Confraternity of Saint James

Body & Soul

Hospitality through the ages on the Roads to Compostela

September 2001

Bulletin 75

Conference Proceedings

Confraternity of Saint James

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Cover picture courtesy of the Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, Rotterdam

Welcome and Opening Remarks

Laurie Dennett

It gives me great pleasure, as Chairman of the Confraternity of Saint James, to welcome you all to its Second International Conference, and to Canterbury, itself a city of pilgrimage. It somehow seems right that the Confraternity, whose office is located on the site of the Tabard Yard from which Chaucer's pilgrims set out, should be holding this gathering here in Canterbury, to which they made their way in such high spirits, and in the month of April, too.

Since 1990, when we held our first Conference at Hengrave Hall in Suffolk, the extended European "family" of associations dedicated to fostering and studying the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela has become what can almost be described as a movement. In 1990, for example, there were 8 such groups in Spain: today there are over thirty. With the promotion surrounding the two Holy Years that have occurred in the past decade, pilgrim numbers has increased by almost exponential proportions. So too have the publications, guides, media studies and web pages spawned by worldwide interest in the pilgrim routes. The recuperation of many of these routes in the various European countries has been one of the most positive Jacobean developments of the last decade. At the dawn of the 21st century, the network of roads that conducts modern pilgrims from all over Europe to the shrine of the Apostle St James is once again a unifying cultural feature that traverses national boundaries and differences of language, as it was nearly a millennium ago. The infrastructure that supports this, while in some instances involving the restoration of what had fallen into ruin, has also come to consist of new initiatives and responses - sometimes collectively, by the very associations to which we all belong, and sometimes by individuals who have felt an irresistible personal summons.

The long pilgrim journey to Compostela, enacted in whatever century or along whatever route, would not be physically possible without the underlying, positive response to the pilgrim on the part of those institutions and individuals encountered along the way. This, as you know, is the theme of our Conference: "Hospitality – through the centuries – on the roads to Compostela". In planning it, conscious that

there is not a great deal written about it in English, we have tried to approach our subject from a number of different angles and different points in time. While there is a strong medieval focus, there is also a strong modern one, reflecting the permanence of the impulse to give hospitality that is part of the Judeo-Christian heritage that has shaped our culture. The varieties of hospitality are many, and we have attempted to represent this variety – from the Benedictine tradition to the practice of medicine, from the great tradition of donor-hospitals to the modern vocation of voluntary *hospitalero,* or warden - in our programme. We hope that all of you will find intellectual and imaginative satisfaction in the ideas conveyed during the Conference. I would draw your attention also to the various exhibitions, and to the articles provided in your information packs. They are meant to support and broaden the portrayal of hospitality, whether medieval or modern, presented by our speakers.

Finally, it goes without saying that we have done all we can, in conjunction with the organisers here at the University, to make our Conference truly reflect its subject. We want you to experience hospitality as well as learn about it. That applies in particular to the friends from abroad who have braved the foot-and-mouth disease crisis, not to mention the strong pound, to be with us. I would like to welcome Mlle Jeannine Warcollier, Mlle Thérèse Franque, Mme Blandine Sanières and Mme Marie Claude Piton from France, Dr Robert Plötz and Susan Haberland from Germany, Fathers José Ignacio Díaz and Juan Antonio Torres from Spain, Nancy Meade, Barbara Chamberlain and Fred Exton from the United States, and Aileen O'Sullivan, Billy Browne and Mary Connolly from Ireland. We have also received apologies and good wishes from Herbert and Liliana Simon in Germany, Jacques Rouyre in France, and in Spain, from our former neighbours in Rabanal, Charo Carrión and Asumpta Oriol, now in Seville, and Magdalena Stork de Yepes in La Coruña. We had hoped that there would be many more delegates from abroad but since there are not, we are all the more delighted by those of you who have come. Your very welcome presence gives our gathering the international dimension that truly reflects the reality of the pilgrimage to Compostela, today as through the ages.

I wonder, as we all have glasses in our hands, whether it might be appropriate now to drink a toast to the occasion: to the success of our Conference and to the enduring commitment of our Confraternity and sister Associations to serving pilgrims as best we can.

The Needs of Strangers: the theological impulse to care

Colin Jones

Recently, I went to an excellent talk on the architecture of the pilgrim route to Santiago. With the aid of a wealth of slides (how much easier it is to illustrate a talk about architecture than theology) we were expertly guided along the traditional ways to the shrine of the Apostle. By way of introduction to the idea of this pilgrimage the speaker began with Americ Picaud's (whom I shall now affectionately refer to as AP) 12th century pilgrim guide manuscript book V of the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*. It's a good place to start. His writings convey something of the popularity, religious importance, and magnitude of the infrastructure that had grown up to cater for the living tide of men and women going to Santiago. What particularly struck me was the description of this book as a medieval tourist guide and AP as forever complaining about the poor quality of food and wine available to pilgrims, particularly outside his home region. Certainly, much space in this book is dedicated to commenting on food, drink, and shelter that were available. To the modern mind this may seem intrusive compared with the real purpose of the guide which must surely be spiritual. Descriptions of somewhat ropy standards of hospitality seem somewhat fussy in comparison to the descriptions of the holy shrines and sacred purpose of this journey.

The problem is that we look at this text with eyes far too accustomed to a culture now devoid of a religious dimension. For most people religion and spirituality are about difference and otherness. Between AP and us there is a gulf not just of centuries but of culture.

At more or less the half way point of the *Camino Francés* is the city of Burgos. In the heyday of the Jacobean pilgrimage it boasted a number of churches and hospitals dedicated to the service of pilgrims. Eight hundred years ago King Alfonso VIII founded an institution which became known as the Hospital del Rey[1]. Twelve brothers and eight chaplains ministered to the needs of the pilgrims who might seek shelter there. Today, its magnificent buildings house a faculty of Law.

However, the tradition of care is not entirely lost. A few metres away in the adjacent park, the Parral, the local Amigos del Camino have erected a series of barrack-like huts to serve as the present pilgrim *albergue*. An estate agent might describe it as functional, with all amenities, set in spacious grounds. While both serve the same ends, the separation of time means that the inspiration behind these two foundations has changed almost beyond recognition.

The hospital of Alfonso VIII offered hospitality within a distinctly Christian context. The splendour of the building was not intended to reflect the status of its benefactor. It was a statement in stone of how pilgrims were then regarded. Each one was welcomed into its halls because Christian piety saw in these strangers someone who was answering God's invitation to attend his heavenly banquet, a foretaste of which could be enjoyed in such sacred places as the cathedral of Santiago. The quality of care was a mirror of God's kindness; the pilgrim occupied centre-stage in the pageant of medieval devotion.

Christendom has changed into modern and then post-modern society. The motivation to care has changed as well. Today's suspicious, sceptical, and highly individualistic world places pilgrims at its very margins. Religious and communal, the pilgrimage does not easily fit into the neat definitions that define our lives. In a way, the current refuge reflects this. Simple, almost out of town, and above all discreet the pilgrim has moved near to the bottom rung of the ladder of respectability. If pilgrims were to be honoured now as they were by our ancestors, then the refuge would look different and be at the heart of the city. The reasons for caring for pilgrims appear to be barely religious. Over and over again, the reason for being a warden, for example, is expressed simply as, "I want to give something back to the Camino". This is in no way to deny the genuine nature of care that is afforded. The re-awaking of the pilgrimage to Santiago has helped recover far more than the historic route. Pilgrim hospitality has become a vital tradition within the Camino. But it is not a rebirth of past practise; something new has emerged. To see why there is a distinction between past and present we need to embark on a whirlwind tour of the history of hospitality.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF HOSPITALITY

Most of the ancient world regarded hospitality as a fundamental moral practice. For the Greek and Roman world this benevolence was not open-ended. A payback was expected. Those who were at the receiving

end of hospitality ought to be worthy of it, so that the benefactor could gain a reputation for generosity, wealth, and power, as well as for having dependants and clients.

Early Christianity saw matters differently. Of course, there could be earthly advantages in offering food and shelter to strangers. However, Christians ought not to look for material benefit, but rather heavenly merit. For this reason Christian hospitality tended not to be very picky about who was being cared for. Hospitality meant extending to strangers a quality of kindness others might reserve for family and friends. In this way Christian practice tended to transcend boundaries of status, privilege, and wealth.

The origin of such a radical interpretation of care was found in the biblical resources of Christianity: the scriptures of the Jewish faith and the writings of the early Church.

Stories of hospitality abound in the Old Testament. Several of these were to become formative in the development of the concept of hospitality. Abraham, himself a displaced person, offers hospitality to three strangers. It was in the makeshift world of nomadic tribes that God's will and message are revealed[2]. The moral is clear; there are positive reasons for overcoming natural suspicion and allowing strangers into the folds of your tent. This story is not alone. A foreign widow shelters the prophet Elijah in the midst of famine, and God's blessings are manifested in her home[3]. These are stories where the relationship between strangers – hosts and guests – defy the expected pattern. Host and guest are blessed, and if this is so it is because God is present to turn things in an unpredictable direction. The blessings are counter to human cause and effect.

New Testament discussions about hospitality extend and also transform Israel's practices. The church is to be a place of hospitality, but welcoming strangers is filled with deep significance. It is an act of humility and solidarity, for we were once all strangers (to God); it is a re-enactment of God's hospitality; it recognises that Christ is present in the needs of the stranger and the marginalised[4]. From the writings of the New Testament emerges an understanding of hospitality that goes far beyond compassion for those in need. Hospitality is not an optional extra for the faithful, it is the key to the identity of the new community and the coming kingdom[5]. The practice of hospitality became the distinguishing feature of the early Church, marking it out from its cultural environment of the Greek and Roman world.

Over the centuries, as Christianity was transformed into

Christendom, the practice of hospitality developed in step with this change. Comforting the needy and stranger, while still the duty of the individual and the worshipping community, also found expression in new institutions. Welcome could be expected and was given at the great lay and ecclesiastical households; at hospices and hospitals; and at monasteries with their special role of sheltering pilgrims.

During this period material care for strangers, and especially pilgrims, had a clear theological rationale. Such welcome was an image of Jesus' own actions of drawing to himself the poor, the maimed, the blind and the lame. Meeting their needs assumed near sacramental significance as if meeting the needs of Christ himself. And indeed, were not these the very people who would enter the heavenly banquet way ahead of those who were materially secure?

So poor old AP, far from being the fussy, ever-complaining tourist, always looking for five-star treatment on a two-star budget, he was interpreting the medieval pilgrim infrastructure through the sharply focused eyes of faith. His gaze, I believe, saw not only the sacred but also the profane. Rough treatment was not just an inconvenience, but dishonoured the saint for whom the journey was being undertaken and scandalised the Christ who walked with the poor on their journey to the shrine that was a foretaste of heaven itself. If bread was stale or wine was sharp it was an impoverishment of Christian hospitality that struck at the heart of the pilgrimage itself, and betrayed the hope of receiving an open-handed welcome into the heavenly feast.

That was then. This is now.

How much of this spirituality that gave rise to the pilgrim refuges and hospitals can really be said to apply to the present day Camino? There has, after all, been a significant rupture in the tradition of the Camino. There has been a break not only of time but also of culture. Once the men and women who walked, rode, or dragged themselves to the shrine of Santiago traversed a landscape that may have been alien compared to their home, but they were bound by a common Christian culture. Now the Camino has many aspects. For some it is heritage, historical or cultural, for some it is a walking route, for some it is a tourist curiosity, and for some it is the pilgrim route, and for some it is a mystery that needs to be explored and experienced before they can say what the Camino could possibly be. In this melting pot of definitions there are few signs of a confident and assured faith. Rather, the ambience of the Camino feels more nebulous, more modern.

A NEW LOOK AT AN OLD TRADITION

The revival of the Camino to its present vibrant state has been a piecemeal affair. Small bands of enthusiasts, local associations of Amigos, parishes, local councils, and regional governments have all had a hand in rescuing this historic route from the brambles. As it began to emerge from the cover of earth, so the way was open, quite literally, for increasing numbers to use it. This gave rise to a question, "What to do with these pilgrims?" Until the Holy Year of 1993 numbers were small enough not to put too much effort and money into the housing of pilgrims. And anyway sleeping in abandoned houses or cowsheds had the air of the authentic pilgrimage, as accounts of early pilgrims testify. As numbers increased such ad hoc arrangements would not suffice. Also it became apparent that although individually a pilgrim might not spend a lot of money, en masse it was quite significant. However, there was also a genuine desire to recapture something of the historic traditions of hospitality in service of the pilgrimage. This required that the Camino infrastructure needed something more than a series of temporary shelters in sports pavilions or the floor of parochial houses, and an awareness that some stages such as between Burgos and Castrojeriz, were relatively too sparsely populated to cope with a massive influx of human bodies.

And so bit by bit the present network of *refugios* grew up. As villages put in place their *albergue* in old schools or purpose-built hostels (seasoned with a touch of "anything they can do we can do and with more showers") an important discovery was made. The Camino comes fully alive not simply by being traversed by thousands or even tens of thousands of pilgrims but when these pilgrims are welcomed and cared for in local communities all along the way.

Of course, the motivation for opening *refugios* varies considerably. Whereas it is possible to think in terms of a coherent overarching theology that can explain the energy that was put into caring for medieval pilgrims, it is a highly risky job trying to discern one today. Today, all-embracing explanations are not possible. I think that many associations and individual wardens would find odd a description of what they are doing in terms that their medieval counterparts would have been comfortable with. However, I believe that some sense can be made of what has happened, but in order to do so we need to see the practice of hospitality in the context of the Camino itself.

The Camino as definition and context of hospitality

The Camino is in many ways the real host of the thousands of strangers who pass along it. "Host" not just in a physical sense that it provides the geography of pilgrimage, but in a more spiritual sense. It is everyman's pilgrimage. All the diverse motivations, impulses, and aspirations that bring men and women from all over the world appear to be accommodated by today's Camino. The Camino does not seem to impose only one set of experiences and interpretations. Pilgrims with explicitly religious objectives in mind happily rub shoulders with those taking time out or who feel some indefinable urge to do the route. All are included without edging any out. Significantly, this wide range of motivations does not seem to dilute the Christian meaning of the pilgrimage.

I would like to argue that this represents a concrete example of the hospitality of God. All are welcomed with the only condition that they should wish to do the Camino in some form. All may abide within it on terms that suit their needs, and all draw from it what appears necessary for their particular circumstances. While this may seem a retreat from the certainties of yesteryear into post-modern fudge, theologically the Camino could not possibly have reached its present state unless God is in it. It may not be immediately obvious but today's amalgam of enthusiasts, tourists, New-Age seekers and athletes, is an expression of God's visitation to our lives in a particular place, time and manner.

And if God is in it what does this say about his activity? The Camino is an example of his desire to draw very widely the list of those invited to be with him.

Those who follow the way of St James regularly speak of a profound sense of acceptance, inclusion, unexpected kindness, the discovery of neighbourliness and community. Many speak in terms of a faith response to the experience of the Camino and its atmosphere of hospitality that changes their understanding of their lives and the world around them. This pilgrimage is a vehicle for transformation.

The *refugios* and their wardens

Most of the men and women who act as wardens for the string of *albergues* in the Camino are volunteers. Most would say that their motivation for enduring days of hard work and exhaustion is a desire to give something back to the Camino having received so much from it. However, in caring for the buildings and those who use them they

also discover an additional dimension to the spirituality of the Camino. Being a warden is much more than being a manager. It is the practice of hospitality and the giving of care that seem to awaken this new dimension.

Being a warden is not just a technical task. It is a huge responsibility. Not only is the reputation of a *refugio* at stake but also the whole pilgrim experience. Pilgrims rightly see a guarded or grudging welcome at a *refugio* as counter to their feeling of the Camino. An open and accepting welcome reflects the spirit of the route and is one extra link in a whole chain of acceptances that combine to form the sum of the pilgrimage. The *refugio* is not only is a place of welcome it is a context for the growth in acceptance of the pilgrim. It converts strangers into friends.

WHAT PART DO THE *REFUGIOS* PLAY IN THE OVERALL HOSPITALITY OF THE CAMINO?

Firstly, they disarm our post-modern suspicion of institutions and institutional care. The welcome given and received runs counter to the norm of our society. We are encouraged to be suspicious. Suspicious of institutions, suspicious of strangers. We assume that there is a hidden price for each act of care. *Refugios* do not assess people according to usual criteria. Whether you get a bed is not a question of ability to pay, your status in society (employed or not; citizen or stateless, wealthy or poor). Recognition of complete strangers is based on a particular motivation - to many the entirely irrational desire to go to Santiago the hard way. Although some may struggle with this and want to tidy up the conditions of admittance this would run counter to the new practice of hospitality that has emerged in the last 20 years. On the Camino pilgrims experience a form of welcome rarely encountered in our "normal" society. It signals that no matter what our social, physical, or spiritual condition on the Camino a worth and dignity are given to individuals on the grounds that they are doing something absurd, extravagant and inexplicable. This radical acceptance and recognition of dignity, despite being a stranger, gives scope for the small transformations that are the essence of this pilgrimage. Self-worth is enhanced with the realisation that there are those who accept what others (including family and friends) see as quixotic.

Secondly, such acceptance of strangers works the other way round. The pilgrim entering a *refugio* recognises and accepts the worth and dignity of the warden - not as manager or director - but as carer, and

so validates the reason for volunteering. It is a system of values that acknowledges the needs and concerns that are often devalued or overlooked in our western society. Hospitality can begin a journey not only to the shrine of St James but also toward visible respect for social action frequently placed on the margins of society's agenda, but which are central to the values of God's kingdom.

Thirdly, the hospitality of the Camino is holistic. It provides recognition of personal worth that is free from the usual constraints; it runs counter to the stratification we experience in our wider society. Within this impulse to offer hospitality in the manner of the *refugios* (as opposed to hotels, which provide accommodation to "clients") it is possible to see an image of God's grace. Each person has his or her basic dignity recognised not only by fellow pilgrims but also by the "system" that the *refugios* represent in the mind of pilgrims. Within the *refugio* strangers recognise each other for themselves. The simple fact of a common goal is sufficient. Therefore each may sympathise unabashed with the joys, trials and tribulations of the others.

Fourthly, it could be argued that the hospitality is not being offered to strangers at all, if by strangers we mean those who are, "without a place". To be without a place is to be detached from basic, life-supporting institutions, such as, family, work, church, community, and to be separated from the networks that sustain us. Those who commit themselves to the Camino certainly leave, albeit temporarily, their usual supports but assume an entirely new set of relationships. In this sense the pilgrimage affects a transformation, and the impulse to practise hospitality is, in part recognition of the power the Camino has to change lives. The offering of shelter, advice, support, even food and drink is an expression of belief that the Camino is an extraordinary experience and therefore worth making this extraordinary effort to care.

The practice of hospitality is not a simple pragmatic exercise to cope with the thousands who use this route. Nor is it merely a recovery of past traditions. Something new and vital has emerged. I believe that it is confirmation that lives can be and are transformed by the pilgrimage to Santiago. Maybe this could be located in the field of psychology or perhaps there are other dimensions than this. Yet what is certain is that the current practices encountered on the Camino redefine older forms of hospitality into something new and contemporary. From a Christian perspective it is an example of what lies at the heart of the Gospel, that God transforms lives.

Fifthly, through the centuries who was counted as a stranger has varied. However, the most vulnerable have always included the old, the sick, the poor, refugees and pilgrims. For those without protection to be denied the support of welcome and hospitality would be both dangerous and cruel. In the 21st century, and in the context of the new tradition of pilgrimage, hospitality is offered not simply because these strangers carrying a rucksack or riding bicycles are more vulnerable than, say, tourists. The welcome of the *refugios* is an integral part of the formative nature of the Camino. To put it bluntly, hotels could not do the same job. Recognition that is based other than on ability to pay, nationality, or social status is different indeed.

Consequences

Firstly the Jacobean pilgrimage has had to translate itself into our pluralistic and secular times. By doing so it has helped promote a real dialogue between cultures vastly different from each other - that of medieval Christendom and our own. We tend to interpret the past though the filter of current presuppositions. We scan history looking for economic factors or political forces to explain human behaviour. It is easy to forget that those who walked the Camino and those who practised hospitality interpreted their world differently. They saw heaven (and hell) touching daily life, and that their actions had eternal consequences. Tending blistered feet (or not) had repercussions in human and divine terms. It as a world in which faith was held by all and was so corporate and communal that deviation from its norm was deviant indeed. The pilgrimage to Santiago could have remained little more than an historical footnote, an example of past religious beliefs. But it has not remained locked in its past. By translating the essence of hospitality to the present it has made available for this generation of pilgrims spiritual and ethical values far closer to the Kingdom of God than those of western free-market capitalism. Dimensions to life are opened beyond the mere functional or economic.

A further consequence is that this renewed offering of hospitality helps de-stigmatise our concept of who is a stranger. A gracious welcome to those with significant needs and vulnerabilities questions our notions of what it means to be a stranger and how to treat them. Strangers in our midst are usually a cause for concern, or even hostility. It is a lesson not lost upon contemporary pilgrims. The openness of the *albergues* is a potent lesson in how hospitality need not be a commodity or a threat.

Finally, the renewed practice of hospitality challenges the modern tendency to see the Camino as only concerned with pilgrims, or reducing it to a cultural/historical route. Of all the material published in recent years concerning the Camino there is a wealth of resources about its art and architecture. There is an abundance of literature to help the pilgrim, practically and spiritually. Hardly any of this material focuses on the *refugios* other than as convenient and reasonably priced shelter. The result is a somewhat lop-sided view of the Camino, which divorces the walker from the overall context of the Camino, that is, its ability to enfold everyone into its ethos.

A BRIEF MAPPING OF THE SPIRITUALITY OF HOSPITALITY

To practise hospitality as inspired by the Gospel is the best and hardest thing. It is wonderful because it is full of unexpected blessings, as many wardens will testify. Sometimes in the midst of cleaning the toilets and showers and repeating, *¿Qué tal?* for the umpteenth time there is even a sense of the presence of God. But people wear out, and such welcoming involves hard work that frequently obscures the wider implications of being a warden.

At its best, the practice of hospitality begins with recognition of God's grace and generosity as made real on the Camino and our experiences in it. Hospitality is not first a duty and responsibility. It is a response of love. Although it may involve faithful performance of tasks and duties, welcoming strangers emerges from and is shaped by gratitude. Grudging hospitality wounds.

The offering of hospitality on the Camino should be a way of sharing ourselves with strangers, sharing our skills, our care, and our own transformation by the pilgrimage. Of course, total sharing and therefore complete spontaneity cannot sustain our caring forever. However, the rhythm of the *refugio*'s day cleaning, shopping, welcoming, saying farewell, creates a supportive structure. Yet, fundamentally, hospitality is love (of others, of the Camino, of God) in action. There is no need to be purist about this, for as one of the letters of the New Testament points out where there is love there is God.

Esther de Waal in her work on Benedictine spirituality suggests that at the end of all our hospitable actions we are faced with two questions. "Did we see Christ in them?" "Did they see Christ in us?" In the context of the Camino these questions could equally be, "Did we see the Camino in them?" "Do they see the Camino in us?"

The importance of hospitality lies beyond the provision of bed

and shelter. The *refugios* of the Camino are places where stories can be kept alive, and in doing so confirm the experience that is the Jacobean pilgrimage. The *refugios* have become places where pilgrims can participate in the wisdom and experience of their fellow travellers and of the Camino itself. This participation then gives a sense of worth. Many will have begun their Camino self-consciously, perhaps because their motivation for doing it has yet to crystallise. Perhaps because family, friends, or colleagues have been asked to assent to something which is alien to our culture, over a distance that is barely imaginable, to a place that few have heard of. Yet, by allowing these stories to be told and heard, the hospitality of the *refugios* binds these strangers into a living and transforming tradition that then allows them to explore the possibilities this venture can offer to them.

Hospitality as practised today on the Camino has become a valuable resource for reflection on, and learning of, the joys and challenges of pilgrimage. It is far more valuable as a living resource than the volumes of books, articles and videos that are now available on every aspect of the Camino. The *refugios* and their wardens have become the living embodiment of the welcome and inclusiveness that is the modern pilgrim route.

Good wardens will make hospitality look enjoyable (within the limits of our natural inclination to become exhausted). For some this will be natural and done with ease. For others it will be something that has to be cultivated. But the important thing is to give a sense of paying attention, concentrating upon the person in front of you, because," the most precious thing that a human can give is time".

How we greet people and the interest we show in them communicates to them that they are valued. For those of us whose Christian witness is quite public, the response we give to a pilgrim will be connected to how we ourselves experience God's love and welcome. However, it is important to remember that the welcome that the *refugios* give is but one piece in the mosaic of hospitality and care that is the Camino. Like a tessera it may be a distinctive colour from its surrounding pieces, but it must also fit into the overall design.

