attorneys
”	Aisyck John	Protection, attorneys
”	Amory John	Protection, legal proof of age

Date	*Name*	*Evidence*
1332	Barry John	Attorneys
”	Baud William	Protection, attorneys
”	Beche Edward	Attorneys
”	Beche William	Attorneys
”	Bermingham Henry	Attorneys, protection
”	Bermingham William	Attorneys, protection
”	Canty John	Proof of age
”	Chaucombe Henry	Attorneys
”	Corbet Robert	Attorneys, passage through port
”	Crocheman William	Attorneys
”	Despenser Hugh	Attorneys, protection
”	Fitzsimon Hugh	Protection
”	Hackney Richard	Attorneys
”	Hastings Thomas	Passage through port
”	Herbert Agnes	Attorneys
”	Herbert Reginald	Attorneys
”	Hord Richard	Attorneys
”	Hothum John	Protection
”	Kendale Edward	Passage through port
”	Lodewick William	Protection
”	Loreyne Thomas	Protection
”	Mere John	Passage through port
”	Montgomery John	Attorneys
”	Montgomery Rose	Attorneys
”	Norton Richard	Legal proof of age
”	Vere de John, earl of Oxford	Wardship of minor
1333	Boyland Richard	Attorneys
”	Brown Robert	Proof of age
”	Gonshull Thomas	Attorneys
”	Hastings Thomas	Protection
”	Henley William	Attorneys
”	Plaitour Andrew	Legal proof of age
1334	Atgate William	Legal proof of age
”	Banyard Matilda	Attorneys
”	Fysele John	Legal proof of age
”	Harpenden William	Legal proof of age
”	Hastings Thomas	Attorneys
”	Ivot John	Legal proof of age
”	Shobeham William	Legal proof of age
”	Sweyn William	Legal proof of age

Date	*Name*	*Evidence*
1334	Walgot Robert	Legal proof of age
”	Yarewell William	Attorneys, protection
1335	Cook Peter	Legal proof of age
”	Holland Matilda	Attorneys
”	Morley Robert	Attorneys, protection
”	Weston Thomas	Protection
1336	Bokking Reynold	Legal proof of age
”	Ede William	Legal proof of age
”	Fol John	Legal proof of age
”	Gonshull Richard	Legal proof of age
”	Holland Matilda	Attorneys
”	Hunt William	Legal proof of age
”	Rondolf John	Legal proof of age
”	Shepherd Richard	Legal proof of age
”	Verdon John	Legal proof of age
”	Weston John	Legal proof of age
1337	Swon Robert	Legal proof of age
1338	Deveroys Walter	Legal proof of age
”	Gonshull John	Legal proof of age
”	Styward Nicholas	Legal proof of age
”	Wright William	Legal proof of age
1339	Bishop John	Legal proof of age
1340	Athall John	Legal proof of age
”	Bydon Thomas	Legal proof of age
”	Drake John	Legal proof of age
”	Passemer Robert	Legal proof of age
”	Stanton Henry	Legal proof of age
”	Theodolf John	Legal proof of age
”	Westbech Robert	Legal proof of age
1341	Bernard Roger	Legal proof of age
”	Butler Edmund	Legal proof of age
”	Climping John	Legal proof of age
”	Corviser Henry	Legal proof of age
1342	Atfield Simon	Legal proof of age
”	Cosin William	Legal proof of age
”	Cotes John	Legal proof of age
”	Gamon John	Legal proof of age
”	Okynden William	Legal proof of age
1343	Alford Ralph	Legal proof of age
”	Bolle Henry	Legal proof of age
”	Fairman Walter	Legal proof of age

Date	*Name*	*Evidence*
1343	Greenfield Philip	Legal proof of age
”	Hunstewey Henry	Legal proof of age
”	Molte William	Legal proof of age
”	Roser Eustace	Legal proof of age
”	Seyemaker Michael	Legal proof of age
”	Smith Richard	Legal proof of age
”	Wayte William	Legal proof of age
1344	Beaumont Eleanor	Attorneys
”	Bohun Margaret, countess of Hereford and Essex	Attorneys
”	Ithall Roger	Seisin of his lands
”	Kingston Constance	Attorneys
”	Mereworth John	Protections
1345	Adam Richard	Legal proof of age
”	Atheath Etho	Legal proof of age
”	Bealcombe John	Legal proof of age
”	Bedelow Lawrence	Legal proof of age
”	Gamel Robert	Legal proof of age
”	Gifford John	Attorneys, passage through port
”	Rochester, prior of	Attorneys, Exchequer account
”	Stangrave Robert	Attorneys
1347	Athel John	Legal proof of age
”	Edward John	Legal proof of age
”	Giffard John	Attorneys
1349	Beways Robert	Legal proof of age
”	Crane Thomas	Legal proof of age
”	Kelsey John	Legal proof of age
”	Say Roger	Legal proof of age
1350	Atgreen Robert	Legal proof of age
”	Beltam Lawrence	Legal proof of age
”	Sutton William	Attorneys
1351	Clerk Henry	Legal proof of age
”	Leviot Walter	Legal proof of age
1353	Fenrothir William	Legal proof of age
”	Kerdiston William	Legal proof of age
”	Messager Robert	Legal proof of age
”	Prestwick John	Legal proof of age
”	Seton Adam	Legal proof of age
1354	Baker John	Legal proof of age

