

# The Confraternity of Saint James



*Tenth Birthday Issue*  
**BULLETIN**

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*President*  
H.E. The Spanish Ambassador

## CONTRIBUTORS TO BULLETIN 45

**Anna Champeney** read Ancient History, Archaeology and Latin at Bristol two years ago. She is now studying for the Master of Arts in Museum Studies at the University of Leicester. She hopes to undertake further research on the pallozas for her dissertation before pursuing a career in the museum profession.

After a first career in music **Julie Champeney** took a degree in History and Landscape Archaeology and became fascinated with the story behind the landscape, interpreting the significance of buildings, field patterns and roads in conjunction with the historical record.

**Dr Wendy Childs** is Senior Lecturer in History at the University of Leeds. She specialises in England's overseas trade relations in the Middle Ages. She is author of *Anglo-Castilian Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (1978), a contributor to *Spanish Medieval Ceramics in the British Isles*, ed. C. Gerrard and J. Hurst (BAR International Series, forthcoming) and editor of *The Customs Accounts of Hull 1453-1490* (1986).

**Leigh Hatts** is arts correspondent of the *Catholic Herald* and author of a number of books on the countryside. In 1991 he won the Outdoor Writers' Guild / COLA award for excellence for his book *Walks Along the Thames Path*, published in 1990.

**Professor Annie Shaver-Crandell**, a US Confraternity member of long standing, lectures on medieval art history at the City University of New York. She is one of the co-editors and authors of the forthcoming two-volume translation and gazeteer of *The Pilgrim's Guide to Santiago de Compostela* to be published by Harvey Miller this spring.

**Professor Brian Tate** is a Fellow of the British Academy and Emeritus Professor of Spanish at the University of Nottingham. He is co-author of *The Pilgrim Route to Santiago* published in 1987. He has also, with Pablo Keller, photographer, mounted an exhibition of photographs and documents illustrating the pilgrimage to Compostella in universities and institutions throughout England. He is currently chairman of the Confraternity's Research Working Party.



# 1983 Ten (and Eleven) Years On 1993

January 1993 - the Holy Door of the Cathedral at Santiago de Compostela stands open for the first time since December 1982, Europe's frontiers have, in theory at least, disappeared, and the Confraternity celebrates the tenth anniversary of its founding on 13 January 1983. So before us lies a year of celebration and special events, both in Britain and in Galicia, albeit set against the sombre backdrop of war and conflict in another part of Europe.

The last Holy Year (when St James's Day, 25 July, falls on a Sunday) took place in 1982, before the birth of the Confraternity and before that of nearly all our European sister-societies. That year however was the catalyst for the great tide of interest in the pilgrimage to Santiago that swept over western Europe in the 1980s. The long-established French society, the Société des Amis de Saint-Jacques de Compostelle, was then receiving so many enquiries that its Secretary-General, Mademoiselle Jeannine Warcollier, started to put people from the same country in touch with each other, encouraging them to form their own national groups. And so, on 13 January 1983, an informal meeting took place in London of six people who had earlier joined the French society and who had, by various means, made the pilgrimage to Santiago in earlier years.

The rest, as they say, is history. Today, ten years on, the Confraternity is thriving with a membership of over 800, drawn from all round Britain and Ireland, and with a scattering of members in most European countries and other English-speaking countries as far away as New Zealand.

In 1988, when we celebrated our fifth birthday, we asked members, through a questionnaire, how they would like to see the Confraternity develop in the future. Our activities since then reflect the response that was received: more emphasis on the academic, historical background to the pilgrimage, and a project that would involve members in a practical way. In 1990 our first major conference, on the medieval pilgrimage from the British Isles to Compostella, took place at Hengrave Hall, Suffolk, with a number of distinguished speakers and a European-wide audience. And since late 1989 the Rabanal hostel project, with its ambitious aim of rebuilding a village house as a refuge for pilgrims, has captured the imagination of members and of colleagues in other societies in a way that could not have been foreseen. The inauguration of the Refugio Gaucelmo by the Bishop of Astorga on 25 October 1991 was a day that no-one present will forget.

Before us lies the first Holy Year to be celebrated by the Confraternity, with a wide-ranging programme of events. In Galicia too the celebrations for Holy Year will be many and varied, culminating with the Feast of the Apostle on Sunday 25 July. We wish all our Galician friends in Santiago and elsewhere a joyful and spiritually rewarding Holy Year, and all 1993 pilgrims a safe and memorable pilgrimage. For those unable to make the whole journey across Spain, the Confraternity offers two alternative ways of arriving as a pilgrim in Santiago: by walking the 'Camino inglés' from La Coruña in August, or by taking part in the October visit that starts in Oviedo and crosses Galicia from east to west, ending at the rocky cliffs of Finisterre.

As befits a tenth anniversary, this 45th Confraternity Bulletin is a special issue, with articles from specialist contributors on pilgrim trade, a 15th-century pilgrim from the north of England, aspects of the 12th-century *Pilgrim's Guide*, and the distinctive pallozas of north-west Spain. The contributors have already been thanked privately for their work and their willingness to share their knowledge with members, and I would like to thank them again here.

Only six years away is the next Holy Year of 1999. Once again the Confraternity must plan for the future: ideas are already flowing, particularly on what we might do to help preserve the Jacobean heritage of this country, and the new Committee will be delighted to receive members' views.

In the meantime, let us all enjoy this exceptional Holy Year of pilgrimage and pray for an end to conflict in Europe.

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# From the Secretary's Notebook

## **New Events Format**

You will notice that events are now being listed separately. This is so that you can display the sheet on your noticeboard and hopefully not forget to come to the special Holy Year meetings and lectures. There is a form to order tickets for the Wednesday lectures at the back of the Bulletin.

## **New Publications**

Most of the new editions of our own Pilgrim Guides will be available in March. But news of a book of particular interest, which will be ready in February/March, comes from Joe May. He has written as follows:

'When Elías Valiña Sampedro died, he left a set of hand-drawn maps of the Camino de Santiago. Now, in early 1993, under the imprint of Roger Lascelles, the travel and cartographic publisher, they have been incorporated into a new cartographic guide to the Camino.

The first edition is published in English and Spanish, with an extensive foreword by Laurie Dennett and contains a useful glossary and details of the 'refugios' of the Camino. The maps have been updated and computerised and form the most complete and current visual guide for walker, cyclist or motorist. Their clarity, manageable format and visual appeal are supplemented by many photographs of the Camino, some by Elías Valiña himself.

The price of the *Way of St James* will be between £7 and £8 and obtainable from the Confraternity and all bookshops with a good travel section.'

## **1993 Publications List**

A 1993 publications list is enclosed with this Bulletin. Please note that Paul Graham is now very kindly going to deal with publications orders, so all requests and order forms should be sent to him at the address shown on the list.

## **Aylesford and Canterbury - May 1993 Pilgrimage**

It is not too late to book for our late May pilgrimage to Canterbury. The dates are 22 to 30 May for walkers from Reading and 28 to 30 May for cyclists from Winchester. Full details appeared in Bulletin 44. Potential walkers who have not yet booked should contact Stephen Badger on (071)-274 8126 and potential cyclists should contact Terence Morris on (0962)-868494. If you are interested just in attending the events in Canterbury (and need accommodation), ring me, Marion, on (071)-633 0603.

**Marion Marples**



# By Sea to Santiago: English Pilgrims in the Middle Ages

Wendy R. Childs

## 1. Introduction

The pilgrimage to Santiago by sea was not easy as the well-known anonymous fifteenth-century poem showed:

*Men may leve all gamys  
That saylen to Seynt Jamys*<sup>1</sup>

but then pilgrimage was not meant to be easy. It was a penance, a test, or an adventure. English men and women took their full part in pilgrimages to the three great centres, Jerusalem, Rome and Santiago. Jerusalem was clearly the greatest and the most difficult, with a long land journey over the Alps followed by a long and perilous sea journey, and time spent in a land of alien culture, which could be uncomfortable or downright hostile. Santiago was for the English much easier than that but it still posed problems.

The English could use various routes. No doubt many, especially in the earlier period, took the short sea crossing to Calais and joined the main French land routes. Alternatively they could sail to Bordeaux, under English dominion since 1154 and served by many wine ships, to join the French roads just short of the Pyrenees. With direct Anglo-Spanish contacts increasing from the thirteenth century, with the marriage of the future Edward I to Eleanor of Castile and growing trade, a direct sea passage to northern Spain would not have been difficult to find. The use of the sea route to Corunna for pilgrims to Santiago is clearly referred to in the 1360s and was increasingly used from the 1390s. It became a profitable undertaking, and was regularly organised. In a Jubilee year such as 1434 shipowners and shipmasters made preparations to transport over 3000 pilgrims. For shipmasters the organisation of the visits had become routine but of course for individual pilgrims it was never routine. Whether penance or adventure, for most of these it was a journey they would do once only. For them the peril and the joy was a unique experience.

## 2. The Journey

Much detail about the journey is now lost to us but sufficient information remains to allow some assessment of its possible hardships. The much quoted anonymous poem mentioned above emphasises hardship from the start. The sailors raising the sails push the passengers around; seasickness takes over; cabins are too few and are 'feeble'; the smell from the bilge pump is nauseous; but at least there was no storm.

The conditions and terror aboard ships which did meet storms are described by others. Two of the most graphic are not by English people, nor of the direct route, but what they describe was the experience of many who did sail to St James.

The Bohemian baron, Leo of Rozmital, travelled round Europe, including England and Spain, in 1465-7. Two of his retinue, Tetzl and Schaseck, later wrote descriptions of the journey which was not smooth.<sup>2</sup> They reached England by crossing from Calais to Sandwich. At Calais they hired a ship, put their thirty-six horses aboard, but had to wait twelve days for a favourable wind. When they finally set off, the ship sprang a leak. The horses were up to their bellies in water. Mercifully the wind veered and drove them back to Calais, where they unloaded, hired another ship and waited a further three days for the right wind. Rozmital was nearly drowned as he was rowed out to the ship when a sudden squall blew up. They crossed the channel in constant bad weather, and Tetzl recorded 'My lord and his other attendants were so distressed by the waves that they lay in the ship as if they were dead'.

The crossing back from Poole to Brittany was even worse. They hired two ships at Poole, hoisted the horses by rope and dropped them through hatches into the hold where they were packed so close they leant on each other. They waited eight days for a favourable wind, which blew for a day and a night, then turned into a great storm. They anchored in Guernsey for twelve days where they found difficulty in buying supplies for themselves and the horses. The light wind with which they left Guernsey again turned to storm. The mast broke. The crew fought for the lives of themselves and passengers. There was great commotion as the horses fell and lay on each other, and when, on arrival, they were lifted out of the ship, they could not stand. The company had to wait several days for the horses to recover. Tetzl wrote that no-one would believe it who had not experienced it, and Schaseck clearly felt the same. He wrote of 'a mighty storm which filled us with lasting terror. It did not last long but if it had done it would have meant the loss of many lives for no wind is more

dangerous than this. We were all nearly drowned because the ship was filling with water through the hatchways. Because of the force of the wind the sails could not be furled. At last this was done and the ship righted itself. For with the force of the wind the bows were under water. When we had escaped we thanked God on our knees who had brought us safely through so many perils.' Altogether they took seventeen days from Poole to St Malo when they had loaded fodder and food for only four.

This was the sort of weather many of the English going directly to Spain might encounter in the Bay of Biscay. William Wey noted the problem of storm, although his journeys were safe and fast.<sup>3</sup> On the way home they had set out but were blown back to Corunna, and it was six days before they could try again.

Besides the natural perils there was also the possibility of seizure at sea, although this should have been small since pilgrims should be exempt from reprisals, and were not as rich a haul for pirates as a good cargo. Nonetheless, when Bartholomew Couper of London's ship the *Mary* of 320 tuns, was returning to Ross in Ireland with 400 pilgrims, it was captured by pirates.<sup>4</sup> Presumably some small pickings and ransoms might be worthwhile, together with whatever supplementary cargo was on board.

If it was so uncomfortable and dangerous to travel by ship, why was the longer sea journey to Corunna so regularly used? The answer seems to be twofold. First, the English could not avoid a sea journey of some sort. All, even to Calais, could be dangerous, as Rozmital's journey shows; and that to Bordeaux was almost as long and risky as to Corunna. Secondly, for much of this period, even though pilgrims should have been secure, the Hundred Years' War probably made it dangerous for the English to use land routes across French territory; and even without war problems, travel by land was not easy and took more time.

Rozmital's retainers were eloquent on the horrors of Spanish land travel from Biscay to Santiago. The people were murderous, there was no straw or stabling for the horses, the inns were evil beyond measure, the wine came in goatskins, there was no good bread, meat or fish for the travellers. Tetzal complained that the road to Burgos was unsafe by night and day; the heat was unbearable over the desolate mountains, with no sight of houses, men, or beasts, no water and no trees; bridge tolls were excessively high. Schaseck also mentions the heavy smell of box trees which gave them all headaches, and bright reflective stones which hurt their eyes.<sup>5</sup>



Another pilgrim, Arnold von Harff, travelling in Europe in 1496-9, recorded that from Navarre to Santiago there was no good inn, they had to sleep on floors. There were no oats, hay or straw for the horses (he left his at Burgos and went on with mules and donkeys) and only barley for men. He explains the difficulties at the frontier in Logroño where travellers had to register the import of their horses and their value and keep the resulting certificate in order to re-export the beasts (horses were forbidden export from Castile). He and his companions were assaulted and two of their company were killed - 'all in all Spain is an evil country'<sup>6</sup>

The author of an English poem of c.1425, printed in *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, which describes the journey from Bordeaux is not quite so condemnatory, but this may be because it is a rhymed itinerary rather than a personal memoir. It speaks of fair towns in Spain and of a good country, although with evil wine. Past Burgos the wine is thick as blood; there was no bedding, nor tables; and the natives ate sitting on the bare floor as in Ireland. Otherwise the author seems to like Spain, except that the people are ungodly.<sup>7</sup>

If the hardships were so bad, the direct sea route looks a better bet despite the risks. Moreover, the choice was more complex than simply weighing risks. Expense was also a factor: for those not expecting to be able to beg their way in entirety, the bill for food and lodging on the long land journey had to be set against the sea fare. Time was another: if all went well, as it often did, the sea journey was short. Margery Kempe, who went in 1417 from Bristol, had to wait six weeks for a ship but then the journey took seven days out and five days home. She stayed fourteen days in Spain. She reports that her fellow travellers did not want her company, saw her as bad luck, and swore to throw her overboard if they met a storm; since she survived without comment presumably there was no squall.<sup>8</sup> William Wey, apart from a false start on the way back, also fared well, with the actual journeys taking five days in each direction.<sup>9</sup>

Wey tells us a bit more about the voyage which makes the picture easier to imagine. He left Plymouth on the Monday, 17 May 1456, in a group of six ships (the *Mary White* of Plymouth in which he travelled, a boat from the local port of Cargreen, and others from Portsmouth, Bristol, Weymouth and Lymington). The landfall sites in Galicia were first Cape Ortegal (Ortynges), then Cap Ryez, then the Tower de la Vale (at the sight of which the sailors lowered one sail). He arrived at Corunna on Friday, 21 May, and went straight to Santiago on Saturday, 22 May. He came back to Corunna on the 24 or 25 May, and after a false

start, finally left for England on Saturday 5 June. He was back in Plymouth on Wednesday, 9 June. In Corunna itself that year, which was a Jubilee year, he saw eighty ships, thirty-two of them English.