[1] For a brief description of this and the other pilgrim related buildings see The Pilgrim's Guide to Santiago de Compostela, Annie Shaver-Crandell and Paula Gerson, Harvey Miller, 1995

[2] Genesis 18: 1-15

[3] 1 Kings 17: 7-24

[4] Matthew 25: 31-46

[5] 1 Cor. 11: 23-34

For Further Reading

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London's medieval hospitals and St Mary Spital

Chris Thomas

Charitable provision for the sick and the poor in London was, not surprisingly, on a greater scale than that seen in any other English City: a result of London's large population and wealth.

The earliest documented hospitals in London only date to the beginning of the 12th century, consistent with the sharp rise in population at that time. This is significant as it suggests that the need for hospitality in London was low in the late Saxon and early medieval periods, presumably because the size of London was much smaller whereas there are documented earlier charitable foundations in other English cities, for instance Canterbury and York. These early London hospitals were the leprosaria of St James and St Giles, out in the fields to the west of the City. By the late 13th century a ring of leper hospitals encircled London, with further foundations in Southwark, Hackney and on the London side of the River Lea to the east of London.

Provision of hospitals for the poor and sick was also made in the 12th century. The earliest was St Bartholomew's, founded by Rahere, in 1123 immediately outside of the City walls along the road to Aldersgate in the north-west. Other hospitals were founded in the City, such as St Thomas of Acon, and St Thomas' Hospital was founded in Southwark in around 1170. This was sited within the precincts of the Priory of St Mary Overie but moved to a new position on the west side of Borough High Street after a fire in 1213. These hospital foundations continued with St Mary-without-Bishopsgate (more commonly known as St Mary Spital), founded in about 1197, and St Mary Bethlehem founded in 1236 both on the northern approach road to the City. St Katherine's soon followed on the east side of the City.

The majority of these were built in the suburbs of London, partly because land was available there and their founders owned it but partly because they acted as hostels for migrants and pilgrims and, as such, would have been the first major buildings to appear as the traveller approached London. Thus a founder might have had a small area of land in a suburban location but might have bought other lands in the

vicinity to found a hospital precisely because that location was of value.

The 14th and 15th century charitable foundations were usually almshouses, built for specific sections of the community such as blind priests or retired guild members. These were usually sited in the heart of the urban settlement, either in the City of London or in Westminster. They reflect a change in the attitude towards charitable provision with the emphasis being upon the 'deserving poor' as opposed to the poor in general. William Elsing's Hospital in the City is an early example of this whilst others continued to be founded up to and after the Reformation. The last great pre-Reformation hospital in London was the Savoy, founded by Henry VII for the sick, on the ruins of the Savoy Palace at the beginning of the 16th century. This institution was the first in London to have physicians and surgeons included in the provisions of the hospital in the foundation charter.

St Mary Spital

Of these London charitable hospitals, the largest, and by far the most extensively excavated, indeed it is the most extensively excavated hospital in the UK, was St Mary Spital. It was initially founded by Walter and Rosia Brunius on lands they and others owned in fields about 400m to the north of the City alongside Bishopsgate – the principal route into London from the north. The initial foundation was small and may have consisted of a small hall with a chapel attached with provision for perhaps 12 or 13 inmates. It was founded to look after the sick and the poor and specifically, as outlined in its charter, women in childbirth and the children, should the mothers die during childbirth, up to the age of seven. The establishment was refounded on a grand scale in 1235 when a new stone church and infirmary were built in a 'T' shape. The church split the infirmaries in two creating segregated wards for men and women. Analogy with the hospital of St John's Canterbury, suggests that it provided for 60 inmates at this time. The hospital wards had three aisles: one on either side for the beds and a central one providing access. A group of small keys dumped when the floor levels were raised towards the end of the 13th century may have been for lockers for the inmates. In the north-west corner of the infirmary lay a door which led into the cemetery. About 100 skeletons have been excavated from an original population of perhaps about 175 in this cemetery, the rest having been destroyed by later activity. About half of these were young people, and that combined with the low number of deaths in the lifetime of this cemetery (about 45 years)

suggest that the hospital may have been catering largely for young migrants and pilgrims with relatively small numbers of sick in the hospital.

A variety of significant events influenced St Mary Spital in the latter part of the 13th century. These included the construction of a new two-storey infirmary, the cloisters and their associated buildings and a period of high mortality in the cemetery.

The new infirmary was built immediately to the west of the old one and allowed the earlier version to be used as a chapel. At least one chantry chapel and a number of tombs were sited in this new chapel. The doctrine of purgatory encouraged the creation of chantry chapels where masses could be sung for the souls of the wealthy, thus reducing their time in purgatory and increasing the revenues available to individual churches. One tomb in front of the chantry chapel may have been for the benefactor and it attracted numerous other satellite burials around it. In around 1400 a new Lady Chapel was added to the east end of the church. The walls were faced in a chequerboard pattern of flint and greensand. One brick tomb was found in its centre. At a similar time the south aisle of the church was demolished and extended both southwards and eastwards. Ultimately it was extended as far as the old east end of the church. Its east wall stood to about 2m in height but its south wall was robbed out at the Dissolution. The easternmost chapel in this aisle contained only the skeletons of the young suggesting it may have been a chapel for children.

The new two-storey infirmary was probably segregated into men on one floor and women on the other. It was extended soon afterwards by a slightly longer two-storey wing on the west side. Indeed both infirmaries were perhaps slightly longer than the original northern wing of the 1235 building suggesting that perhaps as many as 120 people could be accommodated. The inmates received spiritual care from the Augustinian canons and nursing care from the lay sisters although they probably received little in the way of medical care, at least in the 13th and 14th centuries. John Stow, writing at the end of the 16th century, tells us that there were 180 beds at the hospital although the space available seems a little cramped for this number. What was certainly true, was that in times of pestilence two or more people might share a bed.

The Augustinian canons resided in a group of buildings ranged around the cloister which lay on the north side of the church. On the east side lay the dormitory at first floor level over storerooms and the

chapter house which had a tiled floor. On the north side lay the refectory, a single-storey structure, which also contained a tiled floor and, probably, a pulpit where sermons could be read at meal times. A range on the west side perhaps contained storerooms and accommodation for the cellarer. A range of buildings to the north perhaps included the prior's lodging. To its west lay the kitchen with its own garden. This layout is fairly typical for an Augustinian monastery although the siting of the cloister on the north side is unusual. In fact, north-sided cloisters seem to have been more popular in nunneries and perhaps hospitals.

To the north of the infirmaries lay the sisters' house and garden. Initially their accommodation was in timber structures but eventually these were replaced in stone in the middle of the 14th century. They were, in fact, the last section of the community to be given a stone house indicating the low standing which they enjoyed which is also reflected in the documentary sources. Their house had two porches and two sections: one area for sleeping and one for eating.

The Cemetery

The main medieval cemetery has been almost totally excavated and has uncovered one of the largest assemblages of human bone ever excavated. A little over 10,500 medieval burials have been removed giving us an insight into the types of people admitted to a medieval hospital, medieval demography, illness, medical treatments and burial practices. Most were buried in unmarked graves with the head at the west end and the feet at the east. Those that were not to be resurrected were buried face down – most commonly unbaptised babies. A few benefactors were buried in tombs and with papal *bullae* – a lead disc once attached to a piece of parchment given by the Vatican for charitable deeds. Such a papal *bulla* was thought to have been likely to get the recipient off a few years in purgatory. The priests from the hospital were also buried here with seven found with a pewter chalice and paten – a representation of their communion set.

One of the most startling discoveries was that of a large number of mass burial pits, mostly concentrated in a zone at the extreme south end of the cemetery. These commonly had about 20 skeletons but had up to 40 or more in some places buried in layers up to 5 deep. Provisional dating of these indicates that some are dated to the late 13th century and probably indicate a hitherto unknown epidemic responsible for thousands of deaths in London. Evidence of surgical

procedures including amputation and trepanation has been found on the skeletons and there is abundant evidence of disease such as tuberculosis and syphilis on many of the skeletons.

Towards the southern edge of the cemetery was a large building known as the charnel house, possibly built around the beginning of the 14th century. It had a vaulted cellar in which to store the bones of those disturbed in the digging of new graves in the cemetery. Above the vault lay a chapel dedicated to St Mary Magdalene and St Edmund the Bishop in which services were held to dedicate the bones beneath. Also at some time in the 14th century, an outdoor pulpit was built in the cemetery. This formed an important part of medieval society in London at Eastertide. At St Paul's, sermons were held at the pulpit on Good Friday and Easter Saturday and sermons were then held at the St Mary Spital pulpit on the following Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday. Thousands of people entered the priory precincts and thronged around the pulpit to hear the speakers. In the late 15th century a two-storey house was built against the charnel house for the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Sheriffs of the City and the Bishop of London and other religious personnel to hear the sermons from the pulpit.

To the north of the cemetery and east of the cloister lay the Prior's Garden. A reservoir was dug to contain the water from the priory's water supply in the late 13th century and a stable in the 14th century. At around the beginning of the 15th century a complex of buildings forming the canon's infirmary was built, This comprised a hall, a kitchen, and an industrial building. Later alteration added a series of individual chambers to the southern side of the hall.

The priory was entered by a gate from Bishopsgate which led to a road which ran through the precincts and bounded the cemetery. Along the other side of this lay tenements built for residents of the hospital and possibly for lay servants. These were mostly timber-framed houses built on stone foundations, some with back gardens and cesspits behind. Those on the west side of the precinct were relatively simple houses but some on the southern side were more complex, multi-roomed structures, some with cellars. Most had pitched-tile hearths to heat the rooms and tiled roofs.

To the south lay the 'outer precinct' where other activities were carried out. For instance areas seem to have been ploughed and one area was set aside for the digging of rubbish pits. Animal corrals seem to have been built in this area in the late 13th century and many of the natural subsoils were quarried – the gravel for roads and paths, the

brickearth for making tiles and pots. The different areas were divided by ditches which were probably also used to keep animals confined and away from the domestic and religious parts of the precinct.

In 1539 the Priory and Hospital of St Mary Spital was dissolved and closed. The sick were allowed to remain in the infirmary for the rest of their lives but the hospital ceased to function at this point and the religious community were expelled and the lands were sold off to new owners. This process of dissolution and closure occurred right across London and England as a whole with only the guild almshouses generally surviving (although Henry VII's foundation at the Savoy was not dissolved). Those hospitals that had an important religious aspect to their establishments were closed down despite the protestations of the Lord Mayor of London, no doubt, causing enormous suffering as there were few options left open to the sick, the destitute and the homeless. Some years later, a few hospitals like St Bartholomew's, St Thomas' and St Mary Bethlehem were reopened on secular lines and run by their local civic administration but London's largest and wealthiest medieval hospital, St Mary Spital, never reappeared allowing its site to take on a new form and become one of London's earliest and most important suburban developments.

When a Pilgrim Dies

Barney Sloane

From an archaeological perspective, the study of medieval death and burial (and by medieval I mean between 1066 and about 1540) has grown in leaps and bounds in the last 30 years. The reasons for this are, one suspects, threefold. The study of human remains by physical anthropologists and osteoarchaeologists has matured rapidly as a science over the last 50 years, fuelled by the increasingly powerful technologies of examination (such as X-radiography) and of data interpretation (through the power of computers and databases), so archaeological assemblages of human skeletons can now yield very useful demographic data when examined as groups. The management of archaeological projects has, in some respects at least, been reorganised so that it is more likely now that funding and appropriate skills will be present if a cemetery is discovered and excavated. The third reason, and probably the most significant one, is that until relatively recently, the archaeological community has tended to consider Christian cemeteries to be of relatively low archaeological potential in relation to the effort needed to excavate and analyse them. The cemeteries would be densely packed with inter-cutting graves. The burials would all be simple affairs, with the body aligned roughly east-west, and the graves devoid of any artefacts that characterise many prehistoric, Roman or Saxon inhumations. Such a view is now recognised as unsustainable, and the archaeology of medieval cemeteries is receiving the attention that it deserves.

My own interest in the area of medieval death and burial stems from having been involved in the excavations of a large number of medieval cemeteries, mainly in London, but also in Europe and the Middle East. The London sites have all been monastic in origin, excavated in advance of redevelopment from the 1980s onward. They include the headquarters of the Knights Hospitaller in England, at Clerkenwell; the priory and hospital of St Mary Spital, and the Black Death cemetery and later abbey of St Mary Graces near Tower Hill. English Heritage have sponsored a complex and detailed analysis of the archaeology of these sites, and along with others (St Mary Merton in Surrey, St Mary Stratford in Essex, and St Saviour Bermondsey in

Southwark), they form a group that is unsurpassed in Britain in terms of both the size of the excavations and the variety of the archaeological results. All are currently being prepared for publication by the Museum of London Archaeology Service (MoLAS), and I owe much to the various researchers there for access to information in this paper.

During the post-excavation analysis of these sites, it became clear to me that the variety of burial types, the location of the men, women and children in the burial grounds, and the presence of certain finds within some of the graves, all indicated aspects of medieval belief in death and the afterlife which did not appear to survive in the documentary record. By and large these were the graves of unnamed, ordinary Londoners, whose wills did not survive, rather than those of nobility or high clergy. The archaeological evidence could thus shed light on how they and those closest to them approached their passage into the hereafter.

I was able to take this interest much further though a research appointment at the University of Reading, funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Board, on a project directed by Professor Roberta Gilchrist. This project has set out to look at several thousand excavated medieval burials from monastic and other religious communities across Britain, to see what can be learned about evidence for status, social or religious zoning of burials within cemeteries, and burial practices of specific groups in medieval society including pilgrims. The project is by no means complete at time of writing, so this paper represents an 'interim statement'.

Arrangement of Burial Grounds

We may start by examining how medieval burial grounds were arranged and managed. By a burial ground, I mean any place set aside for burial. In religious houses, this included the main outdoor cemetery (sometimes more than one), the principal church itself of course, and chapels within, the cloister alley and garth, the chapter house, and occasionally separate chapels such as those serving infirmaries. Anecdotal evidence has suggested that external cemeteries were divided into those for the monks, and those for lay people, and archaeological commentators have concluded previously that the most likely place for the former is to the south and east of the church while the latter occupied the area to the west and north of it. Archaeology allows us to consider this in the light of the gender of those skeletons excavated from cemeteries. Sexing skeletons is not a certain science, but

several excavations seem at first to bear out such a pattern: at the Cluniac priory of St Saviour Bermondsey, for example, out of 199 burials found between the south-eastern corner of the church and the north wall of the infirmary chapel, 133 could be assigned a gender. Of these only five were women (White in prep). At St Andrew Fishergate in York, a Gilbertine monastery, only three women were identified to the east of the church, out of an excavated total of 48 burials (Stroud & Kemp 1993, fig 35). On this basis one might conclude that the cemetery in question was indeed for the religious male community. Interestingly though, one would have to also conclude that there were *exceptions*, and this alone shows that the accepted arrangement is too simplistic.

People of different age groups could also be buried separately. In the cloister and chapter house of the Austin friary at Leicester, the majority of the burials were of young men below 25 and juveniles (Stirland 1981, 168), while only babies and children were buried in a chapel in Linlithgow, Lothian, between the early and late 14th century; no explanation has been found for this phenomenon (Lindsay 1989, 71).

The order in which burials took place within churchyards seems also to be variable between different sites. At St Saviour Bermondsey, the cemetery was filled up gradually from west to east although without clearly defined rows of graves, so that by the 14th century, the latest set of burials were toward the eastern end of the graveyard (see Fig 1). At the Dominican friary in the City of London, the graves appear to have been dug in a crude fan outward from the church. Close to the conjunction of the 'fan' would have been the north door of the friary church (see Fig 2). Some cemeteries show no patterning at all, burials being made in different locations within the graveyard contemporaneously.

Just as the cemetery was managed and deliberate decisions made about its layout and about whom might go where, the individual grave itself can tell much about the aspirations and beliefs of those being buried (or indeed doing the burying). A very wide range of grave construction was used in the Middle Ages. Most common was the simple earthen grave, usually about 6ft long and between 1ft 6in and 3ft long, and remarkably shallow, some times less than 2ft deep. Also common were wooden coffins, made either with dowels or iron nails. Several dozen have been excavated from the Austin friary in Hull, and have proved to be made of Baltic oak (Evans 2000). A 13th-century

example from St Mary Spital could be reconstructed (Thomas et al 1997, figs 77, 78). Less common, and apparently a slightly earlier form of 'container' was the plank burial. The deceased was laid in an earthen grave and a crude plank laid over the body (but not the head). Other coffin types found in cemeteries include lead coffins and sarcophagi hewn from single blocks of stone.

The grave itself could become part of the burial container, and inadvertently shed light on grave-side rites. Grave bases and also some coffins have been found lined with charcoal, sand, clay, crushed chalk, and mortar. It would have been a very visible and deliberate act to prepare the grave in this manner, and clearly shows a specific symbolism or desire on the part of the deceased, their family, or the community. Linings such as chalk or mortar would have made the open grave appear white and clean at the time of the interment, and the addition of charcoal to the grave may have derived from Gulielmus Durandus' book *rationale divinorum officiorum*, of about 1290, which recommends that charcoal be placed in graves to show that the ground can no longer be turned to ordinary use (quoted in Madsen 1983, 179).

More elaborate preparations were occasionally made: graves have been found with stone pillows supporting the skull, and/or two large support stones set either side of it. These cists are often developed into full linings surrounding the whole grave and accompanied by slab coverings. They would clearly take several hours if not days to prepare, and would create the impression of small sunken structures into which the burial would be made. Such stone cists appear also to be mainly confined to the 12th and 13th centuries, but later examples are known. Examining the location of these cists within cemeteries can reveal interesting patterns. At St John's abbey Colchester, there appears to be a significant group on the western side of the excavated area, dated to 1095 – 1171 (Crummy 1993). Similar clusters have been noted at St Saviour Bermondsey (Fig 3), located next to the church (top) and alongside the northern wall of the infirmary chapel (lower). It may therefore be that these cists somehow acted as symbolic churches or chapels for those who were perhaps not grand or rich enough to gain a burial space within the walls of the real thing. At the nunnery of St Mary Nunnaminster, of 42 burials in the church, 12 were laid in stone cists (Scobie in prep). These were all either female, or could not be sexed. None of the male burials were afforded a cist. So even within grand monastery buildings, it seems that cists imply status.

The rarest form of grave construction to be found

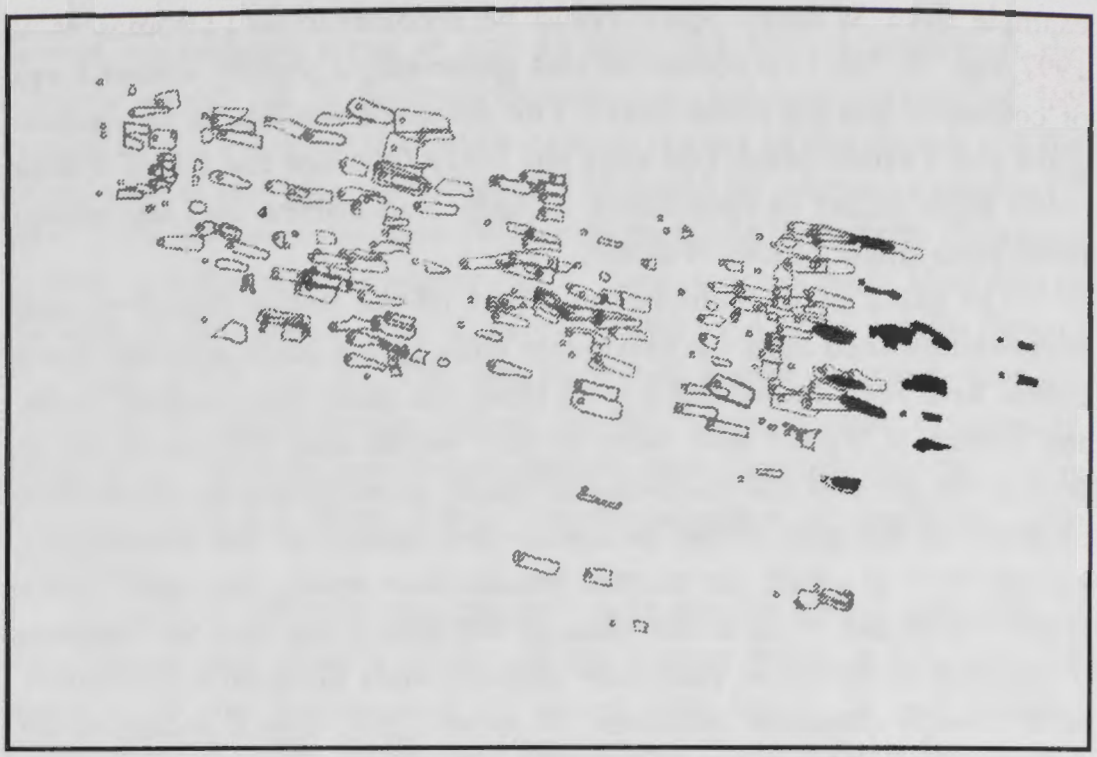

Fig 1: St Saviour Bermondsey. Shading indicates graves that post-date 1330. Circles show the original location of the head

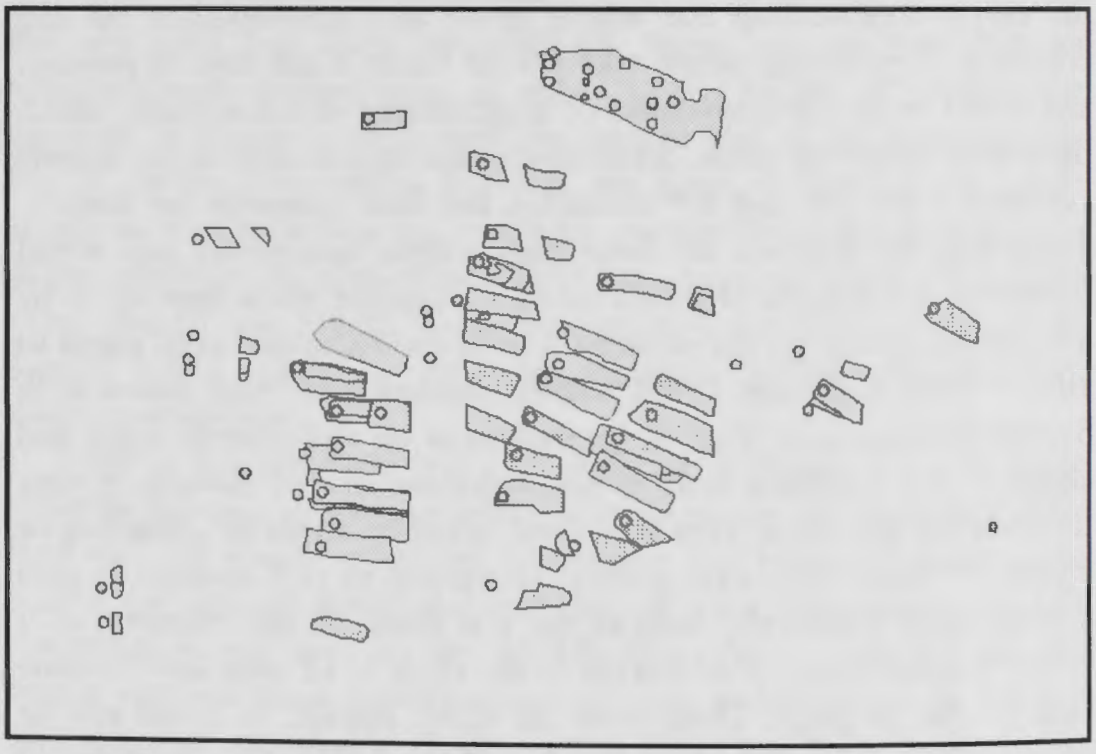

Fig 2: London Blackfriars. Burials fanning away from the church, perhaps centred on the north door (after Watson unpub)

archaeologically appears to be the visible outdoor grave marker or monument. Several have been excavated at the Gilbertine house for nuns and canons recently. They were crudely made of fragments of roof and floor tile, and rough shaped stones, and marked the tapering shape of the grave.

Other sorts of graves demonstrated neither status nor pious beliefs. At a number of sites, mass graves have been excavated. The most dramatic of these is at East Smithfield in London, where three mass trenches were used to bury the victims of the Black Death outbreak between 1348 and 1350. The largest was more than 300ft long and about 5ft deep. Smaller examples of mass pits (not necessarily connected with the Black Death) have been found at London Blackfriars (see Fig 2, top) where 13 individuals were found, and Guildford Blackfriars (5) (Poulton & Woods 1984). For that dreaded chronic affliction, leprosy, entire religious communities were set up – the leper hospitals. Excavations at leper hospital cemeteries all appear to tell a similar story. They seem to have been sited, without exception, adjacent to the public roads which ran by each hospital, perhaps to allow their seclusion and hopelessness to appeal to alms-givers travelling those roads. Apart from this though there are no special indicators in the graves of their status.