Date	*Name*	*Evidence*
1354	White John	Legal proof of age
”	White William	Legal proof of age
1355	Schereman John	Legal proof of age
1358	Audley James	Money gift
”	Hamond Thomas	Attorneys
”	Lovet John	Attorneys
1359	Clerk Thomas	Attorneys
1361	Atmarsh John	Attorneys
”	Martin John	Safe-conduct
”	Manny Walter	Attorneys
”	St. Andrews, bishop of	Safe-conduct
1363	King John	Attorneys
”	Roos John	Attorneys
1364	Cheverston John	Attorneys
1365	Cheverston John	Attorneys
1366	Armstrong Gilbert	Safe-conduct
”	Evesham, abbot of	Licence to go abroad
”	Skyrygour Alexander	Safe-conduct
”	Stewart James	Safe-conduct
1367	Kissehane John	Passage through port
”	Mar, Thomas earl of	Safe-conduct
1375	Barton and Beverly, pilgrims of	English monastic chronicle
1381	Leye Hugh	Restoration of confiscated property
1382	Angla William	Safe-conduct of chancery of Aragón
1383	Brocheron Robert	Safe-conduct
”	Poulgon Geoffrey	Safe-conduct
1389	Bigthon John	Safe-conduct of chancery of Aragón
”	Nell John	Safe-conduct of chancery of Aragón
1398	Tudesco Henry	Safe-conduct of chancery of Aragón
1406	Albany, duke of	Safe-conduct
”	Gray John	Safe-conduct
”	Thomson John	Safe-conduct
1409	Swinburn Thomas	Safe-conduct
1413	Hathington John	Safe-conduct
1417	Kempe Margery	Her account

Date	*Name*	*Evidence*
1434	Hore William	Attorneys
”	Talbot John	Attorneys
1456	Wey William	His account
1473	Paston John	His brother's letter
1484	Poppelau Nicolas von	His account
	Last quarter of the century	
1484	Purchas William	Chancery suit
”	Spencer John	Chancery suit

APPENDIX II

ENROLLED SHIPS' LICENCES, 1235-1484

Date	*Licence holder*[1]		*Ship*	*Pilgrims allowed*
1235	Whistlegrey Simon	o[2]	Gladylyne	-[3]
1361	Badding Richard		Nicholas of Rye	-
,,	Portsmouth Paul	,,		-
,,	Gibbon John	o	-	-
,,	Luttrell Andrew[4]		-	26
1368	Cannings William	o	Saint Mary cog of Bristol	-
,,	Spelley Elias	o	,,	,,
,,	Wycombe Simon	o	,,	,,
,,	Frompton Walter	-	Trinity of Bristol	at will
,,	Salerne Simon	o	-	-
,,	Shipton Antony	-	Katerine	-
1369	Cannings William	o	Saint Mary Cog of Bristol	at will
,,	Spelley Elias	o	,,	,,
,,	Derby Walter	o	Gracedieu of Bristol	at will
1390	Bast William	m[5]	Thomas of Dartmouth	-
,,	Boulge Gilbert	-	Michael of Ipswich	200
,,	Salerne Simon	o	Leonard of Winchelsea	200
1391	Asshenden Thomas	-	-	200
,,	Bampworth Henry	m/o[6]	Isobel of London	100
,,	Brown Walter	-	Jonet of Barnstaple	120
,,	Tidderle John	-	,,	,,

1) Surname first.

2) o = owner.

3) - = not stated.

4) Release from impressment.

5) m = master.

6) m/o = master or owner or both.

Date	*Licence holder*[1]		*Ship*	*Pilgrims allowed*
1391	Colyn John	m/o	Michael of Mountsbay	80
”	Norton Thomas	-	-	-
1392	Baker John	-	Michael of Dartmouth	100
”	Colard John	-	-	60
”	Slug John	-		
”	Slug Richard	-		
1393	Colard John	-	-	60
”	Slug Richard		-	
”	Hake John	m/o	Nicholas of Exmouth	80
”	Hanley John	-	Peter of Dartmouth	120
”	Rosy Wiliam	m	Marybot of Falmouth	40
1394	Caneway Thomas	o	James of Poole	60
”	Chambernoun Otto	-	-	100
”	Gilbert Richard	-		
”	Gilbert William	-		
”	Hacoun John	m	Gabriel of Yarmouth	440
”	Richaw Martin	m	Mighel of Mountsbay	50
”	Robin Richard	m	George of Fowey	80
”	Tidderle John	m	Jonet of Northam	60
1395	Adam John	-	Andrew of Bristol	180
”	Arnald Edmund	-	-	80
”	Aukland John	-	-	40
”	Johnson William	-		
”	Bone Henry	-	Margaret of Plymouth	60
”	Bony Henry	m	Mary of Brest	80
”	Caneway Thomas	o	James of Poole	80
”	Chapman John	-	Katherine of Loo	60
”	Clere Richard	-	-	80
”	Colard John	-	-	60
”	Slug John	-		
”	Slug Richard	-		
”	Cornekey John	m	Jonet of Bristol	140
”	Corp John	-	-	60
”	Courtenay Peter	o	-	200
”	Crokker Walter	-	-	60
”	Curre William	m	Trinity of Teignmouth	50
”	Ferres Martin	o	-	60
”	Houdene Robert	m	Mary of Hartlepoole	80
”	Knappe Thomas	o	Cog John	at will
”	”	o	Barnabas	at will
”	”	o	Cog John	160

Date	*Licence holder*[1]		*Ship*	*Pilgrims allowed*
,,	Maynard John	-	Katherine of Saltash	100
,,	Maxey John	m	Mary of Newcastle-on-Tyne	80
,,	Neel Roger	-	Margaret of Exmouth	100
,,	Robin Richard	m	George of Fowey	80
,,	Rodney John	o	-	40
,,	Stafford Humphrey	o		
1396	Bull William	-	Mary of Fowemouth	60
,,	Rosy William	m	St.Mary of Truro	40
1397	Courtenay Philip	o	St.James of Exmouth	80
1398	Cory William	o	George of Port Fowemouth	50
,,	Cutler Richard	m/o	Trinity of Plymouth	60
,,	Hamond John	m/o	Trinity of Winchelsea	40
1399	Fairweather William	m/o	Margaret	60
,,	Ball Thomas	,,	,,	
,,	Takon Walter			
,,	Piers John	m	Saintsaviourscog	40
,,	Wilcock John	m	Mary of Otermouth	80
1401	Bytheway John	-	Mary of Fowey	50
,,	Colla Richard	m	Mary of Padstow	40
,,	Pay Henry	-	Mary of Poole	80
,,	Tetherley John	-	Jonet of Barnstaple	60
1402	Bryan John	m	Andrew of Plymouth	50
,,	Hymborn John	m/o	Blythe of Southampton	50
1403	Gabsyore Robert	-	Holyghost	100
1411	Benet John	o	Trinity of Southampton	50
,,	Courtenay Edward	o	Mary of Dartmouth	40
,,	Mayowe Robert	-	Margaret of Fowey	30
1412	Courtenay Edward	-	Mary of Kingswear	40
,,	Sampson William	-	James of Plymouth	50
1413	Boon Henry	o	Margaret of Plymouth	40
,,	Bonet Edmund	-	James of Lynn	60
,,	Courtenay Edward	-	Margaret of Plymouth	50
,,	Fegow Robert	-	Christian of Dartmouth	60
,,	Montford John	-	Saintsaviourscog	60
,,	Stonard Richard	m	Edward of Fowey	50
,,	Willy Walter	m	Elena of Lavant	40
1414	Joy John	m/o	Elene of Ipswich	50
,,	Hill Richard	-	Leonard of Weymouth	40
,,	Russell John	m/o	James of Fowey	50

