MONEY AND MORALITY ON THE PILGRIM ROADS TO SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA, 1078-1211

by

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ABSTRACT

Drawing on an extensive range of textual and visual sources, the thesis argues that pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela triggered the development of an extensive money economy between the late eleventh and early thirteenth centuries that led to a profound socio-economic transformation of communities along the pilgrim roads. Part I explores the origins of the pilgrimage's devotional infrastructure, the evolution of pilgrim towns and markets, and the role of money and financial services in increasing the popularity of the pilgrimage. It further shows how iconography of coins was used to promote the cult of St James and the political agendas of Compostela's cathedral chapter and the Leonese monarchy. Part II pivots to money as a social disruptor and agent of change. It explores the underlying causes and implications of urban revolts that pitted ambitious ecclesiastical lords against the rising class of merchants and craftsmen. It then unravels moral challenges related to the sin of avarice and how money was remade in a religious context to facilitate spiritual salvation. Finally, the thesis argues the money economy triggered a social reordering and that a tacit moral accommodation was reached between the Church and merchant class in order to facilitate the act of pilgrimage.

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Like medieval pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, my PhD programme was a long and arduous journey that offered time for self-reflection and culminated in great joy. I would not have been able to complete this journey without the guidance, patience and support of my supervisors, Dr William Purkis and Dr Simon Yarrow. The depth and diversity of their knowledge, along with their curiosity and intellect, contributed to always stimulating dialogue that pushed boundaries and helped facilitate my metamorphosis from management consultant to medieval historian. I am also grateful for the generous time and information provided by the scholars Sara Lipton, Luis Martínez García, Pascual Martínez Sopena, Xosé Sánchez Sánchez and Iris Shagrir. I would also like to thank the University of Birmingham and Centre for the Study of the Middle Ages for financial support of field research trips and participation in scholarly conferences. I would also like to thank the Museo das Peregrinacións e de Santiago for the opportunity to view and study its medieval coin collection; the Museo Arqueológico Nacional (Madrid), Fitzwilliam Museum (Cambridge) and Corpus Christi College (Oxford) for digital images of coins and illuminations; and the Santiago Cathedral Archives, Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, Institute of Historical Research (London), Deschutes Public Library (Oregon) and Confraternity of St James (London) for research assistance. I am also indebted to the many generous individuals in communities along the Compostelan pilgrim roads who provided assistance, especially those in Carrión de los Condes who aided my close study of the façade of the church of Santiago. I am also grateful for my parents, Jean and Dick, who by example have instilled in me a lifelong love of learning. And finally, to my wife Elaine, who encouraged me to pursue my interest in medieval history and provided love and endless support throughout the process, including her companionship on many treks along the pilgrim roads.

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NOTE ON TERMINOLOGY

Primary sources and secondary works used in this study were written in a number of different languages including Latin, Spanish (Castilian), Galician (Gallego), English and French. In some cases, multiple terms are sometimes used to represent the same people, places and pilgrim roads. For consistency, adherence to vocabulary in modern scholarship and to facilitate ease of reading, I have applied a common methodology to the terminology used throughout the thesis.

The Pilgrim Roads

One of the earliest references to the Iberian pilgrim road to Santiago de Compostela comes from a 1090 charter of Sancho Ramírez of Aragon-Navarre (1063/76-94). The charter used *camino de sancti Iacobi* to describe the pilgrim road near Zarapuz and Sancho's rerouting of that road through the newly established pilgrim town of Estella.[1] Notably, this charter suggests that in 1090 the principal Iberian pilgrim road was in the end state of being solidified into the form outlined in the *Pilgrim's Guide* (c. 1140). In its retelling of the deeds of Sancho 'the Great' of Navarre (1000-35), the *Historia Silense* (c. 1115) stated the *iter sancti Iacobi* ran between the Pyrenees and the royal town of Nájera, and that Compostelan pilgrims had previously been diverted along a more northerly route through Álava due to fear of barbarian attacks, a sign that the principal pilgrim route was still in the process of changing in the early eleventh century:

> From the very pinnacles of the Pyrenees as far as the fortress of Nájera he [Sancho 'the Great' of Navarre] snatched from the power of the pagans as much land as was contained within those bounds. He caused the way of St James to run without the hindrance of

[1] L. Vazquez de Parga, J. Lacarra, and J. Uria Riu, *Las Peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1948-49), III, pp. 14-15 (2). *...in illo suo termino de Zarapuz, in camino de sancto Iacobo; et ego volebam mutare ipsum caminum per Lizarrara.* Lizarra is the Basque name for Estella. *Camino* was also used to signify road as in the *fuero* of Belorado (1116). Ibid., pp. 410-12: *...et foro de camino, sicut de constitutum habuistis antea de vendere, atque reparare.*

> deviation, which for fear of the barbarians the pilgrims had trodden by the roundabout route of Alava.[2]

These attacks were undoubtedly related to the Muslim raider Almanzor who sacked northern Christian Iberia, including Compostela, at the end of the tenth century. Almanzor's destruction of communities along the pilgrimage route was so complete that the *Historia Silense* lamented 'during that same terrible time in Spain all holy worship perished, all the glory of the Christians fell away, [and] the accumulated treasures of the churches were dispersed.'[3]

The *Pilgrim's Guide* used *iter Sancti Iacobi,*[4] *via Iacobitana,*[5] *via Sancti Iacobi,*[6] and *via Beati Iacobi,*[7] all variants of 'way' of James, St James or Blessed James, to describe the pilgrim roads that started in modern-day France and continued to Compostela (Map N.1). The pilgrim roads through France were known by their Latin names, the *via turonensa*[8] (way of Tours), the northernmost route that originated in Orléans and through which many pilgrims passing through Paris travelled, the *via lemovicensis* (way of Limoges) that originated in Vézelay and passed through Saint-Léonard-de-Noblat, the *via podiensis* (way of Le Puy) that passed through Conques and Moissac, and *via tolosana* (way of Toulouse), the southernmost route through Provence and Languedoc that originated in Arles, and the only of the four roads to cross the

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[2] *Historia Silense*, ed. F. Santos Coco (Madrid, 1921), pp. 63-64: *Ab ipsis namque Pireneis iugis adusque castrum Nazara quidquid terre infra continetur a potestate paganorum eripiens, iter sancti Iacobi quod barbarico timore per devia Alave peregrini declinabant, absque retractionis obstaculo currere fecit.* For English translation, see *Historia Silense*, ed. and trans. S. Barton and R. Fletcher*, The World of El Cid: Chronicles of the Spanish Reconquest* (Manchester, 2000), pp. 9-64, p. 41.

[3] *Historia Silense*, ed. Santos Coco, p. 58: *Eadem vero tempestate en Yspania omnis divinus cultus periit; omnis christicolarum gloria decidit; congesti ecclesiarum thesauri funditus direpti sunt.* For English translation see *Historia Silense*, ed. and trans. Barton and Fletcher, p. 38 (71). Almanzor reportedly stole the bells from Compostela's basilica and had them installed in the mosque of Córdoba. *Historia Compostellana*, ed. E. Falque, *CCCM* 70 (Turnhout, 1998), p. 13 (I, 2.8). See also *Historia Compostelana*, ed. and trans. E. Falque (Madrid, 1994), p. 75 (note 69); and J. O'Callaghan, *History of Medieval Spain* (Ithaca, 1975), pp. 129-30.

[4] A. Stones, P. Gerson, J. Krochalis, and A. Shaver-Crandall, eds., *The Pilgrim's Guide to Santiago de Compostela: Critical Edition*, 2 vols, (London, 1998), II: *The Text*, p. 14 (ch. 3).

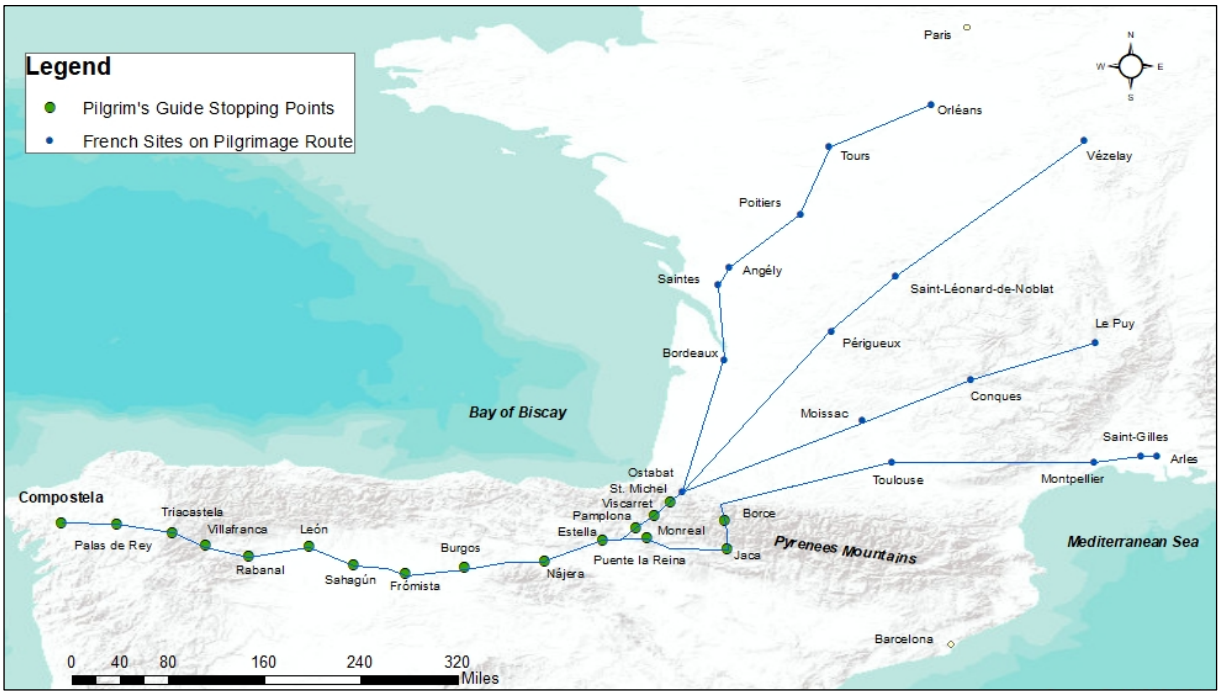
[5] Ibid., II, p. 14 (ch. 3).

[6] Ibid., II, p. 52 (ch. 8). Used here to describe the pilgrim road in Saintes.

[7] Ibid., II, p. 22 (ch. 7).

[8] Ibid., II, p. 48 (ch. 8).

Pyrenees over the Somport Pass.[9] These four roads converged into two before crossing over the Cize and Somport passes of the Pyrenees, then united at Puente la Reina in Navarre and continued westward to Compostela (Map N.1).



Map N.1. *Iter Sancti Iacobi* from *Pilgrim's Guide*.

Some descriptions of the main pilgrim road in Iberia alluded to the traffic coming from France. Property transactions from the monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla (ten miles southwest of Nájera) show '*camino de Francos'* (way of Franks) being used to describe the road between Nájera and Burgos as early as 1079.[10] The *Pilgrim's Guide* used *via Francigena*[11] (the

[9] Ibid., pp. 10-11 (ch. 1). See also *The Pilgrim's Guide to Santiago de Compostela*, ed. and trans. W. Melczer (New York, 1993), pp. 24-25. The southernmost route was also known as the *via egidiana* after Saint-Gilles, an important pilgrimage site on its own.

[10] A transaction from Alesanco, located between the pilgrim towns of Nájera and Santo Domingo de la Calzada, used '*camino de los Francos'* to help demark the boundaries of a property. D.L. Serrano (ed.), *Cartulario de San Millán de la Cogolla* (Madrid, 1930), p. 318 (23). Another transaction from 1084 mentioned Torsantos (Tosantos), located between Belorado and Villafranca Montes de Oca (twenty miles east of Burgos), and called it a *villa* by the *caminum de Francos*. Ibid, p. 260 (257). '*in Torsantos villa unam ferraginem iuxta caminum de Francos*'.

[11] *Guide*, pp. 66 and 72 (ch. 9).

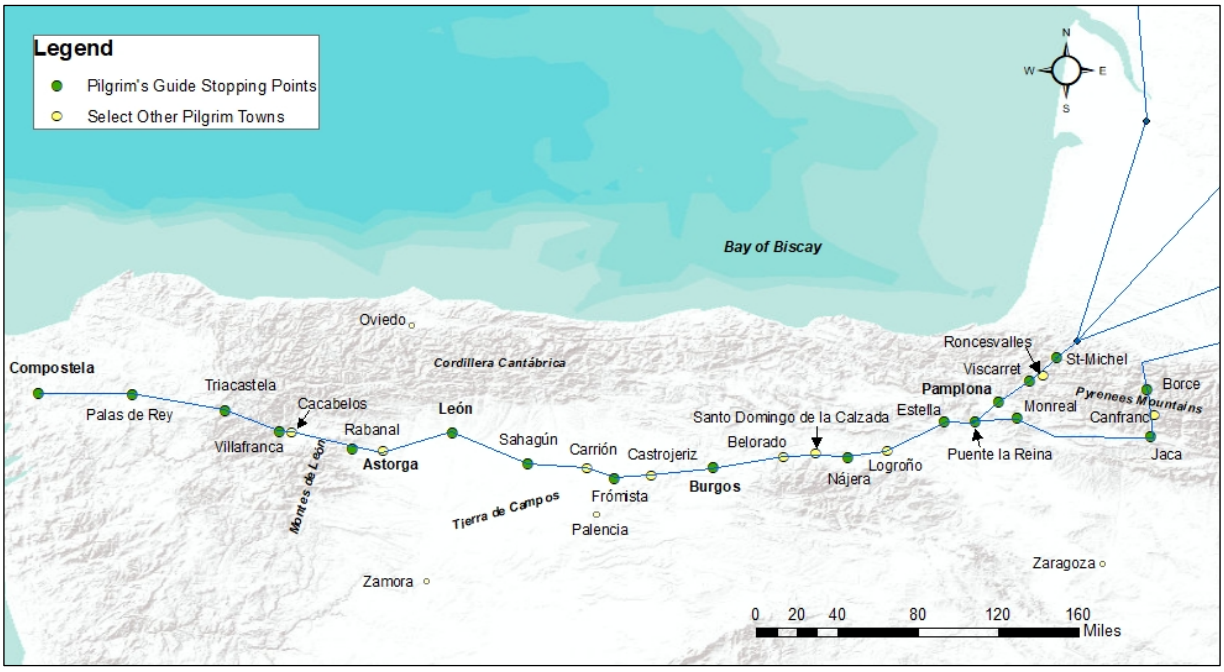
road that comes from France, or French Way) to describe the pilgrim road that ran through Compostela's city walls at the *porta Francigena*[12] (gate of the French) and to the north portal of the cathedral where the author(s) stated the 'French people' enter the basilica.[13] The *Historia Compostellana* (c. 1140) recounted the activities of Bishop Diego Gelmírez '*in Francigeno itinere'* (along the French Way) including his reconstruction of the town of Cacabelos (on the pilgrim road between Ponferrada and Villafranca del Bierzo), visits to the Tierra de Campos (the fertile agricultural area where Carrión and Sahagún were located) and travel on the road by Astorga and León.[14]

Some scholars of medieval Iberia such as Bernard Reilly[15] have used Camino de Santiago to describe the twelfth century Iberian route of the *iter Sancti Iacobi* (the *via Francigena* of the *Pilgrim's Guide*),[16] but others including Lacarra,[17] Gautier Dalché,[18] Martínez García,[19] Martínez Sopena[20] and Melczer[21] have used Camino Francés (Castilian for French Way). This thesis uses Camino Francés to represent the principal twelfth-century Iberian route of the *Pilgrim's Guide*, including the two branches that ran from the Pyrenees and united in Puente la Reina (Map N.2). Whereas Way of St James was used to describe the pilgrim roads to Compostela inside and

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[12] Ibid., pp. 66 and 72 (ch. 9).
[13] Ibid., II, pp. 70-71 (ch. 9).
[14] *HC*, p. 59 (I, 30).
[15] B. Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VII, 1126-1157* (Philadelphia, 1998), p. 275. Reilly states '…by far the greatest artery of trade was the *camino de Santiago*, which ran east and west from Santiago de Compostela through León and Burgos to the Pyrenean passes of Roncesvalles and Somport.' See also M. Soifer Irish, *Jews and Christians in Medieval Castile: Tradition, Coexistence, and Change* (Washington, D.C., 2016), pp. 53-54.
[16] The Iberian route to Compostela that was included in the *Pilgrim's Guide* (c. 1140) had largely been solidified by the end of the eleventh century. By that time bridges were in place over the main rivers and pilgrim hospitals existed in the mountain passes and at major stopping points. *PSC*, II, pp. 23-24.
[17] *PSC*, I, p. 42.
[18] J. Gautier Dalché, *Historia urbana de León y Castilla en la Edad Media (siglos IX-XIII)* (Madrid, 1979), pp. 67-80.
[19] L. Martínez García, L., *El Camino de Santiago: Una vision histórica desde Burgos* (Burgos, 2004), pp. 63-68.
[20] P. Martínez Sopena, 'El camino de Santiago y la articulación del espacio en tierra de Campos y León', in C. Laliena and A. Martin Duque (eds.), *XX semana de estudios medievales, Estella, 26 a 30 de julio de 1993* (Pamplona, 1994), pp. 185-212, p. 187.
[21] *The Pilgrim's Guide to Santiago de Compostela*, ed. and trans. W. Melczer (New York, 1993), pp. 27 and 122.

outside of Iberia,[22] Camino Francés was only used to describe the Iberian route. The Castilian spelling, used from at least the thirteenth century,[23] helps distinguish the Iberian pilgrim road to Compostela from other contemporary pilgrim roads such as the *via Francigena* that ran from Canterbury in England, through France and on to Rome from the late tenth century.[24]



Map N.2. 'Camino Francés' from *Pilgrim's Guide*.

