¡Buen Camino!

Defining the Twelfth- and Fifteenth-Century Jacobean Pilgrimage

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Buen Camino

a common saying on the Way of Saint James meaning

“Good Road”

or

“Have a good travel”
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Introduction

This paper seeks to examine the state and image of the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela as it existed in the mid-twelfth and mid-to-late-fifteenth centuries. Using primary sources from these time periods, it will look specifically into the motivations behind attempting what was often a long and perilous journey, with a focus on the identity of Saint James, miracles, relics, and indulgences, and the changing role of the pilgrimage as it evolved into something more than purely religious travel.

Pilgrimage

In the broadest sense, a pilgrimage is any journey made for spiritual or otherwise personally significant reasons. In the Christian tradition, pilgrimage is defined as a journey to a sacred site typically associated with the life and works of Jesus Christ and the saints. In the Middle Ages, three particular sites enjoyed special prominence – Jerusalem, Rome, and Santiago de Compostela. In fact, Chaucer’s Wife of Bath visited all three: “And thryes hadde she been at Jerusalem;/ She hadde passed many a straunge streem;/ At Rome she hadde been, and at Boloigne,/ In Galice at Seint Jame, and at Coloigne.”¹

Santiago de Compostela seems a strange choice at first, when juxtaposed with Jerusalem, the holiest city in Christianity and the center of the world, and Rome, where lies the Chair of Saint Peter. The city of Santiago de Compostela, located in the province of Galicia in northwest Spain, is the purported burial location of the apostle James the Greater. Nowhere in Scripture does Spain appear, yet tradition holds that the bishop of Iria Flavia, guided by lights in the sky, discovered the tomb in the ninth century and built the city around it. The pilgrimage, called the

¹ Chaucer, “General Prologue,” Canterbury Tales, lines 463-466.
Camino de Santiago or Way of Saint James, grew and flourished, reaching its full height in the High Middle Ages, from around the eleventh to fourteenth centuries. Today it is still a very popular pilgrimage site. The 2011 film The Way depicts a man’s pilgrimage to Santiago in the place of his son, who had died on the road. It shows that even in today’s secular world, pilgrimage can offer spiritual succor to all, irrespective of religion.

Pilgrimage was one of the most important forms of religious expression in Medieval Europe. Pilgrims were seen as a group outside of the traditional three orders – those who fight, those who work, and those who pray. They had certain privileges, such as exemption from tolls and the right to hospitality. Pilgrimage was egalitarian. The typical image of a pilgrim is a man, or much less commonly a woman, wearing a simple robe and carrying a staff, a cross, and a purse. Pilgrimage roads were dotted with hospitals that provided food and rest for pilgrims, often at little or no cost. Each pilgrimage site distributed its own badge, a souvenir for those who completed the pilgrimage to show their friends and to remind themselves of their experience. The token associated with Santiago de Compostela is a scallop shell, a reference to the coast of Galicia near which it is located.

There are numerous possible motivations for undertaking a pilgrimage in the Middle Ages. The Church sometimes used the penitential pilgrimage as punishment for a crime or sin, with the hope that the journey would help heal the sinner’s soul. A person, such as a king, who had not the time, ability, or health to complete a pilgrimage himself, could send on his behalf a proxy on a vicarious pilgrimage. The pilgrim who undertook the journey for himself may have been seeking a miracle at the shrine, or, having had experienced a miracle, traveled as an act of thanksgiving for the responsible saint, often in fulfillment of a vow. A very practical reason for going on pilgrimage was for the collecting of indulgences, to lessen one’s time in Purgatory. The
later Middle Ages saw the rise of the idea of a more personal, emotional connection with God, symbolized poignantly in the suffering of Christ and, by extension, the apostles and saints. With the resulting increase in the prominence of the veneration of images, pilgrimage thrived, as the relics at the end of the pilgrimage represented a physical connection to a religion whose doctrinal intricacies were largely a mystery to the vast majority of the population.

Pilgrimage also had a larger symbolic role. Medieval Christians desired to relate the visible and mundane to the Biblical or otherwise sacred. Scripture tells us that Jesus left Heaven, his home, to come down to Earth and die for all mankind, after which he returned to Heaven. His disciples, as told in the Acts of the Apostles, likewise journeyed far from their homelands to preach the Word. Accordingly, the pilgrim left his home to go to a faraway land for a transcendent religious experience. He walked in the steps of Christ and the apostles. Historian Stephen Raulston takes it one step further, saying that the “pattern of departure, suffering, sacrifice and return in the Christ story was seen as a microcosm of the whole sweeping trajectory of humanity’s relationship to its creator from the beginning to the end of time.”

By going on pilgrimage, then, the medieval pilgrim was actually achieving order and fulfilling his or her place in the divine plan.

Beyond these deeply religious motivations for pilgrimage was a much simpler one, that of the wonder of travel. The average medieval person traveled very little at all in his or her lifetime. It is easy to imagine, then, the wonder a peasant may have felt, walking among good company to a distant place to see a grand cathedral, stopping at numerous towns and churches along the way. Even the more cosmopolitan merchant or nobleman, familiar with perhaps a few

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The Apostle James

James son of Zebedee was one of the most prominent apostles of Jesus. He is called James the Greater to distinguish him from the apostle called James the Less, the son of Alphaeus, reflecting his greater stature. James son of Zebedee was the older brother of fellow apostle John, called the Evangelist, who wrote the Book of Revelation. The brothers were fishermen who entered the company of Jesus of Nazareth when he called out to them as they were mending their nets on the shores of the Sea of Galilee. They, along with the brothers Peter and Andrew shortly before them, left their nets to become “fishers of men.” These four fishermen are always named first in lists of the apostles in the Synoptic Gospels, with Peter, James, and John holding special prominence. They alone of Jesus’ disciples were chosen to be with him at the miracles of the raising of Jairus’ daughter, the Transfiguration on the Mountain, and the Agony in the Garden of Gethsemane. James also receives special recognition as the first apostle to be martyred. Jesus bestowed upon James and John the nickname Boanerges, or Sons of Thunder, for their zeal and tempers, something that would later resonate with James’ image in Spain.

After the Ascension, James left Judea amidst persecution and returned about a decade later to Jerusalem, where he was soon martyred. According to Saint Jerome, in his absence from Judea, James preached to the Jews of the Diaspora and may have reached Spain. This murky period in James’ historical record allowed room for the legend of Saint James in Spain to grow, though there is no conclusive evidence that the apostle ever set foot in Spain.
Book III of the *Codex Calixtinus*, a medieval manuscript commissioned by the bishop of Santiago de Compostela, gives the most common account of this legend. It is said that after an unsuccessful attempt at evangelizing Spain, James returned to Jerusalem with seven of his nine Spanish disciples. His works drew the attention and ire of Herod Agrippa, and the king ordered James’ beheading in 43 C.E. James’ disciples recovered his body and at the seashore found moored an empty boat, unmanned and without oars. The boat miraculously carried the disciples and the body of the apostle to the northwest coast of Spain in seven days. After a series of adventures involving a pagan noblewoman, a pursuing army, and a dragon, the disciples finally laid the body of James to rest in a marble tomb inside a small oratory. Eight centuries later, the tomb was rediscovered, and Saint James, pilgrimage, and Spain would forever be linked.

**Spain and Santiago**

The story of the Jacobean pilgrimage is inextricable from the history of Spain. The decline of Roman rule in Spain was accompanied by the invasion of various Germanic tribes. By the end of the fifth century the Visigoths had established a unified monarchy in Spain that lasted until the early eighth century, when the Arabs arrived. Muslim rule then extended over most of Spain, its power primarily concentrated in the richer south of Spain. In the north, in the Kingdom of Asturias behind the Cantabrian Mountains, “a nucleus of Christians entrenched themselves to keep alive the Visigothic tradition and form the inspiration and spearhead of the Reconquest.”

The first Christian victory of the Reconquista was won in 718 at the Battle of Covadonga, but it was not until 1492 that Muslim rule in Spain finally ended.

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3 ‘James’ is traditionally a variation of the Hebrew name Jacob. ‘Jacobean’ is thus the adjective form of the name James. ‘Santiago’ is Spanish for ‘Saint James’ but is today also used, among many others, as a given name meaning ‘James.’ The city of Santiago de Compostela is also called Santiago, or sometimes Compostela, for short.

Sometime in the first half of the ninth century, Teodomiro, bishop of Iria Flavia in Galicia, set out to investigate reports of lights and singing in the countryside. On a thickly wooded hill, he and his companions discovered a small oratory holding three tombs. They identified the oldest as the tomb of Saint James and the others as his disciples, saints Theodore and Anastatius. A church was built over the tombs and news of the discovery spread in Spain. The story soon emerged that Saint James had appeared at the 844 Battle of Clavijo. Leading the charge on a white horse, he was credited with spurring on the Christian victory. This image of Saint James as the *Matamoros*, ‘Moor-killer,’ endured and he became an important symbol of the Reconquista.

By the tenth century external forces as well as Christian military successes were diminishing Muslim Spain’s unity and power. At the same time, the Christians crossed the Cantabrian Mountains and established the Kingdom of León, from which later emerged the Kingdom of Castile. In this century pilgrims were arriving in Galicia from as far as France. King Sancho of Navarre (992-1035) was an important champion of the pilgrimage, building roads and castles that helped keep safe the road to the west, ‘the way of Saint James.’ The Kingdom of Navarre had territory to the west of the Pyrenees, and Sancho was in contact with the Cluniacs, the reformed Benedictine order. In addition to introducing their reforms into Spain, the Cluniacs founded pilgrimage hospitals, “forged important links with the Apostle’s city, provided it with bishops, and ultimately drew it into closer contact with Rome.”

Pope Alexander II declared the Reconquista a holy war in 1065, and soldiers arrived in Spain from France and Italy. The number of pilgrims increased as well and in 1075 Santiago was

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5 This story gave rise to the commonly held, romantic belief that *Compostela* comes from a corruption of *Campus Stellae*, ‘field of the star.’ However, the tomb was discovered in a thicket, not a field, and the bishop was guided by lights, not a star. Constance Storrs also points out that the contraction seems linguistically untenable. See Storrs, *Jacobean Pilgrims from England*, 38.

renovated, with work beginning on a new basilica. As Constance Storrs writes, “The increasing influx of pilgrims and the developing towns and townships of the pilgrim route linked Christian Spain with Europe and contributed to the economic and commercial expansion of the Peninsula.” The rise of Santiago could not be ignored, and in 1095, the local bishopric was transferred to Santiago from nearby Iria Flavia.

The city and pilgrimage of Santiago de Compostela had its greatest proponent in Diego Gelmírez. Also an excellent statesman, he became bishop of the diocese in 1100. He greatly renovated and expanded the cathedral, founded new hospitals, promoted civic works, and improved the administration of the diocese. His political skill and familiarity with Pope Calixtus II helped him achieve the elevation of Santiago to an archbishopric in 1120. It is likely Gelmírez who commissioned the Codex Calixtinus, the complete guide to Saint James and the pilgrimage, and the Historia Compostelana, the history of the Gelmírez’s tireless efforts and accomplishments. Both of these effectively served as propaganda or advertisements for the advancement of the cult of Saint James and the pilgrimage.

Christian Spain’s triumphs continued in the thirteenth century. Its international presence ever increased as it received pilgrims from more distant places and enjoyed commercial and economic expansion. However, it was the continued success of the Reconquista that brought new problems for Spain in the fourteenth century. With most of the nation now under Christian control, new political and social problems emerged, and the international links that Spain had forged during the Reconquista entangled it in foreign struggles such as the Hundred Years’ War.

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8 It was around the mid-eleventh century that ‘de Compostela’ was added to the name of the city. It had previously been known simply as Sanctus Jacobus. Constance Storrs suggests that the name comes from composita, a contraction of composita, suggestive of an ordered, well-planned city, and the suffix ella, indicating size, dignity, and affection. This then becomes Compostella in Latin and Compostela in Galician. See Storrs, Jacobean Pilgrims from England, 38.
The number of pilgrimages made to Santiago may not have decreased, but these now were often associated with journeys for other purposes. With the near completion of the Reconquista throughout the fifteenth century, Christian Spain was now mired in infighting. Pilgrims still came in great numbers, although fifteenth-century personal travel narratives suggest that the pilgrimage had taken on new dimensions, as will be discussed in this paper. The sixteenth century was a time of reform and revolution in Europe. As one of the practices attacked by the Protestant Reformation, pilgrimage in the following centuries no longer held the shining position of popularity and importance it once did, but in recent decades the Way of Saint James has regained some of its medieval prominence.

**Late Medieval Religious Movements**

The fourteenth century marked a Christendom in crisis. To compound early famines brought on by climate shifts, the Black Death hit Europe mid-century. Famously, an estimated one-third of Europeans perished in its wake, yet the Church’s response was instead an absence of response. Priests abandoned churches, and last rites were left unsaid. The Church was not there for the people when they needed it the most. Simultaneously, the Church itself was in turmoil. In 1309, the papacy moved from Rome to Avignon, where it would remain until 1378. Every pope in this time was French, and the papacy was widely seen as a pawn of France. In 1378, the papacy moved back to Rome, but the cardinals who had elected the new pope soon regretted their choice and raised another man to the office in Avignon. Both popes declared the other the Antichrist. The continent split in allegiance between the two popes, and in 1409 there was a further claimant to the papacy. The Council of Constance in 1414 finally resolved the crisis, with two claimants stepping down and the third, refusing, being excommunicated. It is easy to see that
the Christian Church lost much of its credibility during this time, and from this and various other Church corruptions followed a series of religious movements.

The first prominent would-be reformer was John Wyclif of England (ca. 1320 – 1384). He turned to Scripture to reject ideas of the papacy and church structure as it existed. He advocated the vernacular Bible and denied transubstantiation. His followers, called the Lollards, found fault with the devotion of images and the idea of pilgrimage. The Lollards faced great persecution and never gained any substantial strength, but many of their ideas were carried on in the Hussite Movement. Jan Hus (ca. 1369 – July 1415) of Bohemia was greatly influenced by Wyclif and in the first decade of the fifteenth century wrote against the papacy, church offices, and certain points of doctrine. He was burned at the stake at the Council of Constance, but his followers continued the fight, drawing up four articles of their beliefs and arming themselves against the papal and imperial armies sent to quell them. The Hussites were able to negotiate religious freedom in Bohemia in 1436 and in 1458 elected a Hussite king to the Bohemian throne.

In contrast to the movements of Wyclif and Hus, the Dutchman Gerard Groote’s Devotio Moderna remained unpersecuted. Originating in the latter fourteenth century, it was a pull away from the church hierarchy, which it regarded as corrupt, and encouraged a focus instead on the inner life instead. Followers formed small, non-hierarchical communities and tried to live in imitation of Christ, with simple devotional practices meant to recall early Christianity. The Devotio Moderna may have influenced Humanist Desiderius Erasmus, who was educated in the Netherlands in the early 1470s. Certainly one of the most influential thinkers of his time, Erasmus would later carry on spirited arguments with Luther on finer points of doctrine.
Humanism began properly with Francesco Petrarca, or Petrarch (1304 – 1374). It is, at its core, the careful study of Classical authors hinged on the study of Latin and Greek. It represented a movement away from scholasticism, the thirteenth-century educational method established by Thomas Aquinas to reconcile faith and reason that relied on dialectics and logical reasoning to solve problems. Humanism instead proposed that a strong personal education in the Classical humanities – grammar, rhetoric, history, poetry and moral philosophy – would lead one to acquire moral and political virtue and be able to adjust in the face of any situation. Erasmus’ position on pilgrimage is clear: “Would you like to win the favor of Peter and Paul? Imitate the faith of the one and the charity of the other, and you will accomplish more than if you were to dash off to Rome ten times.”

These tensions in Christendom serve as the background for the world of the fifteenth-century travelers. Leo of Rozmítal, a Bohemian, was directly involved in the Hussite struggle against the papacy, and Hieronymus Münzer was a Humanist with an impeccable education. This world would have helped shape the ideas and experiences of even those pilgrims not directly involved the new movements as new ideas swirled in Europe.

Sources

The Codex Calixtinus is the official manuscript associated with Santiago de Compostela. It is a compilation of five books written separately by various unknown authors which together is known as the Liber Sancti Jacobi. Codex Calixtinus refers to the copy of the Liber Sancti Jacobi commissioned by Archbishop Diego Gelmírez that was completed sometime between 1137 and 1199.

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9 Jan van Herwaarden, “‘On Other Occasions, St. James of Compostela was in Need’: Reflections on the Relationship between Erasmus and Santiago,” Erasmus of Rotterdam Society Yearbook 29: (1-21), accessed December 5, 2013, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163, 5.
the mid-1140s and which still resides in Santiago today. It begins with an introductory letter narrated by Pope Calixtus II, whose name is also attached to the general compilation of the Codex and significant portions of the materials within it. Calixtus was definitely dead by the time of the compilation, but the use of his name lends weight to the manuscript. As Gerson, et al. state, Calixtus is “the most important person upon whom [the Codex] could be logically foisted.” The letter indicates the purpose of the compilation, namely that “the devotees of Saint James might appropriately find all together the things necessary for reading on his feast days.” The author is clear on his position on the authenticity of the book, calling anyone who disputes it “anathema with Arius and Sabellius.”