Date	*Licence holder*[1]		*Ship*	*Pilgrims allowed*
1415	Nichol Richard	m	Mary of Penzance	24
1423	Attenhalle Thomas	o	Trinity of Shoreham	60
”	Benet Richard	m	Trinity of Plymouth	70
”	Gower John	-	Leonard of Weymouth	60
”	Huskard Ralph	m	Holyghost	200
”	Milward Roger	-	Trinity of Dartmouth	60
”	Prigg William	-	”	
”	Philip John	-	Holyghost of Weymouth	40
”	Warner William	o	George of Poole	60
1424	Nichol John	m	Katherine of Penzance	24
1428	Adam Thomas	m	Mary of Fowey	50
”	Astley Thomas	o	Mary of Ipswich	20
”	Andrew Thomas	o	Bartholomew of Orwell	30
”	Saye Thomas	m	”	
”	Baker Henry	o	Trinity of Bisselden	80
”	Benet John	m	George of Bridgewater	40
”	Berton Richard	-	James of Barnstaple	40
”	Bytenay Richard		”	
”	Orchard William		”	
”	Passeware Thomas		”	
”	Bigg William	-	Katherine of Newcastle-on-Tyne	30
”	Bilbroke John	m	Mary of Southampton	120
”	Boner Robert	o	Falcon of Weymouth	60
”	Buk Thomas	-	Thomas of Dartmouth	40
”	Carew Thomas	o	Patrick of Dartmouth	-
”	Roche David	m	”	
”	Colyville John	m/o	Ghost of Plymouth	40
”	Cooding William	o	Mary of Plymouth	40
”	Morton Richard	o	”	
”	Palmer Richard	o	”	
”	Cutler John	m	Nicholas of Wareham	40
”	Coton William	o	Mary of Bristol	100
”	Monke John	o	”	
”	Spring Jordans	o	”	
”	Davy John	m	Nicholas of Poole	24
”	Davy Richard	m	Mary of Exmouth	30
”	”		”	40
”	Davy Thomas	o	Trinity of Hull	100
”	Shaklys Robert	o	”	
”	Dene Hugh	o	George of London	140

Date	*Licence holder*[1]		*Ship*	*Pilgrims allowed*
1428	Stedde Robert	m	,,	
,,	Dun Thomas	o	Leonard of Weymouth	50
,,	Foxley Philip	m/o	Peter of Plymouth	30
,,	Morford Richard	,,	,,	
,,	Fish Thomas	o	Saint John of Bristol	100
,,	Godenape Simon	o	Mary of Cley	140
,,	James Nicholas	o	,,	
,,	Gronte Lawrence	o	Trinity of Saltfleet	40
,,	Hanley John	o	James or Mary of Dartmouth	40
,,	Hood John	m	Katherine of Kingsbridge	80
,,	Horbyer Lawrence	m	Michael of Penzance	24
,,	Ibell John	m	Mary of Penzance	24
,,	John John	m	Valentine of Southampton	200
,,	Mawer John	m	George of Poole	80
,,	More John	o	Mary of Dartmouth	50
,,	Nanskasek	m	Mary of Falmouth	40
,,	Papenham John	o	Cog John of Bristol	80
,,	Piers William	o	,,	
,,	Payn Richard	o	James of Poole	40
,,	Petty Richard	m	Margaret of Topsham	50
,,	Philip John	m	Holyghost of Weymouth	122
,,	Pollard William	m/o	Mary of Plymouth	40
,,	Purye Thomas	o	Christopher of Plymouth	30
,,	Richard Philip	o	George of Bristol	100
,,	Robin John	-	Holyghost of Southampton	-
,,	Sampson John	m/o	Julian of Sandwich	60
,,	Slug John	m	Nicholas of Saltash	60
,,	Spert John	o	Trinity of Fowey	40
,,	Spofe William	o	Trinity of Winchester	60
,,	Stanbury John	m	Trinity of Dartmouth	40
,,	Stevens John	m/o	Mary of Brixham	50
,,	Stubbe John	m	Julian of Landhelp	40
,,	Thomas John	o	Jelyan of Fowey	60
,,	,,	,,	Mary of Fowey	40
,,	Ware Thomas	o	Christopher of Plymouth	50