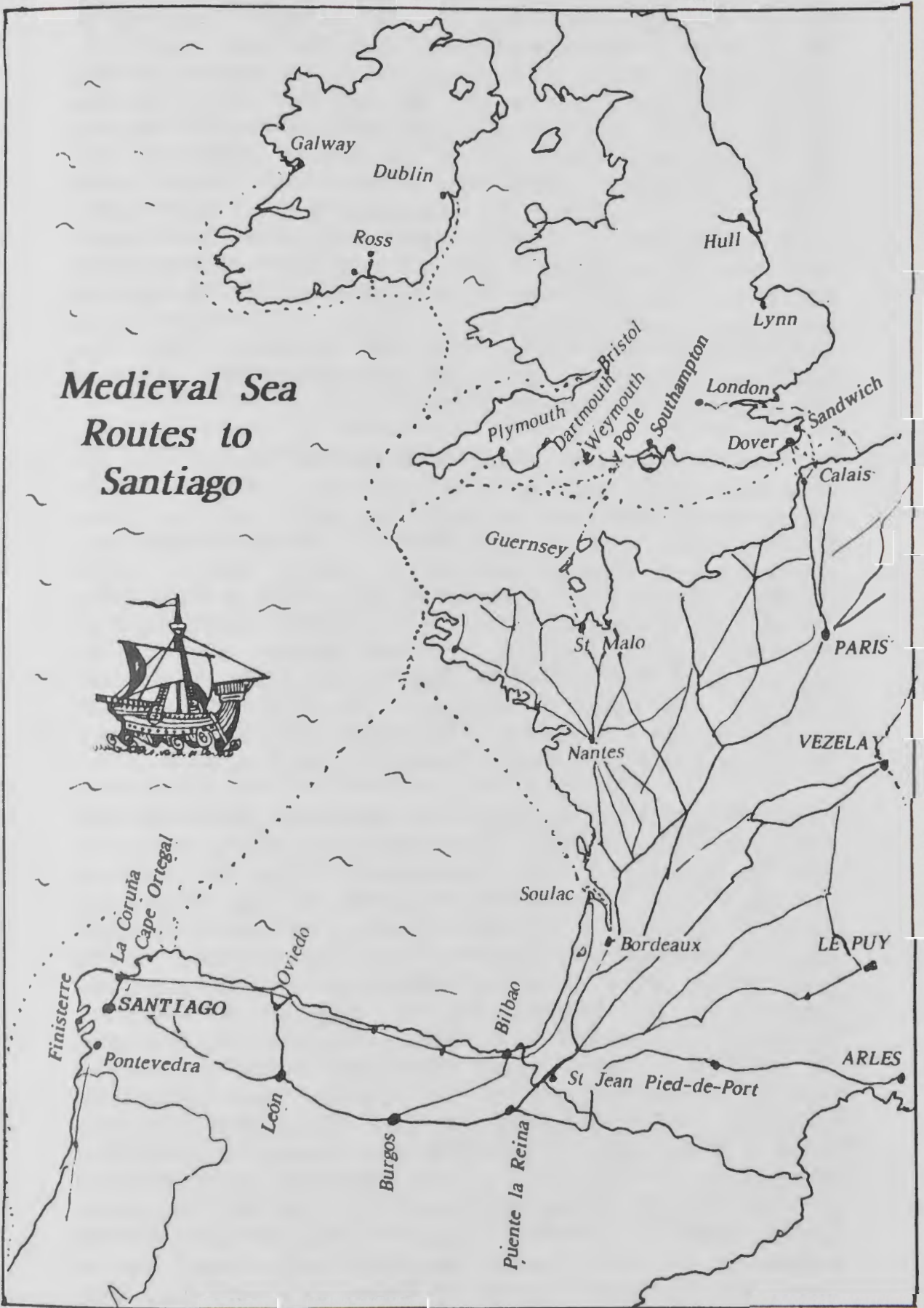
With such journeys possible, the sea route to Corunna must have seemed attractive; however, it might not have always been possible to find a direct ship. The licensing system of the fifteenth century (to which I will come later) suggests that specialised passenger ships for Corunna went mainly in Jubilee years, when ship-owners could be certain of high enough numbers to fill the ships and make special journeys worthwhile. Since Corunna was not a major trading centre for the English, and passenger fees seem to be lower than cargo charges, no owner would want to be in the position of taking only a few passengers, with little or no prospect of cargo. It might not therefore have always been easy to find a direct passage to Corunna, and in such cases, pilgrims would take whatever they could get. Ships to Bordeaux would be easy enough to find especially at vintage time, and probably this is why the anonymous poem in *Purchas, His Pilgrimes* speaks of starting the journey from Bordeaux. Northern Spanish ports too might be a possibility. In effect, some pilgrims undoubtedly had to go where the merchant's trade took him.

### 3. The Maritime Context

There was nothing particularly adventurous, in general terms, in pilgrims using the sea route across the Bay of Biscay by the later Middle Ages. The whole Atlantic seaboard was very well known and criss-crossed by hundreds of merchant ships of various nationalities each year. Pilot books also described the routes in detail.

Trade between England and Iberia, mainly the lands of the king of Castile, was old, going back possibly to the tenth century, probably growing in the twelfth century, and well documented from the thirteenth century.<sup>10</sup> It was attractive to English and Spanish merchants because of proximity and mutually attractive goods. The Basque provinces produced iron, wine, rosin; the north-western coast more wine; the south after the Reconquest added licorice, anise, cumin, saffron, much dried fruit, oranges, different wines, olive oil, soap, kermes dye, mercury, some silk and Moorish pottery, and some sugar. The southern trade might also be profitably linked with trade to Lisbon, the Atlantic islands and even Africa. In return England's well-made and coloured cloth was welcome to a variety of buyers.

# Medieval Sea Routes to Santiago





Trade connections between England and Castile continued even during the Hundred Years War, for much of which Castile was an ally of France. War might disrupt trade, but rarely stopped it, since contacts continued through truces, safe-conducts, and neutral merchants, such as the Bretons with whom Margery Kempe travelled. At busy times tens and even scores of Spanish and English ships were active in each others' harbours. The Spaniards themselves visited most of the southern English ports from Bristol to London, and sometimes went as far as Hull. Their main centre was London, where in the 1490s' boom more than forty ships might be found in a year, but Southampton and Bristol were also important. English merchants and ships likewise sailed from most southern ports. Bristol and Dartmouth ships were possibly more active than those of other ports, but merchants from London and Southampton joined those of Bristol dealing in Bilbao, Lisbon or Sanlucar.

In Iberia the Basque provinces, Andalusia and Portugal were the areas most closely linked to England by trade. Trade with Galicia was much less important. A few Galician ships, from Pontevedra, Ribadeo, Noya, Vivero and Corunna arrived; occasional merchants from Santiago were to be found at Bristol; a few references remain to Englishmen actively trading in Galicia, but the area did not stimulate anything to compare with Basque or Andalusia trade. This was probably because many Galician products were very like English ones - tallow, hides, skins, wool. Only the wine would be welcome. The pilgrim trade must therefore be put in a context of substantial trade with Spain as a whole, but rather limited trade between England and Galicia.

Despite limited trade with the area, the route to Corunna was commercially well known. The route across Biscay was much used by shipping of many nationalities. English ships and merchants regularly passed the landmarks of Cape Ortegal and Finisterre en route to Lisbon or Sanlucar; seamen of Portugal, Gascony, Brittany, Normandy and the Low Countries equally knew Iberian coasts, as did the Italians and Catalans who sailed north from the Mediterranean to England and Flanders. Navigation was generally by the master, but pilots might be used on unfamiliar routes. Pilots and masters would use the two essential navigational aids of sounding lead and compass, and might also use written sailing directions. These were particularly useful in Atlantic waters, and would give compass directions, and information on tides and currents, landfalls, sandbanks and harbours, type of bottom and depth. One surviving example is English, dated to the fifteenth century.<sup>11</sup> The directions in it are presumably the most frequent ones which sailors would want to know, and they show the Bay of Biscay as a very busy area.

There is no specific reference to Corunna, but there are to Ortegá and Finisterre, the nearby landfalls. Bearings are given between them and Brittany, the Scilly Isles and Ireland. Detailed directions are given for the voyages from Finisterre to the Bristol Channel and the English Channel. If bound for the Severn, readers are instructed to go NNE until they estimate they are two parts over, then to go NE until they reach sounding depth. At 100 or 90 fathoms they should turn N, continuing so until they reach 72 fathoms and a bottom of fair, grey sand. That is the ridge between Cape Clear and Scilly. They should continue north, taking soundings until they reach ooze, then go ENE or NE and they 'will not fail much of Steepholme'.

Although crossing the Bay of Biscay might seem a dangerous trip into the unknown for the pilgrim, for many seamen it was an everyday affair in which they had much navigational experience. The sea journey to Santiago was simply part of a great network of Channel and Atlantic trade routes.

#### 4. Fifteenth-century Organisation

The extent to which pilgrim transport was mixed with trade has been debated. Certainly there was some. Margery Kempe sailed from Bristol on a Breton trading vessel in 1417. But the small amount of direct trade between England and Galicia would argue against there being sufficient ships to carry large numbers of pilgrims, and the pilgrim trade itself clearly did not stimulate other trade. If pilgrims wanted to go by sea to Corunna they would also want to come back; and presumably if they chose the sea route time was important to them. The result was a response to demand, and the development of a system of specialist licensed pilgrim ships to take pilgrims out, wait a few days, and bring them back. Few of these would have had much room for cargo, and ships like Wey's, which turned round in such a short time, clearly were not expecting to load and unload much cargo. It is unlikely that transporting passengers paid as well as transporting cargo in the same space, but if a passenger service could go out and back in two to three weeks, it would be profitable, since a trading voyage with problems of collecting and handling cargo might take two or even three months. Special journeys would be particularly attractive in Jubilee years when higher numbers of pilgrims wanted to go, and possibly the attraction was enhanced during the trade recession of the 1440s and 1450s when cargoes were more difficult to find. Outside Jubilee years pilgrims may have found greater difficulty in finding a direct trip to Corunna.

They presumably took what they could, even if it meant going to Bordeaux and overland, like the traveller in the poem of c.1425 in *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*.

Licences appear for individuals to make the journey from the 1340s and increase in the 1380s and 1390s. Licences for ships appear in the 1360s, also increase in the 1390s and could be called a 'system' by the early fifteenth century.<sup>12</sup>

Licences for individuals travelling abroad were linked with royal attempts to prevent pilgrims and merchants exporting silver, to prevent unrestricted begging, and perhaps to check on possible spies during the Hundred Years' War. It is more difficult to find any proclamation demanding shipping be licensed, but licences possibly removed the danger of shipowners and masters being implicated if they carried individuals breaching statutes, and may particularly have been needed after the statute of 1389, which forbade all travellers except merchants and soldiers from leaving England through any ports but Dover and Plymouth, unless they had a licence to do so.<sup>13</sup> The Crown certainly checked on the use of licences from time to time,<sup>14</sup> but we may still wonder how complete the enrolments are. In 1456 when William Wey said thirty-two ships in Corunna harbour were English, only twenty ships are recorded as licensed to carry pilgrims.

Despite such questions on completeness, the number of licences which do survive provide some basis for judging pattern and organisation. The licences usually give the name of the ship's owner or master or both, the ship's name and home port, and the number of pilgrims. For instance in 1434 on 19 February, Thomas Marshal, owner of the *Katherine* of Hull, of which John May was master, received a licence to transport thirty pilgrims; and in 1445, on 28 January, Sir Philip Courtney, owner of the *Trinity Courtney*, of which John Godyng was master, received a licence for the ship to transport 200 pilgrims.<sup>15</sup>

Sometimes conditions were imposed: there should be only one journey; pilgrims should be of the middling sort, or lay people, or in the king's obedience or friendship; no bullion should be taken; pilgrims should not emigrate; they should do nothing prejudicial to the king nor reveal secrets. Such conditions are decreasingly enrolled in the record, which suggests they had become the normal conditions and not worth repetition. In 1395 Thomas Knap of Bristol promised to pay to the king 6d for each pilgrim, and later suggestions of customs and duties in relation to pilgrim ships may indicate that this too became a normal condition.<sup>16</sup>



Until the 1420s there were a few licences a year granted: in the 1390s perhaps three or four a year, in the 1410s six to nine. From then the pattern changes to licences for large numbers in Jubilee years, and very few or none in other years. Jubilee years are clearly the only ones when large numbers are certain to want to go, and thus make speculative buying of licences worthwhile. The largest numbers of licences recorded were from November 1427 to early summer 1428 when 62 licences for 3755 pilgrims were issued and in early 1434 when 64 licences covered 3150 pilgrims.<sup>17</sup> Most licences were granted in spring and early summer before the July festival perhaps because merchants preferred to fit voyages in early, keeping the summer free for long-distance trade.

Ports of embarkation are generally not specified. Presumably it was either the home port of the ship or another main port. The anonymous poem mentions Bristol, Sandwich and Winchelsea for embarkation; Margery Kempe, coming from King's Lynn, clearly thought Bristol the most likely port to find a ship; Plymouth was also an obvious place. The statute of 1389, mentioned above, assumed Plymouth and Dover were the normal exit ports from England. Plymouth was the main westerly landfall for many ships, where they waited for favourable winds to take them across to Brittany, and similarly for which they headed before sailing eastwards up the Channel. The large, reasonably sheltered bay also made it a main naval mustering port. When William Wey from Eton headed there, he found six ships ready to take on pilgrims - two local ones from Plymouth and Cargreen, and four others from Bristol, Portsmouth, Lymington and Weymouth. William Purchas, the London mercer, also thought it the most likely port to find a ship for his pilgrimage in 1479.<sup>18</sup> It was probably a busy and noisy place, like Sandwich as described by Tetzel, who remarked on the custom of men perambulating streets the whole night playing stringed instruments, blowing trumpets and announcing the direction of the wind, so that those for whom it was favourable could go aboard.

Ships to carry pilgrims came from all round England, but especially heavily from Devon and Cornwall. Over the period the two counties supplied 33 and 19 per cent respectively of the shipping and carried 32 and 16 per cent of the pilgrims. Bristol supplied 8 per cent of shipping to carry 9 per cent of the pilgrims and Hampshire (notably Southampton itself) supplied 6 per cent of the shipping to carry 10 per cent of the pilgrims. Ports of the south-east and East Anglia provided the bulk of the rest. Not many came from the north: in the whole period Hull ships acquired two licences, Newcastle four and Hartlepool one. The large number of licences granted in 1434 shows both the

importance of the south-west and the width of involvement throughout England with thirty-seven ports engaged. Ships of Bristol received six licences, and Minehead one. In Devon and Cornwall thirty-three ships received them from the following ports: Penzance (2), Falmouth, St Michael's Mount, Fowey (4), Landhelp (3), Saltash, Portelmouth, Teignmouth, Dartmouth (9), Plymouth, Kingswere, Topsham (3), Brixham (2), Exmouth, Barnstaple, Bideford. Ships of Weymouth, Poole (2), Portsmouth, Southampton, Isle of Wight, Chichester, Winchelsea, Sandwich, Dover, London (2), Colchester, Harwich, Ipswich, Great Yarmouth, Blakeney, Wells, Cromer, Bishop's Lynn and Hull also received them. Some ship-owners obviously found pilgrims profitable and bought licences in several years. John Coil and William Wenard even bought three in one year (1434) for the *Margaret* of Topsham.<sup>19</sup>

Their ships were not specially built but the same ones with which they fished, traded, coasted, or used for piracy and sea-keeping. Conditions aboard depended on the size of ship, what facilities the owner was prepared to put in, and above all on the weather.