Book I, which makes up more than half the pages of the entire compilation, contains liturgy for the celebration of Saint James’ feast day. Book II lists twenty-two miracles attributed to the apostle. Book III, the shortest book, recounts the legend of Saint James in Spain. Book IV is the heroic story of Charlemagne in Spain. Book V is a practical guidebook for pilgrims traveling on the Camino Francés, the route to Santiago from France. As a whole, the compilation serves to raise awareness about Saint James and his pilgrimage and to encourage potential pilgrims to visit.

The individual books also circulated independently at differing rates. There are nearly two hundred extant copies of Book IV, but Book V can only be found in manuscripts that contain the rest of the Liber Sancti Jacobi material. Copies, generally modified, of the Codex Calixtinus

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13 Coffey, Davidson, and Dunn, ed., Miracles, 7.
were made throughout the Middle Ages, the vast majority by clerics for monasteries.\textsuperscript{14} They were made for purposes such as to reaffirm the status of the cult of Saint James against heresy during the Inquisition or to satisfy and reinforce a particular monastery’s special devotion to Saint James.

The first layperson to copy from the Codex Calixtinus was the German physician Hieronymus Münzer at the end of the fifteenth century. Münzer took short excerpts from Books I and IV to establish the origins of the cult of Saint James. Other contemporary and later copies show the shift away from having the content of the \textit{Liber Sancti Jacobi} as the focus of the text in which it was copied and toward including it together with other writings of historical and local interest. As Gerson, et al., write, these copies were “perhaps as part of a movement to re-examine the historical basis of the cult of St James during an age of growing skepticism, on the eve of the Reformation.”\textsuperscript{15} A visitor to Santiago in 1572 rejected outright the authorship of Pope Calixtus and denounced the contents of the \textit{Codex} as “cosas tan deshonestas.” In 1619, Book IV, the account of Charlemagne’s Spanish campaign, “was removed from [the Santiago manuscript] by the canon archivist as being too embarrassing.”\textsuperscript{16} Clearly, cultural and religious attitudes had changed, signaling the transition to a new historical era.

For the purposes of this paper, I have drawn from multiple sources for material from the \textit{Codex}. Of Book I, the “Veneranda dies,”\textsuperscript{17} its longest sermon, is available in a 1993 English translation edited by Thomas Coffey, Linda Kay Davidson, and Maryjane Dunn, accompanied by the introductory letter falsely attributed to Pope Calixtus II. The entirety of Book II, the book of miracles, is included in the same publication. In the absence of an English translation of Book

\textsuperscript{14} See the Introduction of Gerson et al., \textit{The Pilgrim's Guide: A Critical Edition}, for detailed analysis of the origins of extant copies of the \textit{Liber Sancti Jacobi}.

\textsuperscript{15} Gerson et al., \textit{The pilgrim's guide : A critical edition}, 34.


\textsuperscript{17} Called so due to its beginning words, meaning “a day to be honored”
III, the legend of Saint James, I have consulted the detailed descriptions of the events it recounts available in Karl Uitti’s article “The Codex Calixtinus and the European St. James the Major: Some Contextual Issues.” Book IV, the so-called Pseudo-Turpin or Historia Caroli Magni, is widely available online in an English translation made by Thomas Rodd in 1812, compiled in the 1898 book Mediaeval Tales. Book V, the guide for pilgrims, was translated by William Melczer and published in 1992.

To explore the state of the pilgrimage in the fifteenth century, I draw upon five major personal travel narratives. They are the journeys, in chronological order, of William Wey, an English priest and scholar; Jaroslav Lev of Rozmítal, a Bohemian noble; Hieronymus Münzer, a physician from Nuremberg; Arnold von Harff, a noble from near Cologne; and Hermann König von Vach, a Servite friar from what is today Thuringia. Wey set out in 1456, Lev in 1465, and the latter three in the 1490s. I chose these chronicles for their temporal proximity and, crucially, for their availability in English. Very few personal accounts of pilgrim visits to Santiago de Compostela exist, and those that do tend to be frustratingly scant in details. The fifteenth century was the most prolific period for medieval personal accounts and, given what would soon transpire in Europe, serves as a good counterpoint to the High Middle Ages when the Codex was compiled.

Our first traveler, William Wey (1407-1476), was a Devon-born Oxfordian, a Master of Arts and Bachelor of Divinity ordained as a priest in 1433. He served as a fellow in Exeter College from 1430 to 1441, Eton College from 1441 to 1467, and finally retired to the Priory of Edington in Wiltshire at around sixty years of age. He appears to have had great financial ability,

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18 The renowned mystic and pilgrim Margery Kempe in her autobiography details at length her preparations for the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela but offers almost no description of her experiences once there. “And so they stayed there for fourteen days in that country, and there she had great happiness, both bodily and spiritually, high devotion, and many loud cryings at the memory of our Lord’s Passion, with abundant tears of compassion.”
as he seems to have been one of a pair of bursars for the duration of his second fellowship, elected by the other fellows. He had three breaks from his position for his three pilgrimages, the first to Santiago de Compostela and twice to Jerusalem, hitting Rome along the way. Wey’s words suggest that he was undoubtedly a devout man, but his pilgrimages may have had political motivations as well. Eton College was founded by Henry VI, a player in the Wars of the Roses. Wey’s translator Francis Davey suggests that in addition to a genuine desire to look upon places of religious significance, Wey may have also been carrying out a diplomatic mission, to be further discussed in Chapter Three.

*The Itineraries of William Wey*, written in a mixture of Latin and English, contains narrative accounts of his pilgrimages as well as an interesting assortment of other chapters pertaining to them. One can glean much about his personality from the opening chapter, entirely on the topic of money exchanges on the pilgrimage road and meticulously written with advice for attaining the best exchange rates. Wey demonstrates his skill for language in a chapter with over a thousand words, mostly Greek and some Hebrew, to use on the road. Included are items such as the names for foods, “tavern,” and the always-useful “woman, have ye good wine?” Wey also demonstrates his skill for geography in a chapter detailing distances between important places. One strange chapter is presented as a series of mnemonics for places to visit in the Holy Land in the form of Latin hexameters. Wey even writes one of the Jerusalem chapters entirely in verse, though his rhyming can be clumsy.19 In his narrative chapters, Wey takes on a dry writing style, always preferring short, sober description to grandiose explications of his feelings. His chapter on his pilgrimage to Santiago, though, shows an interest that is absent in the other accounts. His travels nevertheless must have made a great impression on him; after retiring, he

19 “In a deep chapel, tell you I will / Where Saint Jerome translated the Bible / Also places where he said Mass / And lay full hard and nothing soft.” William Wey, *The Itineraries of William Wey*, translated and edited by Francis Davey (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2010), 43,
built a chapel modeled after the Sepulcher of Our Lord at Jerusalem as an annex to Edington Priory.²⁰

_The Travels of Leo of Rozmital through Germany, Flanders, England, France, Spain, Portugal, and Italy 1465-1467_, translated and edited by Malcolm Letts, is the account of the journey across Western Europe led by Bohemian noble Jaroslav Lev of Rozmital, called Leo of Rozmital in the source.²¹ The text includes two accounts of Leo’s travels by members of his retinue. One record was made by Gabriel Tetzel, a Nuremberger Rozmital hired as his German chronicler. The other account was written in the Bohemian language, Czech, by Schaseck, Leo’s armor-bearer or squire. Their party of forty included nobles and attendants, jesters and a musician, and a wagon for their goods. The chroniclers tell not only of the religious journey but also give anecdotes from the road uniquely reflecting their personalities and prejudices.

Leo of Rozmital (1426-1480) came from an old Bohemian aristocratic family and lived during a time of religious unrest. He was a devout Catholic, at odds with the king of Bohemia, a Hussite. However, when Leo’s sister married the king in 1450, he pledged his loyalty to his royal brother-in-law. His long journey through Western Europe appears to have been a diplomatic mission on behalf of his recently excommunicated king, seeking help from other European leaders in an attempt at reconciliation with the Papacy. The chronicles of Leo’s travels do not mention this purpose, although there is evidence of the king’s efforts in this regard at around the same time.²² As a diplomatic embassy, Leo’s journey found no success, and Bohemia did not

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²¹ Leo’s full name, in Czech, is Jaroslav Lev z Rozmitálu a na Blatné. Letts’ translation comes from German and Latin editions of Tetzel and Schaseck, in which Leo’s name is given variably as Leo, Lev, or Löw von Rozmital. Recent German scholarship calls him “Leo.”

receive help from Western Europe as a result. As a pilgrimage and adventure, however, it appeared to leave the company in great spirits.

Leo and his party of forty set off in 1465 and traveled for around two years. They were received by many nobles and princes but also stopped at many places of religious significance. In Tetzel’s brief introduction, he writes that Leo “intended to visit all Christian kingdoms, also all principalities in Germany and foreign countries, ecclesiastical and lay, and above all to visit the Holy Sepulchre” and [the tomb of] the beloved Saint James. Leo’s party arrived at Santiago under extraordinary circumstances: the city had been besieged in a local uprising, the Archbishop was held prisoner, and the fighting continued outside of the cathedral. Further emphasizing the power of pilgrimage in the Middle Ages, an armistice was called so that the pilgrims could duly have their tour of the relics. Although they were excommunicated for a brief time for dining with the rebels and although the cathedral, which currently housed soldiers, horses, and cows, was filthy, the chroniclers recount their experiences cheerfully and seem to have thoroughly enjoyed the visit to the cathedral and the nearby locations associated with Saint James.

Hermann Künig von Vach (born ca. 1450) published his book *The Pilgrimage and Path to Saint James* in 1495-6. Künig was a Servant of Mary, or a Servite Friar, belonging to one of the major mendicant orders of the Late Middle Ages. Little is known about his life, but his name indicates that he was from Vacha, a town in Thuringia, in what is today central Germany. Unfortunately, Künig does not indicate when he set out on his pilgrimage or how long it lasted. His itinerary begins in Einsiedeln, Switzerland, the main gathering place for Jacobean pilgrims.

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23 They do not actually visit the Holy Land.
from southern and eastern Central Europe, and ends in Aachen. Written in German in using rhyming couplets, it served as a practical guidebook for pilgrims and is filled with much realistic, helpful advice. It covers all of the towns one must walk through to reach Santiago by his chosen road but lacks in extended detail for any of the places. Most intriguingly, though Künig presents his work as a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, it appears he did not make it to Santiago and likely turned back either at or around the town of Villafranca del Bierzo. As translator John Durant writes, “There is no description of the town of Santiago de Compostela, no mention of the cathedral or the statue of St James. Most extraordinary of all, there is no advice on where to find food and lodging,” despite Künig’s detailed advice about hospitals in other parts of the text. His last piece of practical advice to the reader comes at the aforementioned Villafranca del Bierzo, the place where pilgrims unable to journey on were able to receive the same indulgences as if they had made it to Santiago.

The physician Hieronymus Münzer (1438-1508), another German, left his native Nuremberg in 1494 to avoid the plague that afflicted his city. Traveling with three friends, his one-hundred-and-forty-six-day journey took him through France, Spain, Portugal, and Italy. He wrote an account of his trip in Latin, and I am primarily using Jeanne Krochalis’ translation of the section on Santiago. A longer, unpublished partial translation of Münzer’s text, covering his journey through Spain and Portugal in full, is available online, courtesy of translator and art historian Judith Sobré. I have drawn from this source as well.

Hieronymus Münzer stands out as the first known foreigner and layman to make notes from the Codex Calixtinus. He appears to have had tremendous ability in forging connections with eminent people, especially for someone not of noble blood. He was acquainted with

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Nuremberg-born sailor Martin Behaim, who had an interest in the idea of westward travel to the East and is credited with creating the first world globe. Rubbing shoulders with men like Behaim, Münzer wrote a letter to King John II of Portugal and was able to meet with the king upon his arrival to the country. In Spain, Münzer met Bernardus de Boli, Columbus’ chaplain on his first voyage, who told him of the newly discovered lands in the West. He also met Ferdinand and Isabella and was so impressed that he wrote a separate tract on their magnificence in addition to his comments about them in his book.

Münzer, like the other travelers, was a learned man. In the year before he set off on his journey, the *Nuremberg Chronicle* was published. It is considered a great achievement in early printing and tells the story of the world in a biblical context, with Münzer contributing the chapter on geography. He himself owned a large book collection, of which one hundred and eighty-five volumes survive. He read medicine, theology, history, and humanist authors such as Petrarch, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, and Marsilio Ficino. In his travel narrative, he makes special note of beautiful books he sees, for they represented the intersection of his two major interests, ornamentation and humanism. He greatly admired the books’ binding and illumination and “had a pleasant conversation in Madrid with several young sprigs of the nobility who recited Juvenal and Horace, and noted with approval that *Humanitas* was on the rise in the younger generation.”

The *Codex Calixtinus*, however, was the only book from which he made transcriptions. He relates few hagiographic legends despite visiting numerous shrines. However, it is clear by his account the he enjoyed his stay in Spain, delighting in its food, architecture, and diversity of culture, and even recounts an encounter with robbers as an adventure.

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The final traveler, Arnold von Harff (1471-1505), was the second son of a wealthy noble house whose ancestral seat was at Harff-on-the-Erft, a village near Cologne. Traveling with merchants, who von Harff insists make the best company, he set out in November 1496 and arrived back at Cologne almost exactly three years later. He dedicated his book, titled *The Pilgrimage of Arnold von Harff, Knight*, to the Duke and Duchess of Jülich, to whom he owed allegiance. In return for their goodwill and the honor with which they received him upon the completion of his pilgrimage, he says that “I have… been diligent and strenuous in honor… in recording faithfully this pilgrimage which I completed, and in making a book of it,” so that the royal couple may have a guide should they decide to make the pilgrimage.\(^28\)

Scant details exist about von Harff’s short life, but his travel narrative, decorated with pictures, paints him as a vibrant, eager young man. Of the fifteenth-century travelers highlighted in this paper, von Harff was by far the most ambitious in his journey. Translator Malcolm Letts summarizes his itinerary:

Traveling through Germany and Italy, he sailed from Venice for Alexandria, visited Cairo and Mt. Sinai, crossed the deserts of Arabia by camel, embarked at Aden for Socotra and (if this part of his history is to be believed) visited India, Madagascar, and East and Central Africa. He claims to have climbed the Mountains of the Moon, to have discovered the source of the Nile, and to have followed its course down to Cairo. He then explored the Holy Land, penetrated into Asia Minor, visited Constantinople, and returned overland to Europe. He next visited Compostela and made his way back, via Paris and the Low Countries, to Cologne.\(^29\)

Letts believes that the journey into India, Madagascar, and Central Africa are fictional but gives him the benefit of the doubt for Arabia and Socotra. Arnold certainly drew heavily upon sources


\(^{29}\) Malcolm Letts, “Introduction,” in *The Pilgrimage of Arnold von Harff, Knight, from Cologne through Italy, Syria, Egypt, Arabia, Ethiopia, Nubia, Palestine, Turkey, France, and Spain, which He Accomplished in the Years 1496 to 1499*, translated and edited by Malcolm Letts, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1946), iii.
such as Marco Polo and Mandeville, and several of his stories veer into the fantastical. It is interesting that von Harff seems to anticipate the reader’s skepticism and insists that his book is “a proper and reliable guide,” warning against “troublesome and careless chatterers and detractors of honor who think that there are no other countries under the sun except those in which they live, and maintain therefore that every traveler’s story is a lie.”

His writings certainly have a Mandevillian spirit.

Though von Harff defined his journey as a pilgrimage, something religious in nature, he clearly enjoyed the general travel aspect of pilgrimage as well. He reports strange local customs with rapt interest, and although he had a terrible ear for foreign place names, judging by his often-wild misspellings, he appears to have had a great interest in languages. He offers us the Greek phrases for the standard “Where is the inn?” and “What does that cost?” as well as the more adventurous “Good woman, let me sleep with you.” Due to the expansive nature of his journey, his account is often uneven. Some portions are essentially lists of cities to pass through, others are vibrant and rich in narration, some parts are duly sedate and pious, and some are taken almost directly from other sources.