Date	*Licence holder*[1]		*Ship*	*Pilgrims allowed*
1428	Wyot John	m	Thomas of Salisbury	80
”	Yalmpton Richard	m	Katherine of Plymouth	40
1431	Andrew Thomas	-	Bartholomew of Orwell	20
1432	July Peter	m	Trinity of Falmouth	24
1434	Andrew Thomas	m	Bartholomew of Harwich	60
”	Bilbrok John	m/o	Mary of Southampton	100
”	Bone Robert	m	Bernard of Poole	70
”	”	”	”	60
”	Brook Roger	m	John of Portsmouth	60
”	”	”	”	40
”	Buk John	m	Gracedieu	20
”	Burdon John	m/o	Trinity of Wells	40
”	Cole Roger	m	Trinity of Bideford	40
”	Coleman John	m	Lawrence of Dartmouth	30
”	Coyle John	o	Margaret of Topsham	50
”	Wenard William	”	”	
”	Crede Thomas	m	Mary of Bristol	50
”	Crouch Thomas	m	George of London	60
”	Cutler John	m	Mary of Wight	80
”	Dene Hugh	o	Gabriel of London	80
”	Russaw John	o	”	
”	Dicken John	o	Cristopher of Ipswich	60
”	Elis John	m	Peter of Dover	30
”	Gerard John	m	Trinity of Exmouth	40
”	Gerard Thomas	m	Julian of Fowey	60
”	Gobbe John	m	Nicholas of Barnstaple	40
”	Goding John	m	Thomas of Dartmouth	40
”	Gregory Robert	m	Ghost of Lynn	20
”	Hawkin Henry	m	Mary of Brixham	30
”	Heddon John	m	James of Dartmouth	70
”	Henstas William	m	Nicholas of Weymouth	30
”	Jandrell Thomas	m	Mary of Landhelp	60
”	”	”	”	”
”	July Peter	m	Trinity of Falmouth	40
”	Kenny Richard	m	Trinity of Chichester	80
”	King Roger	m	Katherine of Minehead	40
”	Kydeston John	m	Bartholomew of Landhelp	50

Date	*Licence holder*[1]		*Ship*	*Pilgrims allowed*
1434	Lindsay Richard	m	John of Teignmouth	30
”	Lye John	m	Antony of Dartmouth	40
”	Lesard John	m	Katherine of Dartmouth	40
”	”	”	”	40
”	Marshall Thomas	o	Katherine of Hull	30
”	Mawer John	m	Mighell of the Poole	60
”	Mayowe Philip	m	Barry of Fowey	60
”	Nichol John	m	Cog John of Fowey	50
”	Nichol John	m	Michael of Penzance	24
”	Noble Richard	m/o	St.Mary of Blakeney	60
”	Nynethank Henry	m	Mary of Plymouth	60
”	Papenham John	o	Mary of Bristol	80
”	Pattesmore William	o	Mary of Bristol	30
”	Petty Richard	m	Margaret of Topsham	50
”	”	”	”	50
”	Porter Robert	m	Katherine of Winchelsea	60
”	”	”	”	60
”	Raff Roger	m	Gabriel of Penzance	26
”	Rede John	m	Antony of Dartmouth	40
”	Russell Richard	m	Peter of Great Yarmouth	20
”	Selby Robert	m/o	Elene of Colchester	30
”	Slug John	m	Thomas of Saltash	60
”	Sutton William	o	Nicholas of Sandwich	50
”	Trenode Richard	o	George of Bristol	30
”	Truwe William	m/o	Garland of Cromer	60
”	Walter Richard	m	Peter of Dartmouth	60
”	Weston William	m	Trinity of Bristol	60
”	Williamson John	m	Michael of St.Michael's Mount	40
”	Withyall Ralph	m	Mary of Fowey	40
”	Woodruff John	m	Christopher of Bristol	80
1440	Nichol John	m/o	Michael of Penzance	40
1445	Ames Roger or	m	Christopher of Saltash	100
”	Wandre Nicholas	m	”	”
”	Burton John	o	Katherine of Bristol	100
”	Colbere Thomas	m	Mary Carew of Dartmouth	140

Date	*Licence holder*[1]		*Ship*	*Pilgrims allowed*
1445	Cosyn Daniel	m	Michael of Penzance	60
”	Dicken John	o	Gracedieu	108
”	Skinner William	o	”	”
”	Fellaw Richard	o	Bartholomew of Port Orwell	12
”	Fyke John	m	James of Weymouth	50
”	Gerard John	m	Nicholas of Dartmouth	140
”	Goding John	m	Trinity Courtenay	200
”	Gurdeler John	m	Peter of Exeter	30
”	Hinchin John	m	Mary Courtenay	100
”	Hugh John	m	Martin of Fowey	30
”	Kestal Thomas	m	Trinity of Falmouth	50
”	Langaker John	m	Little John of Dandwich	60
”	Lolle Nicholas	o	James of Landhelp	40
”	Selly David	o	”	”
”	Lesard John	m	Antony of Dartmouth	50
”	Mawer John	m	Mary of Lymington	30
”	May Henry	o	Mary of Bristol	120
”	Oxford, earl of	o	Jesus of Orwell	at will
”	Philip Robert	m	Mary of Cromer	80
”	Philpot Walter	m	Mary of Southampton	100
”	Selly David	o	Katherine of Plymouth	40
”	Shipley John	o	Katherine of Plymouth	60
”	Staplehill John	m	George of Paignton	40
”	Stubbe John	m	James of Landhelp	40
”	Sturmy Robert	o	Santa Anna	200
”	Vathy Thomas	m	Margaret of Blakeney	40
”	Wakelin William	m	Margaret of Wells	120
”	White Thomas	m	Mary of Falmouth	40
”	Wymond Walter	m	Cog John of Fowey	80
1451	Arnold Richard	o	Mary of Cromer	60
”	Bourgchier William	o	Trinity Fitzwarin of Barnstaple	40
”	Bowyer Robert	o	Mary of Dartmouth	60
”	Burgony Richard	o	Nicholas of Wells	40
”	Cobbe William	o	Mary of Pembroke	24
”	Cornewe John	m	Mackerel of Fowey	20
”	Grigg Reginald	m	Bartholomew of Landhelp	40