English ships were generally 'round' sailing ships. Within that there were several categories - naves, cogs, barges, balingers, crayers, pinnaces, and, by the 1450s, carvels. Sizes ran from a few tuns for fishing boats to 500 tuns or more, but the majority of sea-going vessels were probably between 50 and 250 tuns in the fifteenth century. The bigger ones would be reasonably safe from seizure and storm. The larger ones were three-masted by the fifteenth century, generally with square sails which could be reefed. They already have the ratlines of the later ships and Tetzels and Schasecks noted the agility of the sailors at Sandwich. Small ships might be open, but larger ones were decked, with hatches to the holds, through which, as Tetzels recorded, horses might be winched. A superstructure of cabins was increasing for captains and major merchants, and there might be a fore-castle for defence.

Pilgrims would sleep and sit on deck, or in the holds. Mediterranean pilgrim galleys chalked areas on the hold deck for each person, about three feet by six, with room for a travelling box. Possibly English owners did the same. The anonymous poem certainly makes it sound like a free-for-all with bodies lying and sitting all over the place, but the luckiest or richest might get a makeshift cabin knocked up by the ship's carpenter, together with some straw bedding.

Such ships, to make a profit, would certainly have been very crowded indeed with pilgrims and crews. The poem speaks of pilgrims getting in the crew's way, and, it must be confessed, amongst the press would be those given to unpilgrim-like behaviour. The *Chronicle of Henry VI* records the story of the mariner in Weymouth, just home from Santiago, who had a vision telling him that he must return because he forgot to pray for his uncle. But, he said, he cannot go back because he had no money; his five nobles were stolen from his purse on the ship....<sup>20</sup>

## 5. Conclusion

Despite the descriptions of awful conditions and terrible storms, it is not surprising that many chose the direct sea route. On the one hand, to go by land seems just as bad, took much longer, and still involved a Channel crossing. The Hundred Years' War meant increased hostility on French land routes despite clauses in treaties exempting pilgrims. On the other hand, there was the possibility of a smooth, five day crossing, and all would know that the trade route between England and Spain was frequently sailed. Experience was plentiful; extra help from pilot and rutter was available; the route had become for the seamen a commonplace of medieval travel. All these factors encouraged demand. There was therefore enough traffic to run special passenger ships, a few a year in the late fourteenth century, and scores in the early fifteenth-century Jubilee years. In those years it is revealed as a well-organised, routine business. In other years pilgrims probably had to take pot luck. Ships might be uncomfortable, and uncomfortably crowded, but they were workmanlike, and most pilgrims probably arrived safely, even if sick.

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## NOTES

1 Printed in F.J. Furnivall, ed., *The Staciouns of Rome*, Early English Text Society, O.S. XXV (1867).

2 M.Letts, ed., *The Travels of Leo of Rozmital*, Hakluyt Society, second ser., CVIII (1955), pp.32, 42, 59-60, 62-3.

3 *The Itineraries of William Wey, fellow of Eton College, to Jerusalem AD 1458 and AD 1462 and to St James of Compostella AD 1456*, Roxburgh Club (1857, 1862), pp.153-6.

4 *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1476-85*, pp.78-9.

5 *Rozmital*, pp.78-9, 82-4.

6 M. Letts, ed., *The Pilgrimage of Arnold von Harff*, Hakluyt Society, second ser., XCIV (1946), pp.264-71.



7 Samuel Purchas, *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, (1905-7), VII, pp.527ff.

8 W. Butler-Bowdon, ed., *The Book of Margery Kempe* (1936), pp.155-63.

9 See note 3.

10 For full details on trade see W.R. Childs, *Anglo-Castilian Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (1978).

11 J. Gairdner, ed., *Sailing Directions for the Circumnavigation of England*, Hakluyt Society, LXXIX (1889), pp.15-17, 21-22.

12 The following section is based on *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, passim, and Public Record Office, C76 (Treaty Rolls), passim. 64 ship licences survive for 1361-1399 (see *CPR*) and 270 for 1400-1485 (mainly in PRO C76). Most are also gathered together in C.M. Storrs, *Jacobean Pilgrims from England from the Early Twelfth to the Late Fifteenth Century*, unpublished M.A. thesis, University of London, 1964.

13 A.Luder et al. eds., *Statutes of the Realm*, I, p.273; II, pp.17, 58, 68.

14 *CPR* 1422-9, p.493; *ibid.* 1429-36, p.471.

15 PRO C76/116, m.14; 127 m.4.

16 See for instance *CPR* 1367-70, pp.140, 226; *ibid.* 1391-6, pp.246, 362, 408, 572, 601-2, 604, 715.

17 PRO C76/110, 116.

18 PRO C1/64/167.

19 PRO C76/116, mm.14,9 (1434).

20 J.S. Davies, ed., *An English Chronicle of ... Henry VI*, Camden Society, LXIV (1856), pp.73-4.

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Dr Wendy Childs presented this paper as a lecture to the Confraternity at the Bar Convent Museum, York, on 25 April 1992, during the York Practical Pilgrim weekend

\* \* \* \* \*

# Pilgrim Luggage Safe 300 Years On

Leigh Hatts

A painting awaiting collection by a pilgrim for over three hundred years has now been moved to a modern chapel in Devon.

In the 1680s a pilgrim returning from Compostella stopped in Lisbon. There he had a nagging feeling that he may not have truly fulfilled his pilgrimage and so resolved to return at once to Santiago. To reduce his luggage he decided to leave in a safe place his large souvenir copy of the famous Madonna painting ascribed to St Luke. After praying, the troubled pilgrim is said to have heard a voice coming from the picture: 'Take me to the English nuns'.

He made enquiries and found that the 'English nuns' were the Syon sisters who had been in exile ever since Elizabeth I confirmed Henry VIII's closure of their Thames-side convent, Syon Abbey, near Isleworth. They had gone abroad under the protection of the Spanish Ambassador.

The sisters belonged to the Brigettine Order founded by St Bridget as a result of a pilgrimage to Compostella. Bridget, lady-in-waiting to the Queen of Sweden, made the three-year-long journey in the early 1340s in the company of her husband Ulf and a party of bishops and priests. On the way back Ulf was taken ill at Arras and vowed to found a monastery if he recovered. He did but died soon after arriving back in Sweden and so it was left to Bridget to fulfill the pledge. She founded not one monastery but an order with several houses.

The exiled English community, formed in Middlesex in 1415, eventually returned to England in 1861 along with the uncollected picture. The sisters settled first at Spettisbury in Dorset and then at Chudleigh in Devon before moving to nearby South Brent in 1928. But with dwindling numbers the fine, 18th-century Marley House has proved too large and so the community has recently moved next door into the converted cow sheds.

Sunday Mass is at 9.00 and visitors are welcome. Weekday callers should phone (03647)-2556 in advance. Syon Abbey is between South Brent and Rattery, south of Buckfast Abbey. Accommodation details are available from South Hams Tourism, Follaton House, Totnes, Devon TQ9 5NE, tel.: (0752)-897035.

(The medieval screen in Totnes parish church includes a scallop shell decoration inspired by the pilgrim ships which left from the Town Quay.)



St Bridget of Sweden writing her *Visions of the Blessed Virgin*  
(reduced from an ancient wood engraving)



# Robert Langton, Pilgrim (1470-1524)

Brian Tate

## I

In a recent pamphlet on pilgrimages from the British Isles to Compostella during the Middle Ages,<sup>1</sup> I referred to a certain Robert Langton, clerk, who made an overland pilgrimage to Spain and Italy, possibly in the early years of the sixteenth century, consisting of an elaborate circular voyage west to Oviedo and to Compostella, south to Guadalupe and Cadiz, across Andalusia through Seville and Granada, north to Barcelona and on to Italy where he performed another north to south itinerary. Returning to Venice he subsequently set out to what is modern Germany, to the Low Countries, Calais and home. He left visible evidence of what he intended to do in the iconography of his arms, set in stained glass windows which he had ordered for the ante-chapel in Queen's College where he had studied. These windows were transferred, and altered, when the old chapel was destroyed, and set into the present chapel. He also left an account of his travels, frustratingly limited in its observations of the exotic worlds he had travelled through. In justification one could say that he was not the idle traveller moved by curiosity. For him the principal matter of pilgrimage was the visit to holy shrines and their relics along the chosen routes, which he records together with distances in miles or leagues. It is a simple itinerary; there is nothing of a romantic or intriguing nature, little personal comment or dramatic occurrence, no wondrous sites apart from the holy places he visited, few contemporary allusions. Of the London printing of 1522 only one copy survives, in Lincoln Cathedral Library. A.G. Dickens in a brief article in 1963<sup>2</sup> was dismissive of Langton's literary effort. He observed: 'if he justified those emoluments [ie the variety of preferments he accumulated] it was not by literary achievement, for it would be difficult to find a duller or more constricted book of travel.'

Such a laconic text will not respond usefully to the normal methods of analysis; it needs to be illuminated by the historical context, that of the period and of the man. One needs above all to be reminded, even at this late age, of the reverence in which the images and relics of saints were held, the drawing power of the local cults to Christ and the Virgin, and the spiritual reasons for such reverence which has been done so expertly in the recent book by Finucane.<sup>3</sup> One also needs to be reminded of the dramatic challenges to such beliefs and the growing contemporary rejection of the millennial power exerted by sacred imagery. The breaking of images in the late Middle Ages, as a modern scholar has said, was part of the breaking

of beliefs, 'a gigantic shift of religious consciousness that involved changes in both divine and secular laws'. There have been many studies of these heterodoxies; but the example of Robert Langton is an example of the orthodox. Moving from the general to the particular, one needs to know what could have led Robert to contemplate such a voyage, and how did he come to have the means to contemplate it. For it is evident from the nature of his travels that he was no Margery Kempe, and that he took no cheap route. Indeed he was by his calling barred from the chartered ships that carried the modestly equipped pilgrim by sea either to the estuary of the Garonne or the port of La Coruña. Only by studying the climate of opinion concerning such pious practices, and by investigating his family background can we hope to come to a partial explanation of how the pilgrimage might have come about.

## II

A modern historian writing about events before, say, 1500, finds it increasingly difficult to make broad confident statements about the Middle Ages and any of the single centuries ascribed to them. The fifteenth century is one such century; and one could add that the difficulties in respect of this period are even greater because of the way history has been divided into periods in our immediate past. The fifteenth century has been classified and indeed venerated as the beginning of the Modern Age, when Europe was invented and when new oceans, the Atlantic and the Indian, challenged the Mediterranean. We tend to think now, in our post Second World War age, that the confidence attributed to this period was a transposition of the feelings of nineteenth-century historians rather than an unmediated reflection of opinion then. Our present lack of resolution may be a more appropriate frame of mind to effect a revision of the traditional Burckhardtian world picture.

It must be recalled that at that time Western Europe was racked by recurrent plague, by the enormous pressure of Islam on the East, by unremitting wars between nations, internecine strife, civil war, collapse of dynasties, religious factionalism. Kings and popes were deposed, political assassination was common and the whole hierarchy of Christendom had been bruised. Of course at the base of the social pyramid the rhythm of change did not beat at the same anxious rate. Here the preoccupation was more with life and death, *inter mortuos mortem expectans*, or as an ossuary in Portugal put it: 'os nossos ossos esperam os vossos'. The ever-present threat of violence or disease meant that one was constantly aware of sins committed, of wrongs left uncorrected, of suffering in purgatory or eternal damnation. The threat of the Black Death of the mid-fourteenth century had left a permanent heritage. General outbreaks

gave way to regional and local attacks of varying duration, but the plague remained a visible phenomenon well into the sixteenth century. How then best to prepare oneself?

The most common and traditional means available for those who could read were the *artes bene moriendi*. But for the majority one of the best lines of preparation was to seek the help of a patron saint or saints; these patterns of help had settled down over the centuries into the remarkable network of local shrines available within a day's march. Such minor pilgrimages to shrines which have now long vanished without much trace would have been to a local inhabitant the means by which he measured out his daily routine, both secular and spiritual. The long and arduous journeys overseas, to Compostella, Rome and the Holy Land could, through the gaining of indulgences, increase the chances of eternal peace. Despite all the difficulties of national and civil wars, the first half of the fifteenth century marked the peak of seaborne traffic to Compostella, with a figure of some fourteen thousand pilgrims; the greatest movement naturally fell in the jubilee years 1428, 1434, 1445, 1451 etc, when indulgences carried a higher value. Those travelling covered all ranks of society, like John Gray and John Thomson, servants of the Duke of Albany, or the landed gentry like Sir John Paston's brother; James Butler, Earl of Ormond and of course Anthony Woodville, first Earl Rivers, Baron Scales. Women went too; everyone has heard of Margery Kempe, daughter of the mayor of Lynn; Beatrice, Countess Beaufort obtained permission to go, but there is no evidence that she went. And finally there was a scattering of scholars, like John Trowell of Merton College and William Wey of Eton.

These practices, and the religious orders that sustained them, now began to be challenged in certain areas of Western Europe. In England the arguments have been well studied in recent years by the detailed analyses of Wycliffe and the Lollards in the research by Anne Hudson<sup>4</sup> and Margaret Aston.<sup>5</sup> Both of these writers lay stress on the close connection in medieval Christianity between image and pilgrimage, a central target for the new reformers. The place of images in Christian belief had always had a close connection with the sacraments. Image and sacrament were representations of higher spiritual truths, and through the joint working of hand and eye, the visible and the invisible worlds could be grasped together. The aesthetic senses were dominated through the Church's use of sculpture, painting and stained glass, and through these devices it sought to bring about the conjuncture of the temporal and the eternal. It is a world in which the act of reading yielded to the act of seeing and hearing. The Lollard creed, however, rested on the primacy of scripture, and from this sprang the theology of the eucharist, the rejection of clerical temporalities, and doubts about



the legality of images and pilgrimages. All Lollard texts show a strong disapproval of the honour accorded to images and the spiritual benefit attached to pilgrimage. Some writers carried this hostility to an advocacy of destruction of all images, Christian and pagan, even to the razing of Stonehenge.

The debate was violent, the punishments by the orthodox hierarchy savage. Of course it was not a new debate; the Church had always been aware that communion with the saints through their representation was a deep and abiding religious impulse, and was equally aware of the attendant dangers. One recalls the views of St Bernard of Angers when he first became aware of the free-standing reliquary sculpture of the Auvergne. That of Ste Foy reminded him at first of pagan Roman work; but he changed his mind when he later wrote his treatise on the miracles of the saint. Many commentators through the ages argued that the genuine advantages of imagery outweighed the dangers and abuses, and of their number was Sir Thomas More in his well-known *Dialogue concerning heresies* (1530). In this dialogue he conducts a debate between himself and the 'messenger' allowing the latter to state extreme views on image and pilgrimage, the latter associated with ribaldry, gluttony and idolatry. More can easily accept that pilgrimage may easily decline into idle sightseeing and lechery. Modern readers often wonder at Arnold von Harff's lists of relics sandwiched between advice on how to say 'Woman will you sleep with me?' in any language from French to Albanian.<sup>6</sup> But for More such trivia do not destroy the arguments in favour of a spiritual journey. As for accusations of idolatry, he is sharply critical of the patronising attitudes shown towards the average Christian which assume him to believe that the thing represented is in some way the thing itself. He angrily retorts to the 'messenger':

There is no dog so mad but knoweth a very coney from a coney carved and painted ... take the simplest fool that ye can choose and she will tell you that our Lady herself is in Heaven, she will also call an image an image and she will also tell you the difference between an image of a horse and a horse indeed. [Note the feminine allusion.]

