

# NOTES

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## Chapter 1: Medieval Pilgrimage

1. See E. D. Hunt, 'Were there Christian Pilgrims before Constantine?' in J. Stopford (ed.), *Pilgrimage Explored* (Woodbridge, 1999).
2. For the wider context in which early Christian pilgrimage developed see the writings of Peter Brown and also R. A. Markus, *The End of Ancient Christianity* (Cambridge, 1990).
3. This derives much of its point from the Latin pun on *vidisse* (to have seen) and *vixisse* (to have lived).
4. The term *memoria* was still used to describe a saint's shrine a thousand years later.
5. Because Christ had been circumcised, it was possible to claim that His foreskin had been preserved; this was exhibited at St John Lateran in Rome, where there was also a piece of His umbilical cord. There were relics of the blood Christ shed at the crucifixion, and also of the Virgin's hair, tears and breast milk.
6. For Willibald's travels, see the translation in T. F. X. Noble and T. Head, *Soldiers of Christ: Saints and Saints' Lives from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (London, 1995).
7. The Saxon *schola* may have been the oldest of them; later English chroniclers attributed its foundation to Ine of Wessex, who died at Rome in 726, or to Offa of Mercia. It was rebuilt after a fire in 817.
8. Simeon had previously been at Rome, and that some people at Rome may have known about the cult of St James is suggested by a letter written in 956 to Pope John XIII by Cesarius, bishop of Tarragona, who said he had been consecrated to his see at Compostela, described as James's 'apostolic see'.
9. The battle of Clavijo was in fact fought by Ordoño I (850–66) in 859.
10. Odo's *Life* of Gerald is translated in Noble and Head, *Soldiers of Christ*.
11. North of the Alps the most celebrated was Mont St Michel in Normandy, which may well have been an offshoot of the Apulian shrine.
12. In the fourteenth century, Elizabeth, the mother of King Louis the Great, promoted pilgrimage to Martin both at the royal palace at Buda and at a church at Hatvan, for which she obtained papal indulgences.
13. This is the point of the inscription over the gates of Hell imagined by Dante (*Inferno* III, 9): 'All hope abandon, ye who enter here.'

14. *Veneranda Dies* is translated in *The Miracles of St James*, ed T. F. Coffey, L. K. Davidson and M. Dunn (New York, 1996).
15. A quarantine was a period of forty days, recalling the duration of Lent and Christ's ordeal in the wilderness.
16. These were little vessels made of cheap metal (lead, tin). The ampullae made centuries earlier in the Holy Land and elsewhere in eastern Christendom had been ceramic. The very first containers for 'Becket water' were wooden, which had obvious disadvantages.
17. This misreading has been much quoted in works on pilgrim badges, apparently following J. Sumption, *Pilgrimage: An Image of Medieval Religion* (London, 1975), p. 161.
18. The nickname 'de la Calzada' means 'of the paved road'.
19. Benevento was a common stopping place for travellers making south from Rome, to Sicily or to take ship for the Holy Land. The apostle Bartholomew was venerated there.
20. This was two to three times the population of Florence itself around 1300. The 'twenty hundred thousand' which Guglielmo Ventura of Asti said was the current estimate among the Romans themselves perhaps suggests the same figure misheard or mistranscribed.

## Chapter 2: Motives for Pilgrimage

1. The author's translation. The Latin word *speculator*, here rendered as 'explore', has strong connotations of inquiry and investigation.
2. This was believed to be the staircase which Christ descended after his interview with Pilate, and was installed at the church of St John Lateran.
3. Christianity became the official religion of Iceland in the year 1000.
4. Gucci calculated that the total cost of the trip, for one person and his servant, including the return journey to Florence, was more than 300 gold ducats.
5. That Francis had in fact obtained a plenary indulgence from Honorius III in 1221, as pious legend has it, is highly improbable.
6. This was a misunderstanding in so far as the *culpa* was remitted only by the prior repentance of the sinner and absolution by the priest. The confusion was harmful if it led the ignorant to suppose that indulgences mechanically disposed of 'guilt' without the need for both true repentance and sacramental confession.

## Chapter 3: Varieties of Pilgrim

1. A cockle-shell (not the true scallop) was found with him, but no badges, although there is a remote possibility that they may have been accidentally destroyed, along with the head of the skeleton and perhaps a hat, during previous works which were carried out in ignorance of the burial.