Date	*Licence holder*[1]		*Ship*	*Pilgrims allowed*
1451	Hagun Simon	o	Trinity of Winchester	60
”	Humphrey William	m	Trinity of Orwell	80
”	Paten John	m	Margaret of Blakeney	100
”	Pigot John	o	Katherine of Lynn	30
”	Pulham Godard	o	Thomas of Winchelsea	80
”	Shereff Thomas	m	Bartholomew of Fowey	20
”	Skilman Richard	o	Mary of Southwold	30
”	Sturmy Robert	o	Katherine of Boston	100
”	Waynefleet Johun	m	Christopher of Southwold	30
1455	Gytton Peter	o	Herring of Lymington	50
1456	Allen Philip	o	Mary of Dartmouth	30
”	Blanche John	o	Mary of Fowey	100
”	Tregyn Thomas	o	”	”
”	Brown William	o	Edward of Blakeney	80
”	Cade John	o	John of Dartmouth	20
”	Clement Thomas	o	Mary of Landhelp	60
”	Evyty Michael	-	-	20
”	Farnecombe Simon	o	Helen of Winchelsea	-
”	George William	o	Andrew of Plymouth	80
”	Marshall John	m	Jesus of Brixham	50
”	Merchant John	m	Mary of Estonhaus	50
”	Prytlesden Vincent	o	Mayflower of Plymouth	30
”	Sturmy Robert	o	Katherine Sturmy	60
”	Talbot Thomas	o	Mary Talbot of Lynn	100
”	Towekar John	o	Trinity of Dartmouth	60
”	Weston John	o	”	”
”	William John	o	Edward of Southampton	40
”	Wiltshire, earl of	o	James of Weymouth	31
1462	Averyll William	o	James of Wareham	40
”	Andrew James	o	James of Westminster	60
”	Cammell John	o	James of Poole	80
”	Colfe Richard	o	Valentine of Portsmouth	90
”	Dancaster John	o	”	”
”	Hall John	o	Mighel of Poole	100
”	Morgan Philip	o	Trinity of Newport	300
”	Poldo Thomas	o	Mary of Trewin	50
”	Trecuran John	o	”	”
”	Thomas John	o	Trinity of Exmouth	70

Date	*Licence holder*[1]		*Ship*	*Pilgrims allowed*
1462	White Richard	o	Mary of Poole	50
”	Yebot William	o	Gabriel of Lynn	80
1466	Ambrose David	m	Mighel of Penzance	-
1473	Albard Thomas	o	Good Grace of Woodbridge	100
”	Bocher John	o	Katherine	60
”	Brown Simon	o	Trinity of Cley	70
”	Burton Nicholas	o	Katherine of Sandwich	40
”	Northfolk Robert	o	Christopher of Southwold	60
”	Ruff John	o	Christopher of Yarmouth	60
”	Shymer Robert	o	Patrick of Saltcombe	40
1484	Brown Richard	o	-	-
”	Cromer Robery	o	-	-
”	Sow Henry	o	James of Southwold	-
”	-	-	Catherine of Bristol	-
”	-	-	Christopher of Woodbridge	-
”	-	-	Edmund of Southwold	-
”	Rogers Thomas	-	Mary Curtis of London	-
”	Rogers Thomas	-	Mary Ellen of Plymouth	-
”	Rogers Thomas	-	Mary Grace of Bristol	-
”	-	-	Trinity of Southwold	-

APPENDIX III

LICENCES TO CONVEY PILGRIMS TO SANTIAGO, 1368-1473

a *Licence to Walter Derby of Bristol*

1368, February 15. Licence, until Michaelmas, for Walter Derby of Bristol to load a ship of his newly made, with pilgrims of middling condition with no great estate who wish to go on a pilgrimage to Santiago and to take them to the place where such pilgrimage is to be made, all clerks, knights, esquires and other nobles being excepted.

CPR,1367-1370, pp 134-135

b *Licence to the same*

1369, March 25. Licence, for one year, for Walter Derby, merchant of Bristol, to take from Bristol and neighbouring ports to the parts of La Groyne in Spain, in his newly-built ship called La Gracedieu of Bristol, as many pilgrims as the ship can conveniently carry, and bring back from there victuals and other merchandise; provided that the ship be not arrested for the king's service and that no horses, gold or silver, bows, arrows or other armour, or anything prejudicial to the king and crown pass over in the ship.

CPR, 1367-1370, p 226

c *Licence to Thomas Asshenden of Dartmouth*

391, April 5. Licence for the king's liege, Thomas Asshenden of Dertemuth to ship in a vessel of that town two hundred of the king's lieges as pilgrims to Santiago in Spain, whereof he may make proclamation throughout the realm, paying custom and other dues to the king's use but the pilgrims must not carry gold or silver in bullion or money or other things contrary to statute.

CPR, 1388-1392, p 390

d *Licence to John Sloog, Richard Sloog and John Colard*

1392, March 2. Licence for the king's lieges John Sloog, Richard Sloog and John Colard to take 60 pilgrims in their barge now at Saltasshe, co. Cornwall, to Santiago once only and to return them to England.

CPR, 1391-1396, p 45

e *Licence to John Benet, master of the George of Bridgewater*

[10 May 1428] Rex omnibus ad quos etc Salutem. Sciatis quod concessimus et licenciam dedimus Johanni Benet magistro navis vocate le George de Brigewater quod ipse quadraginta personas ligeos nostros versus Sanctum Jacobum in Galiciis peregre profecturos in navi predicta eskippare et easdem in regnum nostrum predictum ducere possitabsque impedimento vel perturbacione nostro aut officiariorum seu ministrorum nostrorum quorumcumque proviso semper quod viagium carissimi consanguinei Thome comitis Sarum et secum comitancium qui in obsequium nostrum versus regnum nostrum ffrancie in resistenciam inimicorum nostrum ibidem in proximo sunt profecturos colore presentis licencie nostre non impediatur et quod persone predicte aliqua nobis seu regno nostro Anglie preiudicialia seu dampnosa aut aurum vel argentum in massa vel moneta ultra racionabiles expensas suas secum non deferant nec deferri faciant nec secreta regni nostri alicui ad externa revelent set quod ipsi fideles ligei nostri permaneant. In cuius etc. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium decimo die maii.

PRO, T/R, C76/110 m7

f *Licence to Richard Lindsay, master of the John of Teignmouth*

[26 February 1434] Omnibus ad quos etc. Salutem. Sciatis quod concessimus et licenciam dedimus Ricardo Lyndesey magistro cuiusdam bargee vocate le Johane de Teyngmouth quod ipse triginta personas ligeos nostros versus Sanctum Jacobum peregre profecturos bargea predicta eskippare et easdem personas ad locum predictum ducere et eas in regnum nostrum predictum reducere possit absque impedimento vel perturbacione nostro aut officiarum seu ministrorum nostrorum quorumcumque proviso semper quod iidem peregrini et eorum quilibet custodibus passagii ubi eos eskippare contigit ante eorum transitum sacrum prestent corporale quod ipsi aliqua nobis seu regno nostro preiudicialia seu dampnosa, aut aurum vel argentum in massa vel moneta ultra racionabiles expensas suas secum non deferant seu deferri faciant nec secreta dicti regni alicui ad externa revelabunt set quod ipsi fideles ligei nostri permaneant omni modo. In cuius etc. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium vicesimo sexto die ffebruarii.