These are arguments which have run across the centuries in various ways. When the printed book became common currency, then it was assumed that the simple mind took print for truth, the historical novel for history and the cinema for *vérité*. I think Roland Barthes would have irritated Sir Thomas More.

If we, however, are to enter the mind of the late medieval believer in any sympathetic way, then we must try to appreciate fully the close interweaving of religion and artistic creation. We must direct our

attention less to the craft and to the aesthetic sensibility involved in creating works of art. Indeed such a term hardly existed; the subject matter is of much greater importance than the name of the artist, his predecessors and his followers than about his subject matter and its iconographical variations. Take for example a current article in the Royal Academy Magazine vol.33 (1992) in which Sister Wendy Beckett complains about 'cheap lithographs of the Sacred Heart, tawdry statues of the Virgin'. (Does she know by chance the origin of the word 'tawdry'?) Her main point is the following:

We receive these for what they represent, but we do not gaze at them for visual pleasure. On the other hand we can look at a work like the tender portrait Rubens painted of his young wife ... and be quite unaffected by the fact that he has painted her as "Hagar", that biblical heroine whose story we may have forgotten ... to my mind we deepen our enjoyment if we use the Hagar story as context, but this is an addition not an essential.

Such an attitude would be totally alien to a Christian of the fifteenth century. The power to move comes from the artist, true, but the power of the message comes from a knowledge of its context, to which the artist must necessarily and does willingly submit.

### III

These are rather lengthy preliminary remarks to the study of the career of Robert Langton, one of the minority of educated and socially well-placed individuals who appears to have believed deeply in the spiritual advantages of pilgrimage during this period when such beliefs were being disputed, and with no less force in the centres of learning of Oxford and Cambridge.

The Langton family came from a region far removed from university learning. Appleby is a small, upland market town in Westmoreland. Robert's uncle and patron, Thomas, had studied theology in Cambridge, and from Cambridge went to Padua in 1464, returning to Cambridge probably through lack of funds, since he did not complete his studies. After an interval he returned to Italy, moving on to Bologna where he received his doctorate in canon law in February, 1473. Around this time he had managed to gain high favour with the king, Edward IV, whose chaplain he became before 1476, and whose policies he had put forward to Louis XI of France and Ferdinand of Castile and Aragon. One matter of specific concern, a common one indeed, was that of alliance through royal marriage, in this case between Edward's daughter Elisabeth and the Dauphin Charles, or that between his son Edward (the future Edward V) and Isabel, daughter of the Catholic Kings. According to

Michael Hicks, the recent biographer of Richard III<sup>7</sup>, it was the Castilian ambassadors at Warwick who proposed this latter marriage. On these affairs Langton made continual trips across the Channel between 1478 and 1482. The proposals came to nothing, but this did not halt the onward preferment of Thomas Langton who in the course of the years acquired a variety of benefices, culminating in his appointment as Bishop of St David's in 1483 and Bishop of Salisbury in 1485. In 1487 he was elected provost of Queen's College, Oxford, a college founded precisely for the cultivation of theology. Through luck and good judgement he did not suffer from the deposition of Edward V and he continued to prosper through the reign of Richard III. Henry VII transferred him to the see of Winchester in 1493 and he reached the peak of his career when he was nominated Archbishop of Canterbury on 22 January 1501. Sadly he died of the plague on January 27, to be succeeded as provost by his nephew, Christopher Bainbridge, Robert Langton's cousin.

Christopher was born about 1462 in Hilton, a village just outside Appleby. He also studied in Italy, this time in Ferrara and became, like his uncle, a doctor of canon and civil law in Bologna by 1498. He also progressed through a series of rich preferments including treasurer of St Paul's, London, dean of York, dean of St George's Chapel, Windsor, archbishop of York and eventually cardinal. He was named orator of Henry VIII in the Roman curia where he arrived on 24 November 1509. The pope Leo X wanted to make him legate *a latere* to England, but Wolsey objected very strongly. In that very same year he died in curious circumstances; his death was attributed to poison administered by one of his Italian chaplains, who in turn implicated Silvestro di Gigli, Henry VIII's resident agent in the curia.

Both Thomas and Christopher were equally interested in the patronage of scholars. Thomas, when he was Bishop of Winchester, started a school there to have young men trained in grammar and music. He was a good musician himself, and commemorated this in his punning coat of arms - a musical symbol for a long note set on a barrel - Long tun. He also sent a Richard Pace of Queen's College to study at Padua, Ferrara and Bologna. This pupil became reader in Greek at Cambridge and eventually went to Rome in the retinue of Cardinal Bainbridge. Bainbridge in turn made bequests in his will both for the furtherance of education in Appleby and for exhibitions for poor scholars at Queen's College.

#### IV

It is now clear from the foregoing what possibilities lay ahead for Robert if he was of more than average intelligence. Eight years



younger than his cousin Christopher, Robert was born in Appleby on 25 June 1470. Propelled by his uncle's influence he began to accumulate benefices at an unusually early age through special papal dispensation, starting in Lincolnshire, then in Dorset. At the age of sixteen he was appointed archdeacon of Salisbury. A few years later he proceeded to Queen's College where his uncle was now provost; and like his uncle travelled to Bologna to complete his studies. In 1498 he transferred to Cambridge where he was admitted as a doctor in civil law; three years later he gained his doctorate in canon law at Oxford. His next step was to become treasurer of York, no doubt due to the added favour of Christopher the archbishop; several canonries and prebends followed in the first decade of the sixteenth century. From such sources he could manage a comfortable life without needing the support of any other activity.

We have no direct evidence so far about what his views on matters of images and pilgrimages might have been. One can only draw certain assumptions from the climate of opinion surrounding those who had favoured his education and promotion. For instance, his uncle Thomas, while Bishop of Salisbury (1485-93), had to deal with certain cases of Lollard heresy in January 1491. Seventeen men and women in the neighbourhood of Newbury had been charged with heresies touching images and pilgrimages, the priesthood, the sacraments of baptism and penance, the authority of the pope. One confession and abjuration, that of Thomas Tailour of Newbury, fuller, is of particular interest. An extract reads as follows:

*In the name of the holy trinite fader son and holy goste His blessed moder And all the Compeny of Hevynn. I Thomas Tailour of Newbery, Fuller...First that I have seid and affermed their Folis [fools] which goith to Seynt Jamys in pilgremage or to eny odir places wherto pilgreys be wonte and usid to go and visitte And that it shulde be more meryte to geve a peny to a poreman than to visitte him or eny such places Ferthermore shewyng and thereto adding that seynt Jamys had no fote to come ayenst theim no hand to welcom theym nether tonge to spek to theym, so reprevyng the wurshipping of ymages and all odir holy peregrinacions.*

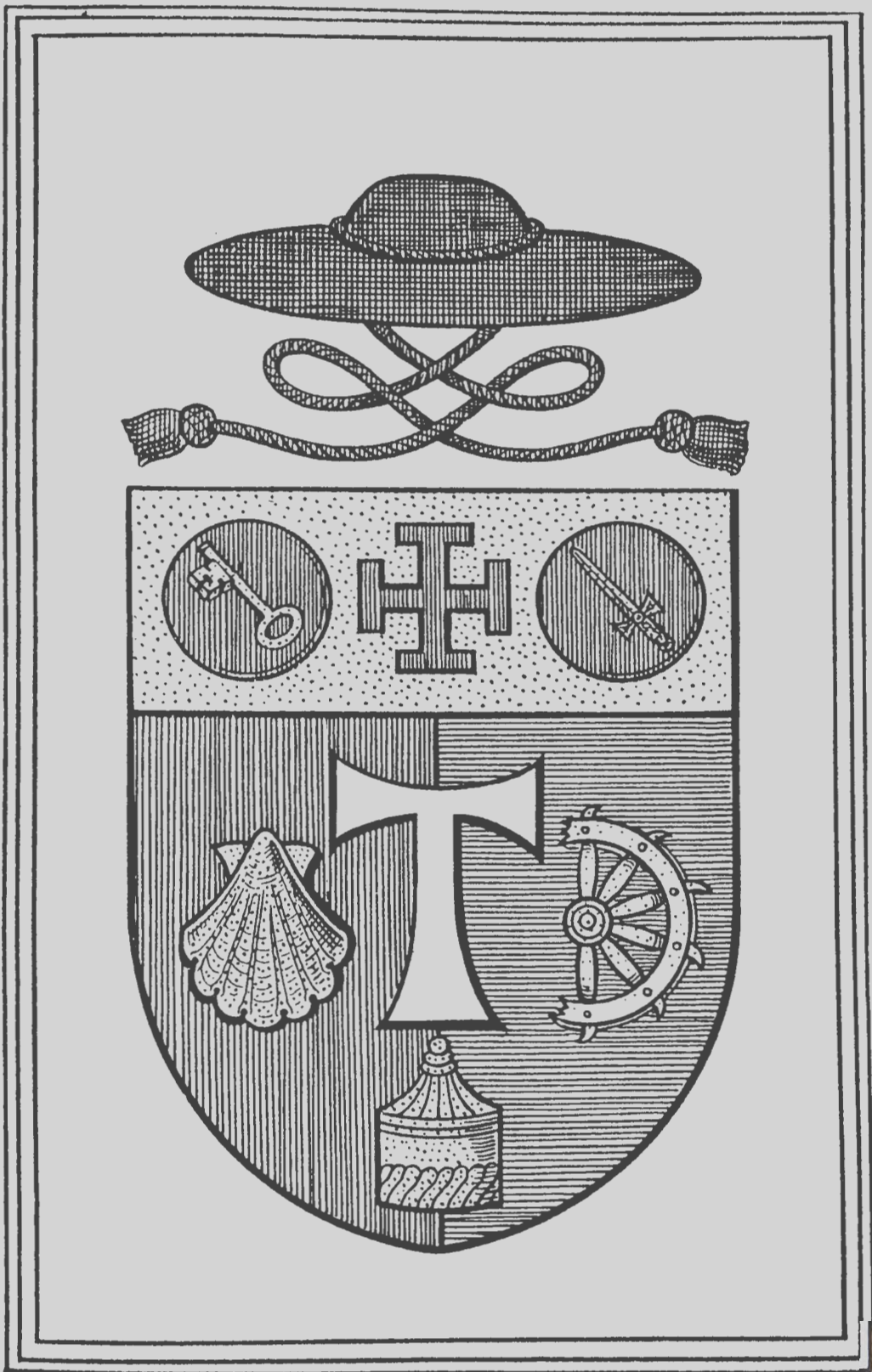
Among his list of repeated sins was to have 'kepte and hold by the space of ii yere one suspecte boke of commandementis wreten in the same time that no man should wurship eny thing graven or made with mannys [hand] wherby aftir that doctrine I have believed that no man aught to wurship ymages or oder pilgremages'.

This abjuration was read before Thomas Langton in the chapel of the manor of Ramsbury by the said Thomas Tailour. The bishop imposed the following penance: that Thomas Tailour was to be

brought bare-legged, bare-footed and bare-headed, wearing a shirt and britches, with a bundle of faggots on his back and bearing one stick in his hand, on the following days and to the following places (a list of places follows) and to expound to all the people present his abjuration ... He imposed this further penance; on every day of his life he is to genuflect before the crucifix, saying five times the pater-noster and five times the ave maria and one credo, and on the vigil of St James and on Good Friday every year for the rest of his life he is to fast on bread and water.

This, one could argue, is a measure of the opinions held in the circles in which Robert moved as the new century began. In these circumstances he must have been planning an extensive pilgrimage, not only to Compostella, but also to Rome and to the Holy Land, which would necessarily take a couple of years. Before he left, he planned to build an imposing antechapel to the medieval chapel of Queen's College, which was to be amply furnished with stained-glass windows commemorating St James and other saints. This antechapel more than doubled the size of the original chapel, with two four-light windows on the north and south sides, and two of three lights on the east and west. All these structures have since vanished with the exception of a pair of windows in the present chapel carrying the so-called 'confused arms' of Robert. One assumes that the various heraldic items foreshadow his proposed pilgrimage route rather than recall it, for they indicate places he never reached, like Egypt and Sinai, as well as others which he did visit, like Compostella, Rome and la Sainte Baume near Marseilles. His trip to Brindisi in Italy and his return to Venice suggest that he had attempted to take ship to the Holy Land but never managed it.

The value of his contribution to the building of the antechapel is given in the Calendar of the College as £300. He is also credited with the building of the ceiling over the high altar, the gilding of the rood loft of the chapel of St Cross in Southampton and of the altars in the nave of the church. There must have been some sort of celebratory party in College in 1519 when 2s 6d was paid for wine for a Mrs English, Robert's sister, for a Michael Warcup and wife (one notes from Robert's will that a Robert Warcup was his godson, no doubt named after him). All this suggests that Robert must have set off some time after 1519. Some idea of his personal fortune can be gauged from the fact that he could contemplate such an extensive visit after the expenditure on the chapel. This journey I shall comment on at a later date. If my assumptions are correct, he fitted in his pilgrimage at an appropriate moment, some five years before his death in 1524.



The 'Confused Coat' of Robert Langton  
Plate XVII from J.R. Magrath, *Queen's College, Oxford* 1921



Robert Langton made his will on 20 June, 1524. In it he requested that if he died in London, he was to be buried in the Charterhouse, where it appears he had taken up residence with a retinue of about five servants. His chosen burial place was to be 'afore the ymage of Saint Meghell'. There are no visible remains today of this chapel, nor indeed much else of the original medieval buildings, founded at a plague burial ground on land purchased by the Carthusians from the nearby Hospital of St Bartholomew. In the twenty years before its suppression in 1537 the Charterhouse had received recruits from university and court circles. Several of the new generation were Cambridge and Oxford men, and none of those would have harboured anything but the most orthodox of views. As is well known, the last prior, John Houghton, was hung, drawn and quartered together with other Carthusians who refused to accept the royal edicts. Langton left a number of bequests to Carthusian foundations in and outside London, and especially to St Julian's Hospital in Southampton, commonly known as God's House, whose warden was nominally the provost of Queen's College. True to the educational practices of his uncle and cousin he left money to the college to purchase land to build a schoolhouse in his home town of Appleby. Richard Pace, who has been mentioned before as a protégé of Thomas Langton, also figures as a beneficiary. Money was in addition made available for exhibitions for poor scholars and to keep one of his godsons at school as long as necessary. Nor did he turn his back on Carthusian principles; he generously made bequests to every parish where he had been parson or vicar for money to be distributed to the poorest parishioners; he gave a further contribution to free those who were rotting away their years in debtor's prisons like the notorious Newgate Lodge.