2. These occurred when St James's Day (25 July) fell on a Sunday and plenary indulgences were available. On the sea-route to Santiago, see Wendy Childs, 'The Perils, or Otherwise, of Maritime Pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela in the Fifteenth Century', in J. Stopford (ed.), *Pilgrimage Explored* (Woodbridge, 1999).

#### **Chapter 4: The Geography of Pilgrimage**

1. The name, a Gallicisation of Altopascio, recalls its connection with the hospital and order of Altopascio itself on the Via Francigena south-east of Lucca. The order possessed properties and hospices all along the roads to Santiago; its collectors were to be found raising money throughout Christendom.
2. The lists used by the inquisition of southern France in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries worked on quite different principles. The inquisitors distinguished between major and minor pilgrimages, which were imposed according to the gravity of the offence. The major pilgrimages were to Rome, Santiago and Canterbury, and also to Cologne; the Holy Land constituted a category on its own. With the exception of the shrine of St Dominic at Bologna, added in the fourteenth century, the minor pilgrimages were all in France.
3. Peter Rieter of Nuremberg too went to Montserrat in 1428.
4. One extraordinary testimony to the fame of the Purgatory is a fourteenth-century fresco in the small central Italian town of Todi.
5. The cortege took an easterly route back to Sweden, pausing (in March–May 1374) at Gdansk. Dorothea of Montau, one of the many holy women to feel Birgitta's influence, was a resident of the city at the time, aged twenty-seven.
6. For information on Polish pilgrimage I am indebted to Professor Halina Manikowska, to whom I am most grateful.
7. The present arrangement below the lower church at Assisi, which makes possible a one-way circulation of pilgrims to view the shrine, is not the medieval one.
8. The citizens had hoped, but failed, to appropriate the body of St Francis.
9. This is of course connected also with the contemporary revival of the pilgrimage, which is undertaken for a wide variety of reasons and supported by national and regional societies.
10. The cult generated a miracle collection, compiled by Johannes von Ellrungen in 1442. The chapel (now incorporated in the rebuilt church) boasts an altarpiece of the Last Supper by the great sculptor Tilman Riemenschneider.
11. Peter was made cardinal and bishop of Metz in 1384 at a very young age, resigned his see a year later, and went to Avignon where he died in 1387.

### Chapter 5: Pilgrimage in Medieval Culture

1. Thorpe's diatribe is translated in the Introduction to Erasmus, *Pilgrimages to Saint Mary of Walsingham and Saint Thomas of Canterbury*, trans. J. Nichols (London, 1875).
2. When the Volto Santo was transmogrified in more northerly climes such as Bavaria and Switzerland into a bearded lady known as St Wilgefortis she took on the patronage of musicians.
3. The French song which was composed in the eleventh century on the basis of the popular Latin life of Alexius had such a dramatic effect on Valdes, a merchant of Lyon, when he heard it sung a century later, that he abandoned his worldly existence and became, inadvertently, the founder of the Waldensian heresy.
4. The pilgrim's staff is mentioned in the tenth-century story of a knight, Otger, who was seeking the best place to adopt the monastic life.
5. A recent study has calculated that more scallops have been found in graves in Denmark (122) than in any other part of medieval Christendom.
6. Master Larke is not certainly identified, but may have been Thomas Larke, Wolsey's confessor, a chaplain to Henry VIII and Master of Trinity Hall 1520–5.
7. *Città* may be translated as 'city' or 'town', *villa* more or less as 'village'. A *castello* was a fortified settlement.
8. Although this pilgrim was on the way to Compostela he believed that the head and body of St James the Great and the body of St James the Less were at Toulouse, as he was doubtless told when there; he credited Galicia only with the head of the latter.

# SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

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The first section of this bibliography includes a few works on modern and non-Christian pilgrimage as well as some suggestions for reading on sanctity, relics and miracles. English translations of sources are listed in the appropriate section. There are several modern English versions of well-known works cited in the text, such as Dante's *Comedy*, Bede's *History of the English Church and People*, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Langland's *Vision of Piers Plowman*, Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, etc.; therefore no particular editions are specified here. More information on saints mentioned in the text can be found in works listed here (e.g. Vauchez, Weinstein and Bell) and in standard reference works such as the *Oxford Dictionary of Saints*.

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