PRO, T/R, C76/116 m11

g *Licence, at the petition of Philip Courtenay, to John Godyng, master of the Trinity Courtenay*

[26 January 1445] Omnibus ad quos etc. Salutem. Sciatis quod ad supplicacionem dilecti et fidelis militis nostri Philipi Courtenay concessimus et licen-

ciam dedimus Johani Godyng magistro cuiusdam navis vocate Trinite Courtenay quod ipse ducentas personas ad peregrinandum versus Sanctum Jacobum in Galesiis in navem predictam recipere et personas illas ad locum predictum ex causa predicta ducere et expedito viagio illo navi predicta in Anglie reducta tot personas quot locum predictum ex causa permissa visitare voluerint in eadem navem iterato percipere et reducere possit absque impetitione vel impedimento officiariorum seu ministrorum nostrorum quorumcumque proviso semper quod quilibet persona in navem predictam aliquo tempore assumenda coram prefato Philipo seu alia persona ideona in absencia sua sacrum prestat corporale quod ipsi aliqua nobis seu regno nostro Anglie preiudicialia seu dampnosa neque aurum nec argentum in massa nec moneta ultra rationabiles expensas suas non deferet nec deferri faciat quovismodo et quod ipsa secreta regni nostri predicta sique noverit alicui non revelabit ad externa et quod dilectus Philipus nobis de omnibus eo quod ad nos in hac parte pertinet et debetur bene et fideliter satisfaciat et persolvat. In cuius etc. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium vicesimo sexto die januarii.

PRO, T/R, C76/127 m4

h *Licence to Richard Skilman, owner of the Mary of Southwold*

[5 March 1451] Universis et singulis ad quos etc. Salutem. Sciatis quod concessimus et licenciam dedimus Ricardo Skilman possessori cuiusdam navis vocate le Mary de Southwold in comitatu Suffolk quod ipse triginta peregrinos in navi predicta recipere et eos versus Sanctum Jacobum Galicie in Ispania ad vota sua ibidem proficienda traducere et abunde in regnum nostrum Anglie reducere possit libere et impune aliquibus ordinationibus in contrarium factis non obstantibus. Dumtamen navis predicta arestata non existat ad deserviendum nobis in aliquo viagio nostro nec viagium illud colore presentis licencie nostre impediatur ullo modo dumtamen peregrini illi de amicitia et obedientia nostris existant at fideles ligei nostri permaneant et quod aurum vel argentum in massa vel moneta colore presentis licencie nostro non traducant seu traducere faciant nec quicumque quod in nostri sed populi nostri preiudicium cedere valeat non attemptent seu attemptari faciant quomodo. In cuius etc. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium quinto dio martii.

PRO, T/R C76/133 m11

i *Licence to William Brown, owner of the Edward of Blakeney*

[3 May 1456] Rex universis et singulis admirallis etc. ad quos etc. Salutem. Supplicavit nobis Willelmus Brown possessor cuiusdam navis vocate la Edward de Blakeney unde Simon Brown est magister ut ei licenciam concedere velimus quod ipse navem predictam cum quater viginti peregrinis versus Sanctum Jacobum in Galaciis traducere et cariare possit licite et impune Nos supplicatione predicte annuentes licenciam illam tenore presencium duximus concedendi. Dumtamen aurum vel argentum in massa vel moneta colore presentis

licencie nostre non transportent seu transportari faciant quovismodo. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod ipsum Simonem ac navem predictam cum quater viginti peregrinis predictis versus Sanctum Jacobum cariare et traducere permittatis Dumtamen peregrini predicti aliqua nobis seu regno nostro Anglie preiudicialia secum non deferant quovismodo quodcumque ipsi ligei nostri permaneant. In cuius etc. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium tercio die maii.

PRO, T/R. C16/138 m15

j *Licence to Richard Calfe and John Dancaster of Portsmouth, merchants and owners of the Valentine of Portsmouth*

[24 June 1462] Universis et singulis admirallis capitaneis castellanis et eorum locumtenentibus custumariis custodibus portuum maris et aliorum locorum maritimorum necnon vicecomitibus maioribus ballivis constabulariis et aliis officinariis ministris et fidelibus ligeis nostris infra libertates et extra tam per terram quam per mare constitutis ad quos etc. Salutem. Sciatis quod ad humilem supplicationem delectorum ligeorum nostrorum Ricardi Calfe et Johannis Dancastre de Portesmouth mercatorum possessorum cuiusdam navis vocate le Valentyne de Portesmouthe portagii quater viginti et decem doliorum vel infra concessimus et licenciam dedimus eisdem Ricardo et Johanni quod ipsi per se aut factores sive attornatos suos quater viginti et decem peregrinos versus Sanctum Jacobum in Galiciis peregre profecturos in navi predicta in portu predicto eskippare et abunde versus partes predictas traducere et traduci facere possint licite et impune vobis mandamus quod captis per dilectum et fidelem armigerum nostrum Galfrium Gate locum tenentem nostrum Insule de Wight sacris eorundem peregrinorum quod ipsi quicumque quod in nostrum contemptum seu preiudicium aut aliquorum statutorum regni nostri Anglie emendationem cedere valeat non attemptabunt et quod ipsi fideles ligei nostri permanebunt dictos quater viginti et decem peregrinos at magistrum et marinarios pro gubernationem navis predicte competentes versus partes predictas ex causa predicta libere et absque impedimento aliquo transire permittatis aliquo mandato nostro vobis prius in contrarium directum non obstat dumtamen peregrini predicti de amicitia nostra et non religiosi existant Et quod aurum vel argentum in massa vel moneta colore presentium secum non deferant quomodo In cuius etc Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium xxiiii die Junii.