Von Harff did take the religious aspect of his journey seriously. He went out of his way to visit a great number of shrines and is careful in listing the indulgences available at each place. He does not shy away from freely expressing his doubts about relics and priests, though by the time he reached the Holy Land, his suspicions had cooled. Unfortunately, it is Spain that reawakened his distrust of such things and he offers very little description of Santiago de Compostela. He gives no prominence to the Jacobean pilgrimage in his text, and one gets the sense that it was part of his itinerary only in the interest of thoroughness. He dismisses Spain as a

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30 von Harff, Pilgrimage, 2.
31 von Harff, Pilgrimage, 91.
terrible place and relegates the Jacobean pilgrimage as one for sinners and beggars. Nevertheless, his willingness to travel to distant Galicia in the first place indicates the intrinsic importance of the Jacobean pilgrimage in the medieval consciousness.

It is important to note that all of these five travelers – two clerics, two noblemen, and one physician – were exceptionally educated compared to the medieval masses. The ideas and feelings of people who had access to Plutarch or Mandeville would have differed substantially from those of people who spent their days in the field. Men like Hieronymus Münzer or even Arnold von Harff, despite perhaps not being great thinkers themselves, were undoubtedly at the vanguard of late medieval thought. Yet it is important to remember that recorded history, at least for Western Europe, is, much more often than not, the history of the elite. Our travelers’ exposure to new and fashionable ideas thus fits them in with the traditional late medieval, pre-Reformation narrative. How did the peasant or the miller or the smith then feel as he beheld the altar of Saint James? Records unfortunately do not tell us, but I would suggest that they held on strongly to the medieval ideas of the pilgrimage, even into the late fifteenth century.

**Historiography**

Much of the academic efforts concerning Santiago de Compostela and its pilgrimage is focused on the *Codex Calixtinus*. Questions of its authorship and time of compilation have been carefully studied, as has its propagation throughout Europe. Book V is the most famous of its contents today and receives the most scholarship. It is of interest because it is seen as one of the earliest examples of a European travel guide. Scholars use it to trace the medieval pilgrimage

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32 Leo of Rozmítal was indeed a nobleman, but his story is told by two separate accounts made by members of his retinue. Gabriel Tetzel was a hired scribe met in Nuremberg through a friend, and his historical record indicates that he became burgermeister later in life. Less is known about Schaseck, who appears to be Leo’s squire or armor-bearer, but his close association with Leo and his literacy indicate exposure to at least basic education.
route and determine twelfth-century attitudes and prejudices. It is also very important for its
detailed descriptions of the architecture and contents of the Cathedral of Santiago. Book IV, by
far the most popular of the five books in the Middle Ages, has been studied for centuries for its
story about the Spanish campaign of Charlemagne and other French heroes. Book I seems to be
studied today much more for its music than its sermons. Book II is occasionally analyzed for the
presentation and sources of the miracles. Book III does not seem to be studied often at all, and
there is not even a full translation available in English.

A popular topic relating to the Jacobean pilgrimage is the dual nature of Saint James as a
pilgrim and a defender of the faith. Many of the publications deal with the iconography of James
in art, often analyzing specific objects. The significance of the scallop shell, a prominent part of
the iconography, is often singled out. Articles have of course been written on the motivations of
Jacobean pilgrims in the Middle Ages, but they generally conclude that the reasons are varied
and difficult to discern given the shortage of primary sources, and the reasons are rarely specific
to Santiago de Compostela. These articles usually use the one or two lines from various sources
that include an incidental line on a certain pilgrim’s motivations. I have not found a book or
article which juxtaposes the *Codex Calixtinus* and personal pilgrim accounts, as this paper seeks
to do.

The five primary pilgrimage narratives which I am using have received very little
scholarly attention, especially in the English language. By far the best and most complete
analyses of these narratives are the ones contained in the introductions of the translations, done
by the translators. The translation of William Wey’s account used in this paper was published in
2010 and is the first modern translation of this work. There was an edition of the book published
in its original languages in 1857, but its use seems to be limited to references in publications
about English pilgrimage. The two accounts of Leo of Rozmital’s journey and the account of Arnold von Harff’s journey were published by the Hakluyt Society in 1955 and 1946, respectively, being translated by Malcolm Letts from German and Latin translations. The former has received sparing German scholarship and the latter a rather good amount, but neither has received any attention in the English language aside from some very limited references in works about pilgrimage. John Durant’s translation of Hermann Künig’s pilgrimage, published in 1993 as part of the Confraternity of Saint James’ “Occasional Papers” series, appears to be the only English translation, and few copies are available worldwide. I have found no English language sources that reference it. Jeanne Krochalis’ translation of Hieronymus Münzer’s account of Santiago de Compostela is located in a book of articles regarding the pilgrimage and as such contains only a pertinent section of the itinerary. The other English translation I used was done in preparation for the author’s personal pilgrimage to Santiago and contains only the sections on Iberia. Münzer is more known for his contributions to geography than his 1494 travel, but there does seem to be some French scholarship regarding his travels.

**Structure**

This paper is structured into three chapters. The first chapter explores the importance of Saint James’ specific qualities as an impetus for the Jacobean pilgrimage and seeks to establish that the strong magnetism of James for twelfth-century pilgrims had given way to a less specific interest by the late fifteenth century. The *Codex Calixtinus* places heavy emphasis on the figure of Saint James and his various personas including Christian warrior, protector of pilgrims, and powerful miracle worker, whereas the fifteenth-century narratives suggest that their authors were previously unaware of the stories of Saint James and did not choose Santiago de Compostela for
their specific devotion to its patron saint. The second chapter examines the changing roles of miracles, relics, and indulgences for the Jacobean pilgrimage. The *Codex Calixtinus* uses all three as major draws for the pilgrimage, but the later travelers express greater interest in indulgences than in miracles and relics, suggesting, again, a shift away from the importance of the patron saint as well as an emerging sense of doubt for the viability of the information provided by the Church. The last chapter identifies additional, non-religious facets that the pilgrimage had taken on by the eve of the sixteenth-century reformations. Whereas the *Codex Calixtinus* considers the Jacobean pilgrimage a purely religious endeavor, the fifteenth-century pilgrimages often simultaneously serve as political missions or even as extended vacations. All of these ideas will be drawn together in the conclusion.
Chapter One: The Allure of Saint James

Santiago de Compostela exists as a pilgrimage site because it purports to hold the body of Saint James. The location held no prominence before the discovery and had been a cemetery in Roman times. As seen in this chapter, the Codex Calixtinus stresses the city and pilgrimage’s connection with Saint James and presents him as simultaneously a great miracle worker, the protector of pilgrims, and a Christian warrior. This last role was especially important in the twelfth century in the context of Reconquista Spain. The fifteenth-century travelers, on the other hand, focus little on the attributes of Saint James as a motivation for attempting his pilgrimage route. They generally regard his stories with interest in their tours of Santiago and the surrounding areas, but none of them show any indication of a previously-held, specific interest in the patron saint. Their primary interest seems to be rather in the pilgrimage itself.

Saint James in the Codex Calixtinus

Of the books of the Codex Calixtinus, all but the last directly involve the figure of James. They tell of his prominence, both Biblical and posthumous. The books paint James as an apostle of privileged status, an intercessor and miracle worker of tremendous strength, and the redeemer of Spain. The introductory letter to the Codex instructs the reader on the proper worship of Saint James through the singing of Jacobean liturgy. The author laments the trend of ignorant worshipers singing verses that should rightfully only be used for holy virgins, or verses designed for other apostles, or even “their own strophes according to the fancies of their own minds.” The author warns that only the correct responses, as outlined in the Codex, should be used, “for
whatever is sung for Saint James must be of great authority.” Thus the *Codex* begins by establishing James as an eminent figure worthy of veneration.

The “Veneranda dies,” the longest sermon of the *Codex*’s opening book, begins with the history of Saint James. The author discusses the apostle’s selection by Christ, his martyrdom and the subsequent translation of his body to Galicia, and the redemption of Spain that his translation and his disciples’ ministry brought about. He explains the first two events as the evidence, respectively, of James’ choice to live a holy life and of the eternal rest given to him by God as a reward for his labors. Even after death, he still actively worked on behalf of God.

Thus the blessed apostle was chosen this day so that he may tear the world from the devils’ jaws by his preaching. He was translated so that he may strengthen with his patronage, bestow with his benefits, look down with his miracles and prepare seats in the heavenly realm for those loving him with all their hearts, not only for the Galicians but also for those visiting his holy tomb. James is thus set up as a holy follower of Christ, who in the present time had the power to aid those who sought his help as pilgrims.

The sermon is extensive in its praise of James. The author calls upon his unique, defining Biblical traits, such as his worthiness to be present at the Transfiguration and his bravery in facing his martyrdom. In a beautiful analogy, the author compares Christ to the Sun, which illuminated the world for a short while, set upon the Crucifixion, and then rose again. From this, it follows that James is one of the rays emanating from the Sun, reaching across the world, imbued with the Holy Spirit. The thaumaturgic strength of James is emphasized, and the particulars of his miracles are referenced no less than four times in the sermon. Further

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33 Coffey, Davidson, and Dunn, ed., *Miracles*, 6-7.
34 Coffey, Davidson, and Dunn, ed., *Miracles*, 9-11.
35 Coffey, Davidson, and Dunn, ed., *Miracles*, 54-55.
36 Coffey, Davidson, and Dunn, ed., *Miracles*, 51.
discussion of the miracles of Saint James, the subject of Book II of the Codex, appears in the next chapter.

Book III of the Codex Calixtinus tells the story of the translation and burial of James’s body.⁷⁷ As the tale goes, after arriving in Galicia, James’ disciples are searching for a suitable resting place for the apostle’s body. They find a good field, but it belongs to the pagan noblewoman Lupa. They meet with her, but she directs them to the local king, who she suggests may be able to solve their problem. The king, however, is struck dumb by the disciples’ request and, at the devil’s urging, secretly orders that the disciples be ambushed and killed. God sends a warning to the disciples to flee, but the king’s men catch up with them. Because the disciples are under God’s protection, the bridge upon which the pursuers are running collapses, sending them into the water below.

The disciples then return to Lupa. Astonished by what had transpired, she appears to agree to the disciples’ request for the possession of a little pagan temple which they seek to convert into a resting place for James. She points out that on a nearby hill are some oxen that can help carry the body. The disciples thank her but when they reach the hill find, instead of oxen, a ferocious dragon. Our doughty disciples, remembering the James’ teachings, make the sign of the Cross, and the dragon, “quite simply, implodes.”⁷⁸ They then finally find the oxen, but the “oxen” are actually wild bulls.⁷⁹ Yet when the disciples approach them, the bulls immediately assume a gentle demeanor. The disciples return once again to Lupa, oxen in tow. Finally, Lupa concedes the strength of the disciples’ god, accepts their requests, and converts to Christianity.

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⁷⁹ Schaseck, Leo of Rozmital’s Czech chronicler, mentions that there is a custom for nobles to hunt wild bulls in the marketplace on Saint James’ Feast Day. Could this be a reference to the story given in the Codex? Detail in Tetzel and Šašek z Birkova, Travels of Leo of Rozmital, 99.
This story, of course, celebrates the triumph of Christianity over paganism, but it also celebrates the success of Apostle James’ Galician ministry. James is said to have only converted nine disciples in his time in Spain, but as the story shows, they were able to gain the favor of God, due to their successful instruction by James. Book III’s author thus presents James as an effective teacher, and the reader learns that devotion to James may bring succor in the most desperate of times.

When the burial story is complete, Book III continues to tell of the further acts of the disciples of James. Two remained in Galicia as guardians of their beloved apostle’s tomb. These are presumably the two whom Bishop Teodomiro found buried beside James upon the discovery of the tombs in the ninth century. The other disciples went their separate ways across Spain to preach the Word of God, which they had learned from James, in a clear parallel with the Acts of the Apostles. The locations of the disciples’ ministries would later represent the heartland of Al-Andalus, thus setting the stage for the role of Saint James as an agent of Christianity against the Muslims, an image very prominent by the time of the compilation of the Codex.

Santiago Matamoros

Book IV of the Codex Calixtinus purports to be the eyewitness account of Turpin, Archbishop of Reims, who traveled in Charlemagne’s company during the Holy Roman Emperor’s Spanish campaign in the latter half of the eighth century. It starts with a recapitulation of the legend of Saint James. The author then explains that after the apostle’s martyrdom and the translation of his body to Spain, the Galicians remained pagan. Hundreds of years later, Charlemagne, who had by this time forged a Christian empire, “sees in the sky a road of stars

41 It certainly wasn’t.
stretching from east to west, from the North Sea to Galicia.” After wondering at this for several nights, he is visited by Saint James in a dream. James introduces himself and then gives Charlemagne an important mission:

> My body now lies concealed in Galicia, long so grievously oppressed by the Saracens, from whose yoke I am astonished that you, who have conquered so many lands and cities, have not yet delivered it. Wherefore I come to warn you, as God has given you power above every other earthly prince, to prepare my way, and rescue my dominions from the [Muslims], that so you may receive a brighter crown of glory for your reward.

The mission here is twofold, both to establish a Jacobean pilgrimage route and to conquer Spain for Christendom.

> James visits Charlemagne thus three times, and the emperor decides to heed his calls. He lays siege to Pamplona for three months, but it unsuccessful. He prays to Jesus and Saint James for aid. “O Lord Jesus Christ, for whose faith I am come hither to fight the Pagans; for thy glory’s sake deliver this city into my hands; and O blessed Saint James, if thou didst indeed appear to me, help me to take it.” The walls of Pamplona then miraculously fall, recalling the walls of Jericho in the Old Testament. Charlemagne is able to convert Pamplona and puts those who resist to the sword. Word of the miracle spreads, and other city after city submits.

Charlemagne successfully conquers all of Spain, and Turpin is able to convert and baptize many former Muslims.

> Afterwards, Charlemagne visits the shrine of Saint James often, and he uses the tribute money from subjugated Spain to decorate and enrich the basilica at Santiago. He establishes the road to Santiago as a safe way for pilgrims, as James had requested, and he uses the remaining

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42 Raulston, “Harmony of Staff and Sword,” 360.
44 Rodd, “Turpin,” Chapter III.
tribute money to build abbeys and churches dedicated to Saint James. Charlemagne is even able to confer upon Santiago the title of Apostolic See. However, as often happens in Charlemagne’s career, once he returns to France, Spain is retaken by Muslim forces. The remainder of the book describes Charlemagne’s military efforts to capture Spain once more, accompanied by other heroes of the *chansons de geste*, Roland among them.

Book IV of the *Codex Calixtinus* thus establishes the association between Saint James and the Reconquista. His directive to Charlemagne to recapture Spain gives a neat, heroic narrative for the first century of the Reconquista. The events occur decades after the first historical Christian victory at the Battle of Covadonga but decades before the Battle of Clavijo, where James is said to have personally appeared. This Reconquista context of James also serves as a natural extension of the earlier legend. In the first century, James and his disciples attempted to spread God’s Word to pagan Spain, and in the eighth and ninth centuries, James was an inspiration and participant in the military reconquest of Muslim Spain. Also, crucially, the Charlemagne story presents reconquest and pilgrimage as each dependent on the other. Charlemagne’s initial campaign to Spain was a pilgrimage because it was done for the purpose of delivering Saint James’ body, and in doing so, he was reconquering formerly Christian lands. The success of Charlemagne’s conquest of Spain was what then enabled him to establish safe pilgrimage routes to Santiago, so that others may visit the apostle’s tomb.

In the twelfth century when the *Codex Calixtinus* was compiled, the Reconquista was a matter of eminent importance in the Iberian Peninsula. If one takes the *Codex Calixtinus* to be part of Archbishop Gelmírez’s public relations campaign for the pilgrimage, then it stands to reason that the placement of Book IV in the compilation serves as an attention-grabbing way of spreading the word about Spain’s long struggle against Al-Andalus while simultaneously
attracting to Spain both new soldiers for the Reconquista cause and pilgrims who may wish to express their devotion to Saint James on account of his part in the ongoing war. Essentially, James is made more attractive due to his Reconquista association, and the Reconquista effort is made even more glorious due to its direct holy patronage. As discussed in the history of Spain in the Introduction, the Reconquista did greatly impact the political and economic development of Spain and no doubt had an influence on pilgrim numbers.

Santiago Peregrino

The “Veneranda dies” is deliberate in its entwining of James and the idea of pilgrimage. The author explains the origins of the practice of pilgrimage using biblical references and relates this back to modern pilgrimage. This part of the sermon is wonderfully clear and logical, arranged chronologically from Adam as the first pilgrim to Christ’s apostles, James among them. The author compares Adam to the penitential pilgrim, both being sent away for a misdeed, to be redeemed by the grace of Christ. He compares Abraham to the pilgrim who travels to a distant land and is given greatness by the glory of God. Just as the Israelites faced hardship and oppression as they traveled out of Egypt to the Promised Land, so too must pilgrims suffer from the fraud of innkeepers, the fear of robbers, and the difficult terrain of the pilgrimage road in order to reach the holy destination. Jesus Christ and the apostles were, of course, also pilgrims. Of James, the author writes that the apostle “has settled in body alone in this earthly pilgrimage, and lives in thought and desire in the eternal land.” The author thus directly compares James’ life, and life in general, to a pilgrimage and hints at James’ still-active role after death.