A final form of grave is frequently encountered, the charnel pit. Medieval redevelopment of religious houses was widespread, frequent and often on a large scale, and cemeteries were then, as today, not immune from being developed. Even the simple acts of digging new graves might disturb the bones of earlier burials. Such loose bones were often gathered together and reinterred in small grave-like pits (or on occasion larger structures built specially for the purpose).

There are therefore quite clear suggestions from the archaeological record of zoning by religious status, age, by sex, by social status and through crisis. The last sort of evidence from medieval cemeteries, grave finds, may allow us to identify specific members of medieval society, including pilgrims.

Grave Finds

The commonest forms of grave finds are those relating to the containers in which people were laid to rest. These include nails from coffins, and small copper alloy pins from shrouds. More ornate items include shroud buckles, usually found in pairs and situated near the waist or hips. These presumably worked in conjunction with a belt-

Fig 3: St Saviour Bermondsey. Shading shows mortared stone cist burials alongside church (top) and infirmary chapel (lower). The buildings are shown with all their phases of development superimposed.

strap to pull the shroud tight. Of more interest are the lacechapes and strap ends that appear to have come from robes or clothing worn by the deceased. The normal form of funeral depicted in the many examples of Books of Hours that survive indicate that (at least for the later medieval period) the body of the deceased would be stripped and washed as part of preparation for burial, so the presence of such dress accessories may point to specialised shrouds or to deliberate retention of the clothes. It is not yet clear, but it seems that burials in friaries more commonly exhibit this trait. Other dress accessories to be found also include shoe buckles, and leather shoes have been found at Sandwell Priory in Staffordshire, and at St Mary Merton in Surrey.

Certain types of finds are specifically religious. One very clear example is the occurrence of pewter chalices and patens in graves. They are most often found positioned upright, chalice on paten, next to the head of the deceased or held within his hands (no female skeletons have yet been identified in association with these finds). Those buried with such goods were almost certainly priests. Christopher Daniel's book *Death and Burial in Medieval England* (1997) addresses the symbolism of these finds (amongst a wealth of other material), being both priestly

items in their own right, and also representing the tomb (chalice) and stone (paten) of Christ. Several examples have been found at both St Mary Merton and St Mary Spital. Also occurring in graves are papal seals from documents, known as papal bulls. These are circular lead seals carrying the name of a pope on one side and the heads of St Peter and St Paul on the other. They have interestingly been found as often with female skeletons as with male, so cannot be specifically related to clergy; they probably (though not certainly) were originally attached to charters or other documents relating to pious deeds done by the carrier. They do show a form of superstition though, as if in some way the presence of the seal is totemic, and will perhaps serve as proof of the good deeds of the deceased in the hereafter.

A final group of finds may help to define what happens when a pilgrim dies. At sites such as Sandwell priory and Hulton Abbey (Staffordshire), several burials have one or more staffs or wands laid next to the body. Such objects may be readily associated with the lengthy journeys of a pilgrim from a practical viewpoint, but such a connection is strengthened by some of the evidence available from illuminated manuscripts. In his book *Master of Death* (1996), Michael Camille's wonderful consideration of the work of one Parisian illuminator by the name of Remiet includes some of Remiet's illustrations of the life of a pilgrim. In particular, he shows *Grace Dieu* restoring a weakened and despairing pilgrim his staff of faith, and thus his promise of resurrection (fig 99), allowing us to consider the staff as an entirely appropriate item for inclusion in a pilgrim's grave. Even more compelling is the occasional find of a pilgrim's badge within a burial. A recent example came from the hospital of St Giles by Brompton Bridge, Yorkshire (Cardwell 1995). There, a late 13th century grave contained an adult man. Upon his right breast were two pewter pilgrim badges. The upper badge came from Rome and the lower came from Lucca. The latter bore a miniature replica of the town's treasured relic, the Holy face of Lucca. Another pilgrim badge which may have come from a burial was found in Dissolution deposits at Hulton Abbey. It may represent the female Saint Wilgefort (Klemperer 2001, fig 12.7). The most complete example of a pilgrim burial to date is the astonishing find from Worcester Cathedral of a man with a staff, high leather boots, a pierced cockleshell, and a woollen garment. Helen Lubin's book *The Worcester Pilgrim* (1991), contains a complete account of the discovery.

There is a rich vein of research in the study of those people whose physical remains are encountered during excavations. Through their

bones and the graves that they were laid to rest in we can get a more sensitive and sympathetic view of the way that they prepared for the afterlife, especially those for whom the historical documents are usually silent.

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The Benedictine tradition of hospitality

Dom Aidan Bellenger

Benedictine hospitality is proverbial and reflects the oldest traditions of the Scriptures and the Christian Church. The Old Testament archetype of hospitality is contained in the story of Abraham offering hospitality to the three strangers at Mamre in Genesis 18, entertaining angels unaware (see Hebrews, 13, 2). In the culture of the Old Testament hospitality was seen as a holy duty, a reflection both of the desert tradition of hospitality in providing a human oasis, and of the care shown to strangers away from the protection of their people or kindred. The Israelites were deeply conscious of their exile in the land of Egypt and the need to offer a helping hand to the stranger; in return, God blessed the hosts with His presence. Abraham at Mamre, welcomed God and is promised that his childless wife Sara will give birth to a son. The widow of Zarepath received her son back from the dead and was provided with food in a time of famine for harbouring Elijah (1 Kings 17, 19-24). At all times the people of Israel were aware of the special care that had to be shown to the orphan, the widow and the stranger (Exodus 22, 20-21; Deuteronomy 10, 18; Jeremiah 7, 6). Such a sentiment was not restricted to Jewish ideas. The Greeks, too, valued hospitality (see Odyssey 6, 212) and the New Testament, influenced by both Hebrews and Greek civilisation, gives a heightened emphasis to the welcome of strangers.

The New Testament's word for hospitality is *philoxenia* (Romans 12, 13 Hebrews 13, 2), love of strangers; a rich context emerges from this word with the Greek *xenos* meaning 'guest' or 'host' as well as stranger. The French word *'hôte'* preserves this creative ambiguity. The Gospels make much of the importance of table fellowship and show Jesus as both host and guest reflecting the inclusive nature of the Kingdom of God. Jesus identifies himself with the last and least suggesting that what is done to them is done to him (Matthew 25, 31-46). The Eucharistic teaching of the Church strengthened this identification with Jesus truly present 'in the breaking of the bread' (Luke 24, 35). Hospitality came to be seen as a fundamental virtue in the Early Church reflected in works of personal charity and in the establishment of hostels and hospitals.

Monasticism assimilated the tradition, but the misanthropy of the desert prevented some of the early monastics from being totally welcoming to strangers; some modern monastic guest masters may share their reticence. St Basil (330-79) argues for only a guarded welcome of guests so as not to interfere with the rigour of monastic *ascesis*.(Basil, *Longer Rule* XX). John Cassian (360-435), who was so important in bringing the wisdom of Eastern Monasticism to the West, realised that while hospitality was a potential trial for a hermit, it remained a basic duty even if it necessitated the monk breaking his fast (Cassian, Institutes 5, 23) because to welcome a guest was to welcome Christ himself. The *Rule of the Master*, the fiercely penitential monastic handbook so influential on St Benedict, is suspicious of guests as of so much else. Chapter 72 has as its heading 'A visitor, be he a brother or a layman, should not be fed more that two days without working'. The master continues in justifying this restriction ' lest the brothers working for the monastery have good reason to resent hospitality given to parasites and loafers and, resorting to murmuring and criticising, they begin to detest such strangers who, because of their wretched laziness, do not settle down anywhere but visit monasteries under the pretext of religion and remain idle while devouring the bread due to workers'. Guests in the lodging for strangers are, moreover, to be supervised by two brothers, even at night, to protect the goods of the monastery. [The guest-room] is to be locked from the inside as well as from the outside. After shutting in the guests together by themselves at night, the bolts having been put in place on the outside, they are to remove the key and hide it in a place known to them."

It is with some relief we turn to St Benedict. St Benedict, abbot in turn of monasteries at Subiaco and Montecassino, died C 547, having been born C 480. What we know of his life comes from the Second Book of the *Dialogues* of Pope Gregory the Great compiled C 593. This work, full of miracle stories and Biblical parallelisms, makes it clear that Benedict's Rule was already a respected text for the monastic life. Its eventual dominance in the West owed much to the Carolingian Empire and the *renovatio* of society which the *Rule* could make possible and, later, as we shall see, by its adoption by reforming monasteries in the central Middle Ages. *The Rule of St Benedict* is divided into 73 chapters, prefaced by an eloquent prologue which provides a summary of the *Rule's* spiritual message. The chapters describe the organisation, life and work of a monastery and while presenting great detail, especially as far as the liturgical framework of the day is concerned, leave those who

follow the *Rule* much to interpret for local conditions. It is a *Rule* for a monastery not for a religious order and it suggests a high degree of independence for any house which uses this 'little rule for beginners' either as a whole or in part. The fifty-third chapter of the *Rule* is dedicated to the reception of guests. This is the text:

> *Let all guests that come be received like Christ, for he will say I was a stranger and ye took me in. And let fitting honour be shown to all, but especially to churchmen and pilgrims. As soon, therefore, as a guest is announced, let the superior or some brethren meet him with all charitable service. And first of all let them pray together, and then let them unite in the kiss of peace. This kiss of peace shall not be offered until after the prayers have been said, on account of the delusions of the devil. In the greeting of all guests, whether they be arriving or departing, let the greatest humility be shown. Let the head be bowed or the whole body prostrated on the ground, and so let Christ be worshipped in them, for indeed he is received in their person.*
>
> *When the guests have been received, let them be led to prayers, and afterwards let the superior, or a monk appointed by him, sit with them. Let the law of God be read before the guest for his edification, and then let all kindness be shown to him. The superior shall break his fast for the sake of a guest, unless it be a special fast-day which may not be violated; but the brethren shall observe the customary fasts. Let the abbot give the guests water for their hands; and let both abbot and community wash the feet of all guests. When they have washed them, let them say this verse Suscepimus, Deus, misericordiam tuam in medio templi tui. In the reception of poor men and pilgrims special attention should be shown, because in them is Christ more truly welcomed; for the fear which the rich inspire is enough of itself to secure them honour.*
>
> *Let there be a separate kitchen for the abbot and guests, so that the brethren may not be disturbed when guests - who are never lacking in a monastery - arrive at irregular hours. There shall be appointed to this kitchen by the year two brethren who can discharge the duty well. Let help be given them according as they need it, so that they may serve without murmuring. And, on the other hand, when they have less to do, let them go out to whatever task is assigned to them. And not only to them, but to*

all officials of the monastery, let the same consideration be shown and help given whenever it is needed; and, on the other hand, when they are occupied, let them do whatever they are bidden.

The guest-house shall be assigned to a brother whose soul is full of the fear of God. Let there be a sufficient number of beds ready therein. And let the house of God be administered by prudent men in a prudent manner.

Let no one, without special instructions, associate or converse with guests. If he meet or see them, let him greet them humbly, as we have said, and ask a blessing; then let him pass on, saying that he is not permitted to talk with a guest.

The chapter is divided into two main sections: verses 1-15 encouraging a good welcome to guests, and the remainder, 16-23, prescribing practical arrangements for guest accommodation aimed at both welcoming visitors and making sure they do not threaten monastic observance. Hospitality in the Benedictine model is 'not merely an act of philanthropy or worldly courtesy', as Abbot Delatte reminds us, 'nor one inspired by the desire of popularity or influence, but rests on the conviction that we receive Christ Himself in the persons of guests'. Among the type of guests - all of whom should be honoured - he picks out pilgrims for special attention. '*Peregrinis*' can mean either a 'pilgrim' in our sense or a 'stranger' or 'foreigner', but in Chapter 53 scholarly opinion favours the more precise definition. Pilgrimage as a Christian ideal reached its high point after St Benedict's time although visits to the tomb of 'the very special dead', the saints and martyrs, especially in Rome, and to the Holy Land pre-existed him. Adalbert de Vogue, one of the most perceptive of commentators on the Rule, argues that in this chapter the pilgrims are associated with the poor in contrast to the rich, linking them with the exile far from his own land. The precedence given to the poor is a radical social statement, reversing the usual order of things, and showing how Benedict's monastery rejected in many ways the norms of conventional society.

In order to ensure order and peace in the monastery, always a place of *taciturnitas* and recollection, Benedict provides for three kitchens: one for the community (Ch 31), one for the sick (Ch 36), and one for the abbot and the guests (Ch 53). The magnificent abbot's kitchen at Glastonbury is a good surviving example of the latter. Monastic archaeology reveals a variety of guest arrangements. The 'cella

hospitum' seems, in general, not have been a room but a separate house. 'The Rule', according to Delatte, 'does not fix its exact position; but monastic custom, in conformity with the spirit and intentions of St Benedict, placed it apart from the cloister, dormitory and regularly of the religious, generally quite near the entrance gate'.

At Cluny, the greatest of medieval Benedictine monasteries, there was both a guest-house (for those with money) and an almonry for the poor. Similar arrangements can be discerned at Canterbury. The guest-house at Cluny contained separate lodgings for forty men and thirty women. There was a guest-master, cook, porter, groom and other servants. The poor pilgrims, Joan Evans tells us, received at the almonry were well treated:

> *Each pilgrim was allowed a pound of bread the first day, half a pound the second, and half a monk's measure of wine. If any of them left a weary or ailing wife or friend at his lodgings in the town, he was given an allowance to take to them. Each day the almoner was given twelve cakes of three pounds' weight to give to the old and ailing. Each day three brethren came to the almonry after dinner, and solemnly washed the feet of three poor men, and gave them a gift of bread and wine. On Quinquagesima Sunday all the poor who chose to come were regaled with a meal of as much salt pork as they could eat. Udalric, writing about 1085, declares that in the current year seventeen thousand persons came and two hundred and fifty hogs were eaten.*

Nothing was on a small scale at Cluny and it through Cluny that the Benedictine ideal came to the region of Compostella.

A great movement of monastic reform, centred on the Benedictine Rule, began simultaneously at various centres of which Cluny, in Burgundy, was one. Cluny benefited from papal protection and increased its influence through the personality and work of a series of great abbots. Its emphasis was liturgical and it was used as a model by many reformers outside Burgundy. It became associated with many of the great movements of its time. Cluny, E. Delaruelle has argued, ' has been given the credit for the creative vitality of the age, and to her has been attributed a decisive influence over the 'Gregorian reform', the development of the pilgrimage of Compostela and the retraction of the

epic songs and heroic poems of chivalry'. Not to mention the Crusades.

The eleventh century saw great advances in Christian Spain. Sancho the Great established closer contacts with Rome and used the Benedictine Rule as a model for monasteries in Navarre and the Western Kingdoms. Cluniac monasteries were first established in Catalonia and soon developed in Navarre and Castile. The enhancement of Santiago de Compostela as a pilgrimage site coincided with the establishment of the first Galician monastery under the patronage of Cluny, San Salvador de Villafrio, near Lugo. This reflected an increasing devotion to Cluny. Sancho's son Fernando had bound himself to pay an annual *census* to the monks of Cluny of a thousand gold pieces. Alfonso VI between 1073 and 1077 granted four Spanish monasteries to the monks of Cluny and in 1077 doubled the *census* to two thousand gold pieces, the biggest donation the monks ever received. Other monastic houses were made over to Cluny in 1079 and 108 1. Abbot Hugh visited the court in 1077, and in 1080, a Cluniac was given the abbacy of Sahagún where he was succeeded by another Cluniac, Bemardo, who became archbishop of Toledo in 1086. It was within this context that Galicia welcomed many Cluniac and Benedictine influences.

Richard Fletcher, one of the most interesting English writers on medieval Spain, sees the work of Bernard de Sédirac, that is Archbishop Bernardo, as crucial in the reform of the Spanish Church on Franco-papal lines. The religious orders went hand in hand with the traders and pilgrims. After the Cluniacs the Cistercians, another Benedictine reform, became the dominant religious order.

> *French members of new religious orders, Cistercians, Augustinians, Premonstratensians founded houses in Spain. French entrepreneurs ... were to be found in towns along the pilgrimage road... French architects designed the new cathedral of Santiago de Compostela built between 1078 and 1124 ... and French notions about the holiness of warfare against the enemies of the church were growing.*

By the close of the eleventh century many of the shrines and monasteries on the roads to Santiago had become Cluniac dependencies including Vézelay, St Martial at Limoges, St Gilles, Moissac, and St Eutrope at Saintes. Moreover, as Jonathan Sumption

reminds us in his book on pilgrimage ... (p. 120)

> *Particularly interesting is the hand of Cluny in composing the elaborate promotional literature put out by the church of Santiago. Most of it is contained in the* Liber Sancti Jacobi, *an exquisitely produced manuscript in the cathedral library. The* Liber *consists of five quite separate books bearing on the pilgrimage to St James, proclaiming at the beginning and end that it was written for the benefit of the Abbot of Cluny by Pope Calixtus 11. The attribution is fictitious, for there are parts which could have been written by any Cluniac. But the second book, which consists of the* Miracles of St James, *bears strongly the imprint of Cluny. Most of the miracles occurred to inhabitants of Burgundy, the Viennois, or the Lyonnais, and some happened within a few miles of the abbey. A few are attributed to a canon of Besançon, while another was related by an abbot of Vézelay. Three miraculous stories which St Anselm told to Abbot Hugh during a prolonged visit to Cluny in 1104 all appear with minor alterations in the* Miracles of St James. *These miracles were Cluny's greatest contribution to the pilgrimage of St James. They were plagiarised by every collector of marvellous stories, copied out in a great number of manuscripts from the twelfth century to the sixteenth, set forth in sculpture and stained glass throughout Europe. Arnaldo de Monte, a monk of Ripoll who saw the* Liber Sancti Jacobi *at Santiago in 1173, justly remarked that it was these miracles which had made the apostle 'shine forth as bright as the stars in every part of the world'.*

I will conclude by returning to the subject of Benedictine hospitality and suggest some closing comments -

First, the *Benedictine Rule* is about a stable, enclosed community of monks devoted to the search for God and vowed to the monastic life in which outside activities or the provision of services inside the monastic family are marginal to the life's principal function. Second, that guest masters, guest facilities and the welcome of strangers, especially pilgrims, have been a constant feature of the Benedictine and monastic life. Third, that the possibilities of colonisation by monasteries, both in the form of physical colonisation and the movement of reforming ideas, were not lost on the leaders of the church reform in

Spain. Fourth, that the spirit of Benedictine hospitality, with its priority for the poor, corresponded to the popular aspects of the pilgrimage as it developed in the eleventh and twelfth century. Fifthly, and last, the model provided in the *Benedictine Rule* of hospitality and welcome is one which usefully summarises the mentality and spirit of all the places of refuge and welcome on the *Camino*: *De hospitibus suscipiendis. Omnes supervenientes hospites tamquam Christus suscipiantur, quia ipse dicturus est: Hospes fui, et suseptistis me. Et omnibus congruus honor exhibeatur, maxime tamen domesticis fidei et peregrinis.* 'I was a stranger and you took me in'.

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The Barber Surgeon as a Pilgrim

Jo Castle

The Highways and Byways

Pilgrims were far from the only persons on the roads of Europe in the later part of the Middle Ages. Herbalists and charlatans stood in market places and in front of church doors selling a range of dubious goods and services, their sachets and boxes spread on a carpet as they shivered in ragged cloaks, and made ready to move on as soon as the mood of the crowd changed. There were those that called themselves doctors, sent from some foreign court by royalty to give the poor people of the land an opportunity to buy special herbs and pay a pittance for the privilege. These were frequently berated by both the city and the king, as "ignorant men of temperament, mode of administration, time and virtues of medicines, above all the laxative ones in which lies the danger of death", said John the Good of France in 1352. These people came from abroad and went through the towns and the suburbs administering to the confiding sick illicit glisters (enemas) (Isambert - *Recueil General des anciennes lois Francais*)- Vol III

The doctors of the day also practised remedies which appear bizarre: John of Gaddesden, doctor to Edward II, claimed to rid patients of the marks of smallpox by wrapping them in red cloth (a treatment vindicated when Finsen in Copenhagen showed that red light influences the healing of smallpox scabs in the late 19th century). Other practices were definitely strange and without foundation, such as the administration of mumnia (parts of Mummies from Egypt - or fakes), crickets and beetles in oil for the stone, or seven heads of fat bats as remedies for diseases of the spleen. The law however drew a clear distinction between the quacks or charlatans and the doctors who were qualified in universities. In 1421 Henry V of France declared an ordinance against the meddlers with physic and surgery, "to get rid of the mischiefs and dangers which have long continued in this kingdom among the people by means of those who use the art of physic and surgery, pretending to be well and sufficiently taught in these arts. Henceforth there will be severe punishments for these practitioners who have not been approved of physic by the universities and surgeons by a master of that art."

However barbers, who also practised surgery, itinerant dentists, quacks, empirics and sorcerers continued to plague the streets and wander the roads of Europe. Even the apothecaries who were supposed to limit themselves to making up prescriptions for the physicians were not above making up their own nostrums, syrups and taking small fees for prescribing to the poor. And outside the cities it was even more difficult to control these practices as the itinerant quasi-medicos popped up at every fair and local celebration, only to disappear with a fatter purse when the event was over.

Greater still, at the medieval fairs were the numbers of those who came not to cure but to entertain: minstrels, jugglers, tumblers, story-tellers, singers and musicians, chanted the romances in French and English, sang and capered and provided the little entertainment that then existed.

Labourers also tramped the roads and tracks from place to place in search of work. As long as they stole nothing nor caused any affray, they would not be considered a problem. They too appeared at the fairs seeking a hiring, or worked their way from farm to farm during harvest time when an extra pair of hands was a godsend.

Beggars and various members of the underworld also took to the highways; they were usually recognised by their rags, sores and disabilities and given little encouragement to hang about; societies had ways of helping the sick and poor of their own parish, but transients were not included and might only receive help from the monasteries etc.

Medicine in England

In late medieval Europe at the top of the medical profession were the Physicians. They were extremely sparse and more inclined to academic rather than practical medicine. The ordinary person therefore including pilgrims, had to rely on other types of practitioners. These included apprentice-trained spicer/apothecaries, who were supposed to restrict their practice to making up prescriptions for the professionals and selling costly imported spices and drugs (when the professionals had all left town the apothecaries ended up prescribing for the desperate population). Barber surgeons also underwent a full apprenticeship and tended to the external medical requirements of all classes of people. Then there were the midwives licensed by the bishops as to their character, bonesetters, hernia 'doctors and cataract 'couchers' and dentists, none of whom received any formal training.

At a local level there was the blacksmith who would pull your teeth for a fee, and the herb man or woman who treated the majority of the community. Finally across the country travelled the aforementioned itinerant medical practitioners who may have received some training in infirmaries, or learnt as they went along! There was an ever-increasing number of foreigners practising on our city streets and in our inns, all of whom the physicians regarded as quacks, and thus they were frequently in court where their licences to practice were demanded. If they had no friends in high places they were sometimes imprisoned and sent packing.

For the humble person the choice was wide and probably depended largely on what he or she could afford, and a degree of credulity balanced against the seriousness of the problem. A broken hand might heal more rapidly if taken to a barber surgeon who would not only set it but also provide any medication necessary to heal the wounds involved and dress the hand. But if the man could not afford the fee he might neglect the problem or take it to a less competent person.

The Barber Surgeon

Let us imagine that amongst our band of pilgrims is a barber surgeon. He would have been a fully trained and possibly senior member of the Guild of Barber Surgeons. He would have been granted his licence to practise by the Guild after undergoing a seven to nine-year apprenticeship' and passing an examination at the end of this time to become a journeyman. He was probably a man with a great deal of experience who passed this on to his apprentices in practical studies.

In this case therefore we can say with confidence that the popular myth of a dirty and ignorant practitioner who had no means deal with the wounds, infections and pain of his patients is simply not the case. He would probably have read the works of authors such as Giovanni John) da Vigo (1450-1525), Guy of Chauliac (d.1368), and Lanfranc of Milan (d.1315) he would have had sufficient Latin to enable him to understand the names of the drugs he used in external treatments and probably French, Dutch and German. Barber Surgeons swapped remedies on a regular basis; anything new, which might improve their ability to heal the patient quickly and successfully, was tried, tested and adopted if it proved of use.