The Camino Francés was not the only Iberian route by which pilgrims travelled to Compostela. Some deviated from the Camino Francés at León and headed north to visit San Salvador in Oviedo. From Oviedo pilgrims then travelled along the northern coast and then south to Compostela. Some westbound pilgrims entered Navarre from the north near Bayonne, rather than entering through the Cize and Somport passes over the Pyrenees, before connecting

[22] As in 'along the Way of Blessed James by the Toulouse road' (*In Beati Iacobi viatico, uia scilcet Tolosana*). *Guide*, pp. 22-23 (ch. 7).
[23] One of the earliest textual references to 'Camino Francés' comes from thirteenth-century Navarre. *PSC*, I, p. 40.
[24] D. Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West* (London, 2001), p. 18.

to the Camino Francés in Burgos using the so-called 'tunnel route'.[25] Others, principally from northern Europe, entered Galicia through the ports like Padrón and Noya, but pilgrimage by the sea routes was largely limited until the second half of the twelfth century.

Coinage and Units of Account

Prices, donations and taxes are referenced throughout this study and reflect the coinage and units of account used in contemporary documents. The monetary system of twelfth-century Latin Christendom including Iberia was based on the *denarius* (dinero in Iberia), a silver-billon coin whose origins dated to the reign of Charlemagne.[26] A group of twelve *denarii* was called a *solidus,* and twenty *solidi* equalled a *libra* (pound).[27] Some silver ingots were stamped with their level of fineness and called *marcas* (marks), another unit of account used in contemporary documents, with each *marca* weighing two-hundred-and-twenty grams.[28] In addition to billon *denarii* minted in Iberia, various versions from outside of Iberia were carried along the pilgrim roads from places such as Languedoc (Toulouse) and Lombardy (Milan) as illustrated in a collection of coins from the twelfth-century treasury of Compostela's cathedral chapter.[29] Like the *solidus* and *marca*, the Almoravid gold dinar, or *morabitino* as it was called by Christians, was used as money and a unit of account in northern Christian Iberia. Castile and León started

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[25] Storrs argues that it was not until the thirteenth century that the tunnel route (named after a tunnel through the pass of San Adrián) was used frequently by Compostelan pilgrims. The tunnel route became more accessible once a bridge was built over the Adour River in c. 1125 in Bayonne, and when Gascony came into the English political orbit with the marriage of Henry II of England (1154-89) to Eleanor of Aquitaine. C. Storrs, *Jacobean Pilgrims from England to St. James of Compostella: From the Early Twelfth to the Late Fifteenth Century* (London, 1998), pp. 102 and 157-61. See also Gautier Dalché, *Historia urbana de León y Castilla en la Edad Media*, p. 80.
[26] J. Todesca, 'Coinage and Currency, Castile', E.M. Gerli, ed., *Medieval Iberia: An Encyclopedia* (New York, 2002), pp. 240-41, p. 240. See also O. Volckart, 'Technologies of money in the Middle Ages: The "Principles of Minting"', London School of Economics and Political Science, Department of Economic History Working Papers, 275 (2018), pp. 5-8.
[27] M. Crusafont, A. Balaguer and P. Grierson, *Medieval European Coinage: Volume 6, The Iberian Peninsula* (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 11-12.
[28] For examples, see *HC*, pp. 238 (II, 10) and 433 (III, 8); and *LSJ*, p. 99 (I, 17).
[29] *HC*, p. 238 (II, 10).

minting their own version of the *morabitino*, also called the *maravedí* (after the Almoravids), in the third quarter of the twelfth century.[30]

People, Places and Political Terms

Individual saints are written in English as in SS James, Giles and Martin. The names of Iberian Christians are reflected in the current local languages as in the Castilian Fernando II (rather than the Anglicized Ferdinand II). Muslims are shown using Anglicized versions of their names such as al-Idrisi, Almanzor, Almohads and Almoravids. Latin kingdoms are generally represented by their Anglicized names such as Aragon, Castile and Navarre (also called the kingdom of Pamplona into the twelfth century), with the exception of León for which there is no English variant. For economic and political terms unique to Iberia, Castilian is used to be consistent with the historiography, and they are shown in italics such as *fuero* (town charter), *portazgo* (market tax), *concejo* (town council) and *judería* (Jewish quarter).

Place names are shown using current localized spellings such as Carrión (shortened from Carrión de los Condes), Sahagún and Santiago de Compostela (generally shortened to Compostela) from Spain, and Saint-Gilles and Saint-Trophime from France. Religious sites are also identified by their local names such as church of Santiago, church of Santa María, Santiago Cathedral, monastery of Sahagún and abbey of Saint-Gilles. When places are called by two names, as is often the case in Basque and Galician areas, the Castilian spelling is used. For example, Estella is used rather than the Basque Lizarra, Pamplona rather than the Basque Iruña, and La Coruña rather than the Galician A Coruña. This approach is not meant to be disrespectful of the cultural heritage of these areas but rather to provide a consistent methodology for place

[30] *Coinage*, pp. 11-12, 62-65 and 259-60. See also J. Todesca, 'The Monetary History of Castile-León (ca. 1100-1300) in Light of the Bourgey Hoard', *Museum Notes (American Numismatic Society)*, 33 (1988), pp. 129-203, pp. 135-38. For examples, see *HC*, p. 433 (III, 8); and *LFH,* IV, app., pp. 93-94 (37).

names across all of Iberia. When noted in primary sources, modern words for population centres are used such as burg (*burgus*), used to describe a walled settlement within a larger urban area,[31] town (*villa*) and city (*urbs*).[32]

[31] *Documentación medieval del Archivos Municipal de Pamplona (1129-1356)*, ed. R. Cierbide and E. Ramos (Donostia-San Sebastián, 1998), p. XX (4). The 1129 *fuero* granted by Alfonso I to the Franks of San Cernin used '*Burgi Sancti Saturnini'* to describe San Cernin, which was located in the Pamplona area along with the Navarerría of the local *navarrese*.

[32] *Guide*, pp. 14-15 (ch. 3). *Urbs* was used to describe Astorga, Burgos, Compostela, León, Nájera and Pamplona in the *Pilgrim's Guide*, suggesting their populations were larger than other communities along the principal Iberian pilgrim road.

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[33] All maps created by the author using ArcGIS software.

ABBREVIATIONS

Al-Idrisi	E. Saavedra, *La Geografía de España del Edrisí* (Madrid, 1881).
CAS	'Primera Crónica', *Crónicas anónimas de Sahagún*, ed. A. Ubieto Arteta, *TM* 75 (Zaragoza, 1987).
CCCM	*Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis*
CFM	*Colección de Fueros Municipales y Cartas Pueblas de los Reinos de Castilla, León, Corona de Aragón y Navarra*, ed. T. Muñoz y Romero (Madrid, 1847).
Coinage	M. Crusafont, A. Balaguer and P. Grierson, *Medieval European Coinage: Volume 6, The Iberian Peninsula* (Cambridge, 2013).
Fuero de Estella	'El Fuero de Estella de 1164', ed. R. Jimeno Aranguren, *Fueros de Navarra* (Madrid, 2016), pp. 319-68.
GN	Guibert de Nogent, 'De vita sua sive monodiarum suarum libri tres', ed. G. Bourgin, *Histoire de sa Vie, 1053-1124* (Paris, 1907).
GN: Trans.	Guibert of Nogent, *Monodies* and *On the Relics of Saints: The Autobiography and a Manifesto of a French Monk from the Time of the Crusades*, ed. and trans. J. McAlhany and J. Rubenstein (New York, 2011).
Guide	*The Pilgrim's Guide to Santiago de Compostela: Critical Edition*, ed. and trans. A. Stones, P. Gerson, J. Krochalis, and A. Shaver-Crandall, 2 vols. (London, 1998), II: *The Text*.
HC: Trans.	*Historia Compostelana*, ed. and trans. E. Falque (Madrid, 1994).
HC	*Historia Compostellana*, *CCCM* 70, ed. E. Falque (Turnhout, 1988).
LFF	A. López Ferreiro, *Fueros Municipales de Santiago y de su Tierra* (Santiago de Compostela, 1895).
LFH	A. López Ferreiro, *Historia de la Santa a.m. iglesia de Santiago de Compostela,* 11 vols. (Santiago de Compostela, 1898-1911).
LSJ	*Liber Sancti Jacobi: Codex Calixtinus,* ed. K. Herbers and M. Santos Noia (Santiago de Compostela, 1998).

MSJ: Trans.	*The Miracles of Saint James. Translations from the Liber Sancti Jacobi*, ed. and trans. T. Coffey, L. Davidson, and M. Dunn (New York, 1996).
PG: M	*The Pilgrim's Guide to Santiago de Compostela*, ed. and trans. W. Melczer (New York, 1993).
PL	*Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844-64).
PSC	L. Vazquez de Parga, J. Lacarra, and J. Uria Riu, *Las Peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1948-49).
TM	*Textos Medievales*
Tumbo A	*Tumbo A de la Catedral de Santiago: Estudio y edición*, ed. M. Álvarez (Santiago de Compostela, 1998).
Tumbo B	*Tumbo B de la Catedral de Santiago: Estudio y edición*, ed. M.T. González Balasch (Santiago de Compostela, 2004).

INTRODUCTION

In c. 1170 sculptors put the finishing touches on a new façade for the church of Santiago in the town of Carrión (Figure I.1).[1] Carrión sat at the mid-point of the Camino Francés (the French Way), the pilgrim road that stretched five-hundred miles across northern Iberia from the Pyrenees Mountains to the shrine of St James in Santiago de Compostela.[2] Starting from the year 1076 the order of Cluny ran the powerful monastery of San Zoilo on the west side of the Carrión River, and it hosted one of the earliest pilgrim hospitals on the Camino Francés.[3]



Figure I.1. Façade of the Church of Santiago, Carrión.[4]

[1] The façade has drawn the attention of scholars over the last twenty years. See J. Lacoste, 'El Maestro de Carrión de los Condes', *Actas del IV Curso de Cultura Medieval seminario. La fortificación medieval en la Península* (Palencia, 2001), pp. 155-85; E. Lastra, 'Judgment, Work, and Social Change: Reading a New Spirituality in the Sculpted Laborers of Santiago de Carrión de los Condes', *Studies in Iconography*, 39 (2018), pp. 167-206; B. Mariño, 'La portada de Santiago de Carrión de los Condes', *Palencia en los siglos del Románico* (Palencia, 2002), pp. 49-69; and J. Torres, 'Monederos de piedra. Escenas de acuñación en el románico palentino', *Conii e scene di coniazione* (2007), pp. 301-25.

[2] Today the town is called Carrión de los Condes.

[3] *Chronicon Regum Legionensium*, ed. and trans. S. Barton and R. Fletcher, *The World of El Cid: Chronicles of the Spanish Reconquest* (Manchester, 2000), pp. 65-89, p. 77 (and note 15). See also Ramírez de Helguera, *El Libro de Carrión de los Condes*, p. 53. It was then called the *barrio* of San Zoles.

[4] Photographed by the author.

The archivolt of the façade included reliefs of twenty-two people of various occupations including a monk, blacksmith, tailor, shoemaker and entertainers. But the most striking aspect of the façade was the inclusion of eight well-dressed minters engaged in specific tasks such as hammering metal into a flat sheet, cutting the metal sheet into small discs or blanks, maintaining a fire over which rests a pan containing metal blanks, and putting a blank into a die from which a coin could be struck (Figure I.2). It is the most detailed sculptural representation of the minting process in western Europe to survive the Middle Ages.[5]



Figure I.2. Group of Minters from the Façade of the Church of Santiago, Carrión.[6]

It was highly unusual for a church to display or celebrate money whose use was considered problematic by the Church. This would have especially been the case for a church

[5] B. Mariño, 'La portada de Santiago de Carrión de los Condes', *Palencia en los siglos del Románico* (Palencia, 2002), pp. 49-69, pp. 53-55. Only two medieval sculptures of minting pre-dated those of Carrión: a group of minters on a capital from the church of Souvigny (near Moulins, France) from the second half of the eleventh century, and a lone minter at the church of St George in Boscherville (near Ruán, France) from the first quarter of the twelfth century. J. Torres, 'Monederos de piedra. Escenas de acuñación en el románico palentino', *Conii e scene di coniazione* (2007), pp. 301-25, pp. 302-03.
[6] Photographed by the author.

dedicated to St James, an individual whose image was crafted to embody the notion of voluntary poverty that pilgrims were expected to follow. Placement of townspeople and minters below a dominating relief of Christ in Majesty, the focal point of the façade, and above capitals featuring scenes from the Last Judgment, is suggestive of a moral tension that existed between the Church and the urban merchant class of which the minters were a part.

Adding to the intrigue of these minters is the fact that there was no mint in twelfth-century Carrión. The closest mint was in Palencia, twenty-five miles to the south, and notably not on the Camino Francés.[7] However, contemporaneous with the façade's creation was a grant in 1169 from Alfonso VIII of Castile (1158-1214) that allowed Carrión to host an annual fair that catered to the needs of passing pilgrims.[8] Money coursing through the fair would have contributed to the wealth of what had already become a prosperous town by the mid-twelfth century. The *Pilgrim's Guide* (c. 1140) described Carrión as rich in bread, wine, meat, and produce,[9] and the Muslim geographer Al-Idrisi, who visited in c. 1154, called it a flourishing, medium-sized town that was abundant in crops.[10]

There are no surviving contemporary descriptions of the minters represented on Carrión's façade. However, its iconography raises important questions about money and morality along the pilgrim roads to Compostela. Through analysis of a comprehensive body of primary sources including contemporary church sculptures, chronicles, charters, iconography of coins, pilgrim itineraries and archaeological surveys, this thesis attempts to unravel the mystery of Carrión's

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[7] J. Todesca, 'The Crown Renewed: The Administration of Coinage in León-Castile c. 1085-1200' in *The Emergence of León-Castile c. 1065-1500: Essays Presented to J.F. O'Callaghan*, J. Todesca, ed., (Farnham, 2015), pp. 9-31, p. 27.