45 Coffey, Davidson, and Dunn, ed., Miracles, 26-28.
46 Coffey, Davidson, and Dunn, ed., Miracles, 14.
Fifteenth-Century Response to Saint James

Many of the stories of Saint James related in the *Codex Calixtinus* appear in the accounts of the fifteenth-century travelers. William Wey, the first of the travelers, offers an easy-to-follow account of the legend of Saint James in Spain, tying into it the background behind some of the relics to be found at Padrón, the location where James preached in Galicia. This section of the Santiago chapter begins very reverently: “Let all faithful Catholics who shall read the present letter and devoutly consider its contents understand that the most holy Apostle, James the son of Zebedee, moved by divine grace, visited Spain.” Wey does appear to believe his account of the tale of the apostle’s ministry and translation, and he regards James with a general veneration throughout his text. As he says, “the Apostle’s arrival [in Galicia] both in life and in death had been shown to be a blessing.”

Wey appears to accept the image of James associated with his Galician ministry, that of teacher and guardian. He also touches on James’ current patronage of pilgrims in Padrón, mentioning that some pilgrims had taken bits of the rock upon which James’ body originally lay, and that because of this many miracles occurred. Additionally, Wey records a song he heard the Spanish children singing, directed toward the pilgrims: “Saint James of Compostela, grant you to return to your land./ Saint James, good Lord, grant you true forgiveness,/ Fine weather, a good road, and a fair wind.” James is again presented as protector of pilgrims. Wey presents the song without commentary, but that he chose to include it likely indicates approval.

Wey spends less time on James’ other major role, that of Christian warrior. The roots of this persona, as earlier suggested, is the apostle James’ ministry in Spain. Wey relates that James stayed in Spain “in order to spread and proclaim the Catholic faith to the unbelieving people at

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49 Wey, *Itineraries*, 213.
that time” and found mild success in “converting them from the great heresy which was rooted in their hearts.”\textsuperscript{50} James’ later, more military role in the liberation of Spain is not, however, given explicit reference. There may be a hint to it when Wey tells the story of a Christian Spanish king who had recently defeated a “Saracen” king and sent the latter’s golden crown to Santiago, where it was placed on the head of a statue of James.\textsuperscript{51} The glorious symbolism here at first seems patent, but Wey places this story amid miscellaneous recent events and facts about Spain. He does not reference the Reconquista elsewhere, and we assume that \textit{Matamoros} was not an aspect of James that was important to Wey. Fifteenth-century England, after all, had little to do with the Reconquista.

William Wey, therefore, was generally appreciative of the figure of James and enjoyed his two-week pilgrimage to Santiago, but there is little evidence of any particular devotion to the saint. He does not demonstrate particular knowledge of Saint James, and he was not in need of a miracle. Of course, he and Hermann Künig are the only travelers who left for the explicit reason of reaching Santiago de Compostela, and Wey is the only pilgrim who visited no other sites, traveling there and back by boat. The Jacobean pilgrimage, as opposed to other pilgrimages, must have held some special point of attraction for him, then. The next chapter suggests that he had a particular interest in the Jacobean indulgences.

Of our travelers, Leo of Rozmítal’s party seems to have regarded Saint James with the most warmth. It seems that during their stay of Santiago and its surroundings, they carefully record all of the stories of Saint James that they hear and report them with belief and interest. As mentioned, the Cathedral of Santiago was under siege at the time of their visit. A local lord had risen in rebellion against the Archbishop of Santiago over a land dispute, and the locals sided

\textsuperscript{50} Wey, \textit{Itineraries}, 214.
\textsuperscript{51} Wey, \textit{Itineraries}, 212.
with the rebellious lord. According to Tetzel, four thousand men stormed the church on the feast of Saint James, but no one was wounded except for the leader. This, he says, “was thought to be a punishment from God and Saint James that he alone should be wounded.” This exemplifies James’ role as protector of his pilgrimage site.

Schaseck is alone among all the fifteenth century travelers in directly mentioning Saint James in the Reconquista context. At the Cathedral of Santiago, he relates that “we saw with our own eyes the banner of Saint James which the Christians carried in war against the heathen.” The banner is red and James is depicted wearing a shell-adorned hat, sitting on a white horse. The priests tell Leo’s party of the battle the banner comes from, presumably the Battle of Clavijo, in which they say 13,000 Christians, with the help of Saint James’s appearance on the field, defeated 100,000 Muslims. From this account, we learn that Leo’s party did not know about this story beforehand. This fits in with the other pilgrims’ negligence in mentioning Santiago Matamoros. This does not seem unusual, since none of the travelers were Spanish or French, and the vast majority of Spain had already been reclaimed for the Christians.

It is worth repeating that according to Tetzel, Leo’s reason for travel was, “above all,” to visit the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (which they do not) and “[the tomb of] the beloved Saint James.” Like Wey, Leo clearly had an interest in the Jacobean pilgrimage, making it worthy of special mention, but again this interest is not immediately clear. The chroniclers, although they certainly enjoyed learning about Saint James and seeing his relics, show no signs of any special

52 See Letts, note in Tetzel and Šašek, Travels of Leo of Rozmítal, 101. The siege lasted for five more months, until the besieged agreed to the rebels’ terms. The Archbishop was to leave the city for ten years, but he returned in 1469 and reestablished his power. Tetzel mistakenly reports that the Archbishop was killed in the siege whereas in fact he died in his bed in 1512.
53 Tetzel and Šašek, Travels of Leo of Rozmítal, 101.
54 The hat, of course, is suggestive of James as pilgrim. As often happens, Santiago Matamoros and Santiago Peregrino are combined.
55 Tetzel and Šašek, Travels of Leo of Rozmítal, 117.
56 Tetzel and Šašek, Travels of Leo of Rozmítal, 19.
devotion to the saint, but of course their views do not necessarily reflect Leo’s. No further clues particular to Santiago de Compostela or Spain appear, and I would suggest that Tetzel, or Leo, chose Jerusalem and Santiago as the two highlighted destinations due simply to their fame.

Hermann Künig von Vach offers no insight into Saint James. As we know, Künig was a Servant of Mary, and his book reflects this. According to Künig, a pilgrim setting out on pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela should first pray to Mary. The pilgrim should ask God and Mary for help in obtaining grace from the journey, grace which is merited by the pilgrim’s devotion to James, Mary, and Jesus.57 At the close of the journey, the pilgrim is to confess and give thanks and praise to God and Mary and to continue to serve them with piety. Künig then asks that Mary “preserve us from eternal captivity and afford grace to us poor sinners so that we do not die eternal death but rather that we always see God and Saint James and all the saints and Our Lady.”58 The reason to go Santiago on pilgrimage, Künig says, is for the opportunity to “receive great reward from God and, in the life hereafter, the heavenly crown which God has given to Saint James and all the saints for ever,” something, again, for which “the pure Virgin and her dear Son” may offer their aid.59 In these instances, authority is given to Mary and God or Jesus, and James is relegated to the position of bystander, receiving mention only because the destination bears his name.60 Künig gives him no characteristics of his own, presenting him rather as James, one saint among others.

It is only too apparent that Künig took no special interest in James. In fact, the chance to worship at the saint’s resting place was not enough to push Künig to walk the pilgrimage to its

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58 Künig, Path to St James, 15.
59 Künig, Path to St James, 7, 13.
60 Another minor point is that Künig says he finished the book on Saint Anne’s Day, 1495. John Durant notes that if he had finished the book a day earlier, it would have coincided with Saint James’ Day, July 25th. This may have been purely coincidental, or perhaps Künig intended and preferred to finish the book on Mary’s mother’s saint day. See Durant, “Preface,” 1.
intended end. Physical limitations are probably the easiest explanation for Künig’s decision to turn back, but it is worth noting that a pilgrim who died on the journey received a plenary indulgence, and Saint James fulfilled the role of protector of his pilgrims. Of course, Künig does not admit to turning back and as such does not give his reason for doing so, but this may be excusable as he probably thought that these would be discouraging or irrelevant to the reader. Künig’s failure to visit Santiago and Padrón accounts for the absence of any description of stories associated with saint. He, like the other pilgrims, does not appear to have had any extensive foreknowledge of Saint James, and it is generally at the pilgrimage sites where other travelers learn about him. As stated above, Künig believed that the primary reason for going to Santiago was for the indulgences it offered, something that was given for the completion of the pilgrimage and not special devotion to Saint James. He may have initially chosen Santiago de Compostela as his destination for its fame, or perhaps he had always wanted to visit Spain. Any other motives can only be guessed at, but it is clear that to Künig, Saint James was a figure of significance primarily for the existence of his pilgrimage and its dispensation of heavenly rewards. Künig was able to receive his indulgences at Villafranca del Bierzo, likely with a mix of relief that he could turn his tired legs homeward and sadness that he would not be able to see the famed shrine, but ultimately he made it home and helped guide many others to Santiago with the publication of his book.

The physician Hieronymus Münzer offers a more nuanced view of Saint James and the pilgrimage. His journey took him to Padrón, the town where James once preached, before the city of Santiago. There, he saw the relics of James’ ministry and the translation of his body, including the chapel where he once preached, the ship without oars, and the church that held his
body and bore a concavity as proof. Münzer writes of his experience at Padrón with perceptible enthusiasm, as if he is amazed that the various objects still exist and feels lucky to be able to see them. Any doubt he may have had of James’ Spanish presence does not come to light. When Münzer later reaches Santiago, he is given access to the Codex Calixtinus, Book III of which deals with the legend of Saint James. Münzer teases at some of the interesting details of the given story before directing readers to the original. He approaches the story with ambivalence, however. According to Münzer, “many apocryphal things were written concerning [James’] translation to Galicia, nevertheless, having rejected them all, Calixtus accepted this story… as sufficiently authentic.” There are further uses of phrases such as “Calixtus accepted this story” or “Pope Calixtus further says that,” suggesting to me that Münzer was either very careful about citing his sources or skeptical of whether or not “Calixtus” was well-advised.

The differences between the stories given in Padrón and the Codex are in the details. In Padrón, Münzer simply establishes that James preached in Spain and later posthumously returned. The Codex Book III story gives the full account of the events and is undeniably fanciful, with a scheming queen and a dragon. Münzer’s choice in omitting details and directing readers to the original may have as much to do with disbelief as with saving space. This, coupled with his misgivings about the people of Santiago, who he says are lazy and rely only on the pilgrimage trade, and his doubts as to whether James’ body really rests in Santiago, indicates that Münzer accepted James’ general Spanish connection but regarded the pilgrimage “machine” with distaste.

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63 He does seem quite certain that Calixtus was in fact the author of the Codex: “Pope Calixtus, that singular lover of Saint James, wrote a great a diffuse work divided into four books about his deeds…” See Münzer, “Münzer,” 74.
64 Münzer, “Münzer,” 73.
65 See the next chapter.
Münzer goes on to copy excerpts from the *Codex*. From Book I, he chooses passages that praise Saint James, exhort the reader to visit his shrine, and establish his role as the guardian and advocate of pilgrims. The language, taken very closely from the original, is suitably grand and ornate. We are thus treated with a delightful bit of sarcasm when Münzer closes his Book I excerpts with a paraphrase from the introductory letter: “In a humble style indeed, Pope Calixtus wrote these things…” The physician also makes extensive excerpts from Book IV. His version begins faithfully, with Saint James spurring on Charlemagne by appearing to him in a dream. The other magical and miraculous elements of the story, however, despite often being key plot points in the original, Münzer chooses almost entirely to omit. This is, of course, similar to his treatment of the legend of Saint James. His interest in Charlemagne’s Spanish campaign seems to lie in the story’s historical merit. His confidence in its accuracy is confirmed when he reaches Roncesvalles and sees the burial site of the Christians under Charlemagne who perished in a battle detailed in Book IV. Gerson, et al. posit that Münzer’s choice to copy from the *Codex* stemmed from a desire to establish the historical basis for the cult of Saint James. Accordingly, Münzer’s interest in Saint James was not his special devotion to the apostle but rather his desire to record the history of an undeniably important pilgrimage. Like a true humanist, his interest primarily lied in the preservation and propagation of knowledge.

Arnold von Harff was unimpressed with Spain and left little space in his lengthy book for Santiago de Compostela, and he does not write about Saint James at all in the context of the

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66 Münzer, “Münzer,” 81. The actual letter uses “simple” instead to describe the style, which makes more sense since the author is emphasizing the accessibility of the sermons to both learned and unlearned people. See Coffey, Davidson, and Dunn, ed., *Miracles*, 5.
69 This should not be interpreted to mean that his interest in Santiago was solely academic, however. As stated above, he did find some enjoyment in seeing the relics at Padrón, and he later writes ill of the rude worshipers, calling James “the holiest apostle,” who “should be venerated with greater reverence.” Münzer thus held James above comparable figures, but he had a general disinterest in religious matters. See Chapter Three. Quote from Münzer, “Münzer,” 83.
apostle’s pilgrimage. The only place where James appears is in von Harff’s descriptions of the Holy Land. On the young nobleman’s lengthy tour of biblical sites, he mentions James in the context of his Scriptural appearances. At the Sea of Galilee, for instance, he remarks that this is where James, John, Peter, and Andrew entered the company of Jesus.\textsuperscript{70} However, these mentions are exclusive to Apostle James, a figure far removed from the legendary \textit{Santiago Peregrino} or \textit{Santiago Matamoros}. It is easy to conclude that James held no particular significance for von Harff.

**Conclusion**

The compiler of the \textit{Codex Calixtinus}, a complex and extensive work, carefully portrayed the figure of Saint James as one of Jesus’ principle apostles who then became a teacher and a guardian in his own right and who after death became simultaneously a great miracle worker, a proponent of the Reconquista, and a symbol of pilgrimage. Keeping in mind that the \textit{Codex} comes from the rule of the great and shrewd Archbishop Gelmírez, we may conclude that a primary reason for fostering such an impressive image was to attract potential pilgrims. This implies that in the twelfth-century mentality, those unique characteristics that James had assumed were indeed a draw for pilgrims. Most notable among these is James’ role as champion of the Reconquista, at the time an ongoing struggle. It is difficult to assess the impact of the \textit{Codex Calixtinus} in the time following its compilation with so few records available,\textsuperscript{71} but it is certain that the image of James it promoted endured in Santiago de Compostela into the fifteenth century.

\textsuperscript{70} von Harff, Pilgrimage, 228.
\textsuperscript{71} Gerson et al. trace full or nearly-full copies of the \textit{Liber Sancti Jacobi} made in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries to only Iberia and France.
Nearly all of the fifteenth-century pilgrims report hearing stories of Saint James at Santiago and Padrón consistent with those in the *Codex*, but they do not seem to have been aware of these stories beforehand. This suggests that the unique image of Saint James promoted by the Cathedral was unfamiliar to fifteenth-century England or the Holy Roman Empire. Nevertheless, each of the pilgrims planned specifically to visit Santiago, two as part of exclusive pilgrimages, another who highlighted it as a most important destination, and another who had to travel out of his way on an already-lengthy journey. The next chapter explores the role of relics, miracles, and indulgences as additional motivations for visiting Santiago de Compostela, and the final chapter looks beyond religion into new meanings for pilgrimage.
Chapter Two: Miracles, Relics, and Indulgences

In order to achieve canonization, a would-be saint must demonstrate adherence to a holy life and prove his or her special grace by performing miracles. Knowing the devotion such a figure may attract, clerics collect items associated with the holy figure’s life to display in their churches and monasteries. The masses, eager to see for themselves the physical evidence of their beloved saint, then visit the resting place of the relic. Perhaps they are hoping for a miracle, or perhaps they already benefited from one, but at the very least they can be secure in the knowledge that they will receive indulgences for their efforts. Thus, miracles, relics, and indulgences are all intimately connected and contribute to the basic foundations of pilgrimage.

In relation to the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, the relative weight of miracles, relics, and indulgences experienced a marked shift from the twelfth to the fifteen centuries. Miracles had diminished in importance, relics were still a great attraction though a sense of skepticism had emerged, and indulgences appear to have increased in importance. A similar trend exists within the timeline of our fifteenth-century travelers.

Miracles

Book II of the *Codex Calixtinus* contains twenty-two miracles attributed to Saint James. It begins with an introductory attestation purportedly written by Pope Calixtus. “Above all,” he says, “it is worthwhile to commit to writing and to consign eternally to memory the miracles of Saint James for the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ. For when the stories of the saints are told by experts, the hearts of listeners are moved piously toward the sweetness and love of the heavenly realm.” These miracles were recorded “for the glory of God and the apostle,” he emphasizes a
few lines later. According to the author, Calixtus himself collected them on his various travels, seeing some in writing, hearing some from witnesses, and personally observing a few others. We are assured that the selection comprises only a very small sampling and that those miracles chosen are the ones judged to be the truest and most beautiful, to be read in churches and refectories, especially on the feast days of Saint James.