THE DISEASES AND INJURIES THE BARBER SURGEON WOULD HAVE TREATED

People would be subject to a range of diseases of the time, not always easy to define from the descriptions we have: infections of the sinuses and lungs were common, as was scurvy even ashore - where the poor winter diet of salt meat caused frequent cases. Bouts of typhus, yellow jaundice and plague were not uncommon. 'Dysentery' or intestinal infections were frequent, caused by food, which had been poorly salted and stored too long in winter. Cases of' poisoning from mildew that grew on rye if the season was wet, were also common, the ergot caused violent hallucinations followed by gangrene and necessary amputation. The disease was known as St Anthony's Fire. Erysipelas, which we now know had two forms dependent on the diet of the sufferer.

Then there were the occupational hazards, broken bones from falls and being hit by heavy equipment were sometimes unavoidable. Fingers would have been crushed between pieces of equipment and other parts of the body injured from falling whilst working at heights on buildings, haystacks and in trees.

In addition there were injuries specific to each trade: carpenters might break fingers with misdirected hammers, and experience cuts from adzes and other bladed tools. Farmers also ran the risk of cuts from scythes and injuries caused when handling animals. Soldiers and sailors would carry the scars of engagements with the enemy, again crush injuries, those from blows from pikes and a variety of cutting weapons and old bullet wounds. Everyone was supposed to practise archery on Sundays to better defend the country in times of war; older archers may have had an arthritic condition in their shoulders due to a lifetime of pulling 'incredible weights (125-180 lbs.). Archers today having practised regularly for over twenty years complain of this condition and modem clinical work with archers has found that they have major stress at the left shoulder. Anne Stirland has found skeletal evidence that this may be true of some men who had worked on the Mary Rose or had lived in Norfolk and who been using the longbow constantly since their youth.

Most of these injuries, if treated, would heal if they were not too severe and did not involve the internal organs of the body. There is no doubt however that many men would have carried scars and. partially healed wounds from previous accidents and injuries. The monastic infirmaries might offer treatment, 'Houses of Pity' in London, and in large cities and ports, might have provided shelter for a crippled man.

Unable to find other employment he could only apply for a licence to beg lest he be sent back to his parish of origin as a vagrant, to seek parish relief. The last resort would have been the 'houses of the poore' such as St Bartholomew's Hospital which provided terminal care for the homeless with no means of support.

If a man fell to the temptations of the city, there would have been risks involved in visiting inns and baths. The opportunities to be infected with gonorrhoea or alternatively the *Morbus Gallicus* or French pox were, numerous, and to deal with the subsequent sores barber surgeons of the period administered a warmed-lotion or unguent containing mercury.

A barber surgeon on a pilgrimage would have carried his implements and the basics to dress wounds and treat diseases. These may have been carried in a leather bag like those of surgeons in the field, a set of probes and scalpels in a stiff leather case that could be hung from the belt 'indicating to all what his trade was, a more hefty knife and a saw for amputations, a glister syringe and a collection of wooden pots with firmly closing lids in which the unguents, pills and electuaries of his trade could be carried. Other medicines would be made up from exotic dried ingredients carried in tiny leather bags and plants that could be found at the roadside. Bandages of linen and tents, swabs etc would also be in the bag.

The Range of Cures

Crush injuries and head wounds

Head injuries with depressed fractures were treated by trepanation (using a screw-like device to lift depressed bone) following a system of classification laid down by Guy de Chauliac; after relieving the pressure the skull was dressed, sometimes with a plate to replace lost bone. There is skeletal evidence that people survived the most horrendous injuries, as shown by the survival of two men from Abingdon who experienced crush injuries: a broken scapula, dislocation of the. shoulder, vertebrae crush fractures, ankle and leg injuries. A fall was consistent with the injuries of both men and they both survived as advanced healing and some osteoarthritic changes are indicated.

Splinters, shrapnel wounds & arrow wounds and gunshot

The removal of foreign bodies, such as shrapnel and bullets presented surgeons with serious problems due to consequent bleeding; the general treatment after extraction of foreign bodies was much the same as that for cuts i.e. suturing and treatment with tents and unguents as appropriate. Subsequent infections were blamed on poison, which was supposed to have been put on the arrows and a belief in the toxic qualities of gunpowder.

In 1537 Ambroise Pare (in France) was using Vigo's scalding hot oil of elder in which a little treacle had been mingled; he ran out of this oil and with some trepidation tried a 'digestive' of egg yolks, cold oil of roses and some turpentine. The following morning Pare was delighted to find that the patients treated using the 'digestive' had less pain and inflammation than those on whom he had used the scalding oil of elder did. The man unfortunate enough to be hit by a gunshot missile was in danger of a compound fracture or wound leading to gangrene and death.

Cuts, occupational wounds and gangrene

The usual treatment for wounds was suture and/or bandaging depending on the ease with which the sides of the wound could be drawn together. Vigo states that if a wound is going to heal well, suturing should be considered and induced suppuration (an ancient treatment) should be used to treat lacerated wounds. He also writes of "wounds decaying" under the 'influence of air. For centuries surgeons had been of the opinion that wounds exposed to the possible malignancy of the air before treatment should have 'laudable pus' encouraged by the use of salves.

In the late fifteenth century a wash of *Unguentum Aegyptiacum* was used. This dated back to Galen, Rhazes and Albucasis, and dealt with infection; it consisted of honey, vinegar, alum, bryony root. iris root, olive oil, and white wax, best put into the wound scalding hot or dissolved in wine and the newly discovered *aqua vitae* to try and kill infection and maggots in neglected wounds. Cautery was the last resort in wound care, used only if bleeding did not stop as the result of other treatments, as was amputation if gangrene had set in and could not be cured. Vigo also mentions ligature to stop bleeding and an astringent, cooling-drying, styptic decoction (in this case a paste) for this purpose consisting of Armenian Bole (a red clay), Frankincense, Mastic resin, Aloe succotrine (similar to Aloe vera), Hare's fur and Egg White and if

all else fails amputation for gangrene.

Broken limbs

Surgeons would set broken bones and dress with a number of different plasters and decoctions, depending on the state of the wound. The limb would then be splinted using either lengths of prepared timber or a specially designed metal splint which left the wound open to inspection whilst bone repair took place. If the patient had a compound fracture, the amount of cloth and other material driven into the wound and bone splinters caused by the impact would lead to almost certain gangrene.

According to John of Vigo medicines used to treat wounds and fractures included: -

- Acoms or glands (acoms), have the virtue to glewe wounds together.
- Althea or Hollyhock (mucilaginous root), is convenient to add to other medicines for fractures of bones for it gleweth broken bones.
- Juice of Fraxinus (Ash leaves), marshmallow (root), comfrey (root), oil of mynte and white of eggs, mildust (bran) and *sanguis draconis* (Dragon's blood), laid on broken bones as a plaster confounds them marvellously.
- *Calamus aromaticus* (root), sodden with roots of lilies draweth out wormes and pieces of bone.

Severely shattered limbs, where there was no hope of reassembling the bones were amputated above the injury. Cautery or a pressure pad of tow or lint and a covering bandage capped with a sheep's caule after amputation stopped bleeding.

Ruptures and Hernias

These were treated conservatively with a truss by most surgeons; Chauliac recommended a *Punctum aurum* or golden stitch for hernias of the groin thus avoiding castration. Specialised ointments were created to work on the natural repair of hernia and given names like *Unguentum Contra Ruptrum.*

Arthritic Conditions

These were treated with a range of salves (often particular to the individual's family); a top favourite for many centuries was *Martiatum*: Soldier's Unguent. Sage, bay, rue, mint and wormwood were steeped overnight in red wine, then reduced by half, strained and added to hot

wax and olive oil. This could be made up and carried in the pouch of a traveller or soldier for those mornings when stiffness made rising hard.

Fevers, 'Ague', typhus, yellow fever and plague

The descriptions of these diseases were often in terms difficult to interpret. We can only assume ague to be malarial fever, typhus to be the flea carried fever, yellow fever to be a form of jaundice and plague/pestilence to be bubonic plague. The treatments are varied and appear to work on the principle of 'cooling' the fever, purging, and treating other symptoms.

- Syrup of Endive for the fever and cough
- *Diaprunis* (a purge of prunes and tamarind etc)
- Diacatholicon, a gentler purge
- Pills Aggregative (which clarify the blood and purge turbith gum, colocynth pulp, hiera picra, myrrh, orris, mastic, and horehound)
- Pills of Rhubarb and Pills of Mirabolenes (an Indian plum like fruit)

The following is an example of a complex electuary or soft pill: -

> ***Electuary.*** *- to open obstructions (of the gut) and remedies yellow jaundice cloves, pepper, aniseed, cumin, fenugreek, cardamom, roses., seeds of melon, cucumbers, citrulles., and gourds, cinamon, seeds of smallage, red & yellow saunders (sandalwood), ginger, senna, epithium, squinantum, galangal, mace, spike, saffron,, made into an electuary with honey of roses - Vigo*

Scurvy and other food related illnesses

Scurvy was recognised in spots, weakness, itch, loose teeth and rotten gums, caused by a poor diet of salt meat and fish. It was treated using Scurvy Grass and watercress but the most effective remedy was rest and hopefully a decent diet (scurvy was common particularly in spring after a deficient winter diet).

Dysentery/diarrhoea/bloody flux

We do not know precisely what these terms imply, however we can assume they involve infection of the lower intestinal tract caused by a winter diet of poorly salted meat.

Treatments for the Flux included:

Diacitonium: or marmalade of quinces to stop the flux of the belly and strengthen the digestion.

Diarodon Abbatis: white and red sandal wood, tragacanth, gum arabic, lemon balm mastic, cardamom, liquorice, crocii, aloes wood, clove, nutmeg, aniseed, fennel seed. cinnamon, rhubarb the four cold seeds, white poppy, sugar, pearl coral, candied sugar, camphor and musk, comforts the stomach, empties the purse and restores the appetite.

Aromatum Rosatum: a rose confection made with a pound of white sugar, rose water, and rose petals that is good for the digestion, comforts the stomach and restores the appetite.

Worms and Parasites

Purges of wormwood and southernwood, rhubarb and liquorice were administered for intestinal worms.

Confection of Hamech: was used in cases of ringworm, as was Oil of Juniper.

Confection Against Worms: consisted of rhubarb, cloves, saffron, sugar and pomegranate wine and was supposed to either prevent or cure.

If all else failed one could take Oil of Bitter Almonds which "kills wormes through its bitternesse".

Quicksilver: was rubbed 'into garment seams to cure body and clothing lice

Genista or Broom juice with a little oil kills lice according to Vigo.

Regular hair grooming using the wooden combs everyone carried was strongly recommended to kill any lice which had survived.

Bruising

Take Wormwood and stamp it, heat on a tile and sprinkle with odoriferous wine. It will heal bruises and the blew spots of a stroke (marks from a whipping).

Diets for the Sick

"Diets proper for a sick person include: Gelly, Restoratives, Cullises (broth), Panada (bread sops in broth), cleansed Barley, White Meat, Almond Milk, Prunes and Raisouns"according to Pare. These are not always available whilst travelling, but they may have carried or bought locally, in addition to the salt meat, butter, cheese, bread, beer or wine which were portable staples; we might find rice, oatmeal, honey, Aqua Vitae, mustard seed, and "further provisions for sicke men", prunes,

raisins, almonds and licorice. Vigo states that "Borage is permitted in a broth of hennes for wounded men, with parsley and myntes".

So thus would the man of experience rather than university letters have tended to fellow travellers during a pilgrimage.

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Food for Pilgrims

Naomi Turner

My subject is food for pilgrims and I have taken Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* as my main source to discuss food that pilgrims might have eaten. England, then as now, was a place of contrasts: great poverty and conspicuous wealth. There was no bar to anyone making pilgrimages and the foods they would have eaten would have been very varied.

Chaucer himself mentions the 'povre widwe' whose fare is 'Milk and broun breed ... seynd bacoun, and somtyme an ey or tweye'. We all still recognise milk, brown bread, eggs and boiled bacon. So for some the diet was not so different from ours today. Bread and cheese and wine or ale were consumed by all as well as pies of all descriptions.

The cooking methods may sound strange but the cook that could 'roste, and sethte, and broille and frye' was only roasting, boiliing, stewing and frying. His tools might have looked different but his methods are still used today.

The roots of all our modern dishes come from the cooks and there are some staple recipes that form the foundation of many, many more. Very few recipes have come down to us. We have many a description of finished dishes, and even the recipes are very vague as to quantities. The favourite phrase seems to be "put in enough" ... this is a matter of personal taste and in the recipes I have included ingredients to *my* taste.

The one recipe that I think is most important is Bagge Pudding, which at its simplest it was a mixture of eggs, milk and breadcrumbs boiled in a bag or cloth - a sort of boiled custard! By adding other ingredients a huge range of modem puddings emerged. Dried fruit, peel, spices and suet added to a bag pudding makes our Christmas pudding. Peas, onions and sage turn it into peas pudding Liver, mutton and barley make it into haggis. Flour, eggs and milk, baked become Yorkshire pudding.

Britain was renowned for its puddings both sweet and savoury and most have their origins in the simple bag pudding, cooked in the universal method available to all who could have a fire - a cauldron.

Most meals were cooked in these cauldrons and they were used for the whole meal at the same time. Puddings and vegetables were

wrapped in cloths and boiled with the meats and stews, the flavours kept separate by using flour blinds, so that everything was cooked in a most economical way.

Only the very rich had ovens and most people would have taken their pies to a Cookhouse to be prepared. The description of the cook's shop with "many a flye loos" sound most disagreeable and it is no wonder that they had bad reputations. Spices were used a great deal, both to show how rich you were and to disguise tainted meats. Chaucer mentions a great many spices: liquorice, cloves, valerian, nutmeg, pepper, sugar and a great many herbs as well. Spices had to be imported and were very expensive so used sparingly. English herbs were often used instead and wall pepper and horseradish were very popular. Because foods had to be preserved to keep them palatable through the long winter months the cooks had to be inventive and give them some taste. Stockfish, sea salted and diced cod was as hard as a board and had to be beaten and soaked for days before it could be cooked smoked fish was more popular and also more expensive but kipper, smoked cod and smoked eels were often eaten.

Other foods were also preserved by drying, with or without salt. Mushrooms, apples, plums, apricots, grapes, dates and figs as well as pears were sun-dried from necessity not because it gave them a better flavour. Fruit-cheese and leathers were made, the former being ideal pilgrimage food: it was easily carried and eaten. It was made by boiling and seething fruit pulp until a trail could be left across the pan. The leather was spread on a cloth to dry and the resulting brown thin substance was dry, sweet and delicious.

Pilgrims could carry both the ingredients and cooking utensils with them so that they would always be able to eat. Oats, bread, dried fruits, stockfish, diced meats and honey could be turned into a good meal, and cooked on a folding skillet over an open fire. Flint and steel could be used to light the fire but it was much easier to carry a little fire with you in its special pot. It would keep your hands warm if the weather turned cold.

The recipes I will share with you are in two parts as they would have been written and their modern equivalents, so that you can try them for yourself. Recipes of the time are very vague and depended on the taste of the cooks so you might want to adjust them to your taste.

All the food is mentioned in the *Canterbury Tales* and I've indicated where they are to be found.

Blankmanger (Prologue)

Tyke chyken, veaux or any wyte metes and smite ynto gobbetes. Frye in goode buddar but do not let endore. Take up garleek, y oynones, whyte eyrouns, wastel small y scrodde, and do meddle all unto a paste.
Make ye a goodly shaype as thou wilt and serve forth.

White meats. White meat was the favourite of all foods; it was not one recipe but any that would produce a white dish. The paler and more delicate the better. Any white food was highly prized, white bread, chicken, veal, almonds, white cheeses and white fruits.
This is white dish that can be shaped and eaten cold for a buffet. It can even be put into a blancmange mould if you want to surprise people.

4 escalopes of veal or 250g boneless chicken, poached until tender in chicken stock. 1 clove of garlic to wipe around dish (it should be just a hint of flavour)
1 finely chopped onion cooked gently in butter but not coloured.
3 egg whites whipped to stiffness
125g white fresh bread crumbs.

Cut the meat into very small dice and combine the cooked onions, breadcrumbs and egg whites. If the mixture is very thick add 125ml of double cream. Pour into chosen mould and cook in a bain-marie until it sets; if you line the mould with cling film it makes it easier to get the white meat out.

Wastel-breed (Prologue)

Tak ye a fyne bushel of good flyr, bolte thrice til all be fyne y whit, go therto balm and swet watre. Kneed well within a kneding-trogh til all be soft. Let be nea to a fyne good fyre until tyce grown. Form into godly breed and caste into a oven.

This is the finest bread available wasteful of time and the good grain.
The modern equivalent is white bread.

450g plain flour (if you use strong flour it won't turn out like wastel-breed.
15g fresh yeast
300ml warm water

Mix all three together in a bowl and knead until a soft pliable dough is formed. Set aside, covered with a clean cloth, until doubled in size. Shape into palm sizes pieces and cook in a preheated oven (220°C/425°F). Cook for about 12 mins; if the rolls are not browned cook for another 2 or 3 minutes

A Royal Spicerye of gingebreed

Wastel brede small y scrodde, hony, poudred ginge, poudred lycorys, pepper forte, clowe-gilofre, saffroun and wynes
Seethe hony and wynes and do therto poudred lycorys, ginge pepper

clowe-gilofre and saffron wen y is endored as much wastel as wil hold. Do unto and mak small gobbets strew with thy spice or if thou wilt gold beaten thin. Serve forthwith great artistry.

Gingered bread

A dish fit for a King or anyone else you want to impress
125ml white wine
250g honey
250g fresh white breadcrumbs
ginger, pepper, saffron, aniseed and cloves (it's all a matter of taste so start with a very little and build up)
Gold leaf

Boil the honey and the wine together and beat in the breadcrumbs. The resulting paste should look like brown marzipan. Add enough saffron to make it yellow and a little of each spice; taste the mixture, add more spices until you like the taste. Leave to cool and shape small pieces of the paste anyway you like. There are moulds available or use your imagination. The gingered bread can be decorated with gold leaf to make it royal.

CHIKNES WITH MARYBONES (PROLOGUE)

Tak a fyne chiknes y draw hym unto, y seer hym fine,y fle hym. Seethe unto a fyne pot wy oynons and eek lekes, marybones cleaved yto, podr clowe and notemuge ntil ben y nough. serve forth wy snippets.

Chicken with marrow bone (this is not recommended and a stock cube gives the flavour safely)

An oven ready bird about 2kg
Onions
Leeks
Beef stock cubes (to give flavour of marrow bones)
1 sachet of gelatine or equivalent
5g powdered cloves
5g powdered nutmeg
A little cooking oil; (whatever you like to use)

Skin the chicken and cut into portion sized pieces. Brown in the oil and set aside. Cut the onions and leeks into small pieces and brown them as well. Return the chicken to the same pot and cover with water. Boil until the chicken is very tender (this will depend on the size of the pieces) and add the crumbled stock cube and the spices. Reduce the cooking liquid until there's only 250ml. Add the gelatine and serve on toasted rounds of bread

MORTREUX (PROLOGUE)

Tak meet of any beast that thou woudst and smite into gobbets. Frye tyl endored and do therto onoyons, barley, turnips, lekes and many divers things that thou will. Seethe altogedre in a iron pot til it be don-y-well and the liquir be thyk and good.

A mortreux is a thickened stew and could be made with any meat; there is no cooking time given because of the variation caused by the differing meats.

Lamb with barley

4 onions cut in thin slices
125g pearl barley
8 lamb chops
1 small turnip
1 carrot
1 leek chopped
a little oil

Brown the meat in an ovenproof dish, add the onions and leeks and brown gently. Chop the carrot and turnip into bite sized chunks and put in the pot as well. Cover with water (the amount will depend on the size of dish chosen but all should be covered). Stir in the barley, this will swell during the cooking so the stew should look watery at this time. Cook for about 2 1/2 hours in a cool oven (150°C/350°F). Check that there is enough liquid from time to time, adding more if it's needed, raise the temperature to (180°C/350°F) and cook for a further 30 mins. The stew should be well thickened and flavoured. You can add a little salt and pepper at this stage. if you put it in earlier the barley will not soften.

Music in the Life of St Thomas Becket

a lecture-recital by Mary Remnant

Illustrated by coloured slides and Harp, Psaltery, Rebec, Fiddle, Organistrum, Organ (recorded), Pipe, Shawm, Horn, Chimebells and Percussion with the Choir of the Confraternity of Saint James and Dom Juan Antonio Torres OSB

Fas et nefas ambulant (from the Carmina Burana)	Goliard song, 12c.
Ut queant laxis	Anon.
In taberna quando sumus (from the Carmina Burana)	Goliard song, 12c.
Cantemus Domino (from the Codex Calixtinus)	Fulbert of Chartres, c. 960-1029
Aeterne rerum conditor	St Ambrose, 340-97
Magnus Caesar Otto (from the Cambridge Songs)	Anon., 10c.
Aurea personet lyra (from the Cambridge Songs)	Fulbert of Chartres
O Roma nobilis	Italian, 10c.
Tu es Petrus	Plainsong.
O quanta qualia	Peter Abelard, 1080-1142
Ad perennis vitae fontem	St Peter Damian, 1007-72
Quan vei l'aloete	Bernart de Ventadorn, c. 1130-90
Ecce Rex Darius (from the Play of Daniel)	French, 12c.
Regis vasa (from the Play of Daniel)	French, 12c.
Vexilla Regis	Venantius Fortunatus, c. 540-600
L'autrier m'iere levas	French, 12c.
Bache bene venies (from the Carmina Burana)	Goliard song, 12c.
Nomen a sollempnibus (from the Carmina Burana)	Goliard song, 12c.
Veni Creator Spiritus	Plainsong.
Sainte Marie Viergene	St Godric, c. 1069-1170
Te Deum laudamus	Plainsong.
In Rama sonat gemitus	French, 12c.
Beata nobis gaudia	Plainsong.
Axe Phebus aureo (from the Carmina Burana)	Goliard song, 12c.
Tu es Petrus	Plainsong.
Orientis partibus	French, 12c.
* De profundis clamavi	Plainsong.
Christus vincit	Plainsong.

* from the CD *The Martyrdom of Saint Thomas Becket: The Unfinished Vespers*, recorded by the Schola Gregoriana of Cambridge and the Canterbury Cathedral Company of Change-ringers, directed by Mary Berry.

Modern hospitality on the routes to Santiago

Don José Ignacio Díaz Pérez

Translated by Hilary Hugh-Jones

Any pilgrim involved in the Camino inevitably finds himself also involved in its history. It isn't possible to go even a few steps without St James appearing to the pilgrim and being in some way his or her walking companion.

But it is also true that when we approach the history of the Camino de Santiago we cannot lose sight of the fact that Jacobean pilgrimage is living history which is always renewing itself and does so with the steps of each pilgrim. It did not end in the 16th century after the first great period of pilgrimage to Santiago: for the Camino has stayed alive with high and low points, throughout the centuries, and today that history continues, responding to the rhythm of each pilgrim who treads its paths.

I therefore consider it most appropriate that, in this conference on hospitality, a section is devoted to talking about Jacobean hospitality today and over the last few years; which results in the revival of interest in the Camino which has occurred in the second half of the 20th century and seems set to continue into the first years of this third millennium. In order to talk of modern hospitality on the Camino one has to look at its history. As this aspect is already well covered in the conference I will limit myself to indicating a series of basic aspects which one finds at the beginning of the Jacobean pilgrimage and which recur in the present renewal of hospitality.

In the beginnings of the Camino one would have had to deal with pilgrimage as the expression of a religious act such as in all early religions, but I will leave aside this aspect in order to concentrate on the *real* aspects of pilgrimage to Santiago which have their origins in the rediscovery of the tomb of the apostle St James in Compostela at the beginning of the 9th century. This historical fact put into perspective *the aim*, the site of pilgrimage based on the apostolic tomb, news of which spread gradually, at medieval speed, throughout the whole of

Christian Europe.

Afterwards come the pilgrims. In all studies on the history of the Camino, Gotescalc, Bishop of Le Puy in Vélay, is referred to as the first pilgrim for whom we have documentary evidence. While staying at the monastery of St Martin de Albelda in Rioja he left to their charge a series of manuscripts which he said he would pick up on his return from Compostela, thus providing us with this information. But before this bishop there were surely many unknown pilgrims who went to the tomb of the Apostle, pilgrims for whom there remains no documentary evidence, but those who steps must have created an image of the pilgrim who is today part of the daily landscape of France and northern Spain. A camino was formed by the passage of these pilgrims, along a more or less prescribed route, knowledge of which was passed on from one pilgrim to another, a route which continues today, creating landmarks, crossing bridges, and through mountain passes. Thanks to the work of outstanding people such as Santo Domingo de la Calzada or San Juan de Ortega, and with the cooperation of royalty and nobility, this largesse still continues, forming a network of roads over the tracks of those early pilgrims.