[8] On Carrión's annual fair grant, see *Documentación del Monasterio de San Zoilo de Carrión (1047-1300),* ed. J.A. Pérez Celada, vol. 1 (Burgos, 1986), pp. 64-66 (41). On Carrión's weekly market, see P. Martinez Sopena, 'El comercio interregional: Sahagún, un ejemplo Castellano', in J.I. de la Iglesia Duarte (ed.), *El Comercio en La Edad Media* (Logroño, 2006), pp. 345-74, p. 363.

[9] *Guide*, pp. 14-15 (ch. 3).

[10] Al-Idrisi, *La Geografica de Espana del Edrisi* (Madrid, 1881), p. 81.

minters whilst answering broader questions about the cultural history of money within the context of the Compostelan pilgrimage. How did the pilgrimage impact perceptions of money over the course of the twelfth century? Who controlled the money supply along the pilgrim roads and what did they gain through that control? How was money used and viewed by pilgrims, townspeople and merchants? What impact did pilgrim town markets have on the social fabric of northern Christian Iberia? Although medieval pilgrimage to Compostela has attracted much scholarly attention in recent years, little has been written about the socio-economic impact of money on the communities along its roads. This thesis therefore seeks to fill this gap in scholarship and contributes to a number of scholarly fields including the history of medieval pilgrimage, medieval Iberian history, urban and material culture, and art history.

Research Context

In the late 1940s the Spanish historians Luis Vazquez de Parga, José María Lacarra and Juan Uría Riu composed the monumental three-volume *Las Peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela*.[11] This seminal work outlined the evolution of pilgrimage to Compostela from its inception, including descriptions of its pilgrims, routes, towns, hospitality, art and architecture. The work of Vazquez de Parga et al. was followed by Jonathan Sumption's *Pilgrimage: An Image of Mediaeval Religion*,[12] published in 1975, that spawned a vast genre of medieval pilgrimage scholarship in which a common set of factors began to be assessed for the three great pilgrimages of the Middle Ages - Compostela, Jerusalem and Rome. These pilgrimage histories have assessed the practicalities of pilgrimage such as routes, challenges along the roads, shrine

[11] L. Vazquez de Parga, J. Lacarra, and J. Uria Riu, *Las Peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1948-49).
[12] J. Sumption, *Pilgrimage: An Image of Mediaeval Religion* (London, 1975).

promotion and hospitality in addition to pilgrim motivations.[13] But this body of scholarship has offered little insight into the cultural impact of money on pilgrimage and the communities through which its roads passed.

There is no doubt that money circulated in large quantities along the medieval pilgrim roads. Peter Spufford, eminent scholar of medieval money, argued trade was the primary driver of increasing circulation of coinage, but that religious reasons including pilgrimage could at times overtake trade in this role.[14] In his analysis of Bishop/Archbishop Diego Gelmírez of Compostela (1100-20/40), Richard Fletcher argued pilgrimage to Compostela made a tremendous impact on the circulation of money:

> …from an economic point of view, the most important single consequence of the habit of pilgrimage was the movement and spending of what in the aggregate must have amounted to very considerable sums of money.[15]

Contrary to Spufford's separation of trade and pilgrimage, the two were inextricably linked, and the associated flow of money, along with its socio-economic disruptions, profoundly impacted merchants, pilgrims and townspeople along the roads. Bernard Reilly argues the pilgrim road to Compostela was the most significant medieval trade route in northern Iberia:

> …by far the greatest artery of trade was the *camino de Santiago*, which ran east and west from Santiago de Compostela through León and Burgos to the Pyrenean passes of Roncesvalles and Somport.[16]

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[13] M. Stokstad, *Santiago de Compostela: in the age of great pilgrimages* (Norman, 1978); H. Davies and M.H. Davies, *Holy Days and Holidays: The Medieval Pilgrimage to Compostela* (Lewisburg, 1982); P. Martínez Sopena, *El Camino de Santiago en Castilla y León* (Valladolid, 1990); L. Martínez García, *El Camino de Santiago: Una visión histórica de Burgos* (Burgos, 2004). On pilgrimage to Jerusalem, see N. Chareyron, *Pilgrims to Jerusalem in the Middle Ages* (New York, 2005). On pilgrimage to Rome, see D. Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 1998). Diana Webb has compiled a valuable set of charters, letters and other documentation related to medieval pilgrimage in Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West*.

[14] P. Spufford, *Money and its use in medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 157-58. Spufford suggested pilgrimage to Compostela was unique in that money did not just flow into the coffers of St James, but also contributed to the flow of gold from Iberia into southern and western France, a key difference with pilgrimages to Jerusalem and Rome that generally led to one-way flow of money into the shrine centres. See also L. Feller, 'Money and its Ideas' in R. Naismith (ed.) *A Cultural History of Money* (London, 2019), pp. 37-55 and 50.

[15] R. Fletcher, *St. James's Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmirez of Santiago de Compostela* (Oxford, 1984), p. 183.

[16] B. Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VII, 1126-1157* (Philadelphia, 1998), p. 275.

Although money and its role in medieval pilgrimage has not yet received the attention it deserves, there have been valuable scholarly contributions that address specific aspects of the pilgrimage economy. These include Pascual Martínez Sopena's work on the markets and social dynamics in the Tierra de Campos,[17] Jean Gautier Dalché's economic study of León-Castile and its pilgrim towns,[18] Luis Martínez García's comprehensive analysis of the Hospital del Rey in Burgos[19] and Esther Cohen's study of the pilgrim badge industry in southern France.[20] Adrian Bell and Richard Dale apply an unconventional approach in their comparison of medieval pilgrimage infrastructure to modern business concepts like franchising, profit centres and marketing.[21] However, these studies do not focus on the cultural role of coinage in medieval pilgrimage and its significant intangible characteristics.

One exception is Jane Welch Williams's study of the stained-glass window programme of Chartres Cathedral, an important medieval pilgrimage destination. Welch Williams argued moneychangers, shown weighing objects, inspecting coins and transacting with clients in five different windows, were also involved in quasi-religious acts. Her cultural study incorporates iconography of the windows with contemporary literature and charter evidence to draw conclusions about the role of money and merchants. She concluded that the trades windows of Chartres supported the role of merchants in facilitating the act of pilgrimage and the making of

[17] P. Martínez Sopena, 'El camino de Santiago y la articulación del espacio en tierra de Campos y León', pp. 185-212; P. Martínez Sopena, 'El comercio interregional: Sahagún, un ejemplo Castellano', pp. 345-74; P. Martínez Sopena, 'Los francos en la España de los siglos XI al XIII', in A. Vaca Lorenzo (ed.), *Minorías y migraciones en la historia: XV Jornadas de Estudios Históricos* (Salamanca, 2004), pp. 25-66; and P. Martínez Sopena, 'El mercado en la España Cristiana de los siglos XI y XII', in *Codex aquilarensis: Cuadernos de investigación del Monasterio de Santa María la Real*, 13 (1998), pp. 122-42.
[18] J. Gautier Dalché, *Historia urbana de León y Castilla en la Edad Media (siglos IX-XIII)* (Madrid, 1979).
[19] L. Martínez García, *El Hospital del Rey de Burgos: Poder y Beneficencia en el Camino de Santiago* (Burgos, 2002).
[20] E. Cohen, 'In haec signa: Pilgrim-Badge Trade in Southern France', *Journal of Medieval History*, 2 (1976), pp. 193-214. See also E. Cohen, 'In the Name of God and of Profit: The Pilgrimage Industry in Southern France in the Late Middle Ages', Brown University (1976).
[21] A. Bell and R. Dale, 'The Medieval Pilgrimage Business', *Enterprise & Society*, 12 (2011), pp. 601-27.

donations at the shrine.[22] Like the study of Welch Williams, this thesis uses a cross-disciplinary approach to understand the role of money and its impact on morality and religion.

The Commercial Revolution

This study fits squarely within the period Robert Lopez named the Commercial Revolution, from the mid-tenth to mid-thirteenth centuries, during which a 'great expansion' occurred across western Europe, one that followed a 'great contraction' in the preceding centuries after the fall of the Roman Empire and ended with the ravages of the Black Death.[23] This expansion stimulated not only economic changes, but also a transformation of political, legal, philosophical, literary and artistic forms. Lopez argued the Commercial Revolution started in the manor, where improvements in agricultural technology led to surpluses. These surpluses freed many to engage in non-agrarian professions in government, religion and trade which in turn led to the re-emergence and growth of towns.[24]

Lopez built on the work of Marc Bloch who described this period as a second feudal age that began in the mid-eleventh century, and was characterized by urbanisation, significant increases in population supported by improvements in agricultural production, the rise of the merchant class and changes to the feudal model that occurred when 'the meshes of the human network had been drawn closer together and the circulation of goods and coin intensified'.[25] Bloch argued the economic revolution of the second feudal age was especially pronounced for

[22] J. Welch Williams, *Bread, Wine, and Money: The Windows of the Trades at Chartres Cathedral* (Chicago, 1993), pp. 103-124. Only four of the windows featuring moneychangers survive today.
[23] R. Lopez, *The Commercial Revolution of the Middle Ages, 950-1350* (Cambridge, 1976), p. 1.
[24] Ibid., p. 56.
[25] M. Bloch, *Feudal Society,* 2 vols., trans. L. Manyon (London, 1961), I, p. 71.

the trader, who replaced the long-dominant producer as the preeminent force in the economy, triggering a 'genuine revision of social values'.[26]

A defining element of the Commercial Revolution was the proliferation of silver coinage. Rory Naismith uses 'The Age of the Penny' to denote a period that started during the reign of Charlemagne (768-814) and ended in 1200.[27] During this time, the silver penny (the *denarius*) was introduced across Carolingian territory and its surrounding areas. Although these coins varied in size, weight and typography, they tended to include a symbol of the ruler on one side with the location of the mint or minter's mark on the other, and frequently included a Christian cross.[28] Circulation of silver coinage across western Europe increased significantly in the mid-twelfth century after the discovery and mining of massive silver deposits.[29]

The discovery of these silver deposits was not the sole reason behind the diffusion of silver coinage beyond the Carolingian kingdom. Wide adoption of the *denarius* over the course of the twelfth century also signalled growing influence of Frankish political, cultural and economic models.[30] These models offered Christian monarchs in places like Iberia new opportunities to project and consolidate power, and also provided a familiar environment into which settlers from outside the peninsula could be attracted. Robert Bartlett posits that the spread of Frankish culture through coinage was indicative of no less than increasing 'Europeanization' of the continent.[31]

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[26] Ibid., p. 71.
[27] R. Naismith, ed., *A Cultural History of Money in the Middle Ages* (London, 2019), pp. 6-9.
[28] Ibid., pp. 6-9.
[29] P. Spufford, *Money and its use in medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 132-62.
[30] R. Naismith, 'Money and the Issues of the Age' in Naismith (ed.), *A Cultural History of Money in the Middle Ages*, pp. 151-72, p. 162; and R. Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization, and Cultural Change 950-1350* (Princeton, 1993), p. 287.
[31] Ibid., p. 291.

Increasing circulation of coinage led to the rise of an urban-based money economy that challenged traditional notions of lordship that had been based on power derived from land-based holdings. The landed aristocracy was forced to adapt to the new money economy where urban markets increasingly became the symbol of power and wealth. Although agriculture was still a crucial component of the economy, Lopez argued towns became the 'nerve centers' of the Commercial Revolution.[32] Thomas Bisson argues this 'crisis of power' altered the landscape for those aspiring to lordship and allowed for the introduction of the merchant class ('tradespeople') into the competition:

> Crises of power arose from compounded constraints of custom, status, and wealth. While few lord-princes could long master these constraints, knights trading in prowess and fidelity could only aspire to – and seldom attain – a nobility that required social superiority and the service of people beneath. It was a cold and draughty vestibule, this aspiration; indeed, a lordship dynamic and unstable to which tradespeople of other sorts were to be drawn in growing numbers.[33]

Latin Christendom was clearly in a transitional period during which societal, economic and political winds were shifting.

Aristotle's Legacy

The legacy of Aristotle (384-22 BC) looms large over the social, economic, political and ethical framework for understanding money, and this study is informed by that insight. To Aristotle, social balance was achieved through the efficient distribution of scarce resources under the stewardship of an elite intellectual class.[34] He believed money was useful to the extent it facilitated the balancing of surpluses and shortages, or economic exchange necessary for

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[32] Lopez, *Commercial Revolution*, pp. 86-87.
[33] T. Bisson, *The Crisis of the Twelfth Century: Power, Lordship, and the Origins of European Government* (Princeton, 2010), p. 288.
[34] Aristotle's theories on ownership and distribution of resources laid the foundation for the modern discipline of economics that did not exist in medieval times. See L. Farber, *An Anatomy of Trade in Medieval Writing* (London, 2006), p. 1.

household management such as the acquisition of food. But Aristotle also believed money contributed to hoarding and could become the end goal rather than a means to an end.[35] He condemned retail trade as an unnatural way 'by which men gain from one other'.[36] Aristotle's greatest condemnation of money and retail trade was aimed at what he called the unnatural act of usury:[37]

> The most hated sort, and with the greatest reason, is usury, which makes a gain out of money itself and not from the natural object of it. For money was intended to be used in exchange, but not to increase at interest. And this term interest, which means the birth of money from money, is applied to the breeding of money because the offspring resembles the parent. Wherefore of all modes of getting wealth this is the most unnatural.[38]

Aristotle essentially argued that profits resulted from an unnatural zero-sum game in which the trader won whilst the consumer lost.[39]

Biblical stories also revealed a dualistic attitude towards money. Money was part of life in biblical times as it was in Aristotle's Greece and Latin Christendom of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It was the nature and intention of how money was used that determined whether its owner was pious or sinful.[40] Biblical polemics against greed can be seen in the stories of Jesus chasing the moneychangers from the Temple in Jerusalem,[41] and when he preached that 'it is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to get into heaven'.[42] On the other hand, the use of coins could be seen as good, as shown by the parable of the poor widow who offered her only two coins to the temple treasury, to which Jesus

[35] Aristotle, *Politics*, in *The Basic Works of Aristotle*, ed. R. McKeon (New York, 2001), p. 479 (I.3). See also Meikle, 'Aristotle on Money', p. 34 and Finley, 'Aristotle and Economic Analysis', pp. 16-17.
[36] Aristotle, *Politics*, p. 479 (I.3).
[37] Meikle, 'Aristotle on Money', pp. 26-27. See also Wood, *Medieval Economic Thought*, pp. 84-85.
[38] Aristotle, *Politics*, p. 479 (I.3).
[39] Finley, 'Aristotle and Economic Analysis', p. 17.
[40] Ibid., p. 19.
[41] John 2:13-16.
[42] Matthew 19:23-26, Mark 10:24-27 and Luke 18:24-27.

remarked she had given more than all the others who had made larger monetary offerings from their surpluses of wealth.[43]

Aristotle's views on money and trade lasted into the Roman period and throughout the Middle Ages.[44] In a nod to Aristotle's views, Lopez wrote of 'ancient Greco-Roman biases against trade' that cast medieval merchants as greedy fraudsters who were left out of the tripartite schema of society.[45] In this schema the *oratores* prayed, the *bellatores* fought and the *laboratores* toiled.[46] The *laboratores* included peasants and craftsmen and were regarded as the lowest order of society. It was this worldview that informed the religious thought found in medieval polemics against the new urban merchant class.