Since such a large selection of Jacobean miracles existed to choose from, we must consider the reasoning behind including those chosen for the Codex. At the time, the placement of miracle lists at saints’ shrines were not at all uncommon. They were generally living documents, to be expanded as pilgrims continued to visit and to share their personal stories of receiving aid from the saint. However, the emphasis on the truth and beauty of those included in the Codex suggests that they were hand-picked for particular needs. Despite varying greatly in space and content, the twenty-two miracles, taken as a whole, serve to emphasize Saint James’ thaumaturgic power and his ties to the pilgrim.

The majority of the miracle stories have the same general structure: an introduction to the time period and the participants, the miracle story, a phrase borrowed from Psalm 117:23 thanking God, and sometimes an explanation of the miracle. The moralistic explanations of the miracles change Book II from a collection of narrative stories to a didactic book that forces the reader to recognize very clearly Saint James’ ability to perform miracles.

In fact, his thaumaturgic power towers over his competitors’. Klaus Herbers in his essay “The Miracles of St. James” points to moments when Saint James is held in direct competition

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72 Coffey, Davidson, and Dunn, ed., Miracles, 57.
73 “This was accomplished by the Lord and it is miraculous in our eyes. May glory and honor be to the King of Kings for ever and ever.” Klaus Herbers, “The Miracles of St. James,” in The Codex Calixtinus and the Shrine of St. James, edited by John Williams and Alison Stones, (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1992), 12.
with Saint Martin of Tours.\textsuperscript{74} In the third miracle story, a boy who dies on the pilgrimage road to Santiago is resurrected after his mother prays to Saint James for intercession. The author of the miracle goes on to say that some may object to this, questioning how James may raise the dead, being dead himself, while “Our Lord and Saint Martin are said to have brought back to life exactly three dead people before their own deaths and no one after their own deaths.” He concludes that this miracle is proof that Saint James “is truly living with God” since his power to raise the dead is possible only with God’s help.\textsuperscript{75} In Book V of the \textit{Codex Calixtinus}, Saint Martin’s resurrection of three people is again mentioned. However, the author also points out that his church, though “immense and venerable” and “executed in admirable workmanship,” was built in a style “similar to the Church of the Blessed James.”\textsuperscript{76} Clearly, the \textit{Codex Calixtinus}, the official manuscript associated with the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela, tried to highlight the idea that what Martin could do, James could do better, and that while Martin’s church may be a great place to visit, one needed to visit Santiago for the full experience.

This reference to Saint Martin in Book V appears in a chapter describing additional sites a pilgrim may visit on the way to Santiago. Here, Martin’s powers of healing are especially underscored. Among the Jacobean miracles of Book II, only three deal with healing. This lies in contrast with another collection of Jacobean miracles, that associated with the relic of the hand of Saint James at Reading Abbey in England. The two collections are similar in time and scope, with the English collection comprising twenty-eight miracles from the 1100s. Of these, twenty-six are healing miracles.\textsuperscript{77} As Herbers states, in Book II of the \textit{Codex}, “simple healing of bodily afflictions or diseases are exceptional; raising from the dead and salvation of body and soul in all

\textsuperscript{74} Herbers, “Miracles,” 18-19.
\textsuperscript{75} Coffey, Davidson, and Dunn, ed., \textit{Miracles}, 65.
kinds of extreme situations are frequent.” Whereas Reading Abbey emphasized James’ ability to heal, presumably one of the more predictable and commonplace traits associated with any given saint, the Book II author wanted to present the great range and strength of Saint James’ thaumaturgic ability. Not only could James heal and indeed resuscitate, but he could also cure sterility, free from captivity, save from storms, demons, and battle, and transport his pilgrims over large distances. The “Veneranda dies” sermon summarizes this notion: “Just as the height of heaven or the depth of the seas cannot be investigated or measured by anyone, the magnitude of his miracles and his powers cannot be counted by anyone.”

The Book II miracles are designed to have a universal appeal while stressing James’ special connection with pilgrimage. The subjects of the miracle stories come from Germany, Italy, France, Greece, and Catalonia – all of the major areas that supplied Jacobean pilgrims in the twelfth century. Of the twenty-two miracles, five take place in the pilgrim’s home, five more at the destination, and the rest on the pilgrimage route. Following this theme, in the “Veneranda dies” it is said that Saint James “is always and everywhere at hand, without delay, for helping those at risk and those in tribulation calling to him whether on sea or on land.” The Galician pilgrim may visit Santiago de Compostela sometime in his or her life as a matter of course, but the wide geographical distribution of the miracle stories encouraged also the continued visits of foreign pilgrims, especially since miracles often occurred along the pilgrimage road.

All but one of the miracles date to within approximately a hundred years of the time of writing, about half of them happening in the first decade of the twelfth century. This may seem

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78 Herbers, “Miracles,” 18.
79 Coffey, Davidson, and Dunn, ed., Miracles, 18.
80 Herbers, “Miracles,” 19.
81 Coffey, Davidson, and Dunn, ed., Miracles, 21.
peculiar for a saint who lived in the time of Jesus and whose cult in Spain had existed for around three hundred years by the twelfth century. The relative recentness of the miracles perhaps served to give Saint James an immediate, contemporary relevance, indicating to the potential pilgrim that he was still very much active in his miracle-working.

A few miracles also occur elsewhere in the Codex. In the introductory letter, the author who alleges to be Pope Calixtus relates miracles he experienced while writing the manuscript. One of these is an appearance to him of both Jesus and James, who urge him to continue writing the manuscript. “Write what you have begun, correcting the evils of the depraved innkeepers dwelling on the route of my apostle,” says Jesus. In addition to reinforcing James’ prominence in his association with Jesus, this miracle lends legitimacy to the Codex Calixtinus and by extension its list of miracles. In Books I and V, miracles of vengeance befall, respectively, those who did not properly celebrate Saint James’ feast day and those who did not help pilgrims, showing that Saint James not only helps the faithful but can also punish the wicked. Altogether, the great variety of miracles presented in the Codex Calixtinus, both those especially picked for the purposes of attracting pilgrims and those incidentally mentioned, serve to glorify the power of Saint James and to maintain the continued prominence of his cult and pilgrimage route.

Of our fifteenth century travelers, the English priest William Wey is the only one to record a personal miracle. He tells the reader that before embarking at Plymouth port, he met a man who had vowed to make the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, seeking healing. However, the man’s illness worsened, and wishing to die in peace at home, he turned back despite Wey’s insistence that those who died on the pilgrimage road would receive a plenary indulgence. Some days later, during Wey’s stay in Santiago, he encountered the man a second time. On the man’s way back home, he had been miraculously cured by Saint James and was
now happily fulfilling his vow. Wey goes on to relate another miracle. On his ship was another man who had had his purse cut. The man vowed to go to the shrine of Saint James stripped, his purse was soon recovered, and he followed through with his vow.\textsuperscript{82}

Despite Wey’s dry narrative style and unwillingness to offer commentary on his experiences, there does appear to be a note of excitement or wonder at these extraordinary events that befell people he personally met. His language reflects a tone brighter than his usual. He exaggerates perhaps, saying that the man in the first miracle covered “in the half day following as great a distance as he had completed in the whole of the previous day” and using the word “immediately” twice in the second story to describe the robbed man’s eagerness at making his vow and later setting off for Santiago. The second miracle is introduced with the exclamation “Another miracle!”\textsuperscript{83} Regardless of whether Wey really was enchanted by these occurrences, it appears that he, or at the very least the beneficiaries of the two miracles, firmly believed that Saint James was responsible for the deliverances.

Wey’s inclusion of the miracles in his relatively short, strongly fact-based description of his pilgrimage and his tempered, though recognizable, interest in them, suggest that he would have been the ideal receiver of Book II of the \textit{Codex Calixtinus}. His two miracles are very much akin to the ones presented in the \textit{Codex} and demonstrate Saint James’ ability to heal and protect, with the theme of pilgrimage as a focal point. Saint James is explicitly given credit for the miracles. To explain Wey’s acceptance of the miracles and his desire to record them, one must take into consideration his status as an ordained priest and his purpose for writing his book. It was his wish that his itinerary remain at his monastery, Edington Priory, presumably in order to

\textsuperscript{82} Wey, \textit{Itineraries}, 212-213.
\textsuperscript{83} Wey, \textit{Itineraries}, 213.
bring awareness to the Jacobean pilgrimage to members of both his immediate religious community and the lay community it supported.\(^84\)

The other major fifteenth-century sources do not include personal miracles but do mention older ones heard about in Santiago or the surrounding areas. Gabriel Tetzel, Leo of Rozmital’s German chronicler, writes that James, who “worked many miracles in his lifetime and after his death,”\(^85\) died in Padrón. His followers attempted to take his body far away, but after some traveling, the oxen pulling the cart stopped and refused to go any further, marking the location where the town and cathedral of Saint James were subsequently built. This corroborates the insistence of the *Codex Calixtinus* that James could work miracles even after death. Tetzel also writes of a miracle performed during the saint’s lifetime. “St James went once up on to a hill… and sat down and wept piteously and was troubled because he had no more than two converts. He was thirsty and thrust his staff into the ground, and a fresh spring appeared which is still there.”\(^86\) Schaseck, Rozmital’s squire, adds that “it is said that those who drink from the spring, by virtue of the protection of the divine and holy Saint James, are immune for a whole year from the danger of fever.”\(^87\) Tetzel notes something of a similar nature, a chain that had bound Saint James when he was a prisoner. According to Tetzel, an afflicted person will recover his health upon being bound by the chain.\(^88\) The language used by both Tetzel and Schaseck in their sections on Santiago de Compostela clearly reflects a great sense of wonder at these religious offerings. The entire party does drink from the spring.

Like William Wey, Leo’s party could easily be categorized within the desired audience for the *Codex Calixtinus*. The older miracles they mention I would treat rather as a part of the

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\(^84\) Wey, *Itineraries*, 19.  
\(^86\) Tetzel and Šašek, *Travels of Leo of Rozmital*, 103.  
\(^87\) Tetzel and Šašek, *Travels of Leo of Rozmital*, 114.  
\(^88\) Tetzel and Šašek, *Travels of Leo of Rozmital*, 193.
legend of Saint James than as miracles proper, but the party’s acceptance of the supposed healing properties of the spring and chain ties in well with the message broadcast by the Codex. Here, the strength of the power of Saint James is evident. The chroniclers give him weight as a thaumaturge with contemporary relevance.

Traveling some decades after Leo, Hermann König von Vach likely turned back before reaching Santiago, but he does relate one miracle attributed to Saint James. At Santo Domingo de la Calzada, a prominent stop on the Camino, he observes that there are two chickens in the church. “Do not forget the fowl behind the altar, look at them well and marvel at God’s miraculous power: they escaped from the spit on which they were roasted. I know that it is no lie as I have seen for myself the hole through which they flew, one after the other, and the hearth in which they were being roasted.” Unfortunately, König appears to miss the bulk of the story here. As the legend goes, days after his supposed death, a young pilgrim on his way to Santiago who had been wrongfully hanged called out to pilgrims passing by, exclaiming that he was still alive by the aid of Saint James. The excited pilgrims then sought out the local magistrate to tell the tale, but the magistrate was at supper and dismissed them, saying that the youth was as dead as the cock and hen on his plate. Right on cue, the chickens immediately got up and started crowing. From then until the time of König’s visit, a cock and a hen had always been kept in the cathedral in commemoration of the miraculous event.

There is no indication in König’s narrative that he knew about the miracle’s close association with pilgrimage or of its connection to Saint James. This model of Saint James preserving a hanged man from death was in fact one of the more common miracles associated

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89 König, Path to St James, 12.
90 König, Path to St James, 19.
with the pilgrimage,\textsuperscript{91} and a version of it appears in Book II of the \textit{Codex Calixtinus}. That this was the only instance in which Künig acknowledged a miracle of any kind, not to mention a Jacobean one, in his book titled “The Path of Saint James,” is probably more telling than the miracle itself. As previously discussed, Künig shies away from mentioning James in any sort of specific, personalized context. He does not come across as knowledgeable about the identity of Saint James the Greater or even as caring enough to become so. Throughout his narrative, Künig is more concerned with practical matters such as assuring that the reader can find his place from one town to the next while carrying the correct type of coin for tolls or knowing where the best hospitality is offered. The mention of the miracle, especially as it is not explained or given theological weight, reads almost as just another novelty along the road.

Another German traveler, the physician Hieronymus Münzer confirms Leo’s chroniclers’ account of the miracle fountain at Padrón, although he omits the qualification that the spring still has miraculous properties. The water, however, “is sweet and soft, and flows well.”\textsuperscript{92} As previously stated, about half of Münzer’s account consists of summaries and transcriptions from the \textit{Codex Calixtinus}, focusing especially on Book IV. Yet he noticeably omits most of the miraculous and magical elements of the story, elements which arguably give the heroic narrative its life. Münzer instead keeps only Saint James’ initial pleas to Charlemagne, and his account reads mainly as a straightforward military history. Clearly, Münzer was reluctant to give too much credence to miracles and preferred the tangible. Though he appeared to have accepted certain aspects of the legend of Saint James, he may not have been willing to believe that James still had a contemporary relevance in miracle-working. After all, Münzer was a physician, a man of science and the humanities. While William Wey was a cleric and Leo of Rozmital was

\textsuperscript{92} Krochalis, “1494,” 75.
embroiled in the religious troubles of his nation, Münzer was a much more secular figure whose original purpose for travel, to avoid the plague, was indeed a secular one.

The intrepid Arnold von Harff had a thoroughly wretched time in Spain and breezes through his description of Santiago de Compostela and its surroundings. Like König, he ignores the persona of Saint James altogether in his work. However, it is of interest that he also visited Santo Domingo de la Calzada and saw what may well have been the same pair of chickens, given the temporal proximity of their visits. “They told us pilgrims that [the chickens] had come there miraculously,” he says. Like König, he seems to miss nearly the entirety of the story. However, while König described his one recorded miracle with great enthusiasm, von Harff responds with disdain. He spends the first part of the paragraph describing the relic of Saint Dominic’s body, the church’s chief relic. The problem is that he had already been shown Saint Dominic’s body at a previous church. “I leave God to decide these disputes among priests, who never allow that they are wrong.” It is the very the next sentence that mentions the presence of the chickens “in the same church.” Moreover, “they” who tell von Harff’s company of the miracle are surely the same “priests” who have just shown them the relic.

Von Harff’s clear skepticism contrasts with König’s and Münzer’s light interest in or noncommittal acceptance of miracles and differs even more from the piety of Leo’s party or the assiduous miracle-recording of Wey. Chronologically, the former three travelers all journeyed at the end of the fifteenth century while Wey and Rozmital journeyed decades earlier, Wey in 1456 and Rozmital in 1465. Münzer, König, and von Harff were temporally closer to Luther’s Ninety-five Theses than to William Wey, and the attitudes of the 1490s travelers may be reflections of the changing times.

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93 “Summa summarum, Spain is an evil country.” Von Harff, Pilgrimage, 271.
94 von Harff, Pilgrimage, 268.
Relics

Belonging much in the same category as miracles, relics provide physical proof for the believer of the lives and actions of religious figures. Book V of the *Codex Calixtinus* strongly emphasizes the importance of relics. It is the guidebook for pilgrims traveling out of France, and its longest section describes many of the churches and shrines housing saintly remains that the pilgrim may visit along the Camino. The author describes the relics with great reverence and often associates them with miraculous properties. The body of Saint James is the premier relic, of course, and is what made the city of Santiago de Compostela great: “The city guards the precious body of the Blessed James, for which it is recognized as the happiest and the most splendid of all the cities of Spain.” 95 The fifteen-century pilgrims who visit Santiago de Compostela regard the relics of Saint James with varying degrees of credence.

William Wey sees at Padrón the stone upon which Saint James’ body was discovered, the boat which carried him to Galicia, the stone on which he stood for his sermons, and the miraculous spring. The church at Padrón holds a tunic of Jesus as well as a collection of relics of several other saints, he reports. The cathedral of Santiago contains the body of Saint James, “whole and uncorrupted.” Among the other bodily relics, “displayed to all in the treasury of [the cathedral] most clearly” is the head of Saint James the Less. 96 Typical of Wey’s style, he does not describe the relics at any length or offer insight into his feelings about them, instead presenting them as an inventory: a list of items of intrinsic value not to be missed. Wey’s lack of commentary is frustrating, but as before, I would suggest that the highlighted quotes represent language that departs from Wey’s usual dry style and hints at a muted appreciation and acceptance of the relics.