We have little knowledge of personal details beyond those connected with the family circle. However, in the journal *Notes and Queries* of 1858 a Mr James Thompson of Leicester observed that he had lately seen a painting on canvas of a cleric in black garb, with a pilgrim's staff and scrip covered with shells, and headed 'Robertus Langton, arch.etc'. This could be a reference to the archdeaconry of Dorset which he held from 1486 to 1514. Thompson added that the painting was said to come from Annesley Hall, to the north of Nottingham, the residence of the Chaworth family. However, the Chaworth Musters have not been in Annesley Hall for years and the place has been stripped of its original furnishings. So the painting must be presumed lost. We are obliged to rely on a memorial brass of Robert, a full-length figure with his rebus in the top corner. This was found in the basement of Queen's College, and was clearly designed to be placed on the floor of the original chapel. Now it has been attached to the east wall of the present chapel in such a



Brass of Robert Langton in Queen's College Chapel, Oxford  
From a photograph by Marcus Tate

position that he can contemplate what remains of his magnificent set of windows.

The long and complicated voyage throughout western Europe still awaits a more detailed study than that available in the preface and notes by Canon Blackie to his edition and transcription of the original printed text (Cambridge, 1924). So many questions may well remain unanswered. Did he travel in company? This is most likely. Why did he choose to begin at Orléans? Probably because of his uncle's diplomatic contacts, which may also have helped him in Castile and of course in Rome. Why did he travel to the extreme south of Spain, after visiting Santa María de Guadalupe? Possibly because he was seeking a ship to Genoa; and why the long peregrination to the Apuglia in Italy? Again perhaps in search of a vessel? He might have tried again on his return to Venice, only to give up either through exhaustion or lack of funds.

From this painstakingly assembled mosaic of details we can begin to see emerging from the shadows the figure that A.G. Dickens only faintly perceived a couple of decades ago. This is one example among thousands of the orthodoxy which survived amongst the multitudes of pilgrims, in spite of the argument, debate and destruction which heralded the beginning of the Reformation.

## APPENDIX

### ROBERT LANGTON'S WILL

(Public Record Office: PRO. Offic. Praerog. Cant. reg. Bodfeld Qu. 21. Transcribed by Thorlac Turville Petre.)

*In the name of god amen I Robert Langton Clerk and Prebendary of Chermyster and Bere in the Church of Salisbury felyng and Remembringe and consideringe the frailtie of the worlde of good and parfite mynde make my testament in this maner First I bequeth my soule to my Redemptor and Savyour Jesu christ and to our Lady saint mary and all the saintes in hevyn and my body to be buried yf that I dye here in london in the body of the church afore the ymage of saint mighell in the Charterhouse and for that I bequeth to the covent therof v£ and all the household stuffe as pottes pannys and hanginge disshes with tables For ...[?] and Jubbis that is in my house here in Charterhouse there vse to Remayn to that house. And I doo bequeth to sir william my goostly fader and Chapleyn x£ and to Frauncis my seruaunt vi£ xiiis iiiid and to John Bersman my seruaunt v£ and to George Baynebrige and his wife vi£ xiiis iiiid and to Roger my Coke xls and to John Buck the under Cock xls and I*

will that they Remayn in Commyns togider at my cost and charge till that they be provided of maisters and to hugh Burges v£ and to sir Olyuer Rodrode v£ and I bequeth to the foure orders of Freres and the Crosse Freres to euey order xxs To the prisoners of Newgate Ludge kynges Benche and the marchalsey to euey prison house xls to Redeme those that lye for their fees. Also I bequeth to the Charterhouse called Shene v£ and to the oder vii places of that Religioun here in Inglonde beside this house London to euey house xls to be praid for. Also I bequeth to the place of Syon both to men and women to euey one of these places xxs. Also I bequeth the goodes howse in Southampton to the priour and fellowes to haue to the rofe of their house all my stuff that I haue in my howse there to thentent that they shall dresse the Roode Lofte there in their Chapell and xls to geve to the pour brethern and susters there. Also I will the quenes College in Oxford haue two hundred poundes to purchase Lande and to make a Scole howse in Appylby Where I was born. Also I bequeth to my suster Maistres Englisshe a hundred poundes and Mighell Wercopp and his wife and children a hundred marces and to Alice Langton my nece at Wylton xx£ and to maister Robert Blynkynsopp a standyng gilt Cupp and a siluer basyn and an Ewer without a Tonne. And also I will William Dragley of Southwell and Christofer of Ryppon his broder euey one of them to haue a gilt goblet. Also I geve to Rowland Bredman my kynnesman v£. Also I will that sir Henry Wyngfeld vicar of Bere haue v£ and sir Hugh Thorpp vicar of Bisshopton sumtyme my Chapleyns other v£. Also I will that Laurens my seruaunt haue v£. Also I will that xx£ be gevyn to pour people and to euey Churche where I was parson or vicar or prebendary v£ and to euey parishe to the porest parishens there to be delt amonge them xls in euey parishe. And also I will that my Launder Margaret Deny haue v£ and to maister Clyfton a gilt Cupp and to John maister Edwardes seruaunt and William Sylle xxs a pece. and to my godsonne Robert Payce xxs. I geve to Robert Warcopp my godson to kepe him at scole with all asmoche as is necessary. Also I ordeyn and make myn executours maister Robert Blynkynsopp maister Thomas Nycholl my newewe and maister John Clyfton Steward with maister payce, and maister ...[?] Spencer my kynnesman I will he haue a goblet. And I will that my Lord of London and maister Richard Payce the kinges Secretary be Superuisours. Also I will that ther be geven to the exhibicions of pour scollers in Oxford x£. Also i will that Richard Wause haue xxs. Also to hugh Whilben seruaunt to maister paice v£. Also I geve to my lorde of London to se my will and testament justely and truely executed x£ and asmoche to the other The rest of my goodes vnbequest to be at the will of myn executors to bestowe them to the welth of my soule. And I geve to my newew Thomas Nycolles xx£. And I made this my last will the xx day of June the yere of our Lord god mvxxiiii. In the presence of sir William my goostly fader



and all my houshold seruaunts viz George Baynbrig John Shoral  
Fraunces Pardyll als John Fraunces and Roger Boon desiryng them  
to bere witnesse that this is my last will.

\* \* \* \* \*

## NOTES

1. Brian Tate, *Pilgrimages to St James of Compostella from the British Isles during the Middle Ages* (Liverpool, 1990).
2. A.G. Dickens, 'The Writers of Tudor Yorkshire', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, fifth series, XIII (1963), pp.52-53.
3. Ronald C. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims; Popular Beliefs in Medieval England*, (London 1977).
4. Anne Hudson, *The Premature Reformers* (Oxford 1988).
5. Margaret Aston, *Lollards and Reformers* (London, 1984).  
Margaret Aston, *England's Iconoclasts* (London, 1988).
6. *The Pilgrimage of Arnold von Harff, 1496-1499*, ed. M. Letts, Hakluyt Society Series II, XCIV (London, 1946).
7. Michael Hicks, *Richard III, the Man Behind the Myth* (London, 1991)

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### The Road to Jerusalem II

Laurie Dennett, whose progress on her epic walk was noted in Bulletin 44, reached her destination safely on Christmas Eve as planned. On disembarking at the port of Haifa she was met by a number of members of the Israeli MS Society - and an armed guard-who all accompanied her, via Tel Aviv, on the last stretch of the walk to Jerusalem. An Israeli paper speculated that Laurie is the first woman since the Middle Ages to walk from London to Jerusalem. We offer her many congratulations on her great achievement (how many pairs of shoes did she get through?) and look forward to seeing her safely back in London after her rest and recuperation in Spain.

# Unpleasant Discoveries on the Way of Saint James

Annie Shaver-Crandell

The routes to the shrine of St James at Santiago de Compostela described in an anonymous *Pilgrim's Guide* compiled about 1140 crossed fields ripe for discoveries good and bad. The *Guide*, bound as Book Five of a compendium known variously as the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* or the *Jacobus Compilation*, contains much information that a pilgrim to Compostela would wish to know, and much that he or she might also wish to forget, were it not so entertaining in the telling.

Elsewhere in the compilation, a sermon dealing with many aspects of pilgrimage, known by its opening words as the *Veneranda dies*, also details some of the disagreeable aspects of pilgrim life in the twelfth century.

Although my primary involvement with these texts stems from their descriptions of the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela and other architectural monuments described in them, I am here concerned only with the seamier underbelly of pilgrimage, as illuminated in these two texts, and wish only to suggest some of the ways in which the pilgrim path to glory got obstructed by natural and human-made obstacles.

The selections from the *Guide* are taken from the translation by Paula Gerson, Alison Stones and me to be published this spring by Harvey Miller Publishers in an annotated edition of the text to which Jeanne Krochalis has also contributed. The still rough translations from *Veneranda dies* are my own.

The *Guide* (probably not written, incidentally by Aimery Picaud, and it is unlikely that we can replace his name with that of some other French cleric) commences with an overview of the routes to Compostela through France and Spain, giving instructions about the points at which a mounted traveller could expect to break the journey. Short chapters on three legendary pilgrim hospices and on the names of men who maintained the physical road to Compostela are followed by Chapter Six, 'The good and bad rivers found on the road to Santiago', a heading that alerts us that this guidebook is no ordinary goody-goody recitation of where to find good saints' relics or great wine.

Water pollution was a sufficiently widespread problem to warrant quite precise instructions about which rivers were safe to drink from, and which - along with their fish - were potential hazards. The author of

the *Guide* describes an unfortunate encounter with some enterprising locals:

*At a place called Lorca, in the eastern part of Spain, runs a river called the Salty Brook. Be careful not to let it touch your lips or allow your horse to drink there, for this river is deadly! On its bank, while we were going to Santiago, we met two men of Navarre sitting sharpening their knives; they are in the habit of skinning the mounts of pilgrims who drink that water and die. When questioned by us, these liars said that it was safe to drink. We therefore watered our horses, and immediately two of them died, which these people skinned on the spot.*

The author complains that all the rivers between Estella and Logroño - plus their fish - are poisonous to man and beast.

*Whether it be the fish commonly called 'red mullet' or that which the Poitevins call alose and the Italians clipia, or the eel or the tench, should you eat any of them in any part of Spain or Galicia, you will undoubtedly die shortly afterwards or at least fall ill. And if by chance someone ate some and did not get sick, it is because he was healthier than others or because he has remained for a long time in that country. All the fish, beef and pork of the whole of Spain and Galicia cause illnesses to foreigners.*

This last point I can attest to from personal experience, having been laid low within twenty-four hours of arrival in Compostela on my first trip there in 1964. And my first sessions of translating the *Guide* in 1977 coincided with convalescence from amoebic dysentery contracted along the route (though, in all fairness, this was a legacy of Toulouse, not Galicia).

In Chapter Seven, 'The names of the lands and the characteristics of the peoples on the road to Santiago', the author details other problems. Of the Landes, the territory south of Bordeaux, he warns:

*After that are the Landes of the Bordelais, a three-days journey, exhausting to be sure. This is a country devoid of all good things, lacking bread, wine, meat, fish, water and spring, sparse in towns, flat, sandy but abundant, however, in honey, millet, panic-grass and pigs. If, however, by chance you cross the Landes region in summer, take care to guard your face from the enormous insects, commonly called guespe [wasps] or tavones [horseflies] which are most abundant there; and if you*



*do not watch carefully where you put your feet, you will slip rapidly up to your knees in the quicksand that abounds there.*

As in Navarre, geographical hazards were sometimes exacerbated or exploited by people who lived nearby. The author had a terrible time at St-Jean-de-Sorde, where there are two fast-running watercourses, one of which serves today to power a modest hydro-electric installation.

*Upon leaving ...[Gascony], the way of Saint James crosses two rivers which flow near the town of St-Jean de Sorde, one on the right and one on the left, of which one is called gaver [a river], which cannot be crossed without a barque - may their boatmen be utterly damned! For although the rivers are quite narrow, nevertheless, they are in the habit of getting one nummus [a coin worth the same as a denarius, having, in this period, the value of the tenth part of a solidus] from every person, poor as well as rich, whom they ferry across, and for a beast four, which they undeservedly extort. And furthermore, their boat is small, made of a single tree trunk, scarcely big enough to accommodate horses; also, when you get in, be careful not to fall into the water by accident. You will have to draw your horse behind you by the bridle, outside the boat, through the water. On account of this, get into the boat with only a few passengers because if the boat is overladen with too many people, it will soon be in peril. Many times also, after receiving the money, the ferrymen take on such a throng of pilgrims that the boat tips over, and the pilgrims are killed in the water. Thereupon the ferrymen rejoice wickedly after seizing the spoils of the dead.*

And on down the road, in the foothills of the Pyrenees, there was more unpleasantness to be faced.

*In this country there are evil toll-keepers, that is, near the Port de Cize, at the town which is called Ostabat, and at the town of St-Jean and St-Michel-Pied-de-Port - may they be utterly damned! For they go and stand in the way of the pilgrims with two or three big sticks, extorting an unjust toll by force. And if someone passing through does not want to give them money in accordance with their demand, they both beat him with the sticks and snatch away the assessed sum from him, upbraiding him and searching him down to his underwear. [The word is femoralia - what you wear around your femur.]*



The author of *Veneranda dies* complains about these toll-keepers as well, suggesting that they be subject to anathema, excommunicated a hundred times and kept away from the Gates of Paradise by the voices of sainted bishops, priests and monks.

No recital of the *Guide's* unpleasant discoveries on the routes to Compostela is complete without its account of the Navarrese, who

*wear short black garments extending just down to the knee, like the Scots, and they wear sandals which they call lavarcas made of raw hide with the hair on and are bound around the foot with thongs, covering only the soles of the feet and leaving the upper foot bare. In truth, they wear black woollen hooded and fringed capes, reaching to their elbows, which they call saias. These people, in truth, are repulsively dressed, and they eat and drink repulsively. For in fact all those who dwell in the household of a Navarrese, servant as well as master, maid as well as mistress, are accustomed to eat all their food mixed together from one pot, not with spoons but with their own hands, and they drink with one cup. If you saw them eat you would think them dogs or pigs. If you heard them speak, you would be reminded of the barking of dogs. For their speech is utterly barbarous.*

The author then lists fifteen words and phrases in Basque, one of the first written records of the language, gets his breath, and continues:

*This is a barbarous race unlike all other races in customs and in character, full of malice, swarthy in color, evil of face, depraved, perverse, perfidious, empty of faith and corrupt, libidinous, drunken, experienced in all violence, ferocious and wild, dishonest and reprobate, impious and harsh, cruel and contentious, unversed in anything good, well trained in all vices and iniquities, like the Geats and Saracens in malice, in everything inimical to our French people. For a mere nummus a Navarrese or a Basque will kill, if he can, a Frenchman.*

*In certain regions of their country, that is in Biscay and Alava, when the Navarrese are warming themselves, a man will show a woman and a woman a man their private parts. The Navarrese even practise unchaste fornication with animals. For the Navarrese is said to hang a padlock behind his mule and his mare, so that none may come near her but himself. He even offers libidinous kisses to the vulva of woman and mule. That is why the Navarrese are to be rebuked by all experienced people.*

Curiously, though the author of the *Guide* comments quite freely on these and other personal habits and customs of the peoples through whose territories the pilgrim passes, there is little mention in this text of the conditions of lodging for the traveller.