Conflicting Church attitudes about value, price, wages and profit within the context of the rising money economy reflected the fact that medieval society was in a transitional phase in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries. Naismith argues there was no single view of wealth within the Church at that time:

> This was a period of adaptation and polarisation: ideas and practices separated, collided and reconverged in kaleidoscopic fashion.[47]

Some religious leaders like Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153) began to believe that money could be good when used for pious purposes but immoral when accumulated and hoarded, especially if

[43] Luke 21:1-4 and Mark 12:41-44.
[44] On Aristotle's impact on medieval views of money and trade, see D. Wood, *Medieval Economic Thought* (Cambridge, 2002); M.I. Finley, 'Aristotle and Economic Analysis', *Past & Present*, 47 (1970), pp. 3-25; S. Meikle, 'Aristotle on Money', *Phronesis*, 39 (1994), pp. 26-44; K. Polyani, 'Aristotle Discovers the Economy', in K. Polanyi, C. Arensberg and H. Pearson (eds.), *Trade and Market in the Early Empires* (Chicago, 1971); and Farber, *An Anatomy of Trade in Medieval Writing*, pp. 16-32.
[45] Lopez, *Commercial Revolution*, p. x. Lopez argues that in Roman times 'trade was regarded as a base occupation, unworthy of gentlemen' and that 'craftsmen and industrial workers were at the bottom of the social ladder'. Ibid., p. 8.
[46] For detailed analysis of various schemas that delineated different orders of society and their evolution in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, see Constable, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought*, pp. 289-323.
[47] R. Naismith, 'Turpe lucrum? Wealth, Money and Coinage in the Millenial Church', in G. Gasper and S. Gullbekk (eds.), *Money and the Church in Medieval Europe, 1000-1200* (Surrey, 2015), pp. 17-37, p. 19.

the intention of its owners was one of greed.[48] An early Christian metaphor articulated by Basil of Caesarea (330-79) and Ambrose of Milan (c. 340-97) hints at foundational evidence for this thinking, using flowing water to symbolize the use of money which leads to purity and utility, but stagnation of the water leads to odiousness and waste.[49]

Lester Little argues a 'moral uncertainty' surrounded the transition from gift to money economy, and that the realities of the new urban-market society caused friction with the Christian ideal of poverty as a means to salvation.[50] This moral conflict was exemplified by the sin of avarice, widely perceived as greed for money. Avarice was viewed as the principal sin in the twelfth century,[51] one that Diana Wood argues was based on Aristotle's theory about the moral problems caused by the acquisitive nature of money.[52] Although Church ideology was in a transformative period, there appears to have been broad agreement that greed and the intent to accumulate material wealth was immoral.

Aristotle's views on money, merchants and usury were debated by Parisian religious scholastics including Thomas of Chobham (c. 1160-c. 1235) and Thomas Aquinas (1225-74), who used Aristotle's theory of social utility to support the work of the merchant class, whilst reflecting in their writings the lessons and observations from the twelfth century. They also debated the notion of a just price that was the product of not only demand, which was paramount to Aristotle, but also of supply.[53] The notion of just price was still being formulated in the

[48] Bernard of Clairvaux, 'De Consideratione', *PL* 182, cols. 727-808, col. 748 (II, 6).
[49] G. Todeschini, 'Money, Ritual, and Religion: Economic Value between Theology and Administration' in R. Naismith (ed.) *A Cultural History of Money in the Middle Ages* (London, 2019), pp. 57-78, pp. 67-68.
[50] L. Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe* (Ithaca, 1978), p. 19 and L. Little, 'Pride Goes before Avarice: Social Change and the Vices in Latin Christendom', *The American Historical Review*, 76 (1971), pp. 16-49.
[51] Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy*, p. 36; L. Little 'Pride Goes before Avarice', pp. 31 and 38-39; J. Le Goff, *Your Money or Your Life: Economy and Religion in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1988), pp. 47-48; and G. Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 318.
[52] Wood, *Medieval Economic Thought*, p. 82.
[53] Ibid., pp. 136-38.

twelfth century as shown through Church polemics against the merchant class and fraudulent prices such as those in the *Veneranda dies* sermon of the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*.[54]

Jacques Le Goff explored cultural taboos that surrounded various occupations of the rising money economy and how the Church accommodated its moral position to accept their spiritual salvation. He argued that by the early thirteenth century, the number of illicit occupations based solely on the nature of the work had largely been reduced to usurers, prostitutes and jongleurs (with the exception of those who sang the praises of saints and alleviated sadness).[55] In a clear reference to Aristotle, Le Goff noted that usurers were condemned for violating natural law established by God since 'coins give birth to more coins, causing money to work without pause'.[56]

As the morality of Christian merchants and craftsmen was increasingly accepted in the second half of the twelfth century, Jews became a target of Church rhetoric against the money economy. Little argues the hostile views towards merchants were diverted and focused on Jews who were blamed for the failure of Christian society to adapt its morals to the realities of the new money economy:

> Christians hated Jews because they saw in Jews the same calculating for profit in which they themselves were deeply and, in their own view, unjustifiably involved. It was above all the guilt for this involvement that they projected on to the Jews.[57]

The notion of Jews as a scapegoat for Christian angst about the money economy was illustrated by the vilification of Judas, called the 'most vile of merchants',[58] who was said to have betrayed

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[54] *LSJ*, pp. 96 and 100 (I, 17).
[55] Le Goff, *Time, Work, and Culture in the Middle Ages*, pp. 58-70; and Le Goff, *Your Money or Your Life: Economy and Religion in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1988), pp. 47-48.
[56] Le Goff, *Your Money or Your Life*, p. 31. On the reordering of societal classes that resulted from the rise of the merchant and craftsmen classes, see G. Constable, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought* (Cambridge, 1995); and *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1996).
[57] Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy*, pp. 54-55.
[58] Ibid., p. 53.

Jesus for thirty silver coins. R.I. Moore argues that increasing urbanisation created social complexities that were supposed to have been solved by the measures of Gregorian Reform through which a clerical elite would provide answers. Outside groups including Jews posed a threat to the clerical elite, triggering fear and pollution rhetoric, and generating a persecuting and anti-Jewish western European society.[59]

Julie Mell argues the trigger for socio-economic tension was not money as an incentive for profit seeking as Little argues, but rather a disconnect between its economic and inherent moral value that was based on 'theological definitions of just and unjust price', a view held by contemporary Christians and Jews.[60] The notion of a moral value associated with coins conflicted with Aristotle's belief that there were three impersonal uses for money: a means for exchange, a measure of value and a store of value.[61] The moral uncertainty associated with the rise of the money economy caused a high level of anxiety amongst the merchants and craftsmen of the rising urban areas. Le Goff expressed the anxiety minters, merchants and craftsmen must have felt regarding their spiritual salvation in the face of Church polemics against the money economy:

> How often the Middle Ages must have witnessed the inner drama of men anxiously wondering whether they were really hastening toward damnation because they were engaging in a trade suspect in the eyes of the Church.[62]

As Church polemic against the money economy began to focus on Jews and their role in moneylending, its ideology had evolved to the point that the majority of merchants and

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[59] R.I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Authority and Deviance in Western Europe 950-1250* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 62-63 and 94-95. These outside groups also included heretics and lepers. Moore argues Christian hostility against medieval Jews started in the eleventh century and was codified at the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215. On Jewish economic impact and anti-Jewish discrimination, see R. Chazan, *Jews of Medieval Western Christendom* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 209-42.
[60] J. Mell, *Myth of the Medieval Jewish Moneylender*, 2 vols. (New York, 2017), II, pp. 149-62.
[61] Wood, *Medieval Economic Thought*, pp. 82 and 87.
[62] J. Le Goff, *Time, Work, and Culture in the Middle Ages* (Chicago, 1980), p. 111.

craftsmen were morally accepted by the Church by the early thirteenth century. This was not just a reflection of the work of the Parisian scholastics, but also an acknowledgement of the reality of their necessity in supplying society with goods and services in the new urban-market world. Further, it was a reflection that Church ideology had evolved to believe that money could be used to advance religious piety.

Money and Spirituality

Latin Christendom in the twelfth century was clearly at a moment on the cusp when money and spirituality were coming into focus and stimulating moral tension. This tension was profoundly relevant to medieval pilgrims whose money donations at shrines marked the culmination of their journeys. Aden Kumler argues the stamping of coins with Christian symbols was analogous to that of the Eucharistic host from bread, an example of late medieval *imitatio* in which 'the categories of the sacred and the profane blur profoundly'.[63] Kumler further contends that both forms offered similar risks and benefits to their holders:

> Multiplied in mints and on altars, coin and host existed in a relationship of strained similitude, their analogous forms posing the risk of a potentially profaning exchange, a substitution of money for Christian manna.[64]

Giacomo Todeschini differentiates between spiritual and economic value of money by using the term 'Value' to convey the 'abstract and invisible quality' that began to be used to describe the Eucharistic host and coins, and 'value' to denote 'countable and measurable' qualities implied by the stamped symbols.[65] He ties this framework of dual notions of value to the medieval economic revolution:

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[63] A. Kumler, 'The multiplication of the species: Eucharistic morphology in the Middle Ages', *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics,* 59-60 (2011), pp. 179-91, p. 188.
[64] Ibid., p. 191.
[65] G. Todeschini, 'Money, Ritual, and Religion: Economic Value between Theology and Administration' in R. Naismith (eds.), *A Cultural History of Money in the Middle Ages* (London, 2019), pp. 57-78, pp. 57-59.

> Ancient Christian metaphors of Salvation as wondrous exchange and repayment of a debt through the coins shaped by Christ's blood, began during the medieval economic 'revolution' to metamorphose into the possibility of describing money as actually able to represent conjectural values like those symbolically characterizing sacred objects and charismatic powers.[66]

The use of coin-like Eucharistic wafers in the eleventh and twelfth centuries also reflected the increasingly transactional nature of society, seen in busy town markets where buyers and sellers haggled over prices, and illustrated by the rise of trade guilds that sought spiritual salvation in exchange for donations and investments in charitable works. Miri Rubin argues the connection between coins and the Eucharistic host was part of a new sacred economy, one in which the 'supernatural power' of Christ was becoming ritualised and comprehensible to contemporary Christians:

> It is this economy of the sacred, commuted into sacramental currency, that was being explored, and its most precious coin, the eucharist, evaluated and defined. And above all, the eucharist, the most powerful transaction, was being designed.[67]

The relatability of Christ to political elites, ecclesiastics and merchants expanded beyond his role as sacramental currency. Indeed, Devin Singh argues Christ represented the 'divine economist' who provided oversight of worldly political systems and the exchange of resources, including money:[68]

> Monetary economy is one crucial element of governmental administration: it signifies an intervention of sovereignty as it reaches out into its sphere of rule. If the Son signifies governmental authority and agency, then the systems and structures under the administration of the Son include money.[69]

Minting, Singh argues, was the responsibility of God, the ultimate monarch, and his chief coin, Christ, was destined to find his way back into the heavenly treasury to achieve balance and

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[66] Ibid., p. 68.
[67] M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1991), p. 14.
[68] D. Singh, *Divine Currency: Theological Power of Money in the West* (Stanford, 2018), pp. 72-76.
[69] Ibid., p. 38.

redemption. In a similar construct, coins minted by worldly monarchs were destined to return to them through taxes and tribute.[70]

Given this connection between coins and Christ, it is not surprising that pilgrims often treated coins as devotional objects. This theory was explored by Rosie Weetch in her study of twelfth-century coins from the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem that displayed iconic images of the Holy Sepulchre and Tower of David. Weetch argues that some of these coins were altered through piercing and other means, thus transforming them into devotional objects with amuletic powers. The market value of these transformed coins was eclipsed by their greater spiritual value as inalienable objects for personal adornment and intimate devotion.[71]

Weetch further argues that those involved in the creation or alteration of coins were perceived to have had magical powers that allowed them to infuse devotional attributes into coins.[72] Le Goff similarly argued metalworkers such as goldsmiths, ironsmiths and sword makers were viewed as 'sorcerers' who could transform metal into luxury items that were symbols of religious and princely power.[73] Acceptance of the metalworking professions by the Church acted as a springboard from which other professions of the medieval money economy would eventually receive social and spiritual acceptance.

Money was clearly something more than just an impersonal object that was used as a store of value and medium of exchange. It also held magical, moral and spiritual properties - characteristics that have been identified by cultural anthropologists in areas far removed from medieval western Europe. The French sociologist and anthropologist Marcel Mauss argued that

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[70] Ibid., pp. 5-7 and 180.
[71] R. Weetch, '"Ineffable Power": Pierced Coins and Belief in the Latin East', *Material Religion*, 14 (2018), pp. 469-84, pp. 475-77. On coins and imitation coins as amulets, see also H. Maguire, 'Magic and Money in the Early Middle Ages', *Speculum*, 72 (1997), pp. 1037-54. On the inalienable nature of sacred objects, see A. Weiner, 'Inalienable Wealth', *American Ethnologist*, 12 (1985), pp. 210-27.
[72] Weetch, 'Inneffable Power', pp. 475-76.
[73] J. Le Goff, *Time, Work, and Culture*, p. 62.

gifts, including 'money', contained magical properties that embodied the virtues of the giver, and that these gifts bound giver and receiver.[74] Reflecting on the people of the Trobriand Islands of Melanesian New Guinea,[75] Mauss noted the personal and sacred properties of 'money', called *vaygu'a*, commonly in the form of bracelets or necklaces:

> The *vaygu'a* are not unimportant things, mere pieces of money. Each one, at least the dearest and most sought after – and other objects enjoy the same prestige – each one has its name, a personality, a history, and even a tale attached to it.
>
> …one cannot fail to acknowledge the eminent and sacred nature of the objects. To possess one is exhilarating, strengthening, and calming in itself. Their owners fondle and look at them for hours. Mere contact with them passes on their virtues.[76]

Like the Trobriand islanders, Mauss found that gifts (*taonga*) in the Maori culture of Polynesia were believed to absorb the spirit (*hau*) of the giver.[77]

Mauss further argued the existence of *hau* initiated a process of gift reciprocity, based on an obligation of the receiver to return the *hau* to its place of origin.[78] This notion of gift reciprocity, based on what Mauss believed to be the self-interests and morals of those involved in the exchange,[79] is similar to the construct of the 'sacred economy' of Latin Christendom in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries. Gifts were not truly given freely, and money was remade from an economic medium in a spiritual and social contracting context.[80] Lay benefactors of

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[74] M. Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*, trans. W.D. Halls (London, 2000), pp. 72-74.
[75] Mauss's thesis was based in part based on his analysis of Bronislaw Malinowski's cultural study of the people of the Trobriand Islands of Melanesian New Guinea in the early twentieth century. See B. Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An Account of Native Enterprise and Adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea* (New York, 1922).
[76] Mauss, *The Gift*, p. 24.
[77] Ibid., pp. 11-12.
[78] Ibid., pp. 10-12.
[79] Ibid., pp. 73-75.
[80] In his analysis of Mauss's thesis, Parry argues that the concept of 'unseen fruits' in the next world from religions of salvation like Christianity enables people to offer 'pure' gifts through alms and the avoidance of 'sin' without any expectation of temporal reciprocity, and that societies with pure gifts are more easily able to imagine self-interested exchange. J. Parry, 'The Gift, the Indian Gift and the "Indian Gift"', *Man*, 21 (1986), pp. 453-73, pp. 467-69.

religious institutions gifted money, precious items, property and rights, with an expectation that the recipients would provide support in this world or the next.[81]

The Trobriand Islanders and Mauri were not alone in their views of gifts or 'money' as spiritual objects that could take on the virtues of their owners. In his study of Hindu pilgrims to the Indian shrine of Benares (Venarasi), Jonathan Parry found that pilgrims presented gifts (*dana*) in the form of money, often designated as surrogates for material goods, to Brahmans, priests or spiritual stewards of the pilgrimage. The Brahmans viewed these gifts as morally dangerous because they 'embody and transmit the sins of the donor'.[82] A similar situation existed within the culture of medieval western Europe, in which coins were perceived as having been able to absorb the moral traits of their holders, based on what Mell calls the 'economic mode of acquisition', which made them good, bad or even dangerous.[83]

The potential benefits and dangers of money extended to its ability to fracture and recast power relationships. Olivia Harris finds that anthropological studies of money have commonly shown how the introduction of 'western' money disrupts the 'collective interests and social ties' that previously existed. She argues the resulting societal transformations are 'articulated around a play of oppositions':

> The contrast between non-monetary and monetary economies is also built into the very structure of anthropology as a discipline, whose theories are so often articulated around a play of oppositions: primitive and civilised, traditional and modern, pre-capitalist and capitalist, non-literate and literate. Money and markets, their presence or absence, have provided a central axis along which historical reality has been divided into two polarised and contrasted fields. The appearance of money then becomes an index of inexorable transition ('monetisation') from a previous state, subsistence-oriented and based on use-

[81] See M. Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade: The Limousin and Gascony, c.970-c.1130* (New York, 1993), pp. 157-60; A. Davis, *The Medieval Economy of Salvation: Charity, Commerce, And the Rise of the Hospital* (Ithaca, 2019), pp. 8-10; L. Pick, 'Rethinking Cluny in Spain', *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies*, 5 (2013), pp. 1-17, pp. 3 and 6; and Singh, *Divine Currency*, p. 67.
[82] J. Parry, 'On the moral perils of exchange', in J. Parry and M. Bloch (eds.), *Money and the Morality of Exchange* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 64-93, p. 68.
[83] Mell, *Myth of the Medieval Jewish Moneylender*, II, pp. 154-55.