PRO, T/R. C76/146 m15

k *Licence to Robert Shymer, owner of the Patrick of Saltcombe*

[15 May 1473] Rex universis et singulis admirallis etc Salutem Sciatis quod ad humilem supplicationem dilecti ligei nostri Roberti Shymer possessoris cuiusdam navis vocate le Patryk de Saltcombe portagii sexaginta doliorum vel infra concessimus et licenciam dedimus eidem Roberto quod ipse per se aut factores sive attornatos suos quadraginta peregrinos versus Sanctum Jacobum in Galiciis peregre profecturos in navi predicta in aliquo portu comitatum Devon

eskippare et abunde versus partes predictas traducere et traduci facere possit licite et impune Et ideo vobis mandamus quod captis per dilectum nobis in Christi Johannem abbatem monasterii Beate Marie de Buckfast sacris eorundem peregrinorum quod ipsi quicumque quod in nostrum contemptum seu preiudicium aut aliquorum statutorum regni nostri Anglie emendationem cedere valeat non attemptabunt nec secreta eiusdem regni revelabunt et quod ipsi fideles ligei nostri permanebunt dictis quadraginta peregrinos at magistrum et marinarios pro gubernationem navis predicte competentes versus partes predictas ex causa predicta libere et absque impedimento aliquo transire permittatis aliquo mandato nostro vobis prius in contrario directo non obstante Dumtamen peregrini predicti de amicitia nostra et gentes non religiose existant Et quod aurum vel argentum in massa vel moneta colore presentis licencie nostre contra ordinationes et statuta regni nostri predicti secum non deferant quomodo In cuius etc Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium xv die maii.

PRO, T/R. C76/ 157 m26

APPENDIX IV

AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE MUNICIPALITY OF CORUNNA AND CERTAIN BRISTOL MERCHANTS FOR THE FREE ENTRY OF SHIPS INTO EACH OTHER'S PORT, 22 AUGUST 1456

In the Agreement is incorporated a grant of Enrique IV of Castile [3 July 1455], permitting Bristol ships to enter Corunna and Castilian ships to trade to England.

Noverint universi presentes publicum instrumentum inspecturi que nos concilium civitatis de Crunia de dominatione et discretu DOMINI NOSTRI Regis castelle et legionie /[2] sedendo congregati et vocati per campane pulsacione ut mors est in ecclesia beati Jacobi dicte civitatis cum Gundesalvo fernandi longe pretore et Judice ordinario in dicta civitate pro dicto /[3] domino nostro Rege et cum Domino Gomecio petri de marinis milite assenti et Rectore dicte civitatis et alfonso de pinero et payo gomes et belasco de frojomill et laurencio montouto ecciam Rectoribus /[4] dicte civitatis et eum garcia de feruencas et dominico caton nostris et dicti concillii procuratoribus generalibus ac alliis multis honoratis et discretis viris convicinis nostris per habito nostro consilio et /[5] sollempni tractu et diligenti deliberacione de et super rebus et causis infra scriptis Considerando et videndo quod infra scriptam vergunt in servicium prolibate domini nostri Regis et in publicam utilitatem dicte /[6] civitatis et habitancium in eadem et consequendo et servando formam et tenorem quarundam literarum potestatis et licencie et actoritatis nobis a dicto domino nostro Rege concessarum ad omnia et singula infra scripta quarum quidem /[7] literarum de yspanico vulgagio translatarum in latinum tenor sequitor et est talis. HENRICUS DEI GRATIA rex castelle et legionie ad faciendi bonum et mercedem concillio et /[8] hominibus bonis civitatis de crunia et respiciendo grandia dampna et mala et jacturas et morbes hominum que dicta civitas recepit isto anno presenti propter fracturam navium dicte civitatis que fracte fuerunt in portiu /[9]ipsius cum magna fortuna maris et ut habitatores dicte civitatis reperentur et non perdantur nec vadant vivere extra illam teneo pro bono et est merces mea et voluntas quod dictum concilium et pretores et rectores et jurati possint /[10] dare et dent suas literas securitatis et de salvo

conducto sigilatas sigillo dicte civitatis duabus navibus de regno anglie per illos nominadas quod possint venire et venient cum omnibus suis mercanciis libere et secure /[11] ad portum dicte civitatis et discargare et deponere et vendere in illa suas mercancias et carricare et ponere in dictis navibus allias quascumque mercancias quibus indiguerint de meis regnis solvendo jura pertinencia redditibus /[12] meis ita tamen quod predicte mercancie que sic carrigaverint non sint de rebus vetitis et que non possint extrahi et asportari extra mea regna. ITEM quod allie due naves nominadas per predictos pretores et rectores et /[13]jurati posint ire cum suis mercanciis ad dicta regna anglie solvendo sua jura consueta pro quibus et singulis de et concedo eis licenciam potestatem facultatem et mandatum et quod talis securitas et salvi conductus /[14] valeat et servetur per omnes meos subdictos et naturales et per allias quascumque personas et quod non vadant nec transgrediantur contra ipsum sub illis penis quibus incurrunt violantes et non servantes securitatem et salvum conductum positum /[15] per suum regem et dominum naturalem de civitate cordubensi tertia die julli Anno domini millesimo quadringtessimo quinquagesimo quinto. Ego Rex Ego doctor fernandus didaci de toleto audictor et referenda- /[16] rius regis et eius secretarius hanc literam feci scribi de eius mandato. Idcirquo virtute predictarum literarum potestatis licencie et actoritatis dicti domini nostri Regis concedimus et recognoscimus quod securamus et damus nostram secur- /[17] itatem et salvum conductum vobis Johani chepart mayore de brestol et Johani pulra et Ricardo peri et Johani ardini et georgio philip et Johani melgruyni et Johani oart et Picardo baquere et guylmo lelyum mercatoribus/[18] de regno anglie et omnibus vestris consortibus factoribus et familiaribus et crientulis que vobiscum vel vestro nomine vel alicuius vestrum venerint et quod libere et secure possitis portare in navi vocata marieta de brestol et in altera /[19] navi cristofori de brestol que sunt de dicto regno anglie ecciam in navi vocata sancta maria et in altera navi vocata [ ] que sunt istius civitatis crunie omnes et quascumque mercancias de panis et alliis quibuscumque rebus que vobis pla- /[20] cuerunt de dicto regno anglie ad istam civitatem crunien et ad eius portum et quod possitis ibidem libere et secure predictas mercancias discarricare et deponere de predictis navibus in dicta civitate et eas vel partem illarum vendere et tractare /[21] et cambiare et facere de illis ad vestrum libitum. ITEM quod positis in ista dicta civitate cruniense allias quascumque mercancias emere /[22] et cambiare et tractare et illas ponderare reponere et reportare in prefactis navibus desuper nominatis et in quas libet illarum. Ita tamen quod non extrahatis de ista dicta civitate arma vel allias res vetitas per dictum dominum nostrum Regem /[23] sine eius licencia et mandato speciali. ITEM quod solvatis dicto domino nostro Rege vel receptoribus suis jura regalis consueta suorum redditum vel pro eis illud parcium in quo racionem illorum jurum concordaveritis cum receptoribus /[24] supradictis. ET PROMITTIMUS et concedimus pro nobis et pro omibus vicinis nostris et pro omnibus subdictis et naturalibus regnorum et dominationum dicti domini nostri Regis castelle et legionie et virtute predictarum suarum literarum /[25] superius insertum quod in ista dicta civitate et in portu