*Veneranda dies*, on the other hand, seems obsessed by the myriad ways in which pilgrims could be exploited by innkeepers, money-changers, merchants and whores, especially in and near Compostela itself:

*But what should I say about the evil innkeepers who defraud the pilgrims with so many deceptions? Just as Judas got punished for the sin of having delivered Our Good Lord Jesus Christ to his passion, and the good thief took the reward of his confession, so should evil innkeepers on the road to Santiago pay the price in hell for their iniquities, and true pilgrims receive rewards in heaven for their good works and sufferings.*

*Therefore damned be the evil innkeepers of the road to Santiago, exploiting pilgrims with innumerable deceits! For some of them go out to meet them at the entrance to the town, kissing them like cousins from faraway places. What more do they do? Leading them to their houses, they promise all good things, and do evil ones. Whom shall it be said that they resemble, if not the traitor Judas, who betrayed the Lord with a kiss? For first they offer for tasting a good wine and then sell another that is bad. Others sell cider for wine, others sell young wine as good. Others sell fish meat cooked two or three days before, so that pilgrims get sick from it. Others show a large measure and sell a small one if they can. Some have false measures for wine and grain, very large on the outside and small and narrow on the inside, or a little hollowed, which are commonly called marscias.*

The preacher complains about those who water the wine and provide poor beds. Other tricks of the trade include throwing out early arrivals – after taking their money – and putting other travellers into their beds, short-changing the guests, getting them drunk on good wine and then stealing their purses while they are asleep, and poisoning their drinks and pillaging the corpses. Another favourite is selling wine out of a barrel with two compartments, one with the good stuff for tasting and another for a worse wine brought with the meal.

A particularly nasty local custom was a sort of inverse *lagniappe* whereby dinner would be offered for free, but then the outrageous price of candles would ensure serious profit for the innkeeper.

*And what should I say of the servant who on orders from her mistress, pours out the water in the house so that pilgrims staying there, finding no water to drink at night, buy wine from the innkeeper? And what about her who by night filches oats or barley from the manger with the consent of the innkeeper? She should be anathematized altogether.*

*And may the servants of the innkeepers of the road to Santiago who from shameful motives and to gain money through the instigation of the devil are in the habit of approaching the beds of pilgrims at night be completely damned. The prostitutes who for these same reasons are in the habit of coming out to meet pilgrims in wooded places between Puertomarin and Palas de Rey ought not only to be excommunicated but also be plundered of everything, and shamed by means of their noses [ie slit?].*

*For a single woman is accustomed to presenting herself to a single man. In what way these customs, brothers, the devil holds his vicious net and opens the cave of perdition of pilgrims, I am unable to write.*

We hear about people who 'find' a piece of counterfeit gold on the ground just as the pilgrim would pass by, feign poverty, and offer to sell their share to the pilgrim. (This scam is still in use in New York City, though it is now run with the aid of automatic teller machines.) Faked injuries also seem to have been quite popular, with hare's blood and poplar ash being used to enhance the apparent wounds.

The preacher's grasp of faraway places is evidenced by his complaint that guardians of altars in the basilicas at Santiago, St Gilles, St Léonard de Noblat, St Martin at Tours, the Cathedral at Le Puy and St Peter's in Rome are guilty of complicity with the innkeepers in encouraging pilgrims to make heavy donations at altars and then skimming the profits. Others made use of distant educational opportunities, as this passage indicates:

*Oh wicked greed! There are those who manage to get their servants to learn these tricks and send them to Le Puy, St Gilles, Tours, Piacenze, Lucca, Rome, Bari and Barletta, since in these cities there are schools for all kinds of deceit.*

One is struck throughout both texts not only by the familiarity with specific unpleasant human misbehaviour but also by the intense vindictiveness in the writer's disapproval of it. Knowing what we do about the close relationships between possession of efficacious relics

and financial profit for the church, we sense between the lines that we are hearing, in some passages, not just a benevolent shepherd concerned for innocent pilgrim lambs, but also the outrage of a spokesman for a major economic enterprise whose profits are being interfered with by small-time operators in the neighbourhood. It becomes clear that some situations that we think of as peculiar to our own greedy epoch have, unfortunately, ancient antecedents.

\* \* \* \* \*

Annie Shaver-Crandell gave the above lecture to the Confraternity on 7 July 1992 at the St Alban's Centre, London EC1.

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# Pilgrims, Peasants and Pallozas; Links with the Past in Modern Spain

A.E. and J.M. Champeney

Walking the pilgrim road to Santiago de Compostela one feels a sense of kinship with the medieval pilgrim, through sharing a spiritual quest and physical hardships, although the world through which one passes, in terms of material culture, is vastly changed. Occasionally, however, in the more remote mountains of northern Spain, the modern pilgrim turning a corner encounters a scene which would have been familiar to his/her medieval predecessors, a group of thatched roundhouses, or an archaic wooden plough at work. Although it is difficult to prove continuity, these ancient farmhouses and farming tools and practices accord so well with what is known of medieval and Iron Age practice that one can conclude that they are relics of a way of life which, as research indicates, goes back to prehistory. They are therefore contemporary with, but even older than, the origins of the pilgrimage itself. This article is based on the illustrated talk given to the Confraternity of St James at the University of East Anglia in September 1991, and describes this culture as the authors found it during their four-week visit in September 1989. The hope is that it will bring the world of the medieval pilgrim a little closer to those who make the journey today.

The pilgrim route in this part of Spain runs east-west through the mountains from Astorga via Rabanal to descend to Ponferrada. From there today's pilgrim largely follows the modern, very busy road to Villafranca del Bierzo and soon after turns thankfully on to a minor road leading to the hilltop hamlet of El Cebrero, avoiding the difficult terrain of the Ancares mountains to the north. In these mountains a series of valleys, very narrow and steep, runs north-south. Until very recently the only routes to the settlements in these valleys were mule tracks which clung precariously to the mountain-sides and were often too narrow for even a small cart. Severe winters with heavy snow cut them off for weeks at a time. Geographical and economic hardships ensured the survival of old practices and it is in this area especially that the pilgrim with a few days to spare will be rewarded with glimpses of the medieval world.

Pilgrims who have passed through El Cebrero, some 75 miles or 120 kilometres east of Santiago, will already be familiar with the primitive farmhouses known as 'pallozas' since the refuge there is nothing less (and certainly nothing more!) than the byre half of one

of these archaic peasant houses. Round or more usually oval in plan, and thatched with rye straw, hence the name (Spanish 'paja', straw), the pallozas are built of low, dry stone walls usually only five or six feet high. Massive stone jambs and lintels frame the two main entrances. One entrance is a single stable-type door which leads to the living quarters. The other is a double door leading to the byre. The windows are mere slits and there is no chimney.

Entering the living quarters of one of the abandoned pallozas near Campo del Agua, some 12 miles north-west of Villafranca, one is immediately struck by the darkness and the strong smell of woodsmoke which still permeates the whole building. In the centre, the open hearth ('lareira') is still piled with ashes and the odd rock to support the end of the logs. Ranged around are wooden forms only 9 inches high. This palloza is just 36 feet across; larger pallozas at Piornedo are 45 feet wide and have the 'lareira' to one side, surrounded by a multi-angled bench with a panelled back. Over the hearth is suspended a rack where chorizo sausages were cured and chestnuts were dried. A chain ('preghancia') hangs down from the dim heights of the roof with a hook for the cauldron. Hams and cheeses were stored high up in the smoky atmosphere on special holders ('galleiros'). The hearth area was the multi-purpose centre of the home. Here cattle deals were discussed and cooking and cheesemaking were carried out. Spinning and storytelling filled the long winter evenings, by the light of a burning branch stuck in the 'preghancia', and here, around the fire, the family sometimes slept on the wooden benches. Often these benches were ingeniously made with a pivoting panel to convert to box beds. In the palloza museum at El Cebrero the curator will demonstrate the one he slept in as a boy.

Along the curved end wall partitions of boughs and rough planks divide off compartments for individual sleeping quarters and for small livestock such as pigs and hens. The floor is of natural rock and very uneven. A strong stone wall divides the living quarters from the byre. About 6 feet high it has a gate in the middle providing access to the byre. Up against the wall is a rough ladder giving access to an open platform over the byre where hay, potatoes and firewood were stored, and people slept, warmed by the animals below. Woodwork, stone walls and roof alike are covered with a blackish-brown coating deposited by the woodsmoke over the years. Of the many features which remind one of the English medieval house, one singles out the position of the gate in the dividing wall, being opposite the fire, which recalls the arrangement of the north-country longhouse where superstition held that the animals should be able to see the fire; another parallel is with Devon longhouses, where evidence of low partitions (like the dividing wall here), as opposed

to full-height partitions, has been discovered in the fabric of some houses. This is thought to mark a stage in the evolution of the English medieval house.

The byre half of the palloza is much simpler than that of the living quarters, often equipped only with a solid stone drinking trough and a hay rack. Nevertheless its function as winter shelter for cattle was extremely important because cattle farming was the basis of the economy; a man's wealth was measured by the number of cows he owned. Thirty years ago, a survey found that a man was considered wealthy if he owned around ten cows.

Although the cattle are separated from the living quarters by a wall, pigs and chickens are often kept on the other side, in the living quarters. There is thus no clear-cut division between livestock and family quarters. The plan of the palloza is of the utmost utility, providing shelter for family, livestock and stores all under the same roof.

The structural simplicity of the pallozas which gives them their character is not difficult to appreciate; a jigsaw of dry stone walling, built from stone gathered from streambeds or mountain-sides, with the minimum of working, thatch lashed on to rafters by means of braided straw, and in the roofs of the oval pallozas simply-fashioned trusses supporting the ridge poles. The timbers used often remain in the round. Inside the houses, on doors for example, where one might expect to see metal catches, hinges and nails, one finds instead wooden latches, pivots and pins. What furniture remains in situ is often home-made, with the minimum of fuss and little, if any, decoration.

As well as the low benches one can see wooden chests, cots and bowls as well as other utensils, including handle-less brooms and woven baskets. All these are indicative of a lifestyle in which basic needs had to be met by the knowledge and resources of the immediate community. This, indeed, was the situation in which Iron Age farmers in Britain lived up until the arrival of the Romans. Study of the pallozas in northern Spain has helped in the re-creation of English roundhouses, based upon archaeological evidence, such as that of the Iron Age 'Pimperne' house at the Experimental Iron Age Farm at Butser, Hampshire. Just how accurate a reconstruction it is is a matter of scholarly debate, but it represents to the best of our knowledge, what a farmstead from that period would have looked like

A comparison of the reconstructed roundhouse with one of the pallozas from the village of Piornedo reveals striking similarities, despite the differences in building material (the Pimperne house is



made from wattle and daub). The dimensions, of the floor plan for example, and of the roof height of the roundhouse, recovered through archaeological excavation, are almost identical to those of the palloza at Piornedo (42 feet/13 metres in diameter, with a roof apex of 30 feet/9 metres). Moreover, both houses had a double doorway, of the same width, possibly for admitting a hay cart for discharging its load directly into a loft.



**Palloza at Piornedo**

The extent to which the interior structure of an ancient Iron Age roundhouse can be reconstructed is limited. Postholes and the occasional fragment of daub together with grooves, stake holes and areas of burning are often the only clues, but descriptions by ancient Roman and Greek authors provide other vital details, such as the fact that the houses were thatched. Archaeologists such as Peter Reynolds believe that the Iron Age roundhouses would have had an upper floor, and that the inhabitants would have cooked on an open hearth, baked in a clay oven, and had tables, chairs and beds.



Pallozas do not occur in isolation but cluster in hamlets on steep hillsides, as pilgrims will have noticed at El Cebrero for example; or they huddle together in small villages in the high valleys as at Campo del Agua, Balouta, and Piornedo. This nucleated pattern of settlement probably evolved because many of the farming practices were group activities, like livestock herding and threshing. Campo del Agua lies in a natural bowl in the mountains. The pallozas spread in a great curve around the end of the communal open field. As with all pallozas each one takes advantage of the slope of the land with the byre at the lower end to ensure drainage away from the living area. The curved shape, generally oval, lying end on to the slope, serves to deflect the wind and snow. The houses are now deserted, save for a solitary warden. He is joined in the summer by a woman goatherd and a team of men from the village below who take turns in herding cows on the summer pastures on the mountain slopes. The cows are brought down each night and pastured on the former open field. Here, only marker stones and small ditches remain to indicate the individual holdings where the villagers formerly grew rye, potatoes, turnips and cabbages.

Near the village, woodland of oak and chestnut provided an indispensable resource for the old, self-sufficient economy. Chestnuts were a staple food for both the peasant farmer and his pigs. In some parts, individual trees were distinguished by their owner's mark. Some chestnut trees are still cropped for poles at a height just above grazing reach, a very ancient practice known as pollarding. Trees treated in this way can live to a great age. In a village near Las Médulas, for instance, where sheep graze beneath the trees, one venerable pollard measures 20 feet in girth. Remnants of the communal, open field system can still be seen in several villages in this area, Piornedo being one, and today's pilgrim travelling from Astorga to Rabanal will pass cultivation strips bounded by marker stones at El Ganso. These farming practices - the communal herding of livestock, the open common fields, and pollarding - were of course well-known in medieval England too.

### **Farming Practices and Tools**

There is far less evidence about farming techniques in the Iron Age than in the medieval period. However, a steadily increasing body of archaeological evidence from sites all over Europe, together with improving techniques of excavation, has enabled archaeologists to gain a more detailed and accurate picture of Iron Age farming practices than ever before.

Roman and Greek authors supply some details - particularly interesting is the fact that the Iron Age Celtic tribes of the Vettones and Lusitani engaged in stockraising, as they were said to inhabit the province now known as León, the area discussed in this article. Remains of carbonised seed and animal bones can reveal the types of crop grown and animals kept, whilst traces of ploughed fields and trackways provide tantalising glimpses of agricultural techniques and the organisation of the landscape. As a result the traditional image of Iron Age farming - small communities eking out a meagre existence from the land - has been dispelled in favour of a far more sophisticated and organised system of agriculture.

One concept which so far remains unchanged, however, is that of self-sufficiency, within the farmstead or farming community, and in this the village life of north-west Spain is not so dissimilar. Due to the climate and isolation it has been necessary for farmers to produce most of what they need, for human and animal consumption, themselves, and it is still possible to find villages in which food production and processing is undertaken without outside intervention. At Paradarella, one of the villages visited by the authors, wheat is grown, harvested, threshed and baked into bread by a single family. Hams are cured in the traditional way and are stored hanging from beams in an outhouse, together with bunches of onions and garlic. Maize is grown and stored as chicken feed. Weaving is still a living craft and it is not unusual to find the traditional marriage coverlet still woven by the woman of the household.

As regards farming equipment and tools, many still in use in the mountains of north-west Spain are of the simplest kind. The most striking is the wooden A-shaped cart, without sides, and with wooden disc wheels. These carts are widely found not only in the Iberian peninsula but also much further afield, in Asia Minor, Mongolia, north China and even India. Representations of similar wheels appear on sixth-century Greek vases, and it is likely that their origins go back far beyond the Roman 'plaustrum', traditionally believed to be the prototype. The main characteristic of the Galician cart is the pentite wheel, almost solid, with 'laminás de hierro' or bands of iron forming an outer rim for strength and durability. These wheels turn on unlubricated bushes and the resulting squeaks are responsible for the local nickname of these carts: 'chillones' or screamers.



'Screamer' cart at Campo del Agua

Evidence of such carts' existence in prehistory is sparse but not non-existent. A cart of similar shape was discovered in a Bronze Age barrow at Lchashen in Armenia, dating back to the second millennium BC, and remains of disc-wheels constructed in three parts have been found in northern Italy, and Germany, dated to the second millennium and 2nd century BC, illustrating that wheels of this design remained in use for a very long span of time.