> values, to the economy that we know, based on exchange-value, dominated by money and the market.[84]

This type of monetisation and the resulting transition was illustrated in seventeenth-century New England, where European settlers accelerated use of wampum, beads made from shells gathered along the coastline of the Long Island Sound, as 'money' to facilitate commercial trade with the native populations.[85] William Cronon argues that within a short time the 'status systems' of the native populations were transformed as they grew 'rich and potent' through mass production of wampum and trade with the settlers who sought a predictable supply of the commodity.[86]

Clearly, medieval western Europe was not the only culture to have been reshaped due to the introduction and circulation of money and its complex overlapping relationship with power, morality and spirituality. With that in mind, this thesis will not view economic history using linear teleological terms of the rise of capitalism.[87] Rather, it will assess textual and visual evidence in dialectical and cultural terms within what Simon Yarrow calls a 'theo-political economy', in which social order and the exchange of resources, including money and what is commonly referred to in this thesis as the money economy, were guided by a moral and

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[84] O. Harris, 'The earth and the state: the sources and meanings of money in Northern Potosí, Bolivia', in J. Parry and M. Bloch (eds.), *Money and the Morality of Exchange* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 232-68, p. 236.

[85] W. Cronon, *Changes in the Land* (New York, 1983), pp. 93-103. Beads were commonly used as a means of exchange between European traders accustomed to a money-based economy and people from indigenous societies without money-based economies including Africa, the Americas, Madagascar and New Guinea. D. Graeber, 'Beads and Money: Notes toward a Theory of Wealth and Power', *American Ethnologist*, 23 (1996), pp. 4-24.

[86] Cronon, *Changes in the Land*, p. 96. Christopher Gregory's study of analogous processes in twentieth-century Papua New Guinea led him to conclude that there is often a counter adjustment to the commoditizing effects of money that drives new forms of moral and cultural creativity and exchange, what he referred to as 'efflorescence'. C.A. Gregory, *Gifts and Commodities* (London, 1982), p. 125.

[87] It is tempting to categorize socio-economic changes that occurred in twelfth-century western Europe, including specialization of labour, individual motivation to earn profits and debates about 'just' prices, as precursors to capitalism. However, Adam Smith's notion of a unified 'market' did not exist, nor a truly free flow of capital to ensure proper balancing of supply and demand. A. Smith, ed. E. Cannon, *The Wealth of Nations* (New York, 2003), pp. 565-76. See also J. Le Goff, *Money and the Middle Ages: An Essay in Historical Anthropology*, trans. J. Birrell (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 142-47; W. Neale, 'The Market in Theory and History', in K. Polanyi, C. Arensberg and H. Pearson (eds.), *Trade and Market in the Early Empires* (Chicago, 1971), pp. 357-72, pp. 370-71; and E. Brown, 'The Tyranny of a Construct: Feudalism and Historians of Medieval Europe', *The American Historical Review*, 179 (1974), pp. 1063-1088.

cosmological framework characterized by Christ and the apostles.[88] In the process, this thesis will contribute to the wider body of evidence about the impact of money on global societies.

Research Methods and Sources

This thesis uses an interdisciplinary approach to explore the nexus of money and morality along the pilgrim roads to Compostela. Primary sources include textual evidence, monumental sculpture, iconography of coins and spatial analysis. Textual evidence has provided invaluable insights into the motivations and strategies of monarchs and ecclesiastical lords related to minting and the development of pilgrim towns and markets, as well as Church attitudes about money, morality and social status. It has also been critically important to understand what pilgrims were experiencing on a tactile and visual level on their long journeys, through the coins that passed through their hands, the stone sculptures they viewed, and the layouts of the towns through which they passed.

Textual Evidence

The *Liber Sancti Jacobi* and *Historia Compostellana* are extremely valuable primary sources for studies of the twelfth-century pilgrimage and cult of St James. Both texts were composed largely within Compostela's cathedral chapter in the first half of the twelfth century and they shed light on the economic policies and political strategies related to the archbishopric and pilgrimage. Other textual evidence including contemporary *fueros* and chronicles provide information about

[88] S. Yarrow, 'Some Problems of the Peace: Angelic Governance in Angevin England', paper given at the 2019 International Conference of the Haskins Society at Chapel Hill (9 Nov. 2019) [article forthcoming]. Yarrow's concept of 'theo-political economy' has been informed by his study of Christian cults of saints, anthropological and ethnographic studies of cultures and religions beyond Latin Christendom, and the works of political economists and historians. See also S. Yarrow, 'Keeping the Angevin peace: The hand of St James in England', in A. Pazos (ed.), *Relics, Shrines and Pilgrimages: Sanctity in Europe from Late Antiquity* (Oxford, 2020), pp. 63-77. For additional reading on the notion of a theo-political economy, see Singh, *Divine Currency*, pp. 5-7 and 38-39.

economic incentives and the social composition of pilgrim towns. Taken together, this textual evidence supplements analysis of the iconography of sculptural programmes and coins and provides a platform from which concepts of money and morality along the pilgrim roads can be studied.

Liber Sancti Jacobi

The *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, based on the surviving copy of the *Codex Calixtinus* from the archival library of Santiago Cathedral, provides the most detailed early account of the pilgrimage to Compostela and the cult of St James. Although Calixtus II (1119-24) was attributed as the author, the five books of the *Codex* were undoubtedly created independently by different authors who were likely French canons of Compostela's cathedral chapter with ties to Cluny.[89] The introductory letter by Pseudo-Calixtus helps to interpret the motivations, potential audience and date of compilation for the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*. The letter is addressed to the venerable abbey of Cluny, the renowned patriarch William of Jerusalem (1139-45) and Archbishop Diego Gelmírez of Compostela (1120-40).[90] Since Calixtus died in 1124, it can be inferred the *Codex* was completed sometime during the years 1139 and 1140 when both Diego and William were still alive.

Associating the *Codex* with Cluny, the most important religious order of the day, with important dependent monasteries lining the pilgrim roads, lent credibility to Compostela as being

[89] On authorship of the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, see W. Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia, c.1095-c.1187* (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 140-43. Stones et al. concluded 'we shall probably never know just how the *Codex Calixtinus* or the *Pilgrim's Guide* was put together, or exactly by whom'. *Guide,* I, p. 26. See also K. Poole (ed.), *Chronicle of Pseudo-Turpin: Book IV of the Liber Sancti Jacobi (Codex Calixtinus)* (New York, 2014), pp. XII-XVIII; and T. Coffey, L. Davidson, and M. Dunn, *The Miracles of Saint James. Translations from the Liber Sancti Jacobi* (New York, 1996), p. xiii. Klaus Herbers dates the *Codex Calixtinus* to c.1160-70 and argues it was written in Compostela. K. Herbers and M. Santos Noia, *Liber Sancti Jacobi: Codex Calixtinus* (Santiago de Compostela, 1998), p. XX. Regarding the theory of Picaud as author of the *Pilgrim's Guide*, Melczer concluded 'nothing firm may be said at this point of him or of anybody else as the author of the compilation.' *PG:M*, pp. 28-32.
[90] *LSJ*, p. 7.

one of Latin Christendom's preeminent shrines. Further, adding Jerusalem as an initial recipient of the manuscript placed Compostela on par with it as one of the top pilgrimage destinations. Although the colophon at the end of book five (*Pilgrim's Guide*) states that it was written 'chiefly at Cluny',[91] it was likely compiled within Compostela's cathedral chapter. Indeed, the prologue of Book I states that copies of the *Codex* were sent from Compostela to Cluny and Jerusalem for editing given their authority and love for St James.[92]

The first of the five books of the *Codex* is a collection of ceremonies, hymns and sermons used to venerate St James on his two special days of 25 July (martyrdom) and 30 December (*translatio*).[93] Amongst the works of the first book is the *Veneranda dies* ('a day to be honoured') sermon, which largely promotes the life of St James, the voluntary act of poverty pilgrims were expected to take, and descriptions of sins and the means to overcome them through pilgrimage.[94] It also acts as a polemic against immoral and fraudulent acts committed against pilgrims by merchants, moneychangers, innkeepers, toll collectors and others who interacted with pilgrims along the journey.

The second book, the *Liber Miraculorum* (*Book of Miracles*), includes a collection of twenty-two miracle stories attributed to St James and dated within the period 1000-1135.[95] Most of these miracle stories occur along the pilgrim roads outside of Iberia and promote the role of St James as a facilitator of the act of pilgrimage and protector of pilgrims. These stories provide valuable evidence about the nature of divine interventions and the backgrounds of everyday

[91] *Guide*, pp. 90-91 (ch. 11).
[92] *LSJ*, p. 7 (I).
[93] *PG:M*, p. 29.
[94] *MSJ*, pp. XL-XLV.
[95] Ibid., pp. XLIX-LI.

pilgrims including geographic origins, occupations, travelling companions and motivations for making the pilgrimage.

Book three provides a description of the *translatio* of St James's relics from Jerusalem to Galicia which supported other contemporary efforts by the cathedral chapter to reinforce Compostela's political standing within Iberia and its episcopal seat that had been secured in 1095.[96] The *Epistola Leonis* was referenced in both the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*[97] and *Historia Compostellana*[98] as the source for the translation story, clearly an attempt to legitimize the story by linking the twelfth-century accounts to an older papal account. The *Codex Calixtinus* version of the *translatio* introduced the pagan queen Lupa who controlled the shrine that contained St James's relics, and along with the local king, presented various tests of faith to the disciples of St James who eventually overcame them.[99]

The fourth book, the *Historia Turpini* (*Chronicle of Pseudo-Turpin*), is a narration of Pseudo-Turpin 'archbishop of Reims' about the legendary exploits of Charlemagne in Iberia. It sought not only to promote the pilgrimage to Compostela and the cult of St James, but also to attract Frankish *milites* from outside of Iberia to help in the Christian military efforts against the Muslims.[100] Pseudo-Turpin's epic stories of Roland fighting the giant Ferragut, and his later

[96] *HC*, pp. 18-20 (I, 5). On the date, see *HC: Trans.*, p. 81 (note 98).
[97] *LSJ*, pp. 188-89 (III, 2).
[98] *HC*, p. 7 (I, 1). The *Epistola Leonis de translatione beati Iacobi in Galleciam* was likely written in Compostela sometime during the ninth or early tenth century, and falsely attributed to either Pope Leo 'the Great' in the fifth century or Leo III (795-816), who was notably connected to Charlemagne and the cult of St James. The *Epistola Leonis* stated that after the beheading of St James by Herod Agrippa in 44, his body of was placed in a boat and guided by divine hand to a place called Bisria, before being flown to the site of Compostela on a 'sunbeam'. J. García Turza, 'The formulation, development and expansion of the *translatio* of St James', in A. Pazos (ed.), *Translating the Relics of St James: From Jerusalem to Compostela* (London, 2017), pp. 88-122, pp. 96-97.
[99] *LSJ*, pp. 186 (III, 1). See also *Liber Sancti Jacobi: 'Codex Calixtinus',* ed. and trans. A. Moralejo, C. Torres and J. Feo (Santiago de Compostela, 1951), p. 388 (note 10); and García Turza, 'The formulation, development and expansion of the *translatio* of St James', pp. 99-100.
[100] On military confrontations involving the kingdoms of León and Castile, see S. Barton, *The Aristocracy in Twelfth-Century León and Castile* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 11-26.

defeat at the hands of a Saracen army, were popular along the pilgrim roads in the twelfth century in addition to being symbols of Frankish identity.

The fifth book, the *Liber Peregrinationis* (*Pilgrim's Guide*), provides invaluable descriptions of the pilgrim roads to Compostela including stages, towns, shrines to visit along the way, as well as a detailed discussion of Compostela, the cathedral and the customs of arriving pilgrims. It also outlines the dangers pilgrims faced from bandits, bad water, and unscrupulous ferry operators and toll collectors. Given the majority of twelfth-century pilgrims could not read, let alone access a copy of the *Pilgrim's Guide*, its intended audience was likely royal and ecclesiastical lords who led and promoted the pilgrimage. The hand of Cluny was clearly on display in the *Pilgrim's Guide*, shown by the promotion of important Cluniac monasteries along the pilgrim roads to Compostela including Moissac, Saint-Eutrope in Saintes, Saint-Gilles, Sahagún and Vézelay.

Historia Compostellana

The *Historia Compostellana* (c. 1140) provides a detailed account of the deeds and works of Bishop Diego Gelmírez of Compostela.[101] Diego was first bishop (1100-20), and then archbishop of Compostela from 1120 until his death in 1140. The *Historia Compostellana* was commissioned by Diego and started to be written as early as 1107, but it was not completed until sometime shortly after his death.[102] In addition to being a *gesta* whose purpose was to recount

[101] Enrique Flórez was the first to publish this *registrum* in 1765 that he called *Historia Compostellana, siue de rebus gestis D. Didaci Gelmirez, primi Compostellani archipiscopi.* Although some scholars have used *Historia Compostelana* to refer to the text, this thesis will use *Historia Compostellana*, the Latin name first used by Flórez and that used in Emma Falque's critical edition, unless another spelling is explicitly cited in a quote. See E. Florez, *España Sagrada: teatro geográfico-histórico de la iglesia de España*, 29 vols. (Madrid, 1747-75), XX, p. 1.
[102] On the authorship and dating of the *Historia Compostellana*, see B. Reilly, 'The Historia Compostelana: The Genesis and Composition of a Twelfth-Century Spanish Gesta', *Speculum*, 44 (1969), pp. 78–85; Fletcher, *St James's Catapult*, p. 301 and app. A; and E. Falque Rey, 'Los autores de la Historia Compostelana', *Habis*, 15 (1984), pp. 157-71.

and celebrate the life of Diego, the *Historia Compostellana* represented a new type of literary device being used in contemporary Latin Christendom, the *registrum*, that compiled charter and other documentary evidence and at the same time framed that evidence in a context that benefited a particular political purpose.[103]

Likely authors of the *Historia Compostellana* were canons of Santiago Cathedral who served under Diego, including Gerald of Beauvais, the archdeacon Hugo, and Nuño Alfonso, a treasurer in the cathedral chapter.[104] Gerald appears to have been the author of the first-hand account related to Compostela's 1116-17 urban revolt against Diego, at one point indicating that he was afraid and would have rather been in Beauvais.[105] Overall, these authors sought to aggrandize Diego's accomplishments, with Fletcher calling it an 'almost embarrassingly candid record of a great prelate's *gesta*'.[106] The *Historia Compostellana* provides vital information about the activities of Compostela's cathedral chapter under Diego including legend stories of St James and his connection to Galicia and Compostela, his interactions with the monarchs of León-Castile and Galician noble class, construction of ecclesiastical structures in Galicia and along the pilgrim roads, and his attempts to control the local economy through royal minting grants and regulations in Compostela's pilgrim markets.