Next comes hospitality which from spontaneous beginnings has become more organised over time. Originally, pilgrims would have encountered simple hospitality in private houses, monasteries and in the hospices which started to appear in the main centres of population at the initiative of the bishops, cathedrals and confraternities of different types. These created the beginnings of what we now know as the traditional hospitality of the Way of St James.

Later, came the commerical development which began with the establishment of places devoted to the hospitality of pilgrims based on shelters and hospices. All kinds of ideas were introduced to provide for the welfare of pilgrims, which gradually spread into other commercial activities contributing to the atmosphere and warmth of pilgrimage.

These five aspects – the aim, the pilgrims, the Camino, hospitality and commerce- provide a continuum in the development of the Jacobean pilgrimage which one could consider as having come to an end in the 16th century when changing religious ideas were brought about by the Reformation. In addition the insecurity of the routes during the Wars of Religion largely prevented pilgrimage. This process of events is theoretical as obviously the differing aspects did not follow each other chronologically nor did they occur in isolation. They developed, rather, alongside each other and were often inter-related.

But they can nevertheless help us to discover a similar process in the renewal of pilgrimage to Santiago, which has occurred over the last years after centuries of decline; years in which pilgrims did not actually disappear but were so few in number that they never retained the importance of mediaeval times. It is significant that during the whole of the 19th century only about 20,000 pilgrims were recorded in Santiago from which one must presume that the majority were people from the areas around Santiago who went on pilgrimage in the Holy Years when St James' Day, 25th July, fell on a Sunday.

In the middle of the 20th century the aim of the pilgrimage has been returned to prominence. Thanks to a series of historical studies the Camino has been restored.

Through these studies pilgrims re-emerged, returning to the Camino and following in the footsteps of their forebears. Initially few in number, they brought pilgrimage back to life in the minds of the inhabitants of the villages on the route, where before they had only heard of the importance of pilgrims in the past. Once more these villages began to see pilgrims passing through. The creation of the first associations of St James in France and Spain promoted this idea of pilgrimage. From 1985 onwards associations of Friends of the Camino de Santiago were founded in almost all the regions through which the Camino de Santiago passes in Spain, due to the initiative and the enthusiastic encouragement of the late Elías Valiña.

The celebration of the first International Conference of the Spanish Associations in Jaca in 1987 and the more or less simultaneous declaration of the Camino de Santiago as First European Cultural Route, marked the true beginning of a new era in which one can see the basis of the present day development of pilgrimage. An important event was the publication, also in 1987, of the journal *Peregrino*, superseding another small Jacobean journal which had been started by Elías Valiña in 1985. It served as a vehicle for sharing suggestions and ideas, many of which have since been realised. The call by by Pope John Paul II to the World Youth Rally in Santiago de Compostela in 1989, was another landmark, because it brought together large groups of young people in Santiago itself as well as on the Camino. The celebration of Holy Year in 1993 signalled the right moment for the development by the authorities of the Xunta de Galicia (regional government), supported by the central Spanish administration and other regional governments. The end of the 20th century saw a period of great success and tremendous development on the Camino.

As a result of the renewed presence of pilgrims on the Camino pilgrimage has been revived. An early guide published by the Friends of the Camino in Estella contained a series of maps which had recently been improved and updated thanks to the efforts of Elías Valiña and the Jacobean associations. In 1985 the waymarking of the new routes started, routes which had been abandoned for many years and in most parts had been hidden under layers of asphalt. In other parts it had been ploughed up. In the 1990s work on the Caminos became more intensive in Galicia and other regions too.

With the appearance of pilgrims, hospitality began to develop. Just as in medieval times the first hospitality was offered by a few priests, monasteries and by private people who occasionally invited pilgrims into their homes. Gradually some parishes and convents joined in the offering of hospitality to pilgrims. The first true pilgrim refuge was that in Santo Domingo de la Calzada which, founded by the Confraternity of that name, became the yardstick for many more recent refuges. Very soon municipal hostels appeared and others, directly encouraged by Jacobean associations such as Rabanal del Camino. This refuge was restored through the initiative of the Confraternity of Saint James and has been a model for other hospices of this type which have subsequently opened.

To complete the view of the modern revival of the Jacobean pilgrimage the commercial side of the Camino also developed, particularly from the Holy Year 1993 onwards. Establishments of every kind opened up trying to take financial advantage of the pilgrims as far as this is possible. These enterprises are run by local people on the route and by others who come from elsewhere in Europe, who arrive in Spain by way of the Camino and then stay on permanently. Comparing the early Jacobean pilgrimage with that of today I believe that in the present revival there is a similar process at work, although much more rapid, to that experienced in medieval times. The basis of modern hospitality is very similar to the old hospitality, but with a style and character, as would be expected.

In the first place there is a change in the pilgrims. For a pilgrim today the pilgrimage on foot is not the only way of going to Santiago; in fact to our way of thinking it is an anachronistic and even expensive journey. But the modern pilgrim chooses this way of doing the Camino in order to relive the type of journey made by the early pilgrims. On the other hand the pilgrim of today, generally, does not need care and hospitality as most pilgrims can pay for their own food

and lodging in any restaurant or hotel along the route; nor do they need to sleep in refuges which, on the whole, are uncomfortable and spartan. Finally the majority of pilgrims today do not have, at least when they leave, a religious or penitential motive. Indeed many do it for sporting or cultural reasons or with the aim of having a different type of holiday. All these factors exist in present-day pilgrimage and influence the welcome and hospitality pilgrims receive.

It would seem that walking along the Camino becomes a whole experience. The aim is not just to arrive: the Camino is an end in itself, an objective; an objective in which the pilgrim is part of a reality which is not encountered in everyday life. A pilgrim of today does not need to walk all day in order to cover 25 kilometres, a distance which in a car would hardly take 20 minutes. They have no need to put up with blisters, muscular pains, or the weight of a rucksack. They could avoid all this, very cheaply, by taking public transport. They do not need to sleep in rooms full of people, or sleep on the floor, nor even wait hours for a cold shower or to wash their clothes in a bucket outside. However they choose or accept all these difficulties and, what is more, find pleasure in them and even an enriching experience. This experience is acquired, strengthened and made sense of, in many cases, through hospitality. This friendly welcome, open and free, which is like a symbol, sums up everything which the pilgrim finds on his way. It helps them to understand the significance of the spiritual experience which occurs in one way or another while they travels the Camino in the physical sense.

The places of hospitality have also changed. I do not think that an exhaustive study has been done of the number of hospitals that a pilgrim in the Middle Ages would have found along the route, but I would like to suggest that there was never a network of refuges as complete as there is now. Doing a quick calculation of those pilgrim refuges which existed last year on the Camino in Spain, we can count 88 of them. Of those, 58 were public (20 belonging to the town council and 18 to the regional governments (especially in Galicia), 10 were private and 20 shelters provided by the church. But more important than their ownership is the actual people who devote themselves to offering hospitality. In the numbers that I gave you earlier I mentioned the many refuges which are owned by the municipalities. Their involvement in the actual running of these refuges is very limited. The exception is the special case of Larrasoaña where the well-known and outstanding figure of the mayor, Santiago Zubiri, effectively

devotes himself to offering hospitality in the town's municipal offices. In most of the small villages the municipal refuges are run by somebody from the village who is paid a small amount for cleaning and looking after pilgrims. Pilgrims in their turn are charged a token amount. Some municipal refuges in the big villages are entrusted to associations of St James, which then depend, in some cases, on the help of voluntary wardens. They bring an old-fashioned and traditional style of pilgrim hospitality, far removed from what we might call the bureaucratic style. The refuges run by the regional governments are limited to those in Galicia, where the Xunta de Galicia runs its operations with the help of local people it employs. In these refuges pilgrims are charged a fee and this provides a substantial amount of money each year for maintenance. Just as in the case of the councils, in three of these refuges paid wardens work alongside volunteers. This makes for a different kind of hospitality, but the good work and dedication of some of the employed people is nevertheless recognised.

The private refuges are a new phenomenon. Except Jato's refuge in Villafranca del Bierzo which has been in operation for many years, they are in general run by previous pilgrims who want to settle permanently on the Camino. At present there are several private refuges about to open and there will be many more in the future. Here too we can find a comparison with medieval pilgrimage when there were many cases of foreigners who came to settle after having been on pilgrimage themselves.

The number of refuges in church ownership (parishes, confraternities and monasteries) is considerably fewer than some years ago. But we must not lose sight of the fact that some of those refuges which appeared in the lists of earlier times were simple parish 'spaces' where there was no attention or care given to pilgrims. In more recent years they have disappeared, coming back as municipal village refuges. The reduction in numbers does not mean that there is a reduction in the spiritual care offered to pilgrims. In my opinion (some would say limited, given my eternal optimism) the spiritual nature of hospitality offered to pilgrims is becoming ever deeper and more caring and will, I think, grow ever greater in the coming years.

The reference which I made earlier to the change in motivation on the part of pilgrims seems to produce the belief in many church/religious institutions that pilgrim hospitality (listed as a whole under the generic heading of "tourists") is something which belongs to the lay and not to the religious sector. The religious sector, they feel,

should devote itself more to the 'poor' rather than to tourists. In my opinion there is a basic error behind this belief and a lack of knowledge of the nature of the Camino. It fails to consider that, from the religious point of view, the care of the pilgrims is a wonderful opportunity to spread the Christian message to people generally removed from religious beliefs but who, on pilgrimage, come in to the churches and are prepared to listen and to pray.

I do not want to finish my paper without making reference to grouping which I believe is of vital importance in the present situation of Jacobean hospitality and I believe will have a growing importance in the coming years. This is the association of voluntary wardens of the Camino de Santiago which I co-ordinate on behalf of the Federation of Spanish Associations of Friends of the Camino de Santiago, with the help of many other Jacobean associations. Like many other such initiatives throughout the history of pilgrimage, wardenship started in a very simple way in 1990 thanks to a Catalan pilgrim, Lourdes Lluch. She decided to rent a house in a village on the Camino where there was absolutely no hospitality and to devote part of her holidays to receiving pilgrims in her house. In that same year other pilgrims carried on her job. The following year the initiative spread to other refuges (Astorga, Pamplona, San Juan de Ortega). Gradually this idea took off and by the first meeting of wardens was held at San Juan de Ortega in March 1993. Also in 1993, in the same place, the first training course for future wardens was organised. From then on the number of wardens and refuges run by them has been growing every year. In this year of 2001 four training courses for new wardens are being run. Similar courses in England, France and Germany have already been run and these volunteers will look after 24 refuges along the Camino of Santiago, as well as some in France which are organized directly by the French Associations themselves. There will be 400 previous pilgrims in total who will be helping with hospitality.

I believe that the contribution and the presence of these voluntary wardens have been very important in the development of Jacobean hospitality over the last few years. It has enabled many refuges to exist which are not run by public entities, town councils, regional governments or commercial interests. Given the great influx of pilgrims, particularly over the summer months, in the parishes, monasteries and refuges run by Jacobean associations, it would be impossible to house them if it were not for the help of these volunteers. It could even be that without them refuges would have disappeared

except for those in the public sector. The volunteers also ensure that the pilgrims' experience is a more positive one, because they are looked after by wardens who have no other aim than to offer hospitality. They are not doing any other work and their level of hospitality and availability cannot be compared with other organisations. I have many years experience in offering hospitality to pilgrims and I consider myself an enthusiastic worker, but nevertheless I am sure that when there are voluntary wardens working, the hospitality is much better than when I am running it myself and trying to divide my time between the pilgrims and my other parish responsibilities.

Another aspect to which the voluntary wardens contribute is the possibility of continuing the tradition of free hospitality; pilgrims are not charged but are invited to make a voluntary donation. In a commercial world such as we have today, the fact that pilgrims can find places where everything that they need is offered free and unconditionally is a symbol that the Camino is not just a sporting or cultural journey but something quite different. The tendency for refuges to charge (always a small amount and not applied to anyone unable to pay) is reasonable and logical, particularly where there are heavy maintenance expenses or where someone is always needed to receive people. But this does produce a different kind of atmosphere than in refuges where a donation is the norm. Free hospitality is easier, more of a risk, but without any doubt more in keeping with the tradition of Jacobean hospitality and with the spiritual aspect which characterizes it. It continues to be possible in many refuges thanks to the generous help of the voluntary wardens.

Finally one must not forget that the task of offering hospitality also gives an important and personal experience to the wardens themselves. Just as for pilgrims the pilgrimage to Santiago is nearly always an enriching experience which can have repercussions in their later lives, so for the wardens the contact, through offering hospitality to pilgrims - this other perhaps hidden side of pilgrimage - can also provide an experience which will have repercussions in their lives too. The act of giving to others becomes an enriching and pleasurable experience which affects all those who are part of it.

In conclusion, we are at the beginning of the third millennium, we are beginning a new stage of the Camino de Santiago and we do not know what course it will take in the coming years. The pilgrims hold the key to the future, for we do not know whether they will continue to come to the Camino in the same numbers as in previous years. From

my own experience I would suggest that pilgrimage will continue for many years at the same level as the last few years and perhaps more. In a society such as ours the experience of pilgrimage allows us to be part of history, nature and spirituality which I think will continue to be attractive to many people who, through the Camino, will experience Jacobean hospitality. It could awaken in them the desire to give back something of what they have received by working as voluntary wardens too.

I think hospitality will intensify and become more spiritual and that the refuges run by the Jacobean associations will play an ever more important role. Private refuges (run by ex-pilgrims or volunteer wardens) will also increase substantially. Alongside these refuges commercial interests will continue to increase, given that they have found a seam of gold in the Jacobean pilgrims. These interests will continue to conflict with the traditional free hospitality of the Camino which is how it has always been. The presence of the volunteer wardens will always be necessary, contributing as they do out of their very own experience of pilgrimage. They will continue to bring to the Camino their generous and unselfish presence.

I believe the Camino will live on as testimony to a common European history and to a renewed vitality in the search for spirituality which will be with humanity throughout history. The Camino de Santiago provides and will continue to provide a special way of showing this spirituality.

A Monastery on the Way of Saint James

D. Juan Antonio Torres Prieto OSB

Translated by Laurie Dennett

A monastery has recently been born on the Way of Saint James. This news would not have been unusual in the middle of the eleventh century, during the medieval heyday of monasticism and of pilgrimage. Today, nonetheless, it takes on an exotic tone. What is the meaning of a Benedictine monastery on the Way of Saint James of the twenty-first century, in the world of the twenty-first century, so different from that of the eleventh or the twelfth? That society was predominantly religious; ours is predominantly lay; then, monastic life had an important role, not only religious, but also social, while today it has neither; the medieval pilgrimage to Santiago perhaps shares with that of today only the geography of the route.

What can a Benedictine monastery be doing on the Way of Saint James in the twenty-first century? Since St Benedict wrote in his Rule that monks had to receive poor people and pilgrims as if they were Christ Himself, monastic tradition has been essential in understanding that which became the Way of Saint James. But what does a Benedictine monastery have to say to today's pilgrims, to the young people of today? Perhaps an all-embracing formula must be restated: hospitality for the body and the spirit.

In effect, we find every day that the pilgrimage helps those who take to the road to become more of a man, more of a woman. It is moving to be present at the stirrings of humanity, of generosity, of love, of altruism, that so often occur on the Camino. All that contrasts with a less human world, not so generous, not so full of love, not so altruistic, a society in which hurry, competitiveness, superficiality and materialism come to drown out the deepest things we carry within us.

The Way, moreover, puts the pilgrim in contact with the profound mystery of life. Nature, in its still fascinating beauty of northern Spain; the immensity of the fields of Castile; the deep and silent valleys of the Bierzo; the grandeur of Cebreiro; the enigmatic mists of Galicia; the emotion felt at sunrise; the water that fertilizes and gives life to the plateaus; the snow that covers Rabanal with whiteness in winter; the

sun which matures and dries the grain; the burgeoning vegetation of Navarra and Logroño; the majesty of the Pyrenees.

The pilgrim can regard all this at leisure, step by step, moment by moment, day by day. He can contemplate the mystery of life in silence, with deep admiration, understanding that he himself forms part of a sentient whole. There is more to it than mere biology or geology: something inexplicable, something profound, something that, although it is imperceptible to the senses, comes to underlie everything that surrounds us.

There is still more. Solitude helps the pilgrim to enter into himself and discover a space of incredible beauty, a world that usually passes us by unnoticed. Silence helps the pilgrim to listen to the low murmur of a hidden presence undeniable through the ages.

Where do I come from? Where am I going? What can I hope for from so many gifts, from the greatness I find within myself? In the school of solitude and silence, the pilgrim learns to know himself in body and spirit: how far his feet can carry him, bearing up under the weariness of the day; and how far his spirit can rise above the simply material.

All that is human is pilgrimage: because we can take to the Road to investigate fundamental questions, because we can direct ourselves towards this mystery that surrounds us, that is our origin and our finality.

This is the context in which the Monastery of San Salvador de Monte Irago has been established. We wish to make available to pilgrims our greatest treasure, our most knowledgeable response: Christ, the Lord, the Son of Man and the Son of God.

As monks, dedicated also to the contemplation of the Love of God in solitude and silence, we are willing to open not only our doors, but also our hearts, to those who ask us the rationale for Faith. We are convinced that Christ the Lord has much to say to the man and the woman of today.

Ecce homo: Here is the man, Pilate said disdainfully of Jesus, little knowing the profound truth he uttered. Here is the man: not only in the moral greatness of the hero who dies to save his friends, not only in the achievement of the teacher who shows us how to live well; but above all, in what only the Creator can offer us, his creatures: eternal salvation and happiness, surpassing our wildest dreams.

A good host offers his guests the best he has. We, the monks of San Salvador de Monte Irago, place at the disposition of pilgrims our most

precious treasure: Christ, the pilgrim *par excellence*, who came from the Father into our world, to show us the Way from this world to the very heart of God.

How to do this? From silence made prayer, out of solitude made into solidarity, from the simplicity of a life freely offered to His service, with no greater interest than His glory alone, with no greater reward than the good of our brothers, with no greater merit than Christ Himself.

Thanks to God, we have been able to prepare a small and simple framework in which to live out a monastic life. Meditating on the Word before the sun rises, living in solitude the encounter with the Holy Spirit, sharing love in the brotherhood of the community. By means of these fundamental elements of the monastic life, we enrich ourselves and we are capable of directing those who turn to us.

Day after day, it fills us with joy to verify how the pilgrims welcome the moments of prayer that we share in the church of Rabanal. The celebration of the liturgy, bringing out its beauty and meaning, is something that is making of this place one of the basic spiritual milestones of the Way of Saint James. Why? Because one is not only caring for the body. The whole person, in his or her corporality and spirituality, is what interests us. From the mysterious silence of prayer we all enter into fruitful contact with that which we call God, and from Him we better understand ourselves and those around us.

To help the pilgrim enter into himself, show him the profound meaning of his pilgrimage, and reveal to him the immense possibilities that open before him: this is the mission we have undertaken in the Monastery of San Salvador de Monte Irago.

Our Monastery is still young. We dream of a community doing its utmost for the pilgrim. Deeply monastic while being deeply missionary, open to sensibility, as much that of believing pilgrims as of other persons in the process of searching or even of those who live apart from faith. We wish to create an atmosphere in which frontiers do not divide but enrich, in which diversity of language does not produce confrontation, but harmony.

It fills us with emotion to recall an evening in the month of May in the year 2000. Our poor church was filled with pilgrims, the greater number of them French and German. We usually give out some leaflets with the Latin text of Vespers and a translation. Those pilgrims were not attending as curious spectators of a romantic recital of Gregorian chant. They began to sing along with us, filling with faith and feeling the

centuries-old and crumbling Romanesque arches of the church of Rabanal.

What are we doing in Rabanal? In essence, praying for the pilgrims and praying with the pilgrims. In our utilitarian society, this may seem something vain, irrelevant, trivial, unproductive. None the less, if the pilgrims are looking for anything in us, it is real monks, men of prayer. Monks willing to listen to each person on an intimate level, to encourage him or her on their pilgrimage through this life, to console them in their problems and to direct them in their search for God.

Our interest, the interest of the Abbey of Saint Ottilien in the Jacobean pilgrimage, is eminently Christian. We are convinced that the Way of Saint James is one of the great opportunities that exist in Europe to continue speaking about Jesus Christ. That is why we came: to announce to pilgrims the joy of walking not only towards a northern Spanish city, but above all towards the most beloved and profound depths of the heart of God, our Father. All this through man, the Man *par excellence* who was Christ, the Pilgrim who shows us the pilgrim Way.

Certainly, the Way of Saint James has improved as far as its infrastructure is concerned. None the less, we believe that the most important thing now is to re-emphasize that this is a pilgrim route for pilgrims. The man and woman of our world need the Way to recover a more human world. Thus, the Camino must increase that very capacity to make pilgrimage possible. This may seem obvious, but it is not; the Way of Saint James has also been placed at the service of other interests. Its future, in fact, will depend on its capacity to put the pilgrimage first.

As the Christian monks that we are, in the Europe of well-being, we place ourselves of those pilgrims who continue seeking on the age-old Way of Saint James the profound mystery of man and the world: God our Lord.

We are a Monastery, so to speak, still in its infancy: a seed sown alongside the Camino with the hope of young monks who have been and feel themselves to be pilgrims. We ask your help, encouragement and counsel to keep working in the field that is opening before us. Not in vain, San Salvador de Monte Irago offers itself to the service of pilgrims. We know that there are many of you who accompany us along this path; for the future, we thank you for that.

The *Hospitalité Saint Jacques* at Estaing

Marie-Claude Piton

Translated by William Griffiths

The founders, the Community's guide, Léonard Tandeau de Marsac, and myself, who has been sent to represent them, are happy to contribute to your Conference. We wish to greet everyone who is organising and taking part in the conference, that is all pilgrims and *hospitaleros*, but also everyone who is aware of the renewal of the Pilgrimage to Saint James of Compostela. The Hospitalité Saint Jacques accompanies our work here through its continuous prayer and asks for God's blessing on all who are taking part in this meeting.

The Bishop of Rodez and his diocese welcomed the founders of our Community in 1992, and gave them a house in Estaing (Aveyron Department), France, in which to welcome poor people and pilgrims in the spirit of the Gospel, and to accompany them spiritually on their journeys. This was our beginning. Elisabeth Tandeau, her husband Léonard and her brother, Louis Marie Gousseau, with the support of Mgr. Bellino Ghirard, founded the Hospitalité Saint Jacques on the Le Puy route, the *Via Podensis*.

Our work offers a way of life in community to lay people, both families and single, and potentially also to deacons and priests. At present, we are two families. The community lives by prayer, it lives for the work of welcome, of evangelisation, and anything God asks of it for the ultimate good of all. It is part of a chain of church places of welcome (parishes, families, convents, monasteries...) to which it gives its own particular way of being. Together with the Premonstratensian Brothers of Conques we have wanted to forge this chain by drawing up a fourfold charter of welcome. We wish to show some of the Christian spirit of welcome to pilgrims of Saint James of Compostela and to resist the temptations of secularisation and commercialism. The four points are:

- to be available
- to pray with pilgrims, or to put a place of prayer at their disposal

- to be committed to pray for pilgrims
- to offer pilgrims a free choice in contributing to the cost of their stay

A Mission of Welcome

Pilgrims are a good sample of humankind with their interior riches, their deep aspirations and their sorrows. Our daily job is to receive this humankind – walking, searching – and offer it to Our Lord. The daily exercise of our faith is to recognise in each pilgrim the presence of Christ Himself. In this dual action it is difficult to know who is giving and who is receiving (remember that the word "hôte" in French means both guest and host). We have to live this as a constant exchange. What we offer to a pilgrim's existential fragility – a roof, some comfort, an encounter in an atmosphere of peace and prayer, is given back to us a hundredfold, both materially and in the unquantifiable ways of the Spirit. One would gladly give everything in order to receive Jesus every day! So this mission of welcome is a privilege, a grace. It has transformed our lives and we hope that it will continue to transform them.