Leo of Rozmital’s party, despite the circumstances under which they arrived at the cathedral, saw many relics as well. After they had been properly absolved for fraternizing with the rebels, they were given a tour of the cathedral, where Tetzel saw the head of Saint James the Less, a piece of the Holy Cross containing a piece of the Crown of Thorns, the mentioned chain that had bound Saint James that had contemporary healing properties, and “many other worthy relics.” Adding to the relics mentioned by Tetzel, Schaseck records the sickle which beheaded the Apostle and the staff which he carried in his travels. Schaseck seems pleased with both the relics and the way his party was treated once they were in the cathedral, noting that “my lord and we were shown by the priests with much honor all the relics which were kept in the church.” They were shown the tomb of Saint James “which is built upon the altar itself.” Interestingly, he says that the priests showed them relics “which are not named or shown except in jubilee year,” yet it was not a Holy Year when they made their visit. In Padrón, Tetzel and Schaseck both record the evidences of the Apostle James’ ministry in Galicia. In addition to the miraculous fountain, they see the miraculous ship, still bearing James’ footprint, and the stone upon which the body of Saint James lay, with indentions from his head and body. Overall, Leo’s chroniclers approach the relics in their writings with a positive attitude and seem to have held them in deep appreciation.

Because it is doubtful that Hermann Künig ever reached Santiago de Compostela, he makes no mention of the relics found there and thereabouts. Neither does he make a habit of pointing out the relics associated with the various other churches he visits. Künig’s chief interest in the pilgrimage was with the promise of indulgences. One of the only references to relics, astoundingly, includes the body of James in Toulouse. “They say that there are six apostles there:

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Philip, James, Barnabas, James the Great, Simon, and Judas.\textsuperscript{100} He does not question this even though the destination of his pilgrimage is Santiago de Compostela, the place whose sole relevance comes from supposedly holding the body of James. It is basically impossible that Künig did not know this, and this further reinforces the notion that Künig did not much care about the figure of Saint James or bear him in mind as a reason for visiting Santiago.

As discussed in the previous chapter, Hieronymus Münzer saw in Padrón the same set of relics as did Wey and Leo and seems to have enjoyed the experience. His attitude to relics changes in Santiago de Compostela, however. The space he might have given to describing the relics of the Cathedral of Santiago is instead occupied with the description of beautiful ornaments and images inside the cathedral. Münzer says he kept a list of the relics on a loose page, but this has not survived. It was presumably simply an inventory of objects. He does mention that Saint Fructuosus is buried there, though likely only because the particular saint’s feast day coincided with his visit. Of James’ body, Münzer writes that “he is believed to be buried under the high altar with his two disciples… No one, however has seen his body. Even when the King of Castile himself was here, in the year of our Lord 1487, he did not see it. We believe on faith alone, which saves us men.”\textsuperscript{101} This ends Münzer’s description of the city and cathedral of Santiago. His skepticism of Saint James’ supposed burial in Santiago is evident, and one wonders if the last line and the finality of its tone are meant to be ironic.

If Hieronymus Münzer hinted at his disbelief in relics, Arnold von Harff was frank in his expression of disdain.

It is claimed that the body of Saint James, the Greater Apostle, rests or lies in the high altar, others say in truth no, that he lies in Tolosa in Languedoc, as I have written above. I desired, with great presents, that they should show me the holy body. They replied that anyone who did not believe truly that the holy body of

\textsuperscript{100} Künig, \textit{Path to St James}, 10.
\textsuperscript{101} Münzer, “Münzer,” 83.
Saint James, the Greater Apostle, lay in the high altar, but doubted and therefore desired to see the body, he would immediately become made like a mad dog. From this I had learnt all I wanted to know…

Von Harff was indeed shown the head of Saint James the Lesser and “many other relics,” but being denied visitation of the relic responsible for the existence of the city and cathedral clearly made a great impression on him. One recalls that Tetzel did describe seeing the tomb of Saint James and says it was built into the altar. Tetzel had been content with seeing the altar, whereas von Harff and indeed Münzer needed to see the body as evidence for Saint James’ burial in Santiago. Thus, von Harff and Münzer went to Santiago with an established distrust of relics, whereas Tetzel and likely the rest of Leo’s party came willing to believe.

Von Harff’s annoyance at the church officials and his mention of the same relic being shown to him in Toulouse is reminiscent of his dismissal of priests at the church of Saint Dominic, above. Yet it may be significant that von Harff did make an extra effort to see the body of Saint James, presumably after being rejected for the first time, offering “great presents.” It seems that he genuinely desired to see these physical objects connected with his faith, and that it was the priests, that is to say, the church hierarchy, with whom he found fault.

Again, as with miracles, the fifteenth-century travelers responded differently to the topic of relics. William Wey seems to have appreciated the relics, Leo of Rozmital’s party more pronouncedly so. Hermann König virtually ignored them altogether, Hieronymus Münzer was much more interested in other things, and Arnold von Harff, though he had a great desire to see relics, was struck by skepticism toward them. The Codex Calixtinus presented relics as a major part of pilgrimage, and it seems they generally retained their importance in the fifteenth century.

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102 von Harff, Pilgrimage, 275.
Indulgences

Miracles may have relieved worldly suffering and relics may have provided pilgrims with unique visceral experiences, but indulgences saved one’s soul. The idea of Purgatory as the place where the average soul goes after death, to atone and await judgment, arose in the ninth century. Sins committed in life were said to lengthen one’s time in Purgatory, while good works may reduce it. Most people were unable to do either enough bad or enough good to go directly to Hell or Heaven, so Purgatory stood as the usual destination after death. Fortunately for these average souls, the Church maintained that exceptional people such as saints attained an excess of grace for their good works while on Earth, grace which the Church could distribute for certain acts, pilgrimage among them. This grace could then be used to lessen one’s time in Purgatory. It was not until the Late Middle Ages, when indulgences were offered in exchange for money, that they were thought of as corrupt. This, of course, culminated in the likely apocryphal story of young professor Martin Luther angrily nailing a list of ninety-five grievances on the door of the church at Wittenberg in 1517.

The promise of indulgences was understandably a popular motivation for pilgrimage. Generally, greater indulgences were offered for longer and more arduous journeys, the Jacobean pilgrimage being a prime example of this. In addition to the already generous indulgences to be obtained at Santiago, a plenary indulgence was (and still is) available to pilgrims making the journey in a Holy Year, or Jubilee Year, when Saint James’ Day, July 25, falls on a Sunday. According to the Confraternity of Saint James, this practice is said to have started in 1122 with Pope Calixtus, who offered the plenary indulgence to pilgrims at Santiago in a Holy Year who confessed and attended mass, left a donation for the upkeep of the shrine, and endeavored to perform good works. A papal bull dated 1179 which made perpetual Santiago’s ability to

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103 This happens every 6, 5, 6, and 11 years.
dispense plenary indulgences is thought to be a fifteenth-century forgery. Records of indulgences granted to Jacobean pilgrims date as far back as the mid-thirteenth century, but the earliest identified Holy Year is 1395. The forgery alone suggests an increased desire for indulgences later in the Middle Ages.

The “Veneranda dies” sermon promises “heavenly rewards” for the just and “eternal salvation” to sinners who participate in the festivities. Furthermore, pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela will earn those truly penitent absolution from the apostle and pardon from God, who trusts James’ discretion in these matters. Regarding the Reconquista context of the pilgrimage, Book IV of the Codex Calixtinus ends with another purported letter of Pope Calixtus. It proclaims that the Reconquista is a crusade, drawing heavily from the speech of Pope Urban II, who had called for the First Crusade to Jerusalem in 1095. As such, the Reconquista is also a pilgrimage, and all participants in the Reconquista are to be rewarded with a plenary indulgence. Thus are Saint James’ two aspects, that of Matamoros and that of Peregrino, united once more.

According to William Wey, the successful completion of a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, taken at any time, remits the pilgrim of one-third of all his sins. Death on the pilgrimage road yields a plenary indulgence, he says, as does travel during a Holy Year. Wey himself visited during a Holy Year, as did the vast majority of English travelers. It makes sense that Wey would do so, since his trip was a short one made for the sole purpose of visiting Santiago and its closely associated locations. Despite Wey’s projected image as a virtuous,

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105 Coffey, Davidson, and Dunn, ed., Miracles, 8.
106 Coffey, Davidson, and Dunn, ed., Miracles, 20.
107 Raulston, “Harmony of Staff and Sword,” 365.
respectful, learned man with likely little to atone for, anyone with the luxury of traveling whenever he wished might logically choose to visit on a Holy Year. Wey also lists smaller amounts of indulgences to be accrued while in Santiago, such as forty days for each procession attended or two hundred for each Mass. This parallels other indulgence registers he compiles for the places of interest along his other pilgrimages. Wey’s attention to detail and numbers is as apparent in the listing of Jacobean indulgences as it is elsewhere in his book. All in all, it is clear that William Wey had a strong desire to not only obtain for himself indulgences but also to enumerate them for the benefit of future travelers.

Schaseck indicates a way by which pilgrims can actively gain grace. At Padrón, there is a church on the side of a mountain built out of an enormous cave, with a narrow entrance. “This is called Saint James’ rock because, having preached both in the church and on the rock, he used to sit there alone. Whoso enters the cave with reverent mind receives absolution from many sins.” Five members of Leo’s party, including Schaseck, entered, but another member of the party “fainted and lay grey and bloodless, and we had great difficulty in getting him out, for the entrance was very narrow.” Leo, who had wanted to enter the cave, after seeing what happened to his companion “gave up the attempt.” Schaseck again emphasizes that “The Pope grants remission of many sins to those who enter the cave.” This is the only time either of Leo’s chroniclers mentions any remittance of sins to be obtained on the pilgrimage. They do not mention the indulgence for completing the journey or any of the smaller indulgences available.

Hermann Künig asserts that the obtaining of indulgences is the key reason why one should make the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela. This is apparent from the very beginning of the book. He says is writing to advise the reader how to “conduct himself devoutly towards

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110 Tetzel and Šašek, *Travels of Leo of Rozmital*, 114
God and men and serve God and Saint James with diligence in order to receive grace from them both.” The pilgrim should begin his journey with prayer, “to obtain grace and indulgence from your pilgrimage, to be saved from the punishments of Hell.” The itinerary starts in Einsiedeln. “There you will find abundant pilgrim grace.”

He does not mention specific indulgences to be received at any of the numerous churches he visits but reiterates the greater, essential desire for grace. At the end of the Santiago de Compostela episode, he calls for the help of Mary and Jesus in allowing pilgrims to visit Santiago, “in order to achieve our reward in the life hereafter.” He again calls upon Mary at the completion of the pilgrimage, urging her to “preserve us from eternal captivity and afford grace to us poor sinners so that we do not die eternal death…” To close the book, he changes the object of his pleas to himself: “May God grant that I shall never die eternal death.” As if this were not enough, before his final ‘Amen,’ he says again, “God preserve us from eternal captivity.”

Künig’s strong emphasis on the obtaining of grace appears to indicate an anxiety to get to Heaven. His repeated invocations suggest that he genuinely worried about whether he had obtained sufficient grace in life to reach Heaven, or perhaps just to avoid Hell and “eternal death.” This seems odd, as a cleric, but it is true that we do not know enough about Künig’s life to make judgments on his character.

Nowhere in the physician Hieronymus Münzer’s account does he mention that the pilgrimage to Santiago confers indulgences. This might be linked to his Humanist education. Erasmus, the model Humanist, would clarify his views on pilgrimage some time after Münzer’s visit to Santiago. “Would you like to win the favor of Peter and Paul? Imitate the faith of the one

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111 Künig, *Path to St James*, 7.
113 Künig, *Path to St James*, 15.
and the charity of the other, and you will accomplish more than if you were to dash off to Rome ten times." This quote, repeated from the Introduction, suggests that in Erasmus’ mind, pilgrimage was an empty expression of faith that did not actually confer grace upon the pilgrim, but potential pilgrims should rather live in faith and perform other good works instead. Erasmus expressed this idea in his *Enchiridion*, published in 1503. Nevertheless, similar ideas, presumably derived from Classical teachings, may have already been simmering in Humanist circles a decade or so earlier.

We have seen how Arnold von Harff felt about Spain and Santiago. In his hurried description of them, he does not mention any indulgences associated with Santiago nor indeed any to be had at all in Spain. This is the exception rather than the rule, however, since indulgences feature prominently in other parts of his book. Von Harff visits churches and numerous shrines throughout Europe and takes care to list the indulgences at most of them. Indulgences also feature heavily in von Harff’s trek of the Holy Land, where he is able to visit many of the Bible’s prominent places. He climbs Mount Quarantana, the mountain where Jesus fasted for forty days and nights and was tempted by the Devil. “Here is absolution with forgiveness of all sins both penalty and guilt.”

This is an interesting moment, because I was unable to find any reference in other sources to a plenary indulgence associated with the mountain. Von Harff clearly had an interest in indulgences, and I would attribute his failure to list those to be obtained at Santiago to his displeasure with that portion of his trip.

Thus, of our pilgrims, only Münzer ignores the matter of indulgences altogether, perhaps due to his Humanist tendencies. Wey, Künig, and von Harff express a strong interest in indulgences. By contrast, and somewhat unexpectedly, Leo of Rozmital’s chroniclers only

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114 van Herwaarden, “Relationship between Erasmus and Santiago,” 5.
mention a specific act to be done on the pilgrimage which confers grace and do not write of the indulgence associated with the larger journey.

**Conclusion**

Compared to the presentation of miracles, relics, and indulgences in the *Codex Calixtinus*, assumed to reflect the twelfth-century mentality, the travel accounts of the fifteenth century show that as time progressed, especially on the eve of the Reformation, there was a decline in pilgrim interest in miracles, a newly emerging skepticism of relics, and still-strong emphasis on indulgences. The decline in importance of miracles is perhaps tied with the shift in emphasis away from the patron saint for the Jacobean pilgrimage. Belief in miracles relies directly on belief in the efficacy of the particular saint’s ability. Relics, too, are closely bound to the persona and history of the saint. Indulgences, given for the physical completion of a long journey, are on the other hand connected more to the pilgrimage itself than to the saint. Therefore, as the Jacobean pilgrimage became less tightly bound to Saint James, James’ miracles and relics mattered less but the ability of his pilgrimage to confer grace remained the same.\(^{116}\)

\(^{116}\) On the matter of indulgences and Protestantism, Luther certainly did protest the efficacy of Church-granted indulgences, questioning the papacy’s ability to grant pardon on God’s behalf. Moreover, he argued that the truly repentant Christian did not need letters of indulgence to receive the full remission of his sins. It is important to note that the fifteenth-century travelers most interested in indulgences, Wey, König, and von Harff, were all traditional Catholics and lived before Luther. Leo of Rozmítal gave his Hussite brother-in-law his political support, but he and his chroniclers held Catholic beliefs. Münzer, the traveler most heavily influenced by Humanism and who would have been closest to Luther in intellectual outlook, notably ignored the topic of indulgences.
Chapter Three: New Meanings of Pilgrimage

When Archbishop Diego Gelmírez commissioned the *Codex Calixtinus*, he clearly envisioned a manuscript celebrating the religious element of the pilgrimage and particularly the figure of Saint James. However, the fifteenth-century pilgrims who left their accounts also traveled for reasons unrelated, or very auxiliary, to religion. It is interesting to weigh the pilgrims’, or travelers’, motives and attempt to discern who traveled as part of a pilgrimage, who visited religious destinations as part of a travel, and who was able to keep the two separate.

The Pilgrim’s Guide, ca. 1140

To begin an examination of motivations for pilgrimage aside from strictly religious ones, let us first look at the hints of this theme in the twelfth-century *Codex Calixtinus*. The fame of this massive compilation in recent scholarship is due mainly to its fifth book, considered to be one of the first European travel guides. As mentioned in the Introduction, the first four books of the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* had previously existed as individual volumes. It was likely the Frenchman Aymery Picaud who assembled them into one manuscript and added Book V, the Pilgrim’s Guide.

The Pilgrim’s Guide is a practical guide for pilgrims traveling to Santiago through France, giving the route from four starting points. Translator William Melczer concludes that the distances and travel times given are “illusory and optimistic” and “meant to attract pilgrims by shortening the road,” but he does not dismiss the book as pure propaganda due to the way it describes the dangers of the road with “nearly malicious gusto and a gory luxury of details.”\(^{117}\) In general, the guide seems quite useful. It points the pilgrim from city to city, noting certain

hospitals, gives an extensive list saintly remains on the road to visit, advises on which rivers are safe to drink from, and gives a survey of how to behave when confronted with certain locals along the road. When the pilgrim reaches Santiago, the guide provides much detail on the layout and contents of the cathedral and what to do once there.