Crónicas anónimas de Sahagún

The first chronicle of the *Crónicas anónimas de Sahagún* (c. 1117) provides a detailed description of the 1111-16 urban revolt of the townspeople supported by their Aragonese allies under Alfonso I 'the Battler' against the abbot of Sahagún and Urraca of León-Castile (1109-

[103] *HC*, pp. XXIV.
[104] Ibid., pp. XIII-XX. Geraldo and Hugo were likely French.
[105] Ibid., p. 188 (I, 109.4) See also *HC: Trans.*, p. 259 (note 711).
[106] Fletcher, *St. James's Catapult*, app. A.

26).[107] The chronicle provides key insights into the interaction between the powerful abbot and Sahagún's wealthy Frankish merchant class. It was written by an anonymous monk from the monastery, likely for presentation at the 1117 Council of Burgos where a reinstatement of royal and abbatial powers was confirmed after the revolt.[108] The only known surviving copy is a sixteenth-century manuscript in which the original Latin was translated into Castilian.[109] Although the chronology of events is sometimes difficult to follow,[110] it nonetheless provides what Bernard Reilly called a 'valuable account' of the revolt.[111]

Fueros

Fueros were town charters granted by the Christian Iberian monarchs primarily for the purpose of establishing new towns or repopulating existing towns.[112] *Fueros* offered judicial and economic incentives to entice specific populations, including Franks and Jews from outside northern Christian Iberia, to settle in newly founded pilgrim towns. In some cases, *fueros* like that of Jaca (1076) shed light on property rights, judicial proceedings, tributes, penalties and required military service that may have existed prior to the issuance of the *fuero*.[113] Other *fueros* were amended to provide additional liberties to entice the population to remain in the town. Careful reading of *fueros* provides valuable evidence of royal motivations, lordship, markets, town demographics and social status of different populations. Some *fueros* such as those of Jaca

[107] I have relied upon the edited version by Antonio Ubieto Arteta, based on the earliest surviving manuscript, a copy written in Castilian from the sixteenth century currently that is located in the General Archive and Library of the Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. There is a second chronicle, written in the fourteenth century, determined to be of little historical value. A. Ubieto Arteta, *Crónicas anónimas de Sahagún* (Zaragoza, 1987), p. 5.
[108] Ibid, p. 5.
[109] Ibid. pp. 5-6.
[110] See Bisson, *Crisis of the Twelfth Century*, p. 251.
[111] B. Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla Under Queen Urraca: 1109-1126* (Princeton, 1982), pp. 368-69.
[112] On *fueros*, see O'Callaghan, *History of Medieval Spain*, pp. 172, 270 and 272.
[113] L. Nelson, 'The Foundation of Jaca (1076): Urban Growth in Early Aragon', *Speculum*, 53 (1978), pp. 688-708, p. 703.

and Sahagún (1085) acted as models for others that were issued subsequently to other towns.[114] Most key stopping points along the Camino Francés were pilgrim towns that had received a royal *fuero*.

Charters of the Santiago Cathedral Archives

Charters from the Santiago Cathedral archives have also been an important source of information in this study, particularly related to royal grants of property, judicial and economic rights, and transactions that impacted the seignorial domain of the cathedral chapter. The first part of the cartulary referred to as *Tumbo A*, was copied between 1129 and 1131 by the treasurer Bernardo, during the archbishopric of Diego Gelmírez. This first section was compiled during a difficult period for the chapter, in which Alfonso VII sought to retract previously granted royal benefits.[115] Fletcher thus called it 'a witness in parchment and ink to an armoury of wealth, privilege and spiritual power; it was also a reminder to kings of where their duty lay'.[116] Charters in *Tumbo A* go back to the reign of Alfonso II of Asturias (783-842) when in c. 834 he granted the Compostelan church and bishop Teodomiro its first seignorial domain, a three-mile radius around the *Locus Sanctus*.[117] The work of Bernardo was continued by others, with the last

[114] On the diffusion of *fueros* in Navarre including those based on that of Jaca, see J.M. Lacarra, 'Notas para la Formacion de las Familias de Fueros Navarros', *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español* (1933), pp. 203-72. On the influence of the *fuero* of Sahagún, see A. Barrero Garcia, 'Los Fueros de Sahagún', *Anuario de historia del derecho español*, 42 (1972), pp. 385-598.
[115] *Tumbo A de la Catedral de Santiago*, ed. M. Alvarez (Santiago de Compostela, 1998); and *Tumbo B de la Catedral de Santiago*, ed. M.T. González Balasch (Santiago de Compostela, 2004). The monumental work of Antonio López Ferreiro, whose eleven-volume *Santa A.M. Iglesia de Santiago de Compostela* about the history of Compostela's cathedral chapter, written between 1898 and 1911 whilst he was a canon in the chapter, provides invaluable supplementary studies of material from the cathedral archives as well as printed copies of many important charters. A. López Ferreiro, *Historia de la Santa a.m. iglesia de Santiago de Compostela,* 11 volumes (Santiago de Compostela, 1898-1911). López Ferreiro also compiled a collection of *fueros* relevant to Compostela's cathedral chapter in A. López Ferreiro, *Fueros municipales de Santiago y de su tierra* (Santiago de Compostela, 1895). On dating and background of *Tumbo A*, see F. López Alsina, *La ciudad de Santiago de Compostela en la Alta Edad Media* (Santiago de Compostela, 2013), pp. 40-47; and Fletcher, *St. James's Catapult*, pp. 263-64 and 303.
[116] Fletcher, *St. James's Catapult*, p. 264.
[117] *Tumbo A*, pp. 49-51 (1).

charter in *Tumbo A* dated 1255 during the reign of Alfonso X of León-Castile (1252-84). In addition to charters, the cartulary includes various illuminated miniatures of a long line of royal figures from the Leonese monarchy and the *inventio* of the sepulchre of St James by Teodomiro.

Pilgrim and Traveller Itineraries

First-hand accounts from twelfth-century pilgrims do not survive today and therefore it is challenging to fully understand the specific backgrounds and motivations for the vast majority of pilgrims who travelled along the pilgrim roads to Compostela in that time. General travel itineraries such as the *Pilgrim's Guide* and the account of the Muslim geographer Al-Idrisi's travels through northern Iberia (c. 1154)[118] do provide information on routes which can be used to supplement later period pilgrim itineraries. Later period pilgrim itineraries, dated from the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries, have been helpful for their descriptions of routes, landmarks and monumental sculpture that would have also existed in the twelfth century. However, the motivations, thoughts and experiences expressed in these accounts are of a much later date and have therefore been viewed with caution.

Monumental Sculpture

Stone sculptures from the eleventh and twelfth centuries that survive on pilgrim town churches and monasteries have been an influential primary source for this study. Although textual evidence related to the intentions and motivations of patrons is often lacking, close examination of the iconography of monumental sculpture helps decipher the messages they sought to convey to viewers that included pilgrims, townspeople, travelling merchants, ecclesiastics and political

[118] Al-Idrisi (1100-65), a court geographer of Roger II of Sicily (1095-1154), completed a survey trip around the Mediterranean region in c. 1154. His account was not known within western Europe until the early sixteenth century when brief sections of the Arabic text were printed. His accounts from Iberia were translated into Castilian in the nineteenth century. Al-Idrisi, trans. Saavedra, *La Geografica de Espana del Edrisi* (Madrid, 1881), pp. 5-10.

elites. Passing pilgrims were frequently exposed to these sculptures and would have understood their messages, particularly those related to themes of sin and salvation. Important sculptural programmes in this study include those of the churches Santiago of Carrión, Santa María Real of Sangüesa and San Martín of Frómista, the abbey church of Saint-Gilles, the Portal of Glory and south portal façade (Platerías) of Santiago Cathedral, the basilica of Saint-Sernin in Toulouse and the church of San Salvador at the monastery of Leyre.

Iconography of Coins

Coins are also a critically important primary source in this study. The iconography of coins provides insight into the political and spiritual messaging of monarchs and ecclesiastical lords. Close study of wear patterns, clipping, piercing as well as the locations and size of surviving hoards provides insights into how and where the coins were used. Through analysis of royal minting grants and comparison with the typography, weight and metallic content it is also possible to draw conclusions about contemporary political and economic conditions.[119] Particularly valuable were the billon dineros and óbolos minted in Compostela during the reign of Fernando II of León (1157-88) that display images related to the cult of St James and the pilgrimage. These coins are currently housed in the collections of the Museo das Peregrinacións e de Santiago in Compostela and the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge University.

Spatial Analysis

The final category of archaeological evidence has been an analysis of the layouts of pilgrim towns including orientation of the pilgrim road, and placement of churches, neighbourhoods,

[119] For a comprehensive inventory and analysis of coins from medieval Iberia, see M. Crusafont, A. Balaguer and P. Grierson, *Medieval European Coinage: Volume 6, The Iberian Peninsula* (Cambridge, 2013).

shops, town walls and other features. Through this analysis it has been possible to gain an understanding of the growth in popularity of the pilgrimage and its impact on the rapid urbanisation that took place over the course of the twelfth century. This study uses digital photography and ArcGIS mapping software and attempts to build on the important work of Jean Passini to gain additional understanding of pilgrim traffic, placement of cultural enclaves, and the locations of markets and mints that provide opportunities for further analysis of money along the pilgrim roads.[120]

Organization of the Thesis

This thesis argues the pilgrimage to Compostela was the primary agent for the transformation of northern Christian Iberia to an expansive urban and money-based economy that significantly altered the cultural fabric of the region. The study period of 1078-1211 was chosen to allow for the consideration of key events that shaped the economic, political and social landscape of northern Christian Iberia. In 1078 work began on Santiago Cathedral, the primary icon of the pilgrimage and whose construction was largely funded through minting proceeds and pilgrim donations.[121] This start date was also contemporaneous with the issuances of early *fueros* that triggered the initial phase of Iberian pilgrimage infrastructure development under the monarchs of León-Castile, Navarre and Aragon. The terminal date of 1211 coincides with the consecration of Compostela's Romanesque cathedral.[122] This date also corresponds to the Christian military

[120] Jean Passini's research on the evolution of pilgrim towns using aerial photography, historical and archaeological information provides important information on pilgrim roads, population growth and the cultural makeup of towns. J. Passini, *El camino de Santiago: Itinerario y núcleos de población* (Madrid, 1993); 'El espacio urbano a lo largo del Camino de Santiago', in C. Laliena and A. Martin Duque (eds.), *XX semana de estudios medievales, Estella, 26 a 30 de julio de 1993* (Pamplona, 1994), pp. 247-69; *Villes Médiévales du Chemin de Saint-Jacques-de-Compostelle de Pampelune a Burgos* (Paris, 1984); and J. Passini, 'Morphologie et évolution de quelques villes du chemin de Saint-Jacques de Compostelle', *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez*, 16 (1980), pp. 113-24.
[121] *Guide*, pp. 84-85 (ch. 9); and *HC*, p. 121 (I, 78.2). For more on this date, see also *HC: Trans.*, p. 189 (note 492); Fletcher, *St. James's Catapult*, p. 175; and *PG:M*, pp. 223-24 (note 570).
[122] *Tumbo B*, pp. 488-90 (261).

victory over the Muslim Almohads at Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212, the turning point in Christian efforts to conquer Muslim Iberia. The terminal date further represents an inflection point in the economy of northern Christian Iberia marked by development of the iron and wool industries[123] and urbanisation in coastal communities through which those products were exported to other parts of western Europe.[124]

The thesis is organized along two major axes, each of which is comprised of three supporting chapters. Part I, comprising chapters one through three, shows how an urban-based money economy developed to serve pilgrims and was responsible for acceleration of growth in the popularity of pilgrimage to Compostela. Chapter 1 will argue the monarchs of northern Christian Iberia methodically stimulated the growth of pilgrim towns and markets that facilitated explosive growth in pilgrimage to Compostela. Before the popularity of the pilgrimage could increase significantly, substantial infrastructure needed to be developed to facilitate travel given the scale, devotional needs of pilgrims and geographic hardships presented by the journey. In addition to roads, bridges and hospitality, devotional infrastructure included the accoutrements of pilgrimage such as shoes, clothing and pilgrim badges that were offered in pilgrim town markets. Development of the devotional infrastructure was stimulated by economic and judicial incentives granted in royal *fueros*, Cluniac monasteries located at key stopping points, and immigration of Frankish merchants and artisans who formed the backbone of the money economy.

Chapter 2 will argue money and financial services that facilitated its transferability became crucial components of the pilgrimage's devotional infrastructure. The connection between money and voluntary poverty was paradoxically illustrated by the pilgrim's purse.

[123] O'Callaghan, *History of Medieval Spain*, p. 476.
[124] C. González Mínguez, 'La urbanización del litoral del norte de España (siglos XII-XIV)', in J.I. de la Iglesia Duarte (ed.), *III Semana de Estudios Medievales de Nájera de 1992* (Logroño, 1993), pp. 43-62, p. 59.

Although the Church expected pilgrims to carry small amounts of money for their sustenance and to give that away to the poor, many brought along significant personal riches. To meet the demand for money and facilitate the transfer of wealth an industry of moneychangers, minters and moneylenders evolved along the pilgrim roads. Some were Church sanctioned such as Compostela's guild of moneychangers and the military orders whereas others operated independently.

Chapter 3 will argue iconography of coins was an important element in the promotion of pilgrimage and the cult of St James. Coins were not just linked to markets and donations, but were also used to advance political strategies, increase the popularity of pilgrimage, and enhance the spiritual connection between pilgrims and St James. This was best illustrated through a series of coins minted during the reign of Fernando II of León. The iconography of these coins was indicative of the interdependent relationship between the Leonese monarchs, Compostela's cathedral chapter and the pilgrimage. It also revealed the extent to which the cathedral chapter coordinated its decorative programme to support its economic and political goals including aggrandizement of the cathedral and development of pilgrimage by sea.

Part II, comprising chapters four through six, exposes money as a social disruptor that redefined notions of lordship and enflamed moral tension between the merchant class and Church that was forced to moderate its position to fit the realities of the new urban society. Chapter 4 argues the rise of the pilgrimage's money economy triggered conflict between various classes of society that sought to control or influence it. Ambitious ecclesiastical lords in Sahagún and Compostela went to great lengths to stimulate and control the money economy within their seignorial domains which led to open conflict with the merchant class. Their actions also led to conflict with the military orders who had become successful managers of their

domains along the pilgrim roads. This chapter also analyses economic competition and conflict that erupted between Franks, Jews and native populations over control and influence in the money economy.

Chapter 5 examines how dramatic expansion in the circulation of money stimulated moral tension between the Church, pilgrims who were expected to take a vow of poverty, and the rising urban merchant and artisan classes. The tension was rooted in Aristotelian economic theory and biblical stories that fed into Church polemic against money and merchants. These attitudes, laid bare in the *Veneranda dies* sermon, were channelled into idioms of sin and salvation that were expressed in sculptural programmes that targeted passing pilgrims and merchants. This chapter will also examine the moral conflict that existed within the Church, highlighted by philosophical differences about poverty, money and material culture as revealed in the writings of Bernard of Clairvaux and Guibert of Nogent (1055-1124).

Chapter 6 will assess the means by which fractured societies along the pilgrim roads reconfigured themselves over the course of the twelfth century, through the assertion of new identities, social classifications and groupings of interest. Among these new groups were trade associations and Church-sanctioned financial agents including Compostela's guild of moneychangers and the Templars and Hospitallers. The chapter will further argue that the importance of money and markets in the devotional infrastructure of the pilgrimage forced the Church to revise its moral ideology. Coins played a major role within this new moral framework where they were perceived to have contributed to salvation as well as damnation. These changes were communicated through the visual culture of church fabrics, miracle stories, sermons and regulatory documents.

This thesis will therefore argue that a dramatic expansion in the circulation of money along the pilgrim roads to Compostela over the course of the twelfth century brought about a new world in which money acted as the key component of the pilgrimage's devotional infrastructure. Money, along with an infusion of outsiders, urbanisation and the proliferation of markets profoundly altered the communities along the pilgrim roads, bringing with it new notions of lordship that triggered social conflict and reclassification. Further transformation occurred in terms of ideology around the concept of money, its meaning in terms of morality, and the guidelines that made its use by pilgrims, merchants and craftsmen acceptable to the Church.