More than a Lodging, a Christian Welcome

Why not content ourselves with functional lodgings, suited to the needs of a walker, with, from time to time, an enchanting touch of the picturesque? Because this Road, these Roads, are ways of Pilgrimage, as they have been through the ages, and Santiago is still the Apostle's Tomb. These paths have not been created for "social clubs" or for tourists to "historic monuments". This Way has been, is, and will be a Way of faith, of prayer and ascesis, which should prepare the pilgrim for his arrival at the sanctuary, a preparation for approaching humbly and respectfully the "House" of Saint James. So, the slow approach on foot to the sanctuary in Galicia can be for the pilgrim a way of entering "ever more deeply" (*Ultreia*) into the mystery of God, the mystery of His Providence, of the salvation He offers. The task of the walker is to take on the spirit of Christian pilgrimage and to let himself be guided by it. The phrase "to each his own Camino" does harbour more than a grain of truth, but should not be a pretext for imagining that one can "manufacture" one's own pilgrimage. That is why "*accueils*" (places of welcome) cannot be spiritually neutral. The very nature of this pilgrimage, if it is not to be betrayed, calls for the presence of Christians with the mission of helping their pilgrim brethren even further *(Ultreia)* towards the Encounter. These "*accueils*" of the Church are in the most

authentic Jacobean tradition, but also derive their legitimacy from a deep respect for the spiritual liberty of every pilgrim. Opening their doors to all, believers or not, Christians or followers of other religions, they are at the service of all who walk the Way, without discrimination. They can lay claim to the invitation issued by the abbey of Roncesvalles in the thirteenth century: "The door lies open to all, both the sick and the healthy, not only to Catholics but also to pagans, Jews, heretics, the lazy, the good-for-nothing, or to sum up, both to the worthy and to the profane".

If to welcome a pilgrim, as to welcome a poor or unhappy person, is a "work of mercy", that is a witness to the mercy of God, then *"accueil"* becomes an apostolate. It is clear that, in a world obsessed by profitability, this entails for us giving (or allowing a free participation in the sharing of costs), sharing, caring, comforting. What price would you charge Christ if He were your guest?

But Christians must also pay attention, in a world where human relations seem determined by "the media", to brotherhood. So *"accueils"* must be places of listening, of exchange, of advice, in a climate of fraternal trust. This needs time and availability – not always easy to reconcile with the great flow of pilgrims.

Many pilgrims, immersed in a materialist and hedonist world, find it hard to disengage themselves from their material amenities and comfort. Christian "*accueils*", as opposed to commercial lodgings, should remain simple and sober, to witness to the unique happiness of being together and in the presence of God.

Finally, and above all, this presence of God is respected in pilgrims and offered to pilgrims, by the sacraments if possible, and as a minimum, by praying together.

The hospitality offered at Estaing tries to preserve this climate of family simplicity and tranquil prayer, to allay fears and sufferings and bring peace. A pilgrim arrives, more or less exhausted and in pain and pulls the bell-rope. The hospitaller of the day hurries (tranquilly!) to meet him. "Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord". How many years of grace must we live, how many pilgrims must we welcome in order to experience the joy of welcoming Christ in the other, without any shadow on the heart? At this first meeting one tries to make it a welcome: to ask for news of the other and meet his immediate needs. One often senses the unease and tension of someone who is trying to reach the unknown goal and tries to calm it: "You have arrived... *"chez vous"*. The hospitaller shows the pilgrim the house, and

the facilities for restoring the body and feeding the soul. A short tour shows him the library, then the chapel at the centre of the building and the One who welcomes the pilgrim: the master of the house. Finally, the dining room. Three adjacent rooms with three tables of fellowship: the table of study and meeting, the table of the Eucharist and the Word of God; the table of sharing and good company. Invited to share in the community's meals and prayer, the pilgrims can, as they get used to it, feel that the Hospitalité is not just provided for them, but becomes their own home for the time of their stay. Certainly, the financial contribution of the guest is entirely free, without any need for a price list or any concern for "getting value": the Lord God inspires the generosity needed for His work to continue.

But the Hospitalité Saint Jacques does not wish to be just a "*maison d'accueil*". It has a mission to accompany the pilgrim, notably through prayer. Each morning at Lauds the community reads out to Saint James the names of the pilgrims who are on the Road to the Sanctuary who have passed through in the last two months (the time it usually takes to walk from Estaing to Santiago. So, there you have a suggestion, a few elements of the spirit of "*accueil*" as we try to live it at the Hospitalité.

This pilgrimage, and some of its "*accueils*" are specifically Christian. What does this mean for the Jacobean Associations? They take the place of the ancient Fraternities but they have often had to de-confessionalise themselves in order to be open to all sensibilities, religious or not, in our secular societies. It is not always easy to be non-confessional and to promote a Christian pilgrimage! So the temptation, not always avoided or even resisted, is to suppress the demands of Christianity, even the mention of Christ, ending up with a sort of Jacquaire pseudo-spirituality, made up of Camino places and rituals and esotericism. Sometimes this reduction to a lowest common denominator involves a denial of the sanctuary in Galicia as a place of grace: "the important thing is the Camino". The Church, and so all Christians, have in this a great responsibility before God. A polite devotion is not enough. We have to witness to the Love of Christ without timidity, "in season and out of season", in order to offer a response to the spiritual thirst of today, in accord with the Jacobean tradition. No one is forced to drink, but it is asked of us that we offer the water!

"To pray and to serve". We earnestly wish and pray that many works of hospitality, by groups, individuals, churches, should come into being to preserve in this Road the great tradition that calls us – the gift that is universal and that is unity.

Round Table

Aachen as a centre of pilgrimage and as a station on the way to Santiago de Compostela

Dr Robert Plötz

Accommodation and care of pilgrims on the way to Aachen

From almost all the larger towns of Northern Germany, since the 14th century, pilgrims have gone to Aachen. The pilgrims' hospital in Bremen is documented in 1376, as providing special accommodation for pilgrims to Aachen, In 1433 the foundation of the pilgrims' hospital near St John's Church was established. It enjoyed special favours from the Church as well as from secular authorities. In 1440, a Fraternity of the most venerable Virgin Mary was founded at Lüneburg, which is also on the way to Aachen. The Fraternity was endowed with particular donations in 1443, 1497, 1512 and 1522.

Gertrude Fictors, a citizen of Andernach, after the death of her husband, Heynemanns von Kerlich, 'for God's and our Virgin's sake, for the Spiritual welfare of her deceased husband, of her offspring and other ancestors pledged a considerable amount of alms, pensions and benefits for poor pilgrims going to Aachen', and for their welfare. In this way, at Andernach where a hospital already existed, a fund was established that - enriched by subsidies from the town and possibly by the Aachen Cathedral Chapter - allowed pilgrims to stay there for a period of time. At Andernach, pilgrims to Aachen were permitted to stay up to a period of six weeks. They received wine, vegetables, beer, bread, meat and fish. The charter of the foundation, dated April 13th, 1343, which has been preserved in the municipal archives of Andernach, even shows a dorsal entry of the 16th Century 'concerning the Hungarian Pilgrimage'. The Andernach hospital records of 1706, under the heading of 'edition of meat', show the following entry: 'Provision of the Hungarians with mutton, fish and vegetables'. The foundation existed until the pilgrimage was interdicted in 1776. On July 23rd, 1364, the Archbishop and Elector of Trier confirmed the Fictors Foundation. At Ahrweiler, a donation to poor pilgrims on their way to the Holy Relics of Aachen in 1505 is documented by the

Guilds' Fraternity.

Of course, hospitals and pilgrims' accommodations or hospitable private quarters were not available everywhere. Across sparsely peopled areas, where whole processions of pilgrims were moving, or where there were big crowds at the established pilgrims' centres, it was often impossible to find free quarters. Then, people had to resort to simpler means. Tents and blankets that had been carried along with them had to replace solid shelter. On a strip of approximately 20 metres (22 yards) on either side of the way, travelling people were allowed to rest in the traditional fashion from times immemorial; to look for fire wood, and to have the horses grazing. Philipp de Vigneulles, a citizen of Metz, reports that he and his companions 'most quickly started for Düren', after the exposition of the Holy Relics, in order to witness the presentation of St Anne's Head. On their way, as they estimated and overheard people talk, they had passed more than 50,000 people. He took down: 'I also think that during that night there slept more than 18,000 to 20,000 women and men who could not arrive at Düren in time'.

A map of the Gau-Algesheim area (between Ingelheim and Bingen) and probably dating from the 17th century shows the people of the so-called Hungarian Pilgrimage in view of the Aachen presentation of the Holy Relics, staying overnight in large tents, because they were not tended to by specific institutions, for example, in the hospitals of Hildesheim, Cologne or Andernach. Even the participants of such close processions [that is specific pilgrimage groups] could not expect accommodation in hospitals. Thus, an order of the warden of the Hospital of the Holy Cross Foundation at Nuremberg, dating from the early 16th century, points out: 'When hungry people go to Aachen, once in seven years, they should not have beds, but stay inside the yard, there they will be given what they need'. There are, however, documents which demonstrate a tendency to the opposite occurring, i.e. that the pilgrims' hospital was to be utilised by poor pilgrims only, and that access was refused to wealthier pilgrims or those on horseback, for example. Finally it has to be remarked that most hospitals would not have been able to deal with a crowd of hundreds or even thousands of strangers.

Cologne was a central meeting point for pilgrims on their way to Aachen. It was situated at the crossing of important roads for pilgrimage and trade and itself was an outstanding cultural centre, which many pilgrims wanted to reach. Since ecclesiastical hospitals, in

particular near St Andrew' s Church and St Mary in Capitol, could not cope with the crowds of pilgrims, Albrecht von Zelle, a Cologne citizen, founded a hospital for strangers on the former town moat named Ipper (Yew) ditch, in the beginning oft he 14th century since that had been released as a building site, due to the extension of the town in 1180. He had several houses constructed, deciding 'that all common or poor pilgrims were to find shelter for one night, including anything necessary'. As to the number of pilgrims in Cologne, in 1524, the year of the presentation of the Holy Relics, Hermann Weinsberg reports that, as far as he was able to estimate, more than 2,000 or even 5,000 Hungarians, Bohemians, Austrians and other strangers visited the Holy Relics of Cologne and that they had been accommodated in houses along a small river (i.e. along the present quarters of Mühlenbach, Blaubach, Rochgerberbach). However, the people who were sheltered like that, normally had to feed on their own. Another hospital, St John the Baptist, was also founded by a citizen. It was built during the nineties of the fourteenth century, by Petrus van der Hellen on the Broad Street, who spent part of his goods 'to shelter poor pilgrims coming from distant countries and striving for the grace of the Heavenly Queen of Aachen and for the Holy Relics'. As the hospital, was preferably attained by pilgrims for Aachen, it was named 'Aiche' and it existed until 1767. On the way from Cologne to Aachen, about half the distance between Cologne and Düren, at Ichendorf, a hospital for strangers was founded in 1457; it was equipped with six beds. Not much is known about the Düren hostel. It disposed of its own chapel and was situated opposite to the Franciscan Monastery. After the destruction of the town, in 1543, it was presumably united with the hospital for poor citizens, that had been built by the Town Council immediately beside it.

Aachen as an important Station on the Pilgrims' Way *'Ad Sanctum Jacobum'*

The ancient imperial town of Aachen disposes of a lot of institutions originating from the presentation of the Holy Relics as well as from the pilgrimage *'Ad Sanctum Jacobum'* (St James). So the total panorama of Aachen from a bird's view by Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg (1576) shows a 'St Jacob Poort' (St James' Gate - eastern gate in the direction of Cologne), situated near St James' Church. But Aachen can also show other St James' traditions, many of them due to the various myths belonging to the many legends which surround Charlemagne,

like the images of different events from his campaign to Spain on the ceiling of his shrine. Other monuments were built due to the strong relationship between the reverence of St James and the life of Charlemagne, which becomes evident, for example, in the legendary foundations of so many churches. Furthermore, St James' Church in the south west of the town, outside Barbarossa Ring (a circular road) gives evidence of it. The church was endowed with the right of a parish in 1260, and it still possesses an important relic of St James in its treasury. Moreover, Aachen was considered to be one of the most significant stations along the pilgrims' routes to St James' tomb in the distant west of ancient Europe, especially for the union of Slavic and Hungarian Christians who arrived from the eastern boundaries of the '*Orbis Christianus*', in order to take part in God's embracing grace and in the benefits of the Apostle's Tomb at Santiago.

An early testimony of the presence of Hungarians on the pilgrims' route to Santiago is to be found at the distance of a three days' journey from Aachen. Up to the year 1212, in St Alban' s Church at Namur, there was evidence of the tomb of a Hungarian bishop who had died there on his way to Santiago. This fact is stated in a Latin text, dated 1212: '*Idibus Octobris, sepultusque est Namurci in medio ecclesiae Sancti Albany honorifice, sicut hodie cernitur. In quo loco iacebat quidam episcopus de Hungaria, qui peregere proficiscens ad Sanctum Jacobum Namurci*'. Near Aachen, where medieval graves of people who had died with leprosy were excavated, two pilgrims' shells were found, which proves that the dead were pilgrims on their way back from St James' tomb. The frequency of Hungarian pilgrimage has already been pointed out by Floris Holik.

Pilgrimage to Aachen and Compostela also implies an essential factor of secular jurisdiction (*peregrinatio poenaliter causae*). Owing to the increase of criminality in towns and to the radical change of various forms and standards of law, pilgrimage as a penalty was introduced as a legal means of secular jurisdiction and incorporated into the municipal legislation of the late Middle Ages. In connection with conditions that often seem to be quite modern, the offender, depending on the gravity of his offence, was sent to famous places of pilgrimage, such as Jerusalem, Aachen, Rome, Santiago, St Josse and Mont-Saint-Michel. One example may do here. In 1428, after Cuncz Rudiger of Heidingsfeld (near Würzburg) had stabbed Hannsen Vierenkoren, the crime was regarded as homicide and was therefore punished following a criminal procedure that involved the following conditions. The

offender had to build a stone cross, he had to donate twenty pounds of wax for the Divine Service to be said on behalf of the victim's eternal rest. Moreover, he had to undergo pilgrimage as a penalty to three places: Aachen, Maria Einsiedeln and Santiago de Compostela and the exact times of his presence there were prescribed. So far, his obligations for his victim's soul had been complied with, but - and this reveals the common sense of the judges of that time and their idea of social welfare that the convict also had to render a financial compensation to the victim's children, the payment of which was again exactly defined in terms of time and condition. As a result of these wise decisions, the behaviour of the two opposing parties towards each other was settled, and was to be peaceful for a lifetime.

Pilgrimage to Aachen was often ordered in a will (*peregrinatio per delegationem*). According to the wills of some Lübeck citizens, between 1350 and 1508, for instance, 704 cases altogether, to 42 different centres of pilgrimage were defined: 128 to Aachen, 76 to Rome, 46 to Santiago de Compostela, 128 to Wilsnack and 111 to Thann / Alsace. On August 6th, 1332, Meynekin van Viensborg obliged his '*famulus*' Navensone, who had inherited his ship-chest and his stores, to go to two centres of pilgrimage: to St Mary of Aachen and to Obernkirchen ('Overenkerken'). The city of Lübeck felt obliged to make a contract, dated May 22nd, 1354, to send a pilgrim to Jerusalem, Rome, Santiago de Compostela, Rocamadour, Aachen and the above mentioned place of Obernkirchen. for the expiation of Marquard von Westensee, a squire whom he had slain, for the specific benefit of the dead man's soul.

Conditions for pilgrims going to Aachen were not so favourable in all Hanseatic towns. Although the nomination of Aachen as a centre of pilgrimage was still quite frequent during the second half of the fourteenth century, upon occasion it was expressly interdicted by the town council, as it happened in 1454. This did not refer to pilgrimage by sea, like to Santiago de Compostela. In 1419, the town council of Wismar expressly interdicted pilgrimage to Aachen and Einsiedeln, under the threat of serious punishment. Even the wills of distinguished personages contain legacies for Aachen.

In 1347 Eckholt von Griesbach decreed in his will that his wife was to visit Rome and Aachen for the benefit of his soul. While Gerd von Havekesbeke, a citizen of Münster, in his will, dated January 17th, 1398, ordered his heirs to send one pilgrim to each of these places: Aachen, Trier, Rome and Stromberg near Münster. In 1488, Countess Palatine

Margareta, wife of Count Palatine and Elector Philipp, decreed in her will that four pilgrimages were to be made: to Rome, to Santiago, to Our Virgin of Einsiedeln and to Our Virgin of Aachen.

Aachen was not only the destination, but also the station as well as the starting point of the so-called Lower Route to Santiago de Compostela. Due to the strategic situation of Aachen as a gathering centre, the number of pilgrims arriving or passing increased considerably.

Accommodation and care of pilgrims in Aachen

Several hospitals were founded for the purpose of accommodating strangers at Aachen. Thus, by the end of the 13th century, St Blaise' s Hospital or 'Gasthuyss up dem Hoyve' was established, and in 1336 the Town Council had another hospital built on Radermarkt. It served several purposes, for the beneficiaries as a hospital, and as the revised document of 1622 indicates, as a place for tending pilgrims. During this year the assets of the two hospitals were merged, and the management was transferred to the Sisters of St Elizabeth, while the Council maintained the supervision over accommodating and tending the pilgrims on their way.

One of the first activities consisted in the establishment of a large infirmary, the so-called 'Beyart', located in the hospital of Radermarkt. Apart from the care of local sick people, a balance was made, covering a period from August 31st, 1622, to September 24th of the following year: 'for about 3,280 sick people, passengers and pilgrims were given food and care in the said hostel'. Up to 1800, the 'Hospital am Hof' complied with its original purpose. The Hospital of Radermarkt existed, under the name of St Elizabeth's Hospital, up to the changes of the 19th to the 20th century.

Even in the near surroundings of Aachen, there were a number of charitable or commercial institutions giving accommodation and shelter, besides, the traditional forms of hospitality which had already existed for a long time. Pilgrims could always expect to be lodged in hospitable private houses, on farms as well as in the houses of town people. During the period of exposition of the Holy Relics at Aachen, thousands of pilgrims sometimes moved into other towns also, each distinguished by their own relics, such as Cornelimünster, Düren, Cologne, Maastricht or Trier, where at the same time the Holy *Tunica* [Shroud] was shown. In those places the citizens of the towns regarded it either as their duty of honour to grant them hospitality, or they felt

obliged to practise forms of social aid. For as the saying went: 'If crowds of people, especially on Sundays, had gathered and there were houses without guests, this would be an act of disrespect and considered like a dog without tail', according to an ancient quotation cited in the Aachen Chronicles by J. Noppius in 1632. Even the citizen of Metz, Philipp de Vigneulles, mentioned above, found in Aachen in 1510 a quarter with private people, together with his companions.

In the beginning of the 15th century, a confraternity was constituted to support pilgrims, helpless fellow citizens and travelling strangers, particularly for pilgrims on their way to St James. For their welfare, a Hospital of St James was founded along the present 'Kleinmarschierstraße'. Three houses, including a chapel, situated near the town wall, formed the premises. Behind the buildings was their own cemetery. In 1435, the foundation was confirmed by the priest or the archpriest of the town. There is evidence of this institution still existing in 1561, when authorities mention 'spinden [alms] in des kleinen sant Jacobst gasthuyß in Bortschiederstrais'. By the end of the sixteenth or in the beginning of the 17th century, the hospital lost its importance and perished. The building got new functions, and a Convent of St Clara was established there in 1616. Since 1261, there was a Beguines' Convent on Matthiashof (Mathew's Court). Not later than in 1441, a hospital for women on pilgrimage was connected with it. They were cared for by the Beguines. The revenue of the convent was obviously combined with the so-called Poor Viennese Donation, in order to be able to feed the Hungarians who arrived on their way to view the Holy Relics in St Mathew's Court between 11th and 13th July.

Summing up: At least in the minds of the founders and donors there were hospitals which were intended by name to be used by definite groups of pilgrims, like for instance the Hospital of St John the Baptist in Cologne, which was preferably meant to serve pilgrims on their way to Aachen; or St James' Hospital at Aachen that was to tend pilgrims to Santiago de Compostela in particular. There are, however, no indications that restrictive orders of the Charters of foundation excluded the right of other pilgrims to stay overnight. They rather served - with great certainty - to classify the rates of pilgrims who actually arrived at the hospitals. Those large numbers of pilgrims - in accordance with the historical sources – prove to have been a movement of crowds, which may rightly be compared to the modern culture of Events. The management of such large crowds raises

astonishment and deserves our recognition even today.

As for the various forms of charity, a lot of foundations and the efforts of many institutions, which did not all work quite unselfishly, cared for the welfare of people and their needs. All this happened at a time when public social care and health insurance did not yet exist. This was done to help people to achieve an 'Instrument for souls', i.e. a claim to be preferentially admitted to Heaven, and was clearly guided by a sense of reality.

Hospital de Bruma on the *Camino Inglés*

Patricia Quaife

Hospital de Bruma is a small village consisting of one street of houses on the *Camino Inglés*, situated in the province of A Coruña (and the municipality of Mesia) in Galicia. It lies at the junction of the two arms of the Camino - the Ferrol/Neda arm and the A Coruña arm - some 64 kilometres from Ferrol, 35 from A Coruña and 40 from Santiago de Compostela.

As well as its strategic location for pilgrims, Bruma had one of the most ancient pilgrim hopitals on the *Camino Ingles*, where, just as on the better-known traditional route of the Camino Frances, there existed a network of medieval hopitals for pilgrims, travellers and the indigent. For example at different times on the Coruña arm hospitals could be found at Sigras, at Ponte Sarandons, at Bruma, at Poulo and of course at Santiago itself. A similar network existed on the Ferrol arm, up to Bruma, although again at any given moment not all the hospitals were necessarily functioning.

At Bruma the small, partly 12th-century chapel of San Lourenzo still stands next to the site of the hospital at the southern end of the village. Hospital de Bruma is documented as far back as 1140, according to the local historian Anton Pombo, and was founded in the wooded area of Rania Longa in the parish of San Lourenzo de Bruma by the archdeacon of Nendos, Pedro Cresconiz.[1] A later document of 1175 also records an event in the life of the hospital, namely that a certain Pedro Martinez and his wife Orraca Rodriguez made a deed of gift of their share of the Hospital de Gruma (as it appeared in the document) to the Hospital of the Church of St James, ie to Santiago de Compostela.[2]

It was long thought that all trace of the hospital had disappeared. However, in 1991/92 mention of it was found in a title deed of the property of the owner of the house next door to the chapel. He gave access to a group of local historians from Betanzos and Neda who were researching the Ferrol arm of the *Camino Inglés*. A working party was then set up by the municipal councils of the area and their members presented a paper on hospitality on the *Camino Inglés* at the *Xunta de Galicia's* congress on Atlantic Routes held in Ferrol in September 1996.

They told us, and I quote (in translation):

> *the building is of ample proportions due to a number of additions which do not hide its ancient fabric and the main door of which opens on to the Camino Real, very close to the church dedicated to San Lorenzo ...* [3]

So what does the 'hospital-house' look like now? The front door is in the middle of the darkish stone-built construction, with a modern, gable-roofed part to the left and the older (hospital?) part with a typical, Galician sloping tiled roof to the right; this roof also extends over the door. It is not known how many beds the hospital would have had, although 12 (after the Apostles) was a common number in a small establishment.

We now come to one of those happy Jacobean coincidences that seem to occur with surprising frequency both on and off the Camino. A number of Confraternity members have visited Bruma, either on our Holy Year pilgrimages on the *Camino Inglés* or on the 1998 group visit to Galicia, and will have met our long-standing Coruña-based member, Magdalena Stork de Yepes. The coincidence I mentioned is this: Magdalena's cleaning lady's aunt and uncle - Esclavitud and Emilio are the current owners of the hospital house and are always most welcoming when we visit Bruma. They actually live in a modern house opposite but happily open both the chapel and the hospital-house to interested pilgrims. The house is used mainly for storage purposes - in fact it is almost a museum of rural life in Galicia - but it has a huge log fire and the family may also use it for accommodating relatives. In the back garden there is a large Galician horreo the traditional, raised grain store one sees so often on the *Camino Inglés*.

Until the middle of last year (2000) there was no accommodation, nor any facilities of any kind in Bruma, but now the Xunta de Galicia has opened a refuge in the village, just up from the old hospital. On a cold wet day in May 1999 the Ferrol pilgrimage group picnicked in it when it was still unfinished and Mark Hassall is hoping to stay in it shortly, now it has been completed, in May. Although the modern refuge is not in the original hospital building, having a refuge in Bruma maintains the tradition of hospitality in this emblematic village. It also means pilgrims do not have to use the hotel in nearby Mesón de Vento.

The chapel of San Lourenzo next to the hospital-house has survived the centuries and stands foursquare - in typical rural Galician

style - at the far end of the village. The chancel has gone, with its arch now on the exterior east wall, and the building has recently been cleared of ivy. Mass is still said once a month, the village is very much a living entity and with more pilgrims staying in Bruma in the future it will perhaps regain something of its medieval importance.