When describing the towns along the road, the author of the guide does point out local attractions. For instance, in Tiermas there are thermal springs, and in Estella the food is excellent and plentiful and the city “overflows with all delights.” Sahagún is “prosperous in all sorts of goods: a meadow is there in which, as it is reported, the sparkling spears of victorious warriors, planted for the glory of God, were once blooming.” In describing the locals, the author is unabashedly biased. The people of Poitou he liked, and he wrote about their military ability, comeliness, and generosity, but he reviled the Navarrese, dedicating eight full paragraphs to attacking them in shocking fashion. He accuses them of everything from rudeness to the most explicit bestiality, and he concludes that they must be descended from the Scots who Julius Caesar sent into Spain to fight the Spanish who had refused to pay him tribute. While there is certainly good and bad to the road which the author of the guide describes, he seems to dwell on the negatives more, and the finished product does little to make the reader want to travel to Santiago de Compostela for the non-religious experiences of the road.

The emphasis of the Pilgrim’s Guide is clearly on pilgrimage as a religious journey. The longest section in the guide is the list of the churches holding the remains of other saints along the way to Santiago. Each listing typically contains some combination of a brief hagiography, an account of the saint’s martyrdom, a history of the church, or some descriptions of the tomb or basilica if it is particularly decorated. When the city of Santiago de Compostela is reached, the

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author names the ten churches in the city.\textsuperscript{121} When he describes the various components of the Cathedral of Santiago, he makes sure that the reader understands the religious symbolism and stories behind the decorations. He praises Pope Calixtus and Archbishop Gelmírez for their efforts in the continued success of the city and cathedral.\textsuperscript{122}

Accordingly, although the Pilgrim’s Guide reads like a travel guide and provides information about non-religious aspects of the pilgrimage, some purely out of interest, it is written from the perspective that the essence pilgrimage is in realms of religion. The descriptions of the dangers on the road, evil locals, and swindlers is quite disconcerting, and the great majority of the positive elements of the pilgrimage are given when describing the glory of the saints to be seen along the road or the glory of Saint James and his beautiful cathedral once the destination is reached. The fifteenth-century accounts clearly differ from this model, describing the religious and the secular with equal eagerness, or even favoring the secular.

\textbf{William Wey, 1456}

At the time of William Wey’s pilgrimage to Santiago, he was a fellow at Eton College at Oxford. This association is important when considering his possible motivations for pilgrimage. The college was founded by King Henry VI in 1440, and Wey received his fellowship appointment the following year.\textsuperscript{123} Eton housed a community of secular priests, including ten fellows. Henry planned Eton College as a means of providing free education to young scholars who would then graduate to its sister college, King’s College, Cambridge. The king had a large stake in this project, contributing land and many valuable relics and acquiring papal approval for

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\textsuperscript{121} Melczer, \textit{Pilgrim’s Guide}, 119.  \\
\textsuperscript{122} Melczer, \textit{Pilgrim’s Guide}, 131.  \\
\textsuperscript{123} Davey, “Introduction,” 11.
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the distribution of indulgences on the Feast of the Assumption, a privilege unique within England.¹²４

Henry VI, a Lancastrian, was a player in the English dynastic struggle known as the Wars of the Roses. Though himself a peaceful man, Henry’s mental instability and weak rule contributed to the onset of the armed conflict between the families of Lancaster and York. The first pitched battle of the war occurred in 1455, a year before Wey’s pilgrimage to Santiago. Wey made his subsequent pilgrimages to the Holy Land in 1458 and 1462. Despite a series of several battles and much political intrigue between 1459 and 1461, Wey’s records of his 1462 pilgrimage almost entirely ignore the English conflict.¹²⁵ Francis Davey, editor of Wey’s Itineraries, suggests that Wey’s Jerusalem pilgrimages may have doubled as political embassies. Henry VI was deposed in 1461, six months before Wey’s final pilgrimage. At the time, Henry was negotiating for support in Scotland while his queen was plotting with the King of France. According to Davey, pilgrim-spies were not uncommon during the Middle Ages, and “Wey’s powers of observation and attention to detail would have been further recommendations.”¹²⁶ This task would explain how Wey was able to leave his duties at Eton for two extended periods, at a time when the atmosphere at the royal college was likely more anxious than ever. In these long travels, Wey would have been able to make important contacts, negotiate alliances, and seek the money needed to fund Lancastrian armies.¹²⁷

¹²⁵ Of the five named Englishmen who traveled with Wey one or more of his pilgrimages, two are numbered among the political casualties of the war and suffered beheadings. There is one possible but obscure hint at Wey’s sympathies in one of his chapters on the 1462 pilgrimage. At a ruined church in Lydda, in the Holy Land, Wey and his fellow pilgrims sing the hymn Miles Christi gloriose, which was an antiphon of Thomas of Lancaster, who had been executed by Edward II in 1322. See Davey, “Introduction,” 13.
¹²⁷ Wey retired from his position in 1467, before the resolution of the war. His king, Henry VI, would be murdered in 1471. Henry Tudor, of a lesser branch of the House of Lancaster, would eventually win the war in 1485.
It is unlikely that Wey’s Jacobean pilgrimage served a similar political role. His Jerusalem pilgrimages took months to complete, in contrast to the much simpler, two-week Santiago pilgrimage. He traveled to Spain by boat, along with other pilgrims, and the short time frame would not have allowed him to visit any places other than those associated with the pilgrimage. Nevertheless, his possible political role during the Jerusalem pilgrimages suggests that by the mid-fifteenth century, the scope of pilgrimage was not limited to religion. Lancaster and York were already at arms at the time of Wey’s Santiago pilgrimage, and Wey, who clearly had a stake in the conflict, could have chosen that particular time to travel to remove himself for a moment from the chaos. Therefore, although Wey may not have been trying to manipulate the political situation, it could very well have influenced his decision to go on pilgrimage.

William Wey’s book indicates not only a favorable impression of the religious infrastructure of Santiago de Compostela but also an enjoyment of the other aspects of the pilgrimage. He gives an overview of the regions of Spain, Christian and Muslim, and relates an exciting recent event: Henry, King of Castile and León, had overcome the “Saracen” king of Granada and captured Málaga, which Wey adds had lent its name to the “Figs of Malike.” King Henry then sent the defeated king’s golden crown to Santiago, where it was placed atop the head of a statue of Saint James. Wey therefore demonstrates an interest in world events while simultaneously, perhaps unwittingly, as it is unreferenced elsewhere, reinforcing the image of Saint James as the Christian liberator of Spain. Wey also records that a great tower in Bordeaux was swept into the sea that year, despite this having nothing to do with the pilgrimage or even with Spain. We can assume that such things were simply interesting to Wey, and that his enjoyment of the pilgrimage stemmed partly from the new knowledge he was able to acquire.

128 Presumably Henry IV of Castile, whose war against Granada was ultimately ineffective
129 Wey, *Itineraries*, 212.
Wey indeed dedicates most of his text to specific details such as how many clerics take part in which processions and the precise amount of their pay, but he then also records “The Song of the Spanish Children Who Danced Before Pilgrims for Shillings and Pennies.”

It is a short song asking Saint James to grant the pilgrims wellness, forgiveness, and a good road, ending with a plea to the pilgrims for a shilling. This invokes the comical image of dour Eton Fellow William Wey, nearing fifty, being surrounded by a gaggle of Spanish children and being charmed enough to record it in his book.

The factors that influenced Wey in his decision to visit Santiago de Compostela, then, were religion, undoubtedly; politics, perhaps; and also a desire to see the world and experience new things. All of these aspects would of course be amplified in his subsequent pilgrimages to the Holy Land.

**Leo of Rozmital, 1465**

Leo of Rozmital, like William Wey, may have had a political motivation for going on pilgrimage. Malcolm Letts suggests that his journey was a political embassy on behalf of his king. To understand the context of Leo’s travels, one needs basic knowledge of the unique religious and political situation of fifteenth-century Bohemia. Leo was born in Bohemia in 1426, eleven years after the execution of Jan Hus at the Council of Constance, the event which precipitated the Hussite Wars. It was a religious struggle over differing interpretations of the Christian faith, to be sure, but it was also a distinct movement for the creation and strengthening of a national consciousness.

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130 Wey *Itineraries*, 213.
The Kingdom of Bohemia\textsuperscript{131} was historically part of the Holy Roman Empire, until the German princes deposed the emperor\textsuperscript{132} in 1400. Although the ethnic Czechs outnumbered the ethnic Germans, the latter group had strong political and economic representation. In Hus’s early days as reformer in the first decade of the 1400s, ethnic rivalry in Bohemia grew, as most of the reformers were Czech. As historian John Klassen states, “during these debates over church life, the reformers appealed to national and ethnic identity to which they gave a religious dimension.”\textsuperscript{133} This nationalist movement championed the Czech language, which had been in official use for business since by the beginning of the fifteenth century and became permitted for worship in place of Latin as part of the reform movement.\textsuperscript{134} After Hus’s death, the Hussites fought off papal as well as imperial armies. By 1444, George of Poděbrady was the leader of the Hussites against the Catholic party of Bohemia. He married twice, both times to Catholic women, and defeated the Catholic party in battle. Upon the child king’s death in 1458, the Bohemian estates unanimously elected George to the throne, favoring his moderate policies and again using anti-German propaganda.\textsuperscript{135} By this time, George was Leo’s brother-in-law, and Leo, despite his Catholic leanings, fully supported his king.

George’s political and diplomatic history gives insight into Leo of Rozmital’s potential purposes for traveling. The king was very interested in diplomacy and proposed a radical plan for European cooperation. He envisaged the creation of a defensive league of all Christian powers against the Turks, with military and logistical considerations but also with a common currency and a common fund. The princes of Europe, wary of losing their autonomy, did not receive this

\textsuperscript{131}The western two-thirds of today’s Czech Republic
\textsuperscript{132}Wenceslaus IV of Bohemia, though effectively Holy Roman Emperor, did not receive coronation as such and was stylized “King of the Romans.” He was also King of Bohemia.
\textsuperscript{134}Klassen, “Hussites,” 367, 379.
\textsuperscript{135}Klassen, “Hussites,” 389.
idea with warmth. George, as the leader of a nation in rebellion to Rome, also had trouble with the Papacy. He sent an unsuccessful embassy to Rome in 1462 in an attempt to assuage the Pope and another to the King of France in 1464 to intercede on his behalf. George was excommunicated in 1466. Given this background, Leo of Rozmítal’s pilgrimage almost certainly doubled as a political mission. George likely sent his brother-in-law to the princes of Europe seeking help in his struggle against the Pope. Perhaps Leo also carried with him the proposal for the European union. It is worth noting that neither Tetzel nor Schaseck mentions anything about either of these goals. As stated, according to Tetzel, Leo “intended to visit all Christian kingdoms” but his primary goal was pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre and Santiago de Compostela. The chroniclers thus present their journey as an exciting cross-continent tour that was, at its root, a pilgrimage. Perhaps Leo did not tell them the political objectives of their journey or requested their omission from the narratives. It is also possible that because it is unlikely that either Tetzel or Schaseck would have taken part in the diplomacy proceedings, they were content with simply supplying the facts of their own experiences.

The princes of Europe generally received the travelers well and with great honor, and the chroniclers write of lush feasts, tourneys, dancing, and games. There were some who refused to meet them, but it seems the vast majority were very friendly. Even so, there is no evidence that this trip did anything to ameliorate the tension between George and the Pope. As the first nation to be ruled by a reformer king, it is unsurprising that Bohemia received little help from other nations. John Klassen says that “Hussite Bohemia remained an island in a sea; outsiders regarded

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138 Tetzel and Šašek, Travels of Leo of Rozmítal, 19.
the heretical Czechs as defective, their country one which needed to be put straight.”\textsuperscript{139} The princes and courtiers of Europe may have enjoyed drinking and dancing with these foreigners, but pledging political support and risking the wrath of the Papacy was different altogether.

Traveling at royal behest, the members of Leo’s party were certainly not typical pilgrims. At Brussels, Tetzel records that the Duke of Burgundy provided for the travelers “the most costly meal… which I have ever eaten in all my life,” the table “overflowing with countless costly vessels and other things impossible to describe.”\textsuperscript{140} The Duke followed the feast with a tour of his “zoological garden” with exotic birds and beasts and showed them some of his treasure collection, an array so great and valuable that the keeper of jewels admitted he was unable to keep proper track of all of it.\textsuperscript{141} Despite Leo and company’s fancier reception and lodging, their journey still resembled a pilgrimage in that they visited many places of religious significance, saw numerous relics, and stopped at many towns along the way where they relied on the hospitality of others.

On their long journey, Leo’s company exhibited, more keenly than Wey, the feeling of the wonder of travel. Taken together, Tetzel’s and Schaseck’s accounts are quite long, and in them are numerous anecdotes of local curiosities and customs. Incidentally, the travelers were generally unimpressed with Spain and the Spanish, although as previously indicated, they did enjoy the religious experience of Santiago. The chroniclers cite bad roads, stifling weather, little food, hostile and barbarous people, and unscrupulous customs officers. They were attacked by poisonous, monstrously-sized “serpents, scorpions, and lizards.”\textsuperscript{142} Both Tetzel and Schaseck

\textsuperscript{139} Klassen, “Hussites,” 390.
\textsuperscript{140} Tetzel and Šašek, \textit{Travels of Leo of Rozmital}, 27.
\textsuperscript{141} Tetzel and Šašek, \textit{Travels of Leo of Rozmital}, 28.
\textsuperscript{142} Tetzel and Šašek, \textit{Travels of Leo of Rozmital}, 104-5.
were intrigued by the custom of bull-baiting, but they seem to have regarded this as further evidence of Spanish barbarism. Tetzel even suggests that the “Saracens” might be superior to the Christian Spaniards, as the Moors treated them with respect. Tetzel was interested in Muslim dress and customs and was loath to leave them: “We then again left the heathen… and came among evil Christians. They look like the gypsies who wander about in our country. They behaved like gypsies with stealing and so forth. We were in great need, and our persons and lives were in danger.” In England, in one amusing instance, it is the travelers who become the spectacles. Schaseck writes that upon their arrival, they were met by ladies offering them welcome and gifts. “The length of our hair was a source of amazement to them, for they said they had never seen anyone with longer or more beautiful hair. They could not be convinced that it was natural, but persisted in saying that it was stuck on with tar. If one of us went out with head uncovered he attracted a greater crowd than if some strange creature had appeared.”

Their hair apparently was very remarkable indeed, as it was also commented on by the Duchess of Brussels and the Queen of Castile.

The two-year journey of the company of Leo of Rozmital, therefore, represents the perfection intersection of travel for politics, religion, and pleasure. Leo represented Hussite, reformer, nationalist Bohemia as he visited the princes of Europe, but his company also expressed genuine piety and a joy for the new experiences that travel brought. The decision simply to produce two travel accounts, one in German and one in Czech, reflects their unique situation within Europe. The reactions of the travelers when faced with holy sites and precious relics do not, however, hint at anything other than traditional Christian beliefs, and it must be

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143 Tetzel and Šašek, *Travels of Leo of Rozmital*, 85-86, 94.
144 Tetzel and Šašek, *Travels of Leo of Rozmital*, 95, 128-129.
remembered that Leo was in fact a devout Catholic before his sister’s marriage. It can be reasonably argued, I think, that the development of fifteenth-century Bohemia was a political narrative first and religious one second, and Leo’s journey shows that although the potential reasons for pilgrimage had changed due to the political developments of Europe, the underlying religious message yet remained the same.

Hermann Künig von Vach, ca. early 1490s

Of the fifteenth-century pilgrims, Hermann Künig von Vach has the sparsest historical record. In providing his history, John Durant cites Waldemar Kuther’s study of the monastery at Vacha where Künig likely served. One document, dated 1479, licenses Künig to hear confessions, preach, and gather alms, and another, dated 1486, lists him among four priests at the time absent from the monastery.¹⁴⁷ There is nothing unusual here, and these documents do not hint at any other motivations for Künig’s journey. As Künig explicitly states his itinerary, one’s purpose for making the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela should be to please God and Mary and to gain grace.

Aside from the reason stated, Künig’s itinerary implies a further motive, that, again, of the natural desire to travel. Throughout the text, Künig gives not only the directions and distances from one place to the next on the pilgrimage road but also comments briefly on the places of interest. Given the very practical and usable quality of his work, intended as a guidebook, numerous places are listed. Künig offers much practical advice, such as which hospitals are preferable to others and which are more generous with food and drink. There is one hospital in France whose master “does not like Germans;”¹⁴⁸ one further along in France “which

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¹⁴⁷ Durant, “Preface,” 1.
¹⁴⁸ Künig, Path to St James, 9.
you must not miss,\textsuperscript{149} and another nearby “which you should bear in mind.”\textsuperscript{150} König especially highlights the places that offer complimentary food and drink but also warns against bad food. In one particular city, König advises the pilgrim to “Be very careful about the wine here as many a pilgrim had learnt that it can burn up a man’s heart so that he goes out like a candle.”\textsuperscript{151}

Aside from direct advice, König also gives his general impressions of the places he visits. Though none of the descriptions are very detailed in nature, they certainly convey König’s enthusiasm as he journeyed from one new place to the next. The monk calls several cities, towns, and villages charming, beautiful, pretty, or very lovely. He uses the same superlatives when describing their castles, churches, and bridges. As a typical example, there is a town “named for the Holy Ghost which has a magnificent bridge; I don't think that you will find a finer one anywhere.”\textsuperscript{152} Paris especially impressed König, for “Here comes everyone who wishes to learn Arts and Law, both civil and canonical. I have never seen a city like it.”\textsuperscript{153} These short descriptions certainly stir curiosity in the reader, a curiosity for pilgrimage that grows as more places are mentioned with such terms.