CHAPTER 1

THE PILGRIMAGE LANDSCAPE

To understand the role of money along the twelfth-century pilgrim roads, it is necessary to first explore the social, economic and political environment through which the money flowed. Over the first three quarters of the eleventh century northern Christian Iberia was a frontier society with few large towns and an agrarian-dominated economy.[1] Very little domestic coinage circulated and payments in economic transactions were typically made in kind or using Muslim coins.[2] The importance and centrality of agrarian life was illustrated on a calendar from the fresco of the royal mausoleum at San Isidoro in León (c. 1090) that celebrated workers planting and harvesting crops including wheat, pruning vines, and feeding and slaughtering a pig.[3] But by the late eleventh century northern Christian Iberia was on the cusp of a dramatic acceleration of urbanisation that would take place along the pilgrim roads to Compostela.

This chapter will argue the monarchs of northern Christian Iberia methodically stimulated the growth of a devotional infrastructure to increase the accessibility and popularity of the

[1] B. Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla Under King Alfonso VI, 1065-1109*, pp. 204-05 and B. Reilly, *The Medieval Spains* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 120.

[2] *Coinage*, pp. 203-09. Values of goods exchanged in economic transactions were often expressed using various monetary denominations including Roman or Visigothic *solidi*. For example, in 1074 a *solar* (plot of land) in Valdespino was sold by one Armentero and his wife Flamla to one Eundesindo and his wife María for a price comprised of: a 'yellow' mule (value of sixty *solidi argenti*), a Moroccan ass (value of twenty *solidi argenti*), two 'yellow' cattle (value of thirty *solidi argenti*), a cow (value of ten *solidi argenti*) and a vermilion cape (value of fifteen *solidi argenti*). *Colección diplomática del monasterio de Sahagún (857-1300): III (1073-1109),* ed. M. Herrero de la Fuente (León, 1988), pp. 7-9 (732). Barter exchange like the one above was commonplace in the late eleventh century and suggests the circulation of coinage was not extensive. In a similar example from nearby Galicia, a plot of land was exchanged in 1078 for a horse, cow and cloak; and in 1093 a share in a church was sold for a stallion and cloak. Fletcher, *St. James's Catapult*, pp. 11-12. Some locally minted silver coinage likely circulated in Navarre and Aragon from at least the time of Sancho III 'the Great' (1000-35), with increasing circulation under subsequent monarchs. *Coinage*, pp. 100-01.

[3] R. Walker, 'The Wall Paintings in the Panteón de los Reyes at León: A Cycle of Intercession', *The Art Bulletin*, 82 (2000), pp. 200-25, pp. 220-21. The paintings in the mausoleum were intended to safeguard the soul of Fernando I of León (1037-65).

Compostelan pilgrimage. The monarchs' investment in the pilgrimage was contemporaneous with the loss of valuable tribute (*parias*) from Muslim *taifa* kingdoms in the wake of the Almoravid invasion of the peninsula. Increasing pilgrim traffic presented an opportunity to collect significant market and transit taxes to fill the gap in their treasuries left by the lost *parias* and help them defend against the military threat of the Almoravids. Before the popularity of the pilgrimage could increase significantly, substantial infrastructure needed to be developed beyond an initial phase of roads, bridges and hospitals constructed by the monarchs and monastic order of Cluny.

The final piece of devotional infrastructure needed to facilitate large numbers of foreign pilgrims was the establishment of new towns or repopulation of existing towns. These pilgrim towns formed a space where people, many of whom were outsiders to northern Iberia, mingled and pursued opportunities made available to them by economic and judicial freedoms granted in royal *fueros*. This chapter further introduces the people of this cross-cultural landscape that included Frankish merchants and artisans, Cluniac monks, Jews and the military orders of the Hospital and Temple. It was these groups who supplied pilgrims, many of whom hailed from similar regions of western Europe, with the goods and services necessary for the long-haul journey including hospitality, food, shoes, clothing and money-changing services.

1. Stimulus and Early Development

Starting in the mid-eleventh century, the Christian kingdoms of Iberia began to collect *parias*, large tribute payments made mostly in gold *dinars*, from the splintered Muslim kingdoms of the peninsula called *taifas*.[4] After Alfonso VI took Toledo from the Muslims in 1085, the *taifa*

[4] *Coinage*, pp. 61-62. To secure peace with Alfonso VI in 1075, the *taifa* king Abd Allah of Granada paid thirty-thousand *dinars* and pledged annual payments of an additional ten-thousand *dinars*. B. Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VI, 1065-1109* (Princeton, 1988), pp. 83-84. Although most *parias* were paid

kingdoms reached out to the Almoravid dynasty of Morocco for military assistance. Responding to the call, the Almoravids crossed the Strait of Gibraltar and quickly inflicted a significant defeat on Alfonso at Sagrajas (Zallaqa) in 1086.[5] The Almoravids absorbed the *taifa* kingdoms, thus stopping payment of the *parias*, and subsequently consolidated their political power with an eye towards continued military attacks on the Christian kingdoms.[6] The loss of *parias* struck a catastrophic blow to the treasuries of the Christian kingdoms. Fletcher argued the *parias* had likely been 'the most important source of their public revenues in the second half of the eleventh century'.[7]

The loss of *parias* also profoundly impacted the financial condition of Cluny that had been responsible for developing the initial hospitality network at its dependent monasteries along the pilgrim roads to Compostela. Cluny benefited tremendously from the largesse of Alfonso VI that was derived through his receipt of *parias*. Indeed, in 1077 Alfonso doubled his father Fernando I's annual census to Cluny to 2,000 gold coins (*aurei*) and between 1088 and 1090 provided 10,000 gold talents (*mencales*) to help with construction of its new mother house in Burgundy.[8] The Christian monarchs of Iberia also gifted important monasteries along the pilgrim roads to Cluny[9] to assist pilgrims and through which the Roman liturgy was introduced

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using gold coins, some were paid in other material goods including tapestries, cloths and vases. J. O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (Philadelphia, 2003), p. 167. Some payments were even made in the form of relics such as those of St Isidore, transferred to Fernando I of León-Castile (1037–65) by the Muslim king of Seville in 1063. *Historia Silense*, ed. and trans. Barton and Fletcher, pp. 57-61.

[5] O'Callaghan, *History of Medieval Spain*, p. 209.

[6] Ibid., pp. 209-11.

[7] Fletcher, *St. James's Catapult*, p. 117.

[8] O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain*, p. 167. Charles Bishko argues the relationship between León-Castile and Cluny in the eleventh and twelfth centuries embodied the characteristics of an alliance. C. Bishko, 'Fernando I and the Origins of Leónese-Castilian Alliance with Cluny', in C. Bishko (ed.), *Studies in Medieval Spanish Frontier History*, II (London, 1980), p. 2. He quotes the Cluniac writer Gilo (c. 1120) who called the union '*coniunctio*'.

[9] Fletcher, *St. James's Catapult*, pp. 49-50. See also E. Mullins, *Cluny: In Search of God's Lost Empire* (New York, 2006), pp. 75-76. The gifting of monasteries from the lay nobility to the Church was related in part to the reforms of Pope Gregory VII (1073-85) that sought to increase Church control and limit lay involvement in Church affairs to focus on protection rather than political such as lay appointments of bishops and appropriation of tithes. For

into their kingdoms. These included the monasteries of Sahagún,[10] Santa María in Nájera,[11] Leyre, Oña and San Juan de la Peña.[12] Charles Bishko argued when payment of Alfonso's annual census to Cluny ceased, it 'struck a devastating blow at Cluny's stability and economic welfare' to the point that the loss 'must be counted among the major factors underlying Cluniac decline in the twelfth century'.[13]

After the loss of *parias,* the monarchs increasingly needed to rely on taxes generated from within their kingdoms to support their military campaigns.[14] In 1090 Alfonso VI levied a tax (the *petitum* or *pedido*) on the population of León-Castile of two *solidi* to fund his military efforts against the Almoravids.[15] Besides annual taxes paid by citizens and feudal rents collected on royal properties,[16] numerous other taxes were levied on citizens, including sales taxes on necessities such as bread, fruit and salt,[17] inheritance taxes[18] and judicial fines.[19]

Whilst Alfonso VI levied the *petitum* on his subjects, his contemporary Sancho Ramírez of Aragon-Navarre (1076-94) assessed a transit tax on goods carried by merchants travelling through Jaca and Pamplona, the first two major towns encountered by travellers on the Camino

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example, during the period 1078-1100, the monastery of Sahagún received no fewer than thirty-one churches and monasteries from lay patrons. S. Barton, *The Aristocracy in Twelfth-Century León and Castile* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 185-91.

[10] *PSC*, II, pp. 223-24. See also B. Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla Under King Alfonso VI: 1065-1109* (Princeton, 1988), pp. 109-11.

[11] *PSC*, II, pp. 156-57. See also Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla Under King Alfonso VI*, p. 107.

[12] O'Callaghan, *History of Medieval Spain*, pp. 310-11.

[13] Bishko, 'Fernando I and the Origins of Leónese-Castilian Alliance with Cluny', p. 86.

[14] J. Gautier Dalché, *Historia urbana de León y Castilla en la Edad Media (siglos IX-XIII)* (Madrid, 1979), p. 237.

[15] O'Callaghan, *History of Medieval Spain*, pp. 277-78. This was supposed to be a one-time tax, but it appears to have become a long-term tax. The *petitum* may have begun to replace the *fossatera*, a tax paid in lieu of military service, during the reign of Alfonso VII. Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla Under King Alfonso VII*, 1126-57, pp. 225-26.

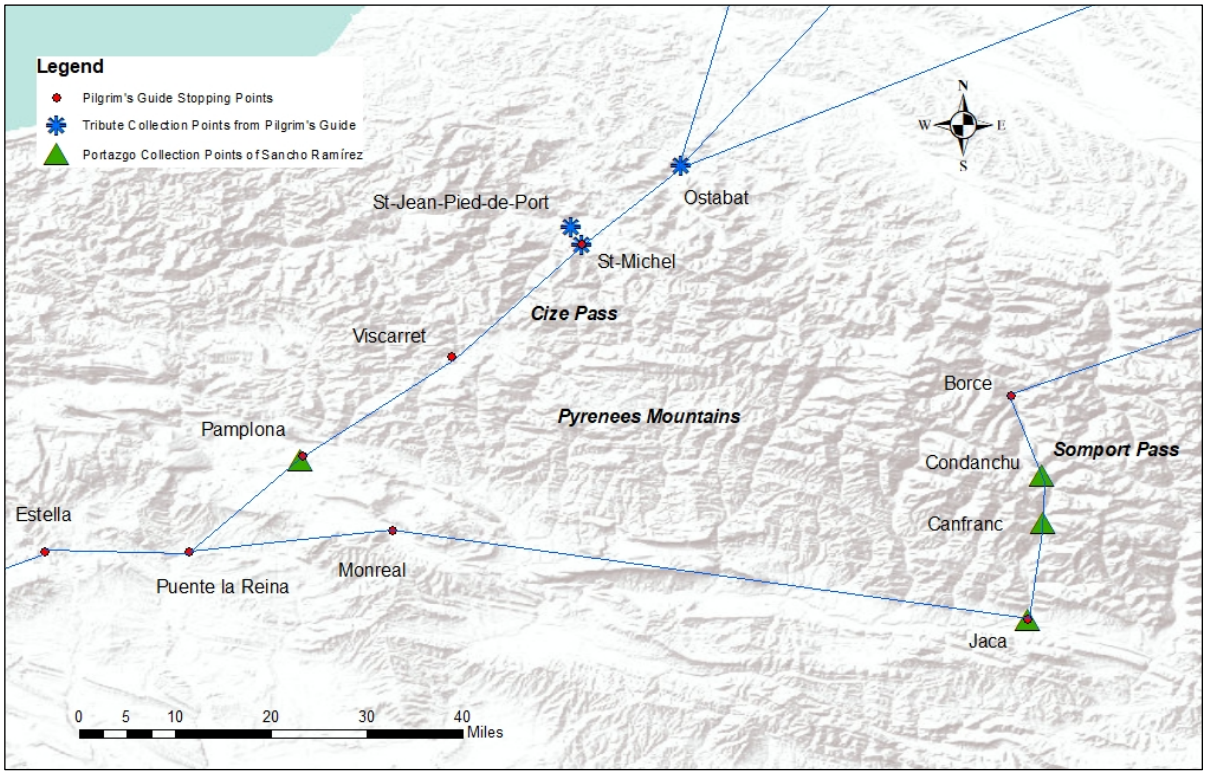
[16] O'Callaghan, *History of Medieval Spain*, p. 277.

[17] *Fuero de Miranda de Ebro: Edición crítica, versión y estudio*, ed. F. Cantera (Madrid, 1945), p. 50 (28). *...pro pondere panis, aut salis, aut fructus. pectent duos denarios in portagio, pro aliis rebus ibi uenditis non pectent portagium. Alcalles de qualibet re habeant partagium en isto mercato.*

[18] The *fuero* of Estella (1090) assessed a tax of sixty *solidi* to register an inheritance. 'El Fuero de Estella de 1164', ed. R. Jimeno Aranguren, *Fueros de Navarra* (Madrid, 2016), pp. 319-68, p. 327 (I, 2.2).

[19] A fine of one-hundred *solidi* was assessed for homicide as outlined in the *fuero* of Nájera (1076). Gautier Dalché, *Historia urbana de León y Castilla en la Edad Media*, p. 178.

Francés after crossing the Pyrenees into Iberia over the Somport and Cize passes (Map 1.1). The tariff assessed specific taxes (*portaticos*) on luxury goods from outside Iberia, including cloth from Bruges (*trapo brugeso*), fabric (perhaps silk) from Constantinople (*pallio de Constantinopoli*), dyes and spices.[20] Swords (*spatas*) and lances (*lanceis*)[21] were also included in the tariff, showing travelling merchants also supplied equipment for waging war, although it is unclear whether these goods were being exported or imported into Iberia. Some goods were clearly exported from Iberia as shown by the inclusion of Castilian horses (*equo de Castella*) in the tariff.[22]



Map 1.1. Collection Points from Aragon and Navarre Identified in *Portazgo* of Sancho Ramírez and *Pilgrim's Guide*.

[20] Latin charter of Sancho Ramírez printed in *PSC*, III, p. 109 (76). *Portaticum* implies the tax was collected at the gates of towns, but it was synonymous with *portazgo*, a term generally used to describe market and transit taxes. L. de Valdevellano, *El Mercado en León y Castilla Durante la Edad Media* (Seville, 1975), pp. 150-52.
[21] *PSC*, III, p. 109 (76).
[22] Ibid., III, p. 109 (76).