[1] Anton Anxo Pombo Rodriguez *Hospitals de Peregrinos na Cidade da Coruña et no Camiño de Faro.* Actas del II Congreso Internacional de Estudios Xacobeos, v.11, p.292

[2] Antonio Lopez Ferreiro, *Historia de la S.A.M. Iglesia de Santiago de Compostela*, v. IV, app XLVII. p. 117-118

[3] Jose Raimondo Nuñez-Varela y Lendoiro, Manuel Perez Grueiro and Ana Lopez Brey *La Hospitalidad en el Camino Inglés* Actas del II Congreso...pp 258-9

The Hospital of St Mary Rouncivall, Charing Cross

Marion Marples

We have heard about some of the hospital provision for the poor, travellers, pilgrims and the needy in medieval London. Many of these hospitals derived from the great Augustinian monasteries of the city. Others developed through individual patronage. The hospital of St Mary Rouncivall was a link with the great monastery of Roncesvalles, in Navarre.

A delegation of monks came to London from Roncesvalles in 1199 to beg for alms to support the work of caring for pilgrims crossing the Pyrenees on their way to 'St James in Galice'. Their London patron was William Marshall, first Earl of Pembroke, (1147-1219), who as a protégé of Eleanor of Aquitaine, and close to Henry I and Henry II was undoubtedly familiar with their devotion to St James. Marshall gave the monks land by the River Thames at the village of Charing, close to the place marked a century later by the Eleanor Cross, (now the site of the statue of Charles 1) on the road between the cities of London and Westminster, to build their hospital. The site is thought to be on the corner of the present Whitehall and Northumberland Avenue. Today, a replica of the original Eleanor Cross stands in the forecourt of Charing Cross station.

The grant was confirmed by Henry III in 1229, who granted protection to a delegation from Roncesvalles seeking alms. The hospital was responsible for maintaining the road at that point. The buildings of the hospital were marked with the familiar cross of Roncesvalles.

Grants of land were made to the hospital at various times from Norwich where there may have been for a brief period of time an existing cell in the 1360s; and from Canterbury, Oxford, Pevensey and Southampton. In Southampton there was a house named Rouncivall granted in or before 1231 by William Marshall's son directly to the monastery at Roncesvalles. It was lived in until her death in 1260 by Claramunda, a wealthy merchant's widow, and the rental income went to the monastery at Navarre. The English hospital was severely affected by the Black Death, with its affairs falling into disarray, but the King seized the hospital and lands in 1379. In 1385 a fraternity was founded

to celebrate Mass on September 8, Our Lady's Birthday. In 1389 the Master is recorded by the name of Garcias, possibly the last one to come from Spain. In 1393 the Warden was John Gedney, who had recently displaced Geoffrey Chaucer from his position of Clerk of King's Works. The hospital was suppressed under the Alien Priories Act of 1414, but in 1432, the Master, one of the King's chaplains, was allowed to communicate with the mother house and to send an annual payment of 10 marks, provided there was no war with the King of Navarre.

In 1475 Edward IV founded (or refounded) a Fraternity of St Mary Rouncivall, with a Master, 2 wardens, brethren and a Chaplain to say mass daily. Prayers were also to be said for the King (Edward IV) and Queen, their child Edward, members of the Fraternity and their souls after death. By 1478 there were 3 chaplains and three years later the hospital and its properties were given to the Fraternity. The main work of the hospital seems to have been caring for pilgrims on their way to the shrine of St Edward the Confessor at Westminster.

[The warden at this time is not named but may well have been Edward Poynings, of brief interest to members of the CSJ, as two of our members currently live in Poynings cottage and we found a Poyning memorial (with armorial scallop shells) in Hastingleigh Church in Kent.]

In 1544 the Fraternity was dissolved and the lands granted to Sir Thomas Cawarden, the Master of the Revels to Henry VIII. This included all of the Chapel and Hospital of St Mary, the churchyard, the almshouse, the wharf, a stable, all cellars and land called the bakeside, four gardens including one to the south abutting vacant ground called Scotland, water called the bargehouse, a common sewer, a messuage and a long shoppe. [The land called Scotland is now recalled in Scotland Yard.] In 1608-13 the hospital chapel was demolished and the bones from the burial ground reinterred in the churchyard of nearby St Martin-in-the-Fields. Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, built a sumptuous house there, using stone from the hospital. This was later succeeded by the Duke of Northumberland's Northumberland House.

The Chaucer connection

In Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* one of the company is described as being 'the gentil Pardoner of Rouncivall'. Pardons, or indulgences, would have been sold to build up the shaky finances of the hospital. I am indebted to Mark Hassall for bringing to my attention a splendid book

describing how a copy of an indulgence for St Mary Rounicivall, printed by William Caxton, came to be used as part of the binding of a volume of four Caxton pieces now to be found in an American library collection. The indulgence had been cut into strips and used as quire guards to prevent tearing in the binding of the four volumes. The strips have been removed and pieced together. At least four copies were used. The first 16 lines are found complete, then one strip is missing, then four more lines survive, but the final two lines are missing. It is thought that the indulgence was issued in 1480, when one of the hospital's two proctors was John Kendale, who had strong connections with the Hospitallers at Clerkenwell and the courts at Westminster.

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Closing Remarks

Laurie Dennett

Just as it fell to me to open the Conference three days ago, so it now falls to me to close it, having first said some very grateful "thank yous" to the many people whose combined efforts have made it such a memorable occasion. Those of you who have ever been involved in making one of these events happen will know just how many pairs of hands and eyes, how much driving, how many hours on the telephone and time in the Office – in other words, just how many people's help a Conference of this kind requires. I therefore want to thank those who have made particular contributions now, hoping very much that I don't leave any of them out.

I still have however, some additional thanks to make. I want to thank all of *you*, for coming and supporting this Conference, and for, I hope, absorbing much of what has been said about our theme of Hospitality into your lives, so as to give it back in a kind of "circle of grace" to others, on or off the Camino, as pilgrims do when they return home filled with the light and lessons of their pilgrimage. I am convinced that this is how we as individuals, and the Confraternity as a collective presence in society, can bring about change for the better.

But the old saying that " to give is to receive" is nowhere more true than on, or relating to, the Camino de Santiago. One of my tasks in preparing for this Conference was to translate the contributions sent in by the *hospitaleros voluntarios* for the small exhibition on their experiences that many of you will have seen. So often in doing so I was struck by the emphasis they placed on the gifts that came to them in the course of extending hospitality to pilgrims. These gifts were not material, but they were no less enduring for that. They were gifts of fraternity, sharing, understanding, communication, kindness, laughter, and the knowledge, very often, of having made a difference to someone's life. It goes without saying that such gifts have no price. A phrase used by one of the *hospitaleras*, Ana Conde, stuck in my mind: *that she contracted a debt to the Camino, which over time has only ever increased*. Perhaps those who experience the hospitality of the Camino and try to return some of it, only to find that their debt is ever-increasing, are the only happy debtors, whose happiness grows in

proportion to their acceptance of indebtedness.

Translating these texts was a moving experience, and one which left me aware of the privilege of making many beautiful considerations available to you – and, as you have probably guessed, feeling very indebted to those who had written them. I will leave you with one of these considerations, supplied by Pedro García, a young man who has served on several occasions as a *hospitalero* at the Benedictine monastery of Samos in Galicia. It is the anecdote about the rabbi who asked his disciples if they could tell when night ends and day begins. One disciple suggests that the moment comes when one can distinguish a palm tree from a fig tree at a distance. The rabbi replies that this is not the answer. Another says "When I can recognise that a goat is not a sheep, then night has turned to day" – and the rabbi says that this is not the answer either. "What is it then?" ask the disciples, by now becoming impatient. The rabbi answered "When, as you look into the face of another, you see the face of a brother or a sister – then night is over for you, and day has dawned". And Pedro García records: "When the pilgrims set off in the morning, sometimes I have asked myself as I bid them farewell, *if I had made day break for all of them?*

Has day broken for us? Do we help to make it break for others? This is surely the essence of hospitality, and an appropriate note to end on: I now declare this Conference closed.

Afterword

Marion Marples

- Just over 100 delegates enjoyed the excellent hospitality of the University of Kent at Canterbury from 17 to 22 April 2001
- We were able to use the ecumenical chapel in Eliot College for Mass on Friday and Saturday mornings
- Two speakers (Brian Moffatt and Alexandra Kennedy) were unable to attend at the last moment and the Spanish Cultural Counsellor had to be available for diplomatic duties in London
- The black and white film *Chemin de Compostelle* (1951) was shown by kind permission of Mgr Branthomme and introduced by Mlle Jeannine Warcollier, Secretary of the Société des Amis de Saint Jacques de Compostelle in Paris
- The colour film *Une couronne de Sanctuaires Pyrenéens sur les pas des Hospitaliers* was shown by Mme Thérèse Franque of the shrine at Lourdes
- On Saturday afternoon all delegates visited the church of St Nicholas at Harbledown. Some then went on a walk looking at the pilgrim hospitals and inns of Canterbury while others went by coach to the nearby Romanesque churches of Patrixbourne and Barfreston
- Exhibitions supplemented the Lectures: *Santiago Trek* (Horniman Museum, 1993), *Pilgrim Welcome Sites in Palencia* (2000), *The work of the Hospitaleros* (Laurie Dennett, 2001). There was also material about the Royal Hospital at Beaune and the Hospital of St-Jacques at Le Roeulx, Belgium
- Conference delegates were welcomed to the 11am Sung Eucharist at Canterbury Cathedral for the Second Sunday of Easter
- Howard Hilton masterminded a group photograph before the Banquet on Saturday
- Delegates provided the evening entertainment at the Banquet with reflections on hospitality received along the Camino

The Speakers

Colin Jones

Born Cardiff 1956. Ordained 1984. He has been in Birmingham diocese since 1986 and is at present the Vicar of Perry Barr. He first walked the camino in 1992 and his first time as a warden was at Castrojeriz in 1995. He has walked the Northern Route, *Ruta de la Plata*, and from Alicante to Finisterre.

Chris Thomas

Chris has been an archaeologist for 19 years, working in Bristol and, since 1986, in London. As senior archaeologist he has excavated, written and published on various excavations including the Abbey and palace of Westminster, the London Charterhouse, prehistoric trackways and the Priory and Hospital of St Mary Spital. The work on St Mary Spital carried out in the 1980s was published in 1997 and he has been directing a long-running and very large project on a large area of Spitalfields since 1991 which will culminate in a series of publications on the priory and hospital, the Roman cemetery and the post-medieval suburb.

Barney Sloane

Barney Sloane read Archaeology and Ancient History at the University of Wales (Lampeter), and has worked at the Museum of London Archaeology Service for 14 years as a professional field archaeologist, specialising in medieval monasteries. He is currently a Research Fellow at the University of Reading's Department of Archaeology, undertaking a 4-year project to examine the medieval monastic mortuary practices.

Dom Aidan Bellenger OSB

Dom Aidan Bellenger is a monk of Downside Abbey and historian specialising in Anglo-French relations and monasticism. He gained a PhD at Cambridge. He has lectured in six universities and is former Headmaster of Downside School.

Jo Castle

Jo recently retired from the NHS and is thus able to give her full attention to her lifelong interest in History. She took a diploma in the History of Medicine at the Worshipful Company of Apothecaries in 1999. In the last three years she has published on *Amulets* in the Journal of Renaissance Studies, and on *Religious and Secular Plants* in the White Company Journal. Recently she completed a chapter for the Mary Rose Trust (Archaeological Catalogue due to be published October 2002) on *Medicine on Board*, which has investigated the work of the Barber Surgeons which at that time included a comprehensive knowledge of plants and their uses in dressings and diseases.

Naomi Turner

Naomi Turner has been a historical demonstrator at Poole Museum for 6 years. By becoming characters from history she takes people on a journey through time. She works with local schools and adults, teaching about kitchens and cookery of the past. Previously she worked as a chef, and for English Heritage.

Dr Mary Remnant

Mary studied the piano and violin at the Royal College of Music, where she received the Tagore Gold Medal, and medieval music at Oxford, before being awarded a Winston Churchill Travelling Fellowship in 1967. Since then she has taught the history of instruments at the Royal College, and piano and violin to members of the London Oratory Junior Choir, besides doing orchestral work on the violin and writing about instruments. Lecture-recitals, however, are her own unique speciality, one of the best known being The Musical Road to Santiago de Compostela, which was commissioned by the Early Music Network in 1980. She is a Founder Member of the Confraternity of Saint James and a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries.

Don José Ignacio Díaz Pérez

José Ignacio is a priest, with a degree in History and Theology. He was director of the magazine *Peregrino* from its foundation in 1987 until 1997. He was appointed by the Federation of Spanish Jacobean Associations as co-ordinator of the Voluntary Wardens of the Camino of Santiago. Since he went on his first pilgrimage in 1982 he has been welcoming pilgrims, first in his house, then in the refuge in Santo Domingo de la Calzada, and today in the refuge at Grañon, where he is the parish priest. He serves as the episcopal delegate for his diocese to the Camino of Santiago.

Dom Juan Antonio Torres Prieto

Dom Juan Antonio was a Benedictine monk at Santo Domingo de Silos where he wrote *Tu solus Peregrinus*, reflections about his pilgrimage along the Camino. He offers a 'real Jacobean experience' through his thoughts on art, people and spirit. Inspired by his journey he founded a new monastery, San Salvador del Monte Irago, at Rabanal del Camino and is editor of *Moujes y Peregrinos*.

Marie-Claude Piton

Marie-Claude is a member of the community at the Hospitalité St-Jacques at Estaing, a lay Christian community set up with the specific purpose of receiving pilgrims on the route from le Puy to Santiago de Compostela. She and her husband Xavier made their pilgrimage along the Vézelay route on bicycles, with their daughter Floriane, then aged three, perched behind Xavier. Feeling called to continue the pilgrimage in their daily lives, Xavier left his work as a chef and Marie-Claude left hers as a dentist and they joined the community which had been founded by the Tandeau family in 1992. They now have a second daughter, Raphaelle.

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The editors of our guides are always keen to receive feedback. If you have recently been on any part of the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, have used one of the guides listed below, and wish to pass on the benefit of your experience to those who may come after you, please contact the relevant author/s:

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Pilgrim Guides to the Roads through France

1	*Paris to the Pyrenees* *£5.00*	Marigold & Maurice Fox, 19 Maple Way, ROYSTON, Hertfordshire SG8 7DH (01763) 244525
2	*Vézelay to the Pyrenees* *£4.00*	John Hatfield, 9 Vicary Way, MAIDSTONE, Kent ME16 0EJ (01622) 757814
3	*Le Puy to the Pyrenees* *£4.00*	Alison Raju, 21 Hall Street, NOTTINGHAM NG5 4BB
4	*Arles to Puente la Reina* *£5.00*	Marigold & Maurice Fox, 19 Maple Way, ROYSTON, Hertfordshire SG8 7DH (01763) 244525

Practical Pilgrim Notes *for Walkers £1.50*
for Cyclists £1.50

Contributions to these and other publications should be addressed to the Office.

Confraternity of Saint James

Registered Charity number 294461
Company limited by guarantee, registered in England & Wales, number 4096721

Information and Publications available from Registered Office:

First Floor, 1 Talbot Yard, Borough High Street, LONDON SE1 1YP *

usual opening hours Thursday 11am to 3pm (other times by appointment)
telephone **(020) 7403 4500** fax **(020) 7407 1468** email **office@csj.org.uk** website **www.csj.org.uk**

* From 26 November 2001: **27 Blackfriars Road, LONDON SE1 8NY**

President — H E The Spanish Ambassador

Secretary — Marion Marples

Please contact her via the office (above) except in an emergency.
45 Dolben Street, LONDON SE1 0UQ (020) 7633 0603

Pilgrim Records Secretary — *For pilgrim records, please apply (quoting membership number) to:* Alan Hooton, Culver House, Sanderstead Road, SANDERSTEAD Surrey CR2 0AG (020) 8657 4141

Committee 2001 Charity Trustees and Company Directors

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Company Secretary and Treasurer — Timothy Wotherspoon, The Three Horse Shoes, Cottenham, CAMBRIDGE CB4 8SD (01954) 252108 timwothers@aol.com

Other Members — Gosia Brykczynska, Hilary Hugh-Jones, Brian Mooney, Mary Moseley, Aileen O'Sullivan (Ireland), Alison Raju, Willy Slavin (Scotland), Eric Walker.

Rabanal Committee

Chairman — Paul Graham, 108 Cannon Street, LONDON EC4N 6EU (020) 7397 6050 paul.graham@bbvauk.com

Wardens' Coordinator, Refugio Gaucelmo — Alison Pinkerton, 1 De Vaux Place, SALISBURY, Wiltshire SP1 2SJ (01722) 329505 alisonsp@doctors.org.uk

Other Members — Laurie Dennett, Marion Marples, Alison Raju, Timothy Wotherspoon.

Research Working Party

Chairman — Professor Brian Tate, 11 Hope Street, Beeston, NOTTINGHAM NG9 1DJ (0115) 925 1243

Coordinator of County Guides — Ann Clark, 49 Gledhow Wood Avenue, LEEDS, West Yorkshire LS8 1NX (0113) 266 2456

Other Officers

Membership Secretary — Tim Siney, Tandem House, The Hill, Hartest, BURY ST. EDMUNDS, Suffolk IP29 4ES tjs@appleonline.net

Gift Aid Secretary — Rosemary Wells, 154 Rivermead Court, Ranelagh Gardens LONDON SW6 3SF

Database Manager and Slide Librarian — John Hatfield, 9 Vicary Way, MAIDSTONE, Kent ME16 0EJ (01622) 757814
Members wishing to borrow slides should make their selections from the catalogue four weeks in advance.

Newsletter

Supplement to Bulletin 75, September 2001

The Confraternity is moving

from Monday 26 November the address will be
27 Blackfriars Road, London SE1 8NY

see inside for details

Confraternity of Saint James

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CSJ Events

Thursday 27 September 6.30pm
John Crook, CSJ member, author of The Architectural Setting of the Cult of the Saints in the Early Christian West (OUP, £50).
Lecture: "Holy Bones: the cult of saints in Merovingian Francia, the Carolingian Empire and Anglo-Saxon England"
It will be illustrated with slides.
Members £2, non members £3.

Sunday 21 to Sunday 28 October
Vist to Carrión de los Condes and Rabanal del Camino

Saturday 27 October
12.30pm Mass of Thanksgiving for Refugio Gaucelmo to be celebrated by the Bishop of Astorga, Santa Maria del Camino, Rabanal, followed by Blessing of the Icon commissioned in memory of and thanksgiving for the life of Stephen Badger, former CSJ Treasurer. Followed by a *Viño Español* in the *huerta.*

Saturday 3 November
VII Constance Storrs Memorial Lecture
5pm St Alban's Centre, Baldwin's Gardens, London EC1
£5 members, £6 non members, price includes wine or fruit juice
Humbert Jacomet (Conservateur du Patrimoine, Paris)
Some Comments on the Iconography of St. James in England and its relationship with the Continent.

The Lecture will be given in English and will be illustrated with slides. M Jacomet is an expert on the French aspects of Les Chemins de Compostelle and guided the group who visited Paris in 1995. We shall be delighted to welcome him to London.

Advance Notice:
AGM 2002 will be on Saturday 26 January at the St Alban's Centre
Practical Pilgrim: provisional dates and venues. Please check in Bulletin 76.

Saturday 2 March	Southwell Cathedral
Saturday 9 March	London
Saturday 16 March	Coatbridge, Scotland
Saturday 23 March	Devizes, Wilts

Membership Renewal: Important Note

Membership of the Confraternity has traditionally covered the Calendar year, January-December. Members joining at any time until September receive the Bulletins already published so are not at a disadvantage. Members joining in or after October receive Bulletins for the rest of the year and the whole of the next year.

The Confraternity's financial year is from October to September. The disparity between these 'years' has led to a lack of clarity in the Accounts. The effect of the Memorandum and Articles of Association accepted at the last Annual General Meeting started to clarify the situation. We started our Membership numbering system (01000) from last October. So we shall start 02000 from 1 October 2001. Therefore membership renewal needs to be brought forward.

Renewing for 2002: online facility now available
We have introduced the facility to renew membership through the online bookshop on our web site www.csj.org.uk. The rates will stay the same as for this year and are listed on the site. Members who wish to pay by credit card are invited to renew during October and November. Those who do not renew will receive, with Bulletin 76, a personalised reminder. Please remember that any communication to Tim Siney, the new Membership Secretary, must please include a membership number to help him find your details quickly. Please make sure any changes of address are notified to him directly (see Bulletin cover for his address).

MOVING

In previous Bulletins and meetings we have discussed the problem of the end of our Lease at Talbot Yard and a possible rent increase. We have not been able to negotiate an affordable new lease with Copyprints so very reluctantly have decided to leave our otherwise ideal location at Talbot Yard.

However, we have been very fortunate in being able to move to accommodation offering more space and within the budget we had allowed ourselves. The Library will be moving first, at the end of September, while the Office itself will move in mid November.

We have taken space at Christ Church, 27 Blackfriars Road, London SE1. We have already held a number of meetings here at the John Marshall Hall and the door to our Office will be within sight of the windows of our first offices at 3 Stamford Street. The nearest stations are Southwark (Jubilee line), Waterloo and Waterloo East, Blackfriars (Thameslink, District, Circle lines) with good bus connections too.

The new office space comprises 2 smallish rooms and a much larger, higher room which we shall use for the Library, Reference and advice. I plan to use one of the rooms as a post room for despatch of Publication Orders and the other as a store. The rent is more than we pay at present but manageable within current subscription levels.

Christ Church is home to a number of enterprises including the South London Industrial Mission, various practitioners of complementary medicine and *in SE1*, a local monthly listings paper produced by CSJ members Leigh and James Hatts (and me when I have the time!) The Church grounds have recently been redesigned and now are pleasant for relaxing in in the summer. Our windows look into mature plane trees. The disadvantages will be that I shall have to make regular visits to Borough High Street for the Bank and to see our friends John, Pat,

Anna, Nick and Jack at Copyprints. I shall also have to be better organised with respect to major photocopying.

Autumn Moving Arrangements

The Library has been moved to Christ Church and books will only be available by request from the Office until we move completely.
The Office will continue to operate from Talbot Yard until 16 November and from 26 November the address will be 27 Blackfriars Road, London SE1 8NY (phone and fax numbers to be notified later).

Secretary's Notebook

RIP Fr Willi Mondalaers

Fr Willi, who died on 15 September, was the founder of the Flemish Association, which for many years it had its office at the St Andrew's Abbey in Bruges. He had a major but unsuccessful brain tumour operation some years ago and had ceased to be active. However, he was kept in touch with events by his nephew and Vlaams Genootschap Secretary, Dirk Aerts. Full obituary in Bulletin 76.

Statistics from the Pilgrim Office

During August 2001 19,836 pilgrims arrived in Santiago
[August 2000 was 17,659]. This is an increase of 12%.
In July 2001, 15,195 pilgrims arrived at the Office.
Of the August pilgrims:
11,767 were men (59.32%) and 8,069 women (40.68%).
15,730 pilgrims arrived on foot (79.30%), 4,051 by bicycle (20.42%), 54 by horse (0.27%) and one pilgrim on a wheel-chair.

Starting Points.

Sarria, 2,767 (13.95%) Roncesvalles, 2,564 (12.93%)
O Cebreiro-Pedrafita, 2,087 (10.52%) Ponferrada, 1,999 (10.03%) León, 1,782 (8.98%) Astorga, 1,319 (6.65%)
Saint Jean Pied de Port, 1,097 (5.53%) Burgos, 691 (3.48%)
and others from a total of 97 different starting points.

The Routes Chosen

French Way	17,903 (90.26%)	The Portuguese Way	822 (4.14%)
Northern Way	774 (3.90%)	Silver Way	313 (1.58%)
English Way by	24 (0.12%).		

The Little Company of Pilgrims, Canada

There has recently been a change of personnel and the Little Company can now be contacted through nmee@interlog.com

Routes to Mont St-Michel

Following our walks along the Millennium Pilgrim trail from Winchester to Portsmouth, member Janet Davies writes:

You may be interested to know that last June a small group of 6 of us from my local rambling group and 2 Confraternity members), started from Winchester to walk the Hampshire Millennium path to Portsmouth. We spent the first night at Bishops Waltham.

We then took the overnight ferry to Cherbourg and following the comprehensive guidebook *Les Chemins de pelerinage dans la Manche,* produced by the Association "Les Chemins du Mont St Michel", price 80 ff, we walked from the start of the itinerary from Cherbourg (not Barfleur, which is the historic start point), to Mont St Michel.

The walk to Portsmouth took 2 days. In France we spent the night at Valognes, Saint Mere Eglise, Carentan, Periers, Coutances, Brehal (slightly off route), La Meurdraquiere (a Chambre d'hôte and we had to self cater), La Haye-Pesnel, St Jean le Thomas and, for the last night we booked accommodation at La Vielle Auberge, located on the Mount itself.

All accommodation was pre-booked and each day we booked a taxi to take our luggage. This worked perfectly.