Another type of farming implement which is known to date back to prehistory and which is still in use in north-west Spain is a type of simple plough called the ard. Made largely from wood, with a metal spike attached to the beam at an angle of about 50 degrees, it serves to rip up the topsoil without turning it. Drawn by a horse or cow it requires one person at the front to lead the animal, and another at the back to guide the tool through the earth. Research undertaken by Dr Peter Reynolds in Spain has shown that one type of Spanish ard in particular called 'el cambelo' is very similar to the 'Rip' ard of prehistory, and a comparison of the marks made by 'el cambelo' and those left by the prehistoric tool (which was found at Slonk Hill, near Brighton) reveal distinct similarities. It is likely, therefore, that despite some differences of material and perhaps construction, the Spanish ards of today are built on the same principle as in prehistory.





Plough ('ard') at San Pedro

That ancient woodworking tool, the adze, whose characteristic mark is left on beams in English medieval timber-frame farmhouses, is still an everyday tool in these parts of Spain; one was seen used in repairing a gate. These gates are simply and ingeniously constructed and consist entirely of wood, with no carpenters' joints or metal fittings; they are fabricated from two sloping uprights into which cross bars are wedged. Each bar is numbered with an incised numeral: I, II, III, IIII, in order to facilitate re-assembly after use. Another stock barrier widely used in Iron Age and medieval England, is the woven hurdle, which was found in use at Campo del Agua.

With agricultural products playing such an important part in the survival of rural communities such as these, adequate storage is a prime requirement. The 'hórreo' or four-post, raised granary is found in many parts of northern Spain, albeit with regional differences of design. Those typical of Galicia, for example, take the form of a square structure, with a thatched roof, raised some two metres off the ground by means of four stone pillars. Standing adjacent to the houses they provide additional storage for animal fodder and other produce. Efficient storage was no less important for Iron Age farmers, of course, and the existence of raised



granaries like those in Spain, has long been assumed by the presence of groups of four or six postholes in the ground, arranged in a square or rectangular pattern, and in plans of sites such as Staple Howe in Yorkshire, these postholes are labelled as such. However, archaeologists today, notably Ian Hodder, argue that this interpretation lacks conviction and that more research is needed to reach such a conclusion. A similar connection has been made between the single posthole and the polestack, a type of haystack constructed around a single wooden post on a base of boughs or planks, ubiquitous in rural communities today all over Europe. A simple and effective way of storing hay, the polestack can be widely seen in north-west Spain today, and whether or not these posthole theories are correct, they are certainly apt and would seem to make sense in the context of Iron Age farming.

### **The Future**

The fragments of an ancient, self-sufficient farming culture which survive in the villages of northern Spain are a fascinating study, but the question of their survival into the future is much in doubt. Recent decades have seen great changes in the rural areas described in this article. The very isolation which for hundreds of years preserved the traditional way of life is being eroded by the construction of better roads and communications. The resulting exodus of young people to the towns and cities in search of an easier and more exciting lifestyle has led to a serious rural depopulation and a diminishing workforce, making it difficult to carry on some of the communal farming procedures such as transhumance – taking cattle up to summer pastures – from Balouta. Whole villages can be found in a state of near or total abandonment and the current trend looks set to continue in the future.

Fortunately the cultural significance of the pallozas has not gone unnoticed by ethnologists who have brought their plight to the attention of the government. Many pallozas, for example at Balouta, and at Campo del Agua, are being rethatched with the aid of government grants. Pallozas are now being mentioned in the guide books to northern Spain and certainly local tourism is booming, albeit it in a rather informal way. Villagers can expect as many as one hundred cars at weekends with tourists from the neighbouring provinces eager to pay the modest entrance fee into the pallozas, and be shown round by their owners. Alternatives to these living museums are the folk museums: the Museo do Pobo Galego at Santiago de Compostela or the showpiece pallozas, fully furnished and tidied and cleaned of tar and soot, manure and smells, like the 'museo' at El Cebrero, which will be familiar to many readers.

But for every preserved palloza there must be many more which are steadily disintegrating. Fortunately the traditional peasant culture associated with the palloza is being recorded by bodies such as the Instituto de Estudios Gallegos which are collecting not only folk dances and songs with ancient Celtic associations but also customs and much in the way of oral history. There is not much time, for many of the last generation of palloza inhabitants are ageing and cannot read or write. They are part of a culture with a strong oral tradition, which represents a direct link with everyday life in the past, and seems to have retained ancient customs such as families eating together from communal wooden bowls, as noted long ago by classical Latin authors.

Collecting this material will go some way to preserving a fuller understanding of this ancient way of life represented in the landscape by the pallozas and the ploughs. And for today's pilgrims, sharing the journeys of their predecessors the chance still remains, just, to see the last living remnants of the everyday world of the medieval pilgrim.

\* \* \* \* \*

This paper is based on an illustrated talk given by Anna and Julie Champeney at the University of East Anglia on 21 September 1991 during the Confraternity's weekend in Norfolk.

\* \* \* \* \*

## NOTES AND NEWS

(with apologies for the small type)

### **Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela - Confession in English**

The Cathedral is seeking, for Holy Year, the services of English-speaking Catholic priests to hear confession by pilgrims. The canon responsible for pilgrims, D. Jaime García Rodríguez, is particularly anxious to welcome a priest or priests for this purpose from June to October, but also for the earlier and later months if possible. The hours involved would be reasonable and the Cathedral would offer free board and lodging. If no one priest is able to be in Santiago for 5 or 6 months, several priests staying on a monthly basis would be equally welcome. It would be helpful if those interested spoke at least a little Spanish, although Don Jaime himself speaks French as his second language. Members are asked to bring this request from the Cathedral to the attention of any priests they know whom they think might be interested. For further information please contact Pat Quaife in the first instance, tel.:(081)-883 4893, or write to her at 57 Leopold Road, London N2 8BG.

### **A Hospice for Holy Year**

Emma Poe's spring 1992 pilgrimage (see page 41 of Bulletin 44) was a special one: she was also fund-raising for Joseph Weld House, a 26-bed, comprehensive Hospice and Respite Centre for Dorset, which is due to be completed in October 1993. She and others were specifically helping to set up, within the general endowment fund, the Pilgrim Fund which will establish the training, teaching and spiritual care to be given by staff at Joseph Weld House as a permanent part of the work of the hospice. One hears less often of spiritual care for people with life-threatening conditions, so let us hope that the Pilgrim Fund will grow and flourish. For further information, or to make a donation please write to The Dorset Respite and Hospice Trust, P.O. Box 42, Weymouth, Dorset DT4 8XQ.

### **From Oxford to Santiago**

Phyllis Nye of Oxford is undertaking the biggest cycling trip of her life this April. Setting out from Oxford she is cycling all the way to Santiago, picking up the Tours route, appropriately, at Tours itself. She has calculated that her pilgrimage will take her 40 days, including 25 in France and 13 in Spain, although a ceremonial send-off from Oxford may lengthen her time on English soil (or rather, roads). She is seeking sponsorship per day-stage of her ride in aid of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford and members interested in sponsoring Phyllis should send their pledges to: Sponsored Bicycle Ride, c/o Education Service, Ashmolean Museum, Beaumont Street, Oxford, OX1 2PH. Phyllis plans to be at the Practical Pilgrim weekend in Northampton at the end of March to pick up some tips.

**Anthea Hopkins**, on the other hand, bought a lovely bike last year but decided in the end that perhaps cycling to Santiago wasn't quite her thing after all. (The editor fully understands this, based on her knowledge of a walking holiday with Anthea - a delightful holiday but walking?) Anyway, a fine lady's Raleigh is now for sale; it boasts 12 gears, drop handlebars, Reynolds 531 frame, QR wheels, extras such as a saddle cover, grabons, lights, pannier rack and panniers by Karrimore. Brand-new, never used, itching to go to Santiago. It cost £400, will be sacrificed at £350. For an inspection and test-ride, contact Anthea on (0883)-346472.

### **August Pilgrimage on the Camino Inglés**

Members of the Cornish Bredereth Sen Jago have expressed an interest in joining the Camino Inglés pilgrimage from La Coruña to Santiago from 24 to 30 or 31 August 1993. This is excellent news and they are thinking of hiring a car as a support vehicle. If this works out then those who want to carry only a light rucksack may be able to do so. All details from Pat Quaife.

## The Wednesday Holy Year Lectures

Name (capitals).....

Address .....

.....

\* Please send me .... season ticket/s, at £14 each, to cover all seven Wednesday lectures in 1993.

or

\* Please send me ..... ticket/s at £2-50 each for the following lectures: (please indicate them clearly)

- 1) February 17th (Mary Remnant)
- 2) March 17th (David Hugh Farmer)
- 3) May 19th (Alison Stones)
- 4) June 16th (Annie Shaver-Crandell)
- 5) September 15th (Brian Tate)
- 6) October 13th (David Stancliffe)
- 7) November 17th (Pat Quaife)

I/We enclose a cheque for £..... (made out to the Confraternity of St James) and a stamped, addressed envelope.

Please return this form to:

Marion Marples, 45 Dolben Street, London SE1 0UQ.

(The Practical Pilgrim weekend form is overleaf)



**Practical Pilgrim Weekend in Northampton**  
**27/28 March 1993**

Name/s .....

Address .....

.....

Tel.(with code): .....

I / We would like to take part in the Practical Pilgrim Weekend. (Please tick the relevant categories below)

- as a cyclist (having already cycled to Santiago)
- as a cyclist intending to go in 1993
- as a walker (having already walked to Santiago)
- as a walker intending to go in 1993.
- other (specify) .....

I/We wish to take part in the following other events:

- 1) Saturday pm walk visiting Northampton churches
- 2) Saturday evening talk (small charge) on St James's Monastery
- 3) Sunday late morning/early afternoon car tour of Northamptonshire churches.

I/We could offer ..... passenger seats in a car on Sun.  
or

I/We would like ..... passenger seats in a car.

**Accommodation** on Saturday night.

I/We would like bed and breakfast for .....person/s.  
and enclose a deposit of £5 per person (cost: approx  
£16 to £18 per person)

Please return form to Marion Marples (address overleaf)





## Contents



Ten (or Eleven) Years On .....	p. 1
From the Secretary's Notebook .....	p. 3
By Sea to Santiago: English Pilgrims in the Middle Ages .....	p. 4
Pilgrim Luggage Safe 300 Years On ....	p.17
Robert Langton, Pilgrim (1470-1524)...	p.19
Unpleasant Discoveries on the Way of St James .....	p.33
Pilgrims, Peasants and Pallozas; Links with the Past in Modern Spain	p.40
Notes and News .....	p.50

**Chairman:** Patricia Quaife, 57 Leopold Road,  
London N2 8BG. Tel.: (081)-883 4893

**Vice-Chairmen:** Laurie Dennett, Joe May

**Secretary:** Marion Marples, 45 Dolben Street,  
London SE1 OUQ. Tel.: (071)-633 0603

**Treasurer:** Stephen Badger, 154 Burbage Road,  
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**Members:** William Griffiths, Doreen Hansen,  
Phinella Henderson, Veronica Mathew,  
Susan Morgan

**Bulletin Editor:** Pat Quaife

**£1-75**



## **CONFRATERNITY OF SAINT JAMES**

### **CONFRATERNITY AND OTHER EVENTS WINTER AND SPRING 1993**

**Please put this sheet on your noticeboard**

**The Wednesday Lectures, 7pm, Crypt of St Etheldreda's Church, Ely Place, London EC1. Tickets £2-50 each or season ticket for all 7, £14. (Form at end of Bulletin)**

**1) Wednesday 17 February, 'The Pilgrimage to Santiago and the Confraternity of St James' by Dr Mary Remnant**

**2) Wednesday 17 March, 'Saints and Pilgrimage with Reference to St James' by Dr David Hugh Farmer**

**Saturday 27 February - Northern Group Meeting, an informal gathering, from 12 noon, at St James' Church Hall, Horsforth, Leeds. Ann and Simon Clark (0532-662456) will be glad to provide more details.**

**27/28 March - Practical Pilgrim Weekend in Northampton**  
An opportunity for 1993 walkers and cyclists to meet former pilgrims and exchange information. Meet from 10.30 am on Saturday 27 March at St James' Church, Northampton (on west of town, near station); 2pm, walking tour of Northampton's churches; 7.30pm, talk on 'The History of St James's Monastery, Northampton' at St James' Church Room. On Sunday 28 March, after morning church services, there will be a visit (by car) to well-known Northamptonshire churches, including Anglo-Saxon Brixworth and Earl's Barton.

**Please complete form at back of Bulletin if attending.**

**Wednesday 7 April - 'A Pilgrimage to Canterbury' by Helen Patterson; a London and Middlesex Archaeology Society talk, 6.30pm, Museum of London lecture theatre.**

**See blue Holy Year programme for other 1993 events.**





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## COACH-BASED TOURS TO SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

**A C E (Association for Cultural Exchange),**

Babraham, Cambs, CB2 4AP Tel 0223 835055

**The Road to Compostela:** led by Christie Arno

15 day 'tiring' tour visits Bilbao, S Salvador de Leyre (3), visits to Somport pass, S Juan de la Peña, Eunate, Pente de la Reina, San Millan de la Cogolla, Burgos(3), Las Huelgas, S Domingo de Silos, Quintañilla, Carrion de los Condes, Sahagun, S Miguel de la Escalada, León(2), Pajares, Oviedo(2), Asturian churches, Lugo(1), Santiago(2)

Flight: Heathrow-Bilbao, Santiago-Heathrow

Date: 5 - 19 June, 12- 26 Sept

Cost: £1180, SRS £210

Other tours include; Road to the Pyrenees, £930 (SRS £200), also Aquitaine, High Aragon

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**Inter-Church Travel Ltd,**

Freepost, PO Box 58, Folkestone, Kent CT20 1YB.

Freephone 0800 300 444

**Santiago de Compostela**

9 day holiday in Santiago for the 25th July. Visit Burgos(2), Fromista, Hontanas (swimming), Leon(2), Astorga, Carracedo, Lugo(1), Mellid, Santiago(3).  $\frac{1}{2}$ board, \*\*\* &\*\*\*\* hotels.

Flight: Heathrow-Bilbao, return Santiago-Heathrow

Date: Jul 18-26

Cost: £769, SRS £104

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**Pellegrinaggio**

29 Prestbury Road, Cheltenham GL52 2PP Tel 0242 224025

**Santiago de Compostela;** Leader: Dr Steven Blake/CSJ member

14 day tour from Cheltenham to Paris, Tours, Bordeaux(1), Pamplona(1), Burgos(1), Leon(1), Santiago(4), Oviedo, Santander(1), Poitiers(1). Can join tour at Ramsgate. 1 nts B&B, 10 nts dinner B&B, Journey: ferry via Ramsgate/Dunquerque return.

Date: 12-26 May, 18-29 July

Cost: £569, SRS £160

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**Martin Randall Travel,**

10 Barley Mow Passage, London W4 4PH Tel 081 994 6477

**The Road to Santiago**

13 days study tour, Bilbao, Leyre(2), Santo Domingo de la Calzada(1), Burgos(2), S Miguel de la Escalada,

Leon(2), Pajares, Lugo(1), Santiago(3), Noia.  $\frac{1}{2}$ board, good hotels

Flight: Heathrow-Bilbao, return Santiago-Heathrow

Date: 3-15 September

Cost: £1590, SRS £240

contd...