Although travelling merchants probably sold some of these goods in the Jaca market near the church of Santiago,[23] the majority was likely destined for sale in other towns along the Camino Francés where wealthy townspeople and nobles sought to acquire high-status items. Separate contemporary evidence shows merchants from France, Italy and Germany traded cloth from northern Europe and fabrics from al-Andalus in León in 1072,[24] and Jewish silk merchants, perhaps travelling from Muslim areas, were active in Galicia in the mid-eleventh century.[25] Also listed in the *portazgo* were gold *mancusos*, Muslim *dinars* that were likely used as a unit of account by travelling merchants who crossed between Muslim and Christian areas.[26]

Some merchants travelled in caravans along the pilgrim roads across northern Iberia to Compostela and then veered southward into Muslim areas of the peninsula. A letter from Hermann from the abbey of Saint-Martin of Tournai to Abbot Anselmo of Saint-Vincent of Laon in 1143 indicated that one could 'join the merchants' in Compostela and travel with them and their letters of safe passage towards Muslim areas to the south after paying the appropriate 'tribute' to the king (likely referring to the king of León-Castile who was Alfonso VII in 1143).[27] The context of the letter was a discussion Hermann had had with the bishop of Zaragoza regarding how to travel through the land of 'pagans' to reach the Christian shrine of San Vicente

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[23] Ibid., II, pp. 423-424.
[24] L. Martínez García, *El Camino de Santiago: Una vision histórica desde Burgos* (Burgos, 2004), p. 103.
[25] In 1044 Jewish silk and cloth merchants, operating in the home or private market of one Menendo González from Celanova (near Orense, sixty miles southeast of Compostela), were attacked and merchandise consisting of 1700 pounds of silk cloth, 40 pounds of linen and 30 pounds of woolen fabric was stolen. F. Fita Colomé, 'Los judíos gallegos en el siglo XI', *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 22 (1893), pp. 172-77. See also J. Rodríguez Fernández, *Judería de la ciudad de León* (León, 1969), pp. 29-30.
[26] *Coinage*, pp. 79-81. These *mancusos* could also have referred to imitation *dinars* (mancuses) which were minted in Jaca by Sancho Ramírez and also in Catalonia. However, it is likely the *portazgo* referred to Muslim coinage as there would have been little incentive to tax his own coinage which could have diminished its value.
[27] *Epistola Hermanni Abbatis S. Martini Tornacensis*, ed. C. de Smedt, G. van Hooff and J. de Backer, *Analecta Bollandiana*, vol. II (Paris, 1883), pp. 243-46, p. 246. *Tum ego: Quantum, inquam, itineris putatis esse usque Valentium? –Qui recto, inquiunt, itinere propter metum paganorum ire posset, in sex diebus illuc venire. Sed nullus eo recta via audet ire. –Et quod, inquam, datis mihi consilium illuc eundi? Multum enim desiderarem ad corpus sancti Vincentii orare. – Si, inquiunt illuc vis ire, vade prius ad Sanctum Jacobum, et sic jungere negotiatioribus qui dato consuetudinario tributo per conductum regis secure vadunt, et sic poteris ire.*

Mártir in Valencia. Trade between these types of caravans and Muslim areas must have been significant or the merchants would not have been willing to pay a tribute before embarking on the journey.

The *Pilgrim's Guide* scathed the king of Aragon and 'other rich people' who received tribute money (*tributi peccunias*) from pilgrims travelling through Ostabat, St-Michel and St-Jean-Pied-de-Port in Navarre,[28] an expanded number of collection points on the approach to the Cize Pass compared to those in the Somport Pass identified in the *portazgo* of Sancho Ramírez (Map 1.1). Transit taxes were collected by royal officials including the *merino* and *almojarife*[29] and agents such as the *portageri*[30] (or *porteros*)[31] who positioned themselves at river crossings, the frontiers between kingdoms and the entrances to pilgrim towns,[32] thus easing the collection of money from travellers.

The tariff of Sancho Ramírez also revealed the extent to which the *portageri* attempted to separate pilgrims from merchants.[33] It addressed various categories of travellers and each was treated differently. Poor pilgrims and those travelling with three or more layers or whose bundle was carried by three or more companions were exempted from paying the *portazgo*, but pilgrim-merchants (*romei mercatores*) needed to have their bundle weighed and pay the appropriate tax.[34]

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[28] *Guide*, pp. 24-25 (ch. 7) and note 17 on p. 159. See also *PG:M*, p. 92 and note 67 on p. 147. The king of Aragon referred to here is likely Alfonso I 'the Battler' (1102-1134) since the area discussed in this section was in Navarre and Alfonso ruled a united Navarre and Aragon during the approximate time of the writing of the *Pilgrim's Guide* (c. 1140).
[29] O'Callaghan, *History of Medieval Spain*, p. 277.
[30] *Guide*, p. 24 (ch. 7); and *PSC*, III, p. 109 (76).
[31] Y. Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, vol. I (Philadelphia, 1961), p. 81.
[32] Gautier Dalché, *Historia urbana de León y Castilla en la Edad Media*, p. 407.
[33] J.M. Lacarra, 'Un arancel de aduanas del siglo XI' in *Estudios Dedicados a Aragón: Collectánea de sus Trabajos que, en su Homenaje y Memoria Editan la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras y su area de Historia Medieval* (Zaragoza, 1987), pp. 53-64, p. 58.
[34] Ibid., p. 64. *De romeuo non prendant ullam causam. Et tres capas de romeo non prendant ullam causam. Et si fuerint tres compaieros qui portant unum trossellum pro suo uiatico aut septem companeiriis, portagerii non*

To enable the flow of pilgrims and merchants, the monarchs supported the construction or repair of roads and bridges along the Camino Francés. Alfonso VI was praised in the *Chronicon regum Legionensium* (Chronicle of the Kings of León), attributed to Bishop Pelayo of Oviedo (1101-30; 1142-43) and written in c. 1132, for his contributions to infrastructure and the safety of travel for pilgrims and merchants along the roads:

> Merchants and pilgrims crossing his kingdom had nothing to fear, for there was no one who would have dared to take away even a pennyworth of their goods. On top of this, lest any moments of his life were lacking in good works, he had built all the bridges that there are between Logroño to Santiago.[35]

This account should be viewed with a degree of caution as Pelayo was known to aggrandize history and falsify documents in order to enhance the prominence of Oviedo's shrine of San Salvador and its connection to the Leonese monarchy. It nonetheless provides a valuable insight, as Pelayo was an eyewitness to the period and the *Chronicon* was notably the only contemporary chronicle to cover the entire reign of Alfonso VI.

The claim that merchants and pilgrims 'feared nothing' suggests a high level of security and local support was provided along the pilgrim roads during his reign. Alfonso tried to address abuses against pilgrims and merchants early in his reign, as shown by an edict from 1072 through which he had attempted to stop the practice of pilgrims being unfairly charged the *portazgo* (*portaticum*) at the castle of Santa María de Autares, on the Camino Francés in

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prendant ullam causum. Et si fuerint romei mercatores qui leuent trosellos, pensetur in ita et in uenita quantum dispendant, et de hoc nichil accipiatut. De residuo autem quod iustum fuerit portagerii accipiatur.

[35] *Crónica del Obispo Don Pelayo*, ed. B. Sánchez Alonso (Madrid, 1924), p. 84: *Negociatores et peregrini transeuntes per regnum eius nichil uerebantur; non enim esset ausus quislibet, qui eis de rebus suis ualens etiam obulum auferret. Ad hec autem, ne ulla tempora vite ipsius uacarent a bonis operibus, studuit facere omnes pontes qui sunt a Locronio usque ad Sanctum Iacobum*. For English translation see Barton and Fletcher, *The World of El Cid*, p. 86. The *Chronicon* was included in the *Corpus Palagianum* (c. 1132), compiled under Pelayo's direction in Oviedo. On the dating and background of the *Corpus Palagianum* and *Chronicon regum Legionensium*, see Barton and Fletcher, *The World of El Cid*, pp. 65-74. This account of the safety of the pilgrim roads under Alfonso VI was later copied into the *Crónica najerense*. *Crónica Najerense*, ed. J. Estévez Sola (Madrid, 2003), p. 183. Derek Lomax argues the *Crónica najerense* was written between 1174 and 1233. D. Lomax, 'La fecha de la Crónica najerense', *Anuario de estudios medievales*, 9 (1974), pp. 405-06.

Valcárcel (Vega de Valcarce).[36] Alfonso's edict to stop the charging of the *portazgo* made clear his support not only for pilgrims, but also the merchants who were travelling alongside them, and also suggests there may have been a degree of hostility towards these outsiders from the local inhabitants.

The *Pilgrim's Guide* provides additional evidence about the importance of pilgrim roads and bridges and the sanctity of their patrons, including Alfonso VI and Pope Calixtus II, and builders from the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. It stated Santo Domingo (1019-1109), namesake of the pilgrim town Santo Domingo de la Calzada, paved the road between Nájera and Redecilla.[37] It praised a separate group of caretakers who repaired the pilgrim road between Rabanal and Portomarín, including reconstruction of the bridge over the Miño River at Portomarín. In return for their support of the pilgrimage, these patrons and caretakers were to receive the heavenly reward of eternal peace.[38]

Along with the roads and bridges patronized by the monarchs, the devotional infrastructure provided by Cluny had been crucial to increasing the accessibility and appeal of the Compostelan pilgrimage. Cluny's impact on the emerging popularity of the Compostelan pilgrimage cannot be overstated. Wealthy Cluniac monasteries hosted pilgrim hospitals including at Sahagún, San Zoilo of Carrión, Santa María of Nájera, San Salvador of Astorga, Leyre and Irache in Navarre, and Santa Coloma and San Pedro de Cardeña in Burgos.[39] The largest was the hospital at Sahagún, constructed by Abbot Julián during the reign of Alfonso VI, and which contained seventy beds.[40] Sahagún's hospital must have been opulently constructed,

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[36] Gonzalez Minguez, *El Portazgo en la Edad Media*, p. 104. See also P. Sopena, 'El mercado en la España Cristiana de los siglos XI y XII', p. 140.
[37] *Guide*, pp. 64-65 (ch. 8).
[38] Ibid., pp. 16-17 (ch. 5). On praise for the stonemasons of Santiago Cathedral, see ibid., II, pp. 84-85 (ch. 9).
[39] *PSC*, I, p. 302.
[40] J. Corpas Mauleon, *La Enfermedad y el Arte de Curar en el Camino de Santiago entre los siglos X y XVI* (Santiago de Compostela, 1998), p. 55.

as occupying Aragonese soldiers converted it into their 'palace' during the 1111-16 revolt against the abbot.[41]

In addition to its hospitality network, Cluny promoted the cult of St James and helped solidify the pilgrimage's legitimacy with the Church in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. Edwin Mullins goes so far as to say that 'without Cluny there might have been no pilgrimage at all'.[42] The eminent art historian Arthur Kingsley Porter described the crucial role Cluny played in driving the popularity of the Compostelan pilgrimage for its political and economic benefit:

> Surely no capitalist of the XIX century ever promoted more shrewdly, nor any diplomat of the XVI played politics more cleverly, than the Cluniac monks, who to, if not for, their own advantage, set all Europe a-journeying, quite literally, to the ends of the world. The rulers of the great abbey were quick to realize the success of the pilgrimage, and far-sighted in driving, at an early date, their fingernails firmly into the carrot of Saint James.[43]

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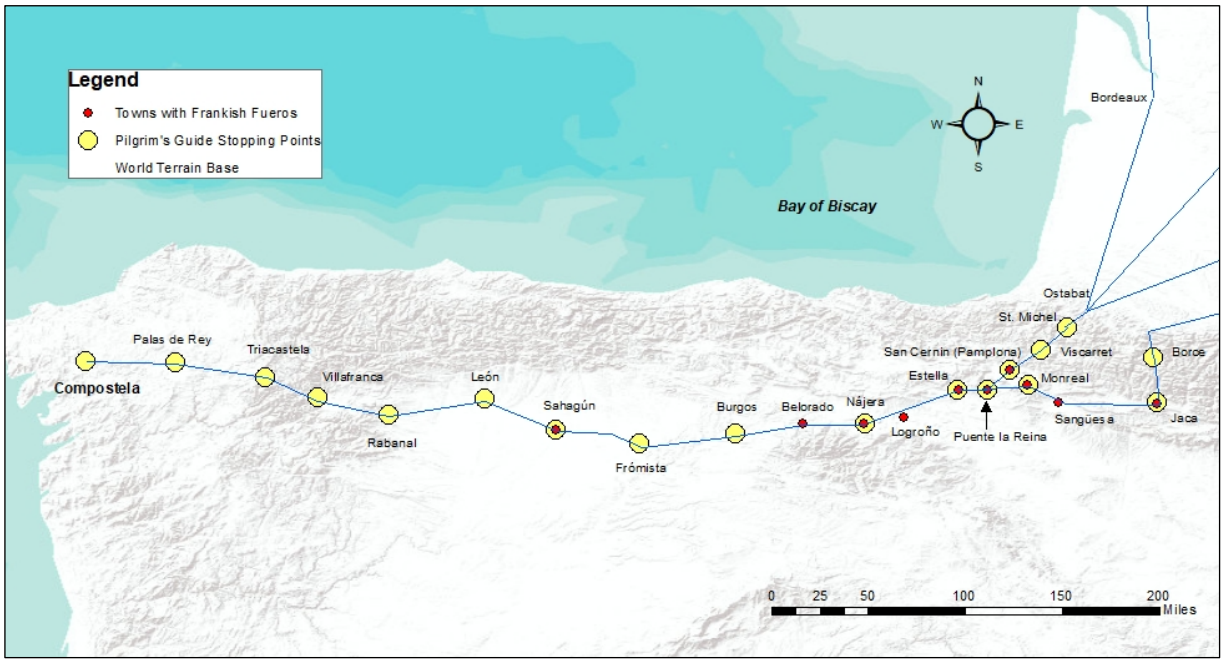
In the late eleventh century, the monarchs of León-Castile and Navarre-Aragon realized the Compostelan pilgrimage provided an opportunity to extract financial and political benefits for their growing and militarily threatened kingdoms. The sense of urgency for royal involvement in the pilgrimage reached a critical point when the Christian kingdoms lost their valuable *parias* from the Muslum *taifa* kingdoms. The monarchs set to building the bridges and roads which would eventually become the Camino Francés that was outlined in the *Pilgrim's Guide*. The monarchs also made donations of important monasteries to Cluny that established

[41] *CAS*, p. 54 (30). This revolt will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4.
[42] Mullins, *Cluny: In Search of God's Lost Empire*, pp. 71-72. Mullins argues the popularity of the Compostelan pilgrimage made it the 'perfect vehicle' for Abbot Hugh of Cluny to realize his ambitions of claiming the Iberian Peninsula for Christianity.
[43] A. Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, 3 vols. (New York, 1923/1985), I, p. 174.

pilgrim hospitals and markets, thus planting the seeds for what would become important pilgrim towns.

2. Urbanisation and the Role of Pilgrim Towns

Without its annual census from León-Castile, Cluny was constrained in its ability to fund additional growth in hospitality along the pilgrim roads. The Christian monarchs realized there was a need to expand on the initial efforts of Cluny to further increase the appeal and accessibility of the pilgrimage and thus expand their opportunity to extract market taxes and tolls from pilgrim and merchant traffic. To complement their road and bridge-building activities, the monarchs of León-Castile and Aragon-Navarre began strategically issuing *fueros* that granted economic and judicial incentives to build a network of pilgrim towns and markets at key locations along the Camino Francés, particularly between the city of León and the Pyrenees Mountains (Map 1.2).



Map 1.2. *Pilgrim's Guide* Stopping Points and Towns with Frankish-Oriented *Fueros* Granted Between 1076 and 1149.

Many of these *fueros* were based on the seminal *fuero* of Jaca, one of the earliest to offer judicial and economic freedoms in Christian Iberia. It was granted by Sancho Ramírez of Aragon-Navarre in 1076 to attract settlers from outside the area (*omnibus hominibus qui sunt usque in oriente et occidente et septemtrionem et meridiem*) to populate the capital of the nascent Aragonese kingdom and to build its economy around the pilgrimage to Compostela.[44] Jaca's *fuero* granted the townspeople (*burgenses*) the freedom to buy and sell estates, guaranteed personal liberties and the right to be judged only by fellow citizens, and outlined penalties for false weights and measures, showing the importance of market activity as an incentive for settlement.[45] Following the success of Jaca's *fuero*, others with similar provisions were granted to attract settlers[46] at important stopping points including at Nájera (1076), Sahagún (1085),[47] Estella (1090),[48] Logroño (1095), Belorado (1116),[49] Puente la Reina (1122),[50] Sangüesa (1122)[51] and the *burgo* of San Cernin in Pamplona (1129).[52] Significant Frankish communities

[44] *CFM*, pp. 235-38. *Hec est carta auctoritatis et confirmationis quam ego Santius, gratia Dei Aragonensium rex et Pampilonensium, facio vobis notum omnibus hominibus qui sunt usque in oriente et occidente et septemtrionem et meridiem, quod ego volo constituere civitatem in mea villa que dicitur Iacca.* On dating of the *fuero* of Jaca, see Nelson, 'The Foundation of Jaca (1076): Urban Growth in Early Aragon', pp. 694-96. Nelson argues Jaca had already reached urban maturity by 1076. Ibid., p. 