et abris et districtu eius veniendo vos directe ad portum istius civitatis vel ...tadendo de eo ad allias partes vel extra illum veniendo estando et redeundo donec revertamini ad dictum regnum /[26] anglie ita quod nos nec aliquis nostrum vel aliquis nostrum vel aliquis de predictis subditis et naturabilibus dicti domini nostri regis non vos occidamus nec perciemus nec vituperemus nec vos occidant percuciant vel vituperant nec mandavimus vel consen- /[27] ciemus vos vel aliquem vestrum occidi percuti vel vitupari nec capiemus vel consenciemus vobis capi nec impedire vel sequestrare vestras mercancias vel allia quacumque bona vestra obaliqua causa vel racione pertitas /[28] presentes vel futuras licet dicatur quod estis vos et prefacte naves et mercancias quas nobiscum detuleritis et retuleritis de regno et dominacione inimicorum domini nostri Regis non obstantibus quibuscumque represaliorum literis a dicto domino /[29] nostro Rege emanitis et concesis et tempore dicti salvi conductus durante in futuris concedendis quibuscumque personis nec non guerris dampnis violenciis predis capcionibus intra dictum dominum nostrum Regem et subdictos et naturales /[30] suos et quoscumque anglicos et eorum naturale ab averso exortis et preconizatos. ITEM securamus et damus et concedimus dictam securitatem et salvum conductum modo et forma supradictis dictis duabus navibus de dicto /[31] regno anglie et alliis duabus navibus istius civitatis desuper nominatis et civibus eorum in quibus sit ut permittitur portaveritis et reportaveritis dictas mercancias et bona vestra et omnibus magistris mercatoribus marinariis /[32] carbis et servitoribus et familiaribus vestris venientibus vel redeuntibus vel ambulantibus in dictis navibus vel in eorum altera et cum suis armis necessariis ad se defendi de inimicis suis. Ita tamen ut non sit 32 grosa archellaria ultra sibi necessaria pro corporibus vestris et suis defendendi et bonis et quod vos et prefacte gentes nullum malum vel dampnum faciant in regnis et dominationibus dicti domini nostri Regis nec subditis et naturali /[33] bus suis et hanc securitatem et salvum conductum damus et concedimus ut dictum est a die et tempore date presencium usque ad tres annos integros inmediate sequentes et in super durante dicto tempore termini de licencia et mandato /[34] dicti domini nostri Regis et vigore literarum suarum predictarum quo ad vos omnes supradictos et naves et mercancias supradictas cessamus et cessabimus a guerra que est inter prefactos dominos Reges castelle et anglie et suos subditos et na- /[35] turales donec de toto labuntur .... teniunt. QUE omnia et singula et quamlibet eius partem promittimus et concedimus servare et adinplere inviolabiliter mandantes ex parte dicti domini nostri Regis et vigore prefactarum literarum /[36] suarum omnibus et singulis naturalibus et subditis suis ubilicet constitutis cuiuscumque status gradus dignitatis officii condicionis existant quod servent firmiter et adinpleant istam nostram securitatem et salvum conductum per nos /[37] sic datum et concessum de eius mandato licencia et actoritate ut prefertur quemadmodum superius est expressum declaratum cessantibus omni dolo fraude et malicia contraria vero facientes in totam vel in partem quod ad sic volumus et concedimus /[38] mandamus quod ipso facto incurramus et incurrant et cadant in omnibus et singulis penis in quibus incurrunt et inci-

dunt violantes frangentes et non servantes securitatem treugam et salvum conductum positam et preconizatum /[39] per suum Regem et dominum naturalem vel de eius mandato. De quibus omnibus et singulis hanc literam sive hoc presens publicum instrumentum ex inde fieri mandavimus et concessimus sigillo dicti nostri concillii municii ac infrascriptum /[40] notarii signo signatum dattis et actis et concessis. in civitate crunie sedendo in cocillio dicte civitatis vicessima secunda augusti Anno a nativitate domino millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo sexto.Presentibus ibidem discretis Barislatio Belasca de Ponte et Didaco Alfonsi de Ponte mercatoribus ac Gundesalvo Fernandi de Grela et Alfonso Pedreiro scribis et publicis tabelonibus in prefata civitate conmorantibus et testibus ad premissa vocatis specialiter et rogatis. Et ego Fernandus Alfonsi de Maydor scriptor et notarius publicus illustrisimi nostri Regis castelle in civitate crunie et in omnibus regnis suis et notarius secretus huius concilii huius civitatis crunie de conssensu et peticione supradictos que in presencia mea et testimonias suprascriptos hunc publicum instrumentum concederunt eu feci scribi et posui hic sinum meum consuetum in testimonio veritatis.

Indice de Privilegios, no. 39, Ayuntamiento de La Coruña

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ISBN 84-453-2287-7

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