**Pilgrimage and Heresy**

10 day tour to Sens, Vézelay(1), Charité sur Loire, Clermont Ferrand(4), St Saturnan, Issoir, St Nectaire, Orcival, Le Puy, Conques (1), Albi(3), Toulouse.  $\frac{1}{2}$ board, \*\*\* hotels

Flight: Heathrow-Paris, return Toulouse-Heathrow

Date: 6-15 September

Cost: £1100, SRS £125

**Burgundy**

8 days to Sens, Vézelay(3), Fontenay, Dijon, Berze-la-Ville, Beaune(4), Autun, Paray-le-Monial, Tournus, Bourg-en-Bresse.  $\frac{1}{2}$ board, \*\*\* hotels

Flight: Heathrow-Paris, Lyon-Heathrow

Date: 19-26 July

Cost: £950, SRS £110

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**Pax Travel (formerly Sharon Tours)**

106 Seymour Place, London W1H 5DG Tel 071 724 8206

**Santiago de Compostela**

8 days via S Domingo de la Calzada (1), León (3), Santiago (3)

Flights: London-Bilbao, Santiago-London

Date: 26 Sept-3 Oct

Cost: £565, SRS £84

---

**Swan Hellenic**

77 Oxford Street, London WC1A 1PP Tel 071 831 1515

**The Pilgrims' Road to Santiago de Compostela**

15 day art treasure tour via Bilbao(1), Pamplona(2), Roncesvalles, Eunate, Puente de la Reina, Burgos(3), Santo Domingo de Silos, San Miguel de la Escalada, León(2), Ponferrada, Santiago(3), Oviedo(2), Santillana, Bilbao(1). Deluxe hotels, full board.

Flight: Heathrow-Bilbao, return Bilbao-Heathrow

Dates: 30 May-13 June, 19 Sept-3 Oct, ((29 May-12 June 1994))

Cost: £2295, SRS £31 per nt

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## WALKING TOURS ALONG THE CAMINO

### Alternative Travel Group Ltd

69-71 Banbury Road, Oxford OX2 6PE Tel 0865 310399

#### Camino de Santiago

17 days (13 on foot) along Camino from St Jean Pied-de-Port(1), Roncesvalles(1), road to Sto Domingo de la Calzada(1), Burgos(1), Leñn(2), Astorga(1), walk to Villafranca(1), Cebrero(1), Sarria(1), Portomarin(1), Vilar de Doñas(1), Mellid(1), Arzua(1), Santiago(2). Full board, vg hotels.

Flights: Heathrow-Bilbao, return Santiago-Heathrow

Dates: 28 May-13 June, 18 June-4 July, 30 July-15 Aug, 20 Aug-5 Sept, 4 Sept-20 Sept

Cost: Land Tour-£1995, Air fare £278-£304 SRS £255

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#### Hotel Treks (Sherpa Expeditions)

131a Heston Road, Hounslow, Mddx TW5 ORD Tel 081 569 4101

#### Pilgrim's Trail: the Road to Compostella

6 days to Aumont Aubrac or 13 days to Conques from Le Puy independent walking (directions supplied) or with escorted group (Sherpa Expeditions).  $\frac{1}{2}$ board, \*\* & \* hotels.

Travel: Train from Paris, return to Paris

Dates: June - October (at will)

Cost: Tour only, 5 nts-£308, 12 nts- £619; inc fares- £476, £787

Escorted tour (inc air/rail fare): 5 nts-£331, 12 nts-£502

Escorted tour dates: 23 May, 27 June, 12 Sept

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#### Ramblers Holidays

Box 43, Welwyn Garden City, Herts AL8 6PQ Tel 0707 331133

#### In the footsteps of St Jacques

Walk from Le Puy along GR65 to Conques, then to Rodez. Usually 10-13 mls, 3 longer days (17-19 mls).

Flights: Heathrow-Toulouse, Toulouse-Heathrow

Dates and Cost: 16-29 May-£548, 1-14 Jun-£560, 12-25 Jul, 26

Jul-8 Aug, 9-22 Aug, 13-26 Aug, 13-26 Sept - £575

Travel by sea and coach: 22 Aug-5 Sept, 5-19 Sept, £524. SRS £49

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#### Waymark Holidays

44 Windsor Road, Slough SL1 2EJ Tel 0753 516477

#### The Pilgrim's Way

14 nts from Le Puy to Conques, approx 20km a day.  $\frac{1}{2}$ board, simple, \* & \*\* hotels.

Flights: Heathrow-Lyon return

Dates: 22 May-5 June, 5-19 June; 21 Aug-4 Sept, Sept 4-18

Cost; £630 £650

#### Camino de Santiago

14 nts from Ponferrada to Santiago. Approx 20 km a day, some bus links.  $\frac{1}{2}$ board, comfortable hotels.

Flights: Heathrow-Santiago return

Dates: 9-23 May, 23 May-6 Jun, Sep 19-3 Oct, 3-17 Oct

Cost: £575

#### Villafranca and Santiago

10 nts- 7 in Villafranca, 3 in Santiago. Walking in El Bierzo, Ancares National Park, climb Pena Rubia, see pallozas in Campo

del Agua. Excursion to Las Medulas.  $\frac{1}{2}$ board, comfortable hotels.

Flights: Heathrow-Santiago return

Dates: 2 -12 July, 10-20 Sept

Cost: £530, SRS £50

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contd

## SELF DRIVE ALONG THE CAMINO

### **Mundi Color**

276 Vauxhall Bridge Road, London SW1V 1BE Tel 071 834 3492

### **The Parador Road to Santiago de Compostela**

12 days: Segovia(2), Zamora(1), León(2), Villafranca del Bierzo(2), Pontevedra(2), Santiago(2).

Flights: Heathrow-Madrid, Santiago-Heathrow

Dates: Daily 1 April-31 Oct

Cost: £883-£1013, inc AVIS A type car hire

5 days: Santiago(2), Pontevedra(2).

Flights: Heathrow-Santiago, Santiago-Heathrow

Cost: £435-£521, inc AVIS A type car hire

### Other tours:

The Delights of the Asturias: Oviedo, Leon, Lugo, Ribadeo, Gijon

Paradores of Picos and Cantabria: Bilbao, Cerverga de

Pisuerga, Fuente De, Leon, Ribadeo, Santiago.

Also: City Breaks- 3 or 4 nts in Santiago £221-£418

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## ORGANISING A PILGRIMAGE FOR A GROUP

Inter-Church Travel 0800 300 444 Parish pilgrimages  
Mundi Color 071 834 3492 Individual and group travel by car  
Pax Travel 071 724 8206 Parish pilgrimages by air and coach  
Pellegrinaggio 0242 224025 Parish Pilgrimages by coach  
The Tour Company 071 724 8932 Groups

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### Notes:

- 1) These details are prepared in good faith for members of the CSJ. The CSJ takes no responsibility for omissions, errors or changes.
- 2) the (number) after town name indicates number of nights.
- 3) SRS- Single Room Supplement

MM Jan 93





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## PUBLICATIONS LIST

1 9 9 3



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Please send your order, with remittance (£ sterling cheques only, payable to the Confraternity of St James) to:

Paul Graham, 100 Cannon Street, London EC4N 6EU

If sending a subscription at the same time, this plus your order should be sent to:

Walter Ivens, Flat D, 1 Airlie Gardens, London W8 7AJ

Payment may also be made by Credit Card (VISA or Mastercard). Please write clearly:

Name, Address, Card number, Expiry date, Amount. This may be helpful for payments from abroad.

## CONFRATERNITY PUBLICATIONS

**Pilgrim Guide to Spain 1993:** (available March)  
Concise guide to the route in Spain, revised annually; lists places and shrines of interest, hotels, refuges, restaurants etc. Useful for walkers, cyclists, motorists, campers. £3.00 (£3.50)  
**Finisterre: hints for walkers** by A Raju, 1992, 8pp £0.50 (£0.75)

**Pilgrim Guides to the Roads to Santiago Through France**  
1. Paris to the Pyrenees, 1993, in preparation, avail Mar 93  
2. Arles to Puente la Reina; 1993, in preparation, avail Mar  
3. Le Puy to the Pyrenees, 1991, 20pp + 1992 update £2.00 (£2.20)  
4. Vézelay to the Pyrenees; 1993, in preparation, avail Mar

**English Pilgrim Routes to Santiago de Compostela**  
1. Droitwich to Bristol, by Joanne Land, 1989, 13pp £1.00 (£1.20)

**Confraternity Occasional Papers**  
1. St James the Great in English Literature, by Patricia Quaipe, 1990, 13pp £1.50 (£1.70)  
2. The Order of Santiago, by Derek Lomax, 1990 13pp £1.50 (£1.70)

**Proceedings of the Conference at Hengrave Hall: Pilgrims from the British Isles to Santiago de Compostela in the Middle Ages, 1991, 60pp + booklet(s):**  
Complete set of Conference papers £7.50 (£8.00)  
Set excluding booklet by Brian Tate (see bottom of next page) £4.50 (£5.00)

**The Pilgrim's Guide: a 12th century Guide for the Pilgrim to St James of Compostella: translated from the Latin by James Hogarth** £4.95 (£5.75)

### Confraternity Bulletins-Back Numbers

NB Bulletins 1-20, 21-23, 26-28, 30, 32 are out of print

24. Nov 87	Council of Europe Declaration	£1.00 (£1.20)
25. Jan 88	Special 5th Birthday edition- articles on music, history, iconography	£1.00 (£1.20)
29. Nov 88	Bamberg conference report	£1.00 (£1.20)
31. April 89	Alsation pilgrims, Refugios	£1.00 (£1.20)
33. Oct 89	Papal visit to Santiago	£1.00 (£1.20)
34. Feb 90	St Roch, St James in Ireland	£1.00 (£1.20)
35. July 90	Hengrave Hall report	£1.00 (£1.20)
36. Oct 90	European conferences, Fietsbus	£1.00 (£1.20)
37. Dec 90	Estella, Speyer confs, V&A, Rome	£1.00 (£1.20)
38. Apr 91	Pilgrim Hymn, St James in Cornwall	£1.25 (£1.50)
39. Jun 91	William Wey's Pilg, St J in Ireland	£1.25 (£1.50)
40. Oct 91	Scallop badge, Herrerias, Long Melford	£1.25 (£1.50)
41. Jan 92	Rabanal Inauguration	£1.25 (£1.50)
43. Aug 92	Barn rebuilding, St James Winchester	£1.25 (£1.50)
44. Nov 92	Barn roofing, Finisterre, FEVE	£1.25 (£1.50)



### OTHER PUBLICATIONS

- |                                  |  |           |          |
|----------------------------------|--|-----------|----------|
| Cram, Leslie                     | <u>Reading Abbey</u> (guide and plans)   | £2.00     | (£2.50)  |
| Curry, Neil                      | <u>Walking to Santiago</u> , 1992, 66pp<br>( includes sequence of poems about<br>the Camino in Spain)  | £8.50     | (£9.00)  |
| Davies, Horton<br>& Marie-Hélène | <u>Holy Days and Holidays: The medieval<br/>Pilgrimage to Compostela</u> , 1982, 255pp,<br>illus. (Scholarly account of history<br>of the pilgrimage, with good bibliog)   | £27.50    | (£28.00) |
| Dennett, Laurie                  | <u>A Hug for the Apostle</u> , 1987, 228pp,<br>illus. (Personal account of walk from<br>Chartres to Santiago in aid of MS<br>(Multiple Sclerosis) research)  | £9.50     | (£10.00) |
| Lubin, Helen                     | <u>The Worcester Pilgrim</u> , 1990, 32pp<br>illus. (Account of excavation of<br>pilgrim grave at Worcester Cathedral)   | £3.35     | (£3.50)  |
| Slader, Bert                     | <u>Pilgrims' Footsteps</u> , 1989, 184pp<br>(Author's walk from St Jean-Pied-de-<br>Port to Santiago)  | £7.50     | (£8.00)  |
| Tate, Brian                      | <u>Pilgrimages to St James of Compostella<br/>from the British Isles during the<br/>Middle Ages</u> , 1990, 26pp. (E Allison<br>Peers lecture no 4) (optionally<br>included with Hengrave Hall Proceedings)  | £3.25     | (£3.40)  |
| Valiña, Elias<br>(trans Dennett) | <u>El Camino de Santiago</u> , 1992, 260pp,<br>illus (authoritative guide to route in<br>Spain inc 3-colour scale maps,<br>history, building plans, photos, accommodation<br>etc by Spanish priest who was responsible<br>for modern interest in the Camino) | £15.95    | (£16.95) |
| Valiña, Elias                    | <u>The Way of St James</u> , 1993, 70 hand drawn scale<br>maps from Roncesvalles + Somport, Spanish<br>glossary, list of refugios; for walkers,<br>cyclists, motorists   | avail Feb | (£6-£7)  |

### MAGAZINES

- MEDIEVAL WORLD:** no 5, 1992, 'Pilgrimage': includes translation of William Wey/Hogarth, French cathedrals/Swift, Rabanal and Gaucelmo/Marples, English descriptions of journey to Santiago/Quaife.
- MEDIEVAL WORLD:** no 7, 1992, 'Medieval Music': includes Medieval Instruments/Remnant, Intro to Codex Calixtinus/Quaife
- each £2.50 (£3.00)

## OTHER ITEMS

- Lomax, Derek                      The First English Pilgrims to  
Santiago de Compostela (offprint)                      50p (70p)
- Pilgrim Blessing  
-text of a medieval rite of 1078                      30p (50p)
- Confraternity Greetings Cards  
-full colour, stained glass Head of St James; inside blank,  
with envelopes                      per pack of 10                      £2.50 (£3.00)
- Confraternity Postcard  
-full colour, statue of St James at Rabanal del Camino  
per pack of 10: £1.50      pack of 25: £3.50      pack of 50: £7.00  
(overseas £1.85                      £4.00                      £8.00)
- Bookplate: self adhesive, see design over, black on yellow 80x140mm  
pack of 20      £1 (£1.50)      pack of 50      £2.00 (£2.50)

- Pilgrim Badge  
-reproduction of pilgrim badge of Compostela                      £4.00 (£4.50)
- Woven badges: 3" circle gold on red; central scallop with  
legend 'Camino de Santiago, Camino de Europa'                      £1.00 (£1.50)

- Leather belts:  
reversible & adjustable with gilt scallop shell buckles  
black/brown, burgundy/grey; plain or lizard effect  
Please state: length 36" or 44", width 1" or 1½", preferred  
colour/effect. Supplied in a presentation box.                      £11.00 (£11.50)

- FOR MEMBERS ONLY
- Tie- NAVY or BURGUNDY with one small gold scallop shell                      £8.00 (£8.50)
- Sweatshirts - with white or black logo, front and back  
or front only, on wide range of colours.  
Sizes S, M, L, XL. Available to order only      £14.50 (£15.25)
- T-shirts-                      pale blue with CSJ logo on front  
Sizes as above                      £7.00 (£7.50)

These items are available from: William Griffiths, 37 Queen's Court,  
Liverpool Rd, Kingston-upon-Thames, Surrey KT2 7SY  
Telephone 081 549 2080 to discuss your requirements.

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## PILGRIM RECORD

- free for walking, cycling or riding members only, for stamping  
on the Pilgrimage to Santiago  
\*\*\*Please send details of: date and place of beginning your  
pilgrimage,

full names of pilgrims  
mode of travel  
telephone number, with a C5 sae to

Rosemary Clarke, 36 Kings Avenue, Parkstone, POOLE, Dorset BH14 9QG

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