König also gives attention to particular attractions along the pilgrimage road. There is one village “where they produce excellent combs,”\textsuperscript{154} another “which specializes in making and selling pottery,”\textsuperscript{155} and two towns with thermal baths.\textsuperscript{156} König records a bit of local lore at a city by a large lake:

Many learned men have told me that this is where Pilate’s body was brought from the Tiber in Rome to a mountain called Montefracte. You leave this on your right, by it is a large lake along whose shore no man nor beast should go. And if

\textsuperscript{149} König, Path to St James, 11.
\textsuperscript{150} König, Path to St James, 11.
\textsuperscript{151} König, Path to St James, 13.
\textsuperscript{152} König, Path to St James, 9.
\textsuperscript{153} König, Path to St James, 15.
\textsuperscript{154} König, Path to St James, 8.
\textsuperscript{155} König, Path to St James, 10.
\textsuperscript{156} König, Path to St James, 13, 14.
anything is thrown into it the whole area shakes with thunder, hail and lightning. Saint Gregory is said to have sent Pilate’s body here as it was working evil influences on the Romans with the Tiber and fickle storms causing great distress to them – as has often happened since in Lucerne with serious consequences.¹⁵⁷

This theme of local attractions is continued at different city, where “the pillar at which the hospital master who poisoned 450 pilgrims was put to death” is a popular site for pilgrim visit.¹⁵⁸ At yet another place, Künig advises the pilgrim to go off the road. “My advice is to go two miles to Nazareto where there is a foundation by the church, if you wish you can climb a hill and visit a remarkable cave.”¹⁵⁹ My first thought at “remarkable cave” would be that it surely has some sort of religious or miraculous history, but nowhere does Künig mention this. If it is indeed a natural cave, made remarkable by its strange structure or beauty, then the pilgrimage has certainly veered into the realms of tourism.

Künig, then, essentially presents the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela as a vacation of sorts. The pilgrim has the chance to visit countless beautiful cities with remarkable architecture, enjoy inexpensive food and wine with good company, relax in thermal baths, and learn some interesting local lore. While Künig does not give this joy of travel as an explicit reason for pilgrimage, it was clearly an important aspect of his own journey and he definitely wished it for his readers, expected to be future pilgrims.

For a guidebook about a pilgrimage, there is remarkably little emphasis on religion along the way. Churches and monasteries are highlighted instead for their physical beauty. It seems that Künig was able to easily separate the religious and non-religious aspects of the journey, both for himself and for his reader. Based on his itinerary, one should go on pilgrimage for spiritual

¹⁵⁷ Künig, Path to St James, 7.
¹⁵⁸ Künig, Path to St James, 12.
¹⁵⁹ Künig, Path to St James, 11.
salvation, but along the way, he was, first and foremost, a traveler. Of course, this apparent
division of the divine and secular may be due to the nature of Künig’s work, which was intended
as guidebook. Künig’s status as a monk may cause us to expect his text to be filled with religious
references, but from his own perspective, he may have been simplifying for the general audience.
John Durant uses reprint information to suggest that the itinerary was indeed used by pilgrims for
at least twenty-five years following its publication,\textsuperscript{160} so we can be sure that it was an appealing,
effective guide. It still seems strange that Künig, who after all was licensed to preach, would
choose not to use the itinerary as vessel for instructing on religious matters while there was so
much opportunity to do so along the church-dotted pilgrimage road. While it may be cynical or
perhaps incorrect to associate this relative silence regarding religion with a decline in the role of
religion in pilgrimage by the late fifteenth century, it is definitely notable in contrast to the
repeated religious exhortations of the \textit{Codex Calixtinus}.

\textbf{Hieronymus Münzer, 1494}

Hieronymus Münzer appears to be the most religiously detached of the travelers. He
never claims to be a pilgrim in the available excerpts of his itinerary, and his descriptions of
religious matters never match the richness of his descriptions of secular matters. He visits no
shortage of monasteries and churches and witnesses many ceremonies, but each time, his
attention is drawn to the churches’ impressive architecture or lush decorations. In the Cathedral
of Santiago, he praises the strength of the building’s design and the beauty of the various
ornaments that adorn it, many of which are gem-encrusted and made from “purest gold.”\textsuperscript{161} As
another example, at the Franciscan monastery of Santa María Jesús in Valencia, Münzer

\textsuperscript{160} Durant, “Preface,” 1.
\textsuperscript{161} Münzer, “Münzer,” 74, 82.
enthusiastically describes the pretty, well-designed, and productive gardens and praises the monastery’s rooms both for their beauty and utility, while his sole line about those who populate the monastery offers no more than a basic identification. Interestingly, in all of Spain and Portugal, it is on Saint James and Santiago de Compostela that he spends the longest time on a single religious topic.

Münzer’s immediate reason for travel was the plague in his city, but he clearly also had a great general interest in travel, much like the previous travelers. He enjoyed his tour of Spain but disliked the people of Santiago, calling them “porcine,” like the many pigs in its markets. According to Münzer, they are lazy and “live mostly on the pilgrimage trade.” Elsewhere in Spain, he has endless remarks for the castles, libraries, gardens, foods, and fancy ornaments. Like Gabriel Tetzel, Münzer seems to have taken an interest in the Spanish Muslims. To be sure, he records stories of their defeat and conversion by Christian forces, but he also expresses admiration for their skill at building and highlights several of their customs. The backdrop for his contact with Muslim culture is generally the recently reconquered city. In Münzer’s extensive accounts of Reconquista efforts, he paints Muslims in the expected anti-Christian light, but when writing of the Muslims he actually meets, he is generally complimentary. In the Muslim settlement outside of the city of Guadix, he notes that the Muslims “are frugal in their meals and don’t drink anything but water… They are sincere, just and very loyal.” He is curious about the Muslims’ custom of bathing in thermal springs: “I tested the water and found it good, warm and sweet. I liked the place, meticulously constructed because the Saracens extraordinarily love

163 Münzer, “Münzer,” 73.
164 Most notably King Ferdinand’s final defeat of Granada in a siege, see Münzer, “Spain and Portugal,” 34.
In the Moorish quarter of Zaragoza, Münzer engages in an “amiable,” lengthy conversation with the “priest” and learns of their marriage customs and manner of worship. They are a strong people, Münzer concludes, very skilled at the manual arts and very clean and frugal.\footnote{Münzer, “Spain and Portugal,” 70-71.}

Münzer’s account clearly reflects his humanist background. As stated in Chapter One, he excerpted from the Codex Calixtinus likely for the purpose of establishing the historical basis for the cult of Saint James, and his travel narrative contains several other stories of local interest. This is in line with the Humanists’ focus on knowledge and education. In fact, Münzer notes that the “Arts and Humanities” are “waking up all over Spain,” possibly due to the Spanish language’s close resemblance to Latin. At the royal court in Madrid, he has the pleasure of meeting several well-educated youths who recite the works of Classical poets to him, and praises their diligence.\footnote{Münzer, “Spain and Portugal,” 66.} Not all of Spain is following in this trend, however, and in Salamanca he visits a cave with many associated superstitions held by “vulgar people.” Münzer compares this to the pre-Christian pagan practices seen in Pliny. The city’s cathedral also holds an astronomy book “falsely considered as a book of magic.”\footnote{Münzer, “Spain and Portugal,” 52-53.} This excitement at visiting new places, experiencing new cultures, and learning more about the world was therefore at least as important to Münzer as it was to the other fifteenth-century travelers, though he, being of superior education, could probably make better sense of the strange, vast world.

Hieronymus Münzer is the clearest case of a traveler who visited Santiago de Compostela simply as a place of interest along a journey taken primarily for pleasure. Much like the other travelers, Münzer was a product of his surroundings. Nuremberg was an important city in the
Northern Renaissance, and it was a center of learning, art, and trade. Münzer was acquainted with some of its most eminent citizens, and being personally interested in geography and ideas of westward travel, he almost certainly would have made his journey at some other time had the plague not struck. His seeming lack of interest in religion raises the question of whether his visit to Santiago de Compostela merits consideration as a pilgrimage. As we have seen, he had nothing to say about indulgences, he had little time for miracles and marvels, and he preferred discussing the various decorations in the cathedral over the content of the ceremonies. Not simplifying the matter is the fact that sometimes he wrote with irony or failed to give commentary at points where he might have clarified his ideas about religion. I would place his Jacobean visit as a pilgrimage because, especially at Padrón, he does seem to experience a sense of marvel at the relics, and his excerpts of the Codex and some of his commentary on these do suggest a genuine belief in the Christian faith. In Münzer’s case, intellectual curiosity does not have to entirely supplant religious conviction.

**Arnold von Harff, 1496**

Arnold von Harff presents his journey as a pilgrimage from the outset, and while he is very pious and visits countless shrines and holy places, he clearly also greatly delighted in the touring and adventure aspects of travel. He did not have a political agenda and appears to have embarked on the journey of his own accord. Perhaps he benefited from his status as a second son, with copious amounts of education and wealth but without the responsibility. In his own words, he went “from country to country, from town to town, from village to village, from mile to mile, from one day’s journey to another, from language to language, from faith to faith.” He “visited many countries and cities outside the direct route of [his] pilgrimage, in order to observe
towns and districts and the habits of the people.”169 All of this he accomplishes with great energy and interest.

Von Harff’s account is filled with fascinating descriptions of cities, customs, languages, events, and flora and fauna. As one colorful example, Malcolm Letts summarizes the noble’s experience of Cairo:

He took sketches of costumes, administered restoratives to an epileptic, attended a funeral, studied the appearance and habits of the giraffe and the artificial incubation of chickens, informed himself as to [Muslim] beliefs and customs, and repelled the advances of beautiful women who were sent to lure him from his faith and persuade him to enter the Sultan’s service… The description ends with visits to the Pyramids and the ruined balsam garden at [Al-Matariyyah], and a lengthy Arabic vocabulary.170

Von Harff also sees a crocodile for the first time in Egypt. He offers a rather good physical description and a picture which, although it could use smaller ears and a larger mouth, captures the form of a crocodile quite well. He describes the way crocodiles strike at camels and buffaloes as they come to drink at the Nile and the way they drag them under the water, perfectly matching a typical scene from a modern nature documentary. He learns that wily merchants take crocodile skins to foreign lands such as his own and peddles them as dragon skins. The dragon skin which he saw in a church at Rome, he concludes, came from a crocodile.171 Von Harff’s exciting experiences would have delighted readers back home, and he supplements these with imagined experiences and even more fanciful creatures.

I would classify von Harff’s travel narrative as equal parts pilgrimage report and adventure memoir, with a good measure of storytelling thrown in. The last part makes von Harff’s account unique among the others, but it does not diminish the conviction he holds at holy sites or the at-times astonishing accuracy with which he describes events in distant countries. His

169 von Harff, Pilgrimage, 4.
170 Letts, “Introduction” to von Harff, xxiv.
171 von Harff, Pilgrimage, 97-99.
ability as a storyteller, in fact, only proves that he is well-read, since he had to draw from other sources to make his stories at least somewhat credible. As a nobleman, von Harff would have had a good education, and he had a natural desire for knowledge as well, as demonstrated by his industry in copying foreign alphabets and phrases. Perhaps he did not have the Humanist background of Hieronymus Münzer, but he too seems in his account to be genuinely interested in providing new knowledge for posterity.

Conclusion

Whereas Book V of the *Codex Calixtinus* implied that pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela was above all a religious undertaking, the fifteenth-century travelers clearly had other motives on their minds as well. Of the five, only Wey and König traveled for the express purpose of completing a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela. Leo of Rozmítal had a clear political reason for travel, as did Wey for his later pilgrimages. All five parties had a strong general interest in travel and delighted in the new places and experiences that the pilgrim road offered. The author of the Pilgrim’s Guide tended to dwell on the negative aspects of experiences on the road, and while the fifteenth-century pilgrims certainly ran into troubles, they usually wrote about these with a sense of adventure.

Although pilgrimage had progressed from being a solely religious endeavor, religion was by no means relegated to a position of little importance. William Wey and Hermann König traveled primarily for the promise of indulgences, Leo of Rozmítal’s party and Arnold von Harff often displayed genuine piety when standing at religious sites, and the relics of James’ ministry and translation seem to have elicited spiritual feelings from even Hieronymus Münzer.

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172 Then again, as discussed in the Introduction, he claims not to care if some readers disbelieve him.
Accordingly, by the late fifteenth century, pilgrimage had become enmeshed in a broader scope of travel, one for which the religious element still mattered deeply.
Conclusion

Between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries, the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela evolved from a religious journey deeply connected with its patron saint to one whose continued success came from its very fame and that, though still rooted in religion, had gained new significance as a companion to secular travel. This paper has compared the twelfth-century Codex Calixtinus, a document commissioned by the cathedral as part of a public relations campaign for the city and pilgrimage, to the personal travel accounts from five fifteenth-century pilgrimages. It has examined the roles of the figure of Saint James and of miracles, relics, and indulgences in attracting pilgrims and has analyzed the attitudes toward the purpose of pilgrimage.

The Jacobean pilgrimage as described in the Codex Calixtinus is a journey undertaken for the great purpose of visiting the tomb of Saint James. The author portrays James as a powerful thaumaturge who displayed excellence in life and continues to act as guardian of his pilgrims after death. James also takes an active role as the champion of Christian Spain, both in his lifetime and later as part of the Reconquista. Pilgrims who visit the saint’s tomb will gain grace, and there are many other saintly relics to visit along the way. The Jacobean pilgrimage is clearly a religious endeavor.

The unique figure of Saint James mattered less to fifteenth-century pilgrims. They do not seem to be aware of the particular stories associated with the saint and do not afford him special devotion, so he could not have been the primary draw for their visit. The Reconquista was over or almost over by the time of the travelers’ visits, and they were not from Spain or France anyways. The later pilgrims especially show a disinterest or even suspicion of miracles and relics, both of which are directly tied to the saint, in contrast to their eager attitudes toward
indulgences, which are tied rather to the pilgrimage. Yet they all, specifically, chose Santiago de Compostela, despite the tough road and its distant location. I would attribute this simply to its fame. The former Roman cemetery had grown into a prosperous city with only Jerusalem and Rome as its rivals in pilgrim volume.

The unique stories of the fifteenth-century pilgrims also reflect the changes happening in Europe as the Middle Ages drew to a close. The political problems of William Wey and Leo of Rozmital hint at the further development of the rise of the nation state, and Leo’s religious problems and Hieronymus Münzer’s Humanist philosophy hint at the arrival of religious revolutions that would finally succeed. It is Münzer and Arnold von Harff who express the most skepticism at the relic of James’ body in Santiago, and neither is interested in James’ miracles. Interestingly, however, as seen in this paper, Münzer’s discontent seemed mostly to lie with the pilgrimage “machine” that Santiago had become and von Harff’s with the confused priests who could not admit that they might be wrong. Their disbelief was not necessarily for James himself or even for the stories of his Spanish presence. It seems that it was not basic religious principles, therefore, with which they found fault; it was everything else. This theme, carried to its logical conclusion, would be the basis for the Protestant Reformation.
It is remarkable that the most popular pilgrimage route to Santiago de Compostela, the Camino Francés, is today virtually unchanged from the way it was over eight hundred years ago. The Jacobean pilgrimage still enjoys wide popularity. Before the start of the 2010 FIFA World Cup, a Spanish newspaper asked members of the national team to write down what they would do in the event that they won it all, the notes to be kept in a sealed envelope and opened only in the case of victory. Spain did go on to win the World Cup, and it was revealed that no less than four members of the national team, including Andrés Iniesta, the only scorer in the final, had vowed to make the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela.

According to official records, the Office of the Pilgrimage, in that year, issued 272,135 compostelana certificates for successful pilgrimages made on foot, bicycle, or horseback. 2010 was a Jacobean Holy Year, but more recent numbers still impress. In 2013, Santiago de Compostela welcomed 215,880 pilgrims from 108 countries. 55% of these pilgrims cite their motivations as “religious and other,” 40% as solely “religious,” and 5% as “not religious.”¹⁷³ The city made the news more recently for a train crash in 2013 that claimed over seventy lives on the eve of Saint James’ Day. The festivities were canceled for that year, but as it has for over a thousand years, the Jacobean pilgrimage, the Way of Saint James, will continue.

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