I have a set of the French Blue Series detailed maps for the whole route,which I am happy to lend to any Confraternity member who might wish to follow this route.

This year, my intrepid little group, plus two more Confraternity members, started walking from Pontorson (just below Mont St Michel), and we took 18 days to reach Nantes, although we actually finished the walk at Pornichet, on the coast.

My plan is to to follow the GR36 (mainly) next year to near Angouleme, and hopefully the following year we may reach the GR65 at Cahors, or Moissac.

I will then be able to say that I have walked the whole way from my home in Hartley Wintney to Santiago de Compostela!

My route took the Three Castles Path to Winchester, Winchester to Portsmouth, Cherbourg through to the GR65 (hopefully to be completed in 2003!), the GR65 to St Jean Pied de Port (already completed in 3 stages, one with the Confraternity group led by Pat Quaife in 1998), then over the Pyrenees to Compostela (done in 2 stages in 1996, 1997).

I have also have maps for the stage from Pontorson to Pornichet if anyone would like to borrow these. Janet.Davies@btinternet.com 01252 844969

John Cawley, a very recent member who had also been on the inaugural walk of the trail and nobly offered to lead the 2 days of walking for us in the summer, will be obtaining a copy of *Les Chemins de Pelerinage dans la Manche* for the Library.

Via Francigena

More and more people are looking to the Path to Rome for their next pilgrimage. Peter Robins, who is keeping a watching brief on these routes, hopes to be at a conference in Tuscany in early October to learn about plans for the improvement and development of the route for walkers. We hope to have his report in Bulletin 76. We have received a new Guide in Italian for the route at the Office.

A rival for the *Botafumeiro* in Rome

The diocese of Augsburg has presented Pope John Paul II with a 2 metre high thurible. It was displayed and lit in St Peter's Square during the 1000th General Audience attended by 22,000 altar servers from 12 European countries.

St James Stoke Orchard

The Friends of Stoke Orchard have received the Report by Tobit Curteis, funded by the Council for the Care of Churches, on the condition of the deteriorating 12th century wall paintings depicting the Life of St James, which are unique in this country. They are following his recommendations about ventilation while a further environmental survey is made.

Pilgrim Staves

Stephen Malone, an Irish member working in Thailand who attended our Conference in Canterbury, had a much admired pilgrim staff. He emails about pilgrim staves made in the north of Thailand, which cost about 250 baht (£4), a price which includes a rubber ferrule but not postage. The makers can be contacted on harperbrote@hotmail.com. Nearer to home, pilgrims starting their walk in Canterbury should note that staves are available for purchase (personal callers only) from Deakin & Sons, 1&2 Sun Street, Canterbury, close to the Christ Church gate.

RIP

John Preston of Beckenham, who came to the Holy Year Weekend School at Aylesford died suddenly on 8 June 2001 while on holiday.

Accommodation in England

Howard Hilton has suggested that members starting their pilgrimages directly from home might benefit from being able to enjoy fellow member's hospitality during their walk or cycle journey to the coast or airport. Howard has offered to be the coordinator for a list of members willing to take part, by prior arrangement. Please contact him if you would like to be either a host or guest. Howard Hilton, 5 Armstrong Close, Audlem, Crewe, CW3 OEB.

Borrowing Slides

Another reminder from John Hatfield that slides are available to illustrate any pilgrimage talks you may be giving this autumn / winter in the UK. He asks that you give him at least one month's notice, so that a catalogue can be sent and your choice made. He has to operate on a first come, first served basis, so the sooner he hears from you, the sooner he can reserve the slides for your talk.

He can be contacted at 9 Vicary Way, Maidstone, Kent ME16 0EJ
Tel: 01622 757814

Library News

Howard Nelson writes:

Elyn Aviva, the first cultural anthropologist to make a study of the camino, has just published two very different books. The first is a new edition of her 1989 book, long out-of-print, on the pilgrimage, *Following the Milky Way: a pilgrimage on the camino de Santiago.* An account of her first pilgrimage, in 1982, this reissue has a new introduction which describes, first, her growing sympathy for pre-Christian interpretations of the power of the camino; and second, the differences betwen her experience of the pilgrimage in 1982 and the much more popular journey we know today. She is in the rare position of being able to report on both.

Her second book is quite different: *Dead End on the Camino* is a thriller set on the camino, with a young woman anthropologist as heroine, following mysterious clues to find the treasure of the Knights of Santiago, and involving much suspense and ingenious plotting. Not generally one for thrillers, I couldn't put this one down, and really rather enjoyed a story set in such very familar territory.

Both books (published by Pilgrims' Process Inc, Boulder, Colorado) are available from Amazon.com; and copies are in the Confraternity library.

Members' Page

Horseback Pilgrims

Sisters Mefo Phillips and Susie Gray from Kent are preparing a riding pilgrimage from Canterbury, leaving on 8 April 2002. They are raising money for the Pilgrims Hospices in East Kent. They will raise a lot of interest with their unusual leopard-spotted Appaloosa horses Leo and Apollo. After riding through France the sisters plan to meet their other three sisters in Lourdes, who will join them for part of the journey. The Appaloosa breed went to America with the Conquistadors and are known for their stamina and gentle temperaments. Cheques payable to The Pilgrim Hospices in East Kent and marked 'Santiago Tales' can be sent to Lindsay Goode at The Pilgrims Hospice, Hythe Rd, Willesborough, Ashford, Kent TN24 0NE.

In the Footsteps of Hannibal

We know Hannibal did not walk to Santiago, but Peter Cox of Taunton has walked to Santiago and Rome already and is now planning his 300-mile walk in September across the Alps to raise money for the restoration of 13th century St Mary Magdalene's church, Taunton. The fine tower is commended by Simon Jenkins as 'the noblest parish tower... for height, grandeur, and richness of ornament it is without equal'. Donations can be made through Nigel Birkett, Parish Office, St Mary's Vicarage, Church Square, Taunton TA1 1SA.

Meanwhile, Assistant Priest of St Mary's, Fr Ben Whitworth and Fr Barnabus Page of Wincanton will be walking the Camino to raise money for the charity Hope and Homes for Children, which provides small houses for parents to foster children in Africana and eastern Europe. Donations can be made through 01823 272442.

Walking for water

Paul Francis and Chris Thomas are walking from León to Santiago from 29 September to 10 October in aid of International Care Relief and hope to raise £18,000 to supply clean water to an area of Uganda. Contact them on 020 7376 2260.

Cycling Companion wanted

Leo Lanahan of Middlewich, Cheshire is looking for a fellow cyclist to join him for a 50 mile a day pilgrimage in 2002. Please contact him on 01606 834639 or email leoflanahan@talk21.com

Did you meet?

If you were on pilgrimage during May and June this year did you meet American Liz Rutherford? She wants to contact Gerard of Gatz, Austria who should have arrived in Santiago about 1 June and Hans and Inga from Oslo, Norway who were taking their time from June to August 2001. If you have any addresses please let Marion know at the Office or contact her on loisseawa@hotmail.com.

NEW MEMBERS SPRING AND SUMMER 2001

IMPORTANT NOTE: This information is supplied for members' use only

LONDON

01356	Miss Sue Aspden 18 Chestnut Close London SW16 2SH	020 8696 0855
01378	Mr Tony Bailey & Mr Richard Addison 14 Mauderd Road London SE5 8NY	07939 458191
01183	Mr Christopher Ballentyne 4 Abinger Road London W4 1EL	020 8747 0710
01342	Mrs Judith Cattermole 31 Grayling Road London N16 0BL	020 8800 3734
01327	Mr Philip Chase & Mrs Maura O'Donnell 175 Green Lane Eltham London SE9 3SZ	020 8850 6522
01404	Mrs Elena Cunningham 18 Bardsley Lane London SE10 9RF	020 8858 1297
01292	Mr Paul Deemer & Mrs Laurie Deemer 43 Connaught Square London W2 2HL	
01323	Mrs Paddy Dickinson 64 Barrowgate Road Chiswick London W4 4QU	020 8742 1205
01284	Mr & Mrs Robert Earle & Ms Joy-Christine Matheson 5 Crescent Mansions 122 Elgin Crescent London W11 2JN	
01397	Mr Paul Francis & Mr Christopher Thomas 11 Stone Hall Stone Hall Gardens London W8 5UU	020 7376 2260
01305	Ms Hilary Jayne & Mr David Fernley 31 Arlington Road Ealing London W13 8PF	012 8738 8797
01393	Ms Andrea Kirkby 81 Rectory Road London N16 7PP	020 7648 6810
01199	Revd Ruth Lampard St Peter's -Ealing 56b Mount Park Road London W5 2RU	020 8998 7493
01320	Mrs Nicola Liddicoat HQ Bheklia Garrison BFPO 58	003574 727326
01345	Miss Tammy Lloyd Flat 3 15 Lindfield Gardens London NW3 6PX	
01329	Miss Elizabeth Manton Lillian Penson Hall Rm 222 Talbot Square London W2 1TT	020 7685 2449
01416	Mr James Andrew McKenzie & Mr James Henry McKenzie 16 Bridgeport Place London E1 9JS	020 7265 0919
01428	Miss Anne McReynolds & Miss Sarah Turley 72A Mansfield Road London NW3 2HU	020 7284 2251
01189	Mrs Susan Mills Baldwin 63 Sedlescombe Road London SW6 1RE	020 7381 2061
01395	Ms Elizabeth Mitchell Flat 17 14 Castelnau London SW13 9RM	email: bizmit21@hotmail.com

01214	Mr Rob Soames Cedarwood West Street Childrey Wantage OX12 1UL	01235 751 297
01422	Dr Graham Webster 96 Rewley Road Oxford OX1 2RQ	01865 723398
01423	Mr Steve White 208 Chairborough Rd High Wycombe Bucks HP12 3UE	01494 534180

HOME COUNTIES SOUTH

01368	Parish Group Holy Trinity Church Lower Breeding Horsham West Sussex RH13 6NN	01403 891367
01249	Mr Duncan Barrows 11 Adams Close Brighton BN1 7HU	01273 500 216
01261	Mr Gregory Collins 14 Hurst Road Horsham RH12 2ER	01403 268 847
01414	Miss Jane Ellis 1 China Barn Upper Harbledown Canterbury Kent CT2 9AR	020 7747 5842
01411	Mr David Evans Convent of Poor Clares Crossbush Arundel West Sussex BN18	01903 883125
01348	Mrs Gillian Fenner & Mr Jonathan Fenner 7 Park Place Bessels Green Sevenoaks Kent TN13 2QD	020 7420 5009
01381	Mr Chris Frost Wood Farm Cottage Portsmouth Road Godalming GU7 2JR	01483 416844
01415	Mr Guillermo Garcia-Winter 17 Windsor Road Kingston upon Thames Surrey KT2 5EY	020 8401 8648
01436	Mrs Pat Graham 1 Little Twitten Cooden Bexhill on Sea East Sussex TN39 4SS	01424 842373
01309	Mr Paul Johnson 31 Oakdene Road Brockham Betchworth Surrey RH3 7JU	01737 843151
01409	Mr Jim Kelly Kiln House Old Pottery Close Reigate Surrey RH2 8Al	01737 240037
01427	Mrs Valerie Marchant Bayley Vicarage Lane Burwash Common East Sussex TN19 7LN	
01287	Ms Geraldine McElroy 19 Howard Road Brighton East Sussex BN2 2TP	07702 290515
01279	Ms Nicole Mendelsohn Flat 3 32 Victoria Road Brighton BN1 3FS	
01289	Mr James Francis Morrison 15 Lavender Court Cherry Tree Road Tunbridge Wells Kent TN2 5QB	078 110 53610
01420	Mr Nolan Nolan 55 Lauderdale Drive Richmond Surrey TW10 7BS	020 8940 8882
01389	Mr Dominic O'Hara 35 Devonshire Court The Drive Hove East Sussex BN3 6GT	07949 737721
01371	Mrs Mefo Phillips & Mrs Susie Gray 3 Abbey Street Faversham Kent ME13 7BL	01795 531762

01322	Mr Robert Ridyard 64 Deloraine House Tannels Hill House Deptford Hill London SE8 4PZ	020 8691 0802
01387	Miss Roisin Robothan-Jones 54 Golborne Road London W10 5PR	020 8960 9392
01402	Mr Simon Taylor 24 Geldart Road London SE15 5XA	020 7639 0108
01237	Mr Michael Walsh 45 Finsbury Park Road London N4 2 JY	020 7795 4251
01245	Mrs Mel Watson & Mrs Jane Neeves 6 Blenheim Crescent London W11 1NN	020 7792 8534
01301	Mr Pedro Gabriel Wendler 33 Hemstal Road West Hampstead London NW6 2AW	
01394	Ms Felicity White 197 Fulbourne Road London E17 4HD	020 8523 1254

HOME COUNTIES NORTH

01362	Miss Monica Capoferri 85 Beverley Gardens Wembley Middlesex HA9 9RB	020 8908 4605
01391	Mr Timothy Cook & Mrs Louise Cook 45 Clarence Road Windsor Berks SL4 5AX	020 7943 1907
01400	Mrs Lynn Dalziel 44 Thames Street Sunbury on Thames Middlesex TW16 6AF	01932 783560
01270	Mr Grig Alan & Mrs Lucy Alan The Doctor's House Grimms Hill Great Missenden HP16 9BA	01494 864 612
01273	Mr Denis Hall 70 Bedford Road Hitchin SG5 2UD	01462 431 916
01269	Mr Stephen Johnstone 14 George Street Dunstable LU6 1NN	01582 472 082
01283	Mr Ronnie Leon 14 Darling House 35 Clevedon Road Twickenham TW1 2TU	
01324	Mrs Cathryn McNaughton & Mr Drew & Carolyn McNaughton & Ms C Carlson The Cobb The Crescent Lower Shiplake Oxon RG9 3LL	0118 940 2009
01253	Mr Charles Nelson 18 Alben Road Bracknell RG42 4HU	01344 452 980
01294	Mr Trevor Newland Theobalds Manor Waltham Cross Herts EN7 5HX	01992 622522
01333	Mr Martin Nutt 71 The Avenue Pinner Middlesex HA5 5BW	020 8868 8469
01336	Revd David Parkin & Mrs Jenny Parkin 5 Ashcroft Court Burnham Bucks SL1 8JT	01628 603764
01372	James Pratt & Tina Pratt 1 Drayton Road Dorchester upon Thames OX10 7PJ	01865 341503
01231	Mr Anthony Sanger & Mrs Helen Griffith 226 Godstow Road Oxford OX2 8PH	01865 511 511

01359	Mr Gareth Rees 48 Stanley Road Bromley Kent BR2 9JH	020 8466 5813
01398	Mrs Ann Rodwell 9 Forge Way Billingshurst West Sussex RH14 9LJ	email: edrodwell@cs.com
01426	Mrs Joyce Wickens 47 Downsview Heathfield East Sussex TN21 8PF	01435 866047
01232	Mr & Mrs David Wightman Ros Wimland Farm Faygate RH12 4SP	01293 851345
01353	Mr Roger Withey & Mrs Anne Withey 4 Britannia Quay River Road Littlehampton West Sussex BN17	01903 726614
01285	Mr Jeremy Yeats-Edwards 48 St Mary's Drive Crawley RH10 3BN	01293 545120

SOUTH

01332	Mr Neil Boulton & Mr Matthew Boulton Sherford House Gough's Close Sturminster Newton Dorset DT10 1BU	01258 472342
01392	Mr Alan Brooke & Mr Mike Jeffery Corner Croft Purbeck Road Lytchet Matravers Poole Dorset BH16 6FN	01202 623516
01177	Mr Eugene Carroll 46 David Murray John Tower Canal Walk Swindon SN1 1LS	01793 876468
01377	Mr James Cawley Melin-Jy Upper Moors Road Brambridge Eastleigh SO50 6HW	01962 715201
01233	Dr John Crook 52 Canon Street Winchester SO23 9JW	01962 864392
01328	Mr Ray Dickinson & Mrs Linda Dickinson Ivy Cottage Kingscourt Road Gillingham Dorset SP8 4LD	01747 823390
01319	Mrs Anne Dunn 6 Ilchester Road Weymouth Dorset DT4 0AW	01305 770066
01248	Revd Edward Farrow St Thomas' Vicarage 42 Coombe Avenue Bournemouth BH10 5AE	01202 514286
01335	Mr Andy Hart & Mrs Sandra Hart 60 London Road Poole Dorset BH12 2HU	01202 466810
01396	Mrs Anne Hillier 11 Grove Road South Southsea Portsmouth Hants P05 3QR	0239 264355
01263	Ms Ruth Hitchcock 27 Church Street Melksham SN12 6LS	
01185	Mr & Mrs David O'Brien Penelope Landsbrook Farm Landford Wood Salisbury SP5 2ES	
01186	Mr Michael Priestley West Cottage Catherston Road Catherston Leweston Charmouth DT6 6LY	01297 560071
01213	Mr Roger Seaburne-May Old Barn Cottage Soames Lane Ropley Alresford SO24 0ER	01962773 585

01417	Rev Gerry Walsh Holy Rood Presbytery 2 Groundwell Road Swindon Wiltshire SN1 2LU	01793 522062
01225	Mr John Watt & Mrs Glenys Watt 14 Fleet Street Beaminster DT8 3EF	01308 861 067

SOUTH WEST

01222	Mrs Joy Bolas 24 Kirlegate Meare Glastonbury BA6 9TA	01458 860 498
01298	Mr Christopher Gillon & Mrs Eileen Gillon Magnolia Cottage Harrowbeer Lane Yelverton Devon PL20 6EA	01822 852636
01403	Mr Jonathan Hayter 4 Lyndale Road St George Bristol Avon	0775 9943938
01193	Mr William Hodder 1 Rylands Beckington Frome BA11 6SD	
01290	Miss Hilary Hughes 15 Coombe Road Saltash Cornwall PL12 4ER	01752 844429
01295	Mr James Nash 4 Wyatt Court Hinton St George Somerset TA17 8SS	01460 78611
01286	Mrs Joan Shiles & Mrs Angie Bolton 1 Timothy's Corner Tresco TR24 0QF	01720 423056
01437	Mr Jonathan Walker 48 Poplar Close Bath Avon BA2 2HY	07790 839367
01246	Mr & Mrs Richard Westley Myra 7 Balfour Manor Station Road Sidmouth EX10 8XW	01395 578 643
01338	Rev Ben Whitworth 13 The Avenue Taunton TA1 1EA	01823 272442

WALES

01431	Miss Viv Rowdon & Mr Nicolay Sorensen 25 Pentyrch St Cathays Cardiff CF24 4JX	07887 751472

MIDLANDS WEST

01282	Mr Dave Cuttell & Mrs Glenda Cuttell Louison 4 Donnett Close Oswestry SY11 4PZ	
01266	Mr David Morris 5 Adams Grove Leek ST13 8NX	01538 384 662
01355	Mrs Hester Morris & Mr Steve Overstall & Messers Tollervey Ayers & Dean Birchwood Blackbridge Lane Pant Oswestry Shropshire SY10 8LG	01691 830441
01238	Mr Peter Wilson 13 Park Lane Snitterfield Stratford-upon-Avon CV37 0LT	01789 730245

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01350	Mr Iain Erskine 8 Jersey Court Northampton NN3 9TB	01604 413132
01347	Mrs Jo Hardman 88 Knighton Lane Leicester LE2 8BE	0116 2912506
01343	Mr Mark Loughlin & Miss Libby Lawes 1 The Warehouse 5 Market Street Mews 16-18 Market Street Kettering Northants NN16 0AN	01536 483892
01410	Mr Peter Walker No 2 New Court New Road Eyam Hope Valley Derbyshire S32 5RL	01433 639889

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01182	Mr Timothy Allen Bell House Quay Street Orford IP12 2NU	01394 450789
01229	Mr Mark Champness & Mrs Susan Champness 19 Berkeley Drive Billericay CM12 0YP	01277 626693
01299	Mr James Cleland 30 Windsor Road Cambridge CB4 3JW	01223 323635
01346	Mr John D'Mello 6 Whitehall Road Norwich Norfolk NR2 3EW	01603 610368
01341	Mr Roger Edwards 21A South Road Gt Abington Cambridge CB1 6AU	01223 893137
01365	Mr Matthew Graham & Mrs Joanne Fernandez Graham 190 Nelson Street Norwich Norfolk NR2 4OS	01603 666668
01210	Mrs Manney Harrison 167a Cherry Hinton Rd Cambridge CB1 7BX	01223 565717
01407	Mr John Macadam Runton Old Hall East Runton Cromer Norfolk NR27 9PN	01263 513359
01349	Mr John O'Leary Uskerty Beccles Road Thurlton Norwich NR14 6RJ	01508 548547
01291	Mr Kell Ryan Mulrian High Street Newport Essex CB11 3PG	01794 541133
01412	Mrs Lucy Walker & Mrs Shirley Webster-Jones 4 Station Road Lowestoft Suffolk NR32 4QF	01502 514964
01315	Dr Jane Wallace 188 Earlham Road Norwich NR2 3RW	01603 505215
01390	Mr James Walsh 71 The Street Ingworth Norwich Norfolk NR11 6AE	01263 734183
01357	Dr Philip Wood Smithy Cottage The Loke Bessingham Norfolk NR11 7JR	01263 768602

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01258	Ms Angela Cuskin 22 Waldridge Close Mayfield Washington NE37 1SU	0191 4191 398
01257	Mr Dom Cuskin & Mrs Margaret Cuskin 6 Chesterton Terrace Bill Quay Tyne & Wear NE10 0RU	0191 469 5867
01187	Mr Ted Evans 18 Thickley Terrace Shildon DL4 2LJ	01388 776 495
01384	Fr Benjamin Griffiths Priests House Ebor Lane Haworth Keighley West Yorks BD22 8HR	01535 643240
01361	Mr Ian Hunter & Mrs Maggie Wightwick 6 South Crescent Durham DH1 4WF	0191 384 5356
01344	Revd Jonathan Hustler Riversmeet Cagthorpe Horncastle Limcolnshire LN9 6DZJ	01507 522235
01274	Mr John Kiernan Shaw House Shaw Lane Ebchester DH8 0PY	01207 560 773
01265	Mrs Pamela Light Larkfield Retford Road Mattersey Doncaster DN10 5HG	01777 817 975
01379	Miss Catherine Pickard 1 St Marys Close Thorngumbald Hull HU12 9NT	email: catemily-2001@yahoo
01388	Miss Kate Rowell 32 The Nook Crooksmoor Sheffield S10	07796 177195
01433	Mr Chris Shaffrey & Mrs Francis Shaffrey 16 St Margarets View Oakwood Leeds W Yorkshire LS8 1RX	0113 2667942
01312	Mr Derek Simpson & Mrs Jane Warren 3 George Street Haswell Durham DH6 2DG	0191 518 8918

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01174	Mr Terence Boden Upper Mews Hazelmoor Lovely Hall Lane Salesbury Blackburn BB1 9EQ	01254 249 679
01325	Mr Robert Brady & Miss Audrey Moor Lakeland Cottage Sparkbridge Ulverston Cumbria LA12 8BS	01229 861719
01435	Mr Leo Lanahan 38 Wardle Mews Middlewich Cheshire CW10 0EP	01606 834639
01418	Mr Ian Marsden 26 Fielding Lane Oswaldtwistle Lancashire BB5 3BH	01254 614092
01337	Mr Morgan Miss Morgan 18 Stanley Road Hoylake Wirral CH47 1HW	0151 632 1669
01252	Mr Philip Scholes & Mr Ian Anderson 17 Limebrest Avenue Thornton Cleveleys FY5 5AT	01253 852 124

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01311 Mr Frank McGachy & Ms Christine Vennard 0141 332 2204
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01259 Mr Charles Milarvie 0141 778 5107
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01430 Mrs Rosi Warner & Mrs Marie Gaff 01540 657233
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01314 Ms Veronica McCann 028 302 67556
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01317	Mr Gordon Fulford 787 Adamdell Cr Winnipeg Manitoba R2K 2B2 Canada	001 204 669 2442
01351	Dr Andrew Horrall 130 Maclaren St Apt 10 Ottawa Ontario K2P OL1 Canada	001 613 237 0687
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01176	Mr Robert Holm & Mrs Marsha Holm 8 Regulus Court Alameda CA 94501 USA	001 510 864 4818
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01316	Mr Franz Prossegger & Ms Nina Prossegar 17765 Seventh Street East Sonoma CA 95476 USA	00 1 707 938 3059
01429	Very Rev Kevin Quirk Diocese of Wheeling-Charleston PO Box 230 Wheeling WV 2600 USA	001 304 233 0880
01223	Ms Martha Strohl 65 Sarazen Street Saratoga Springs NY 12866 USA	001 518 583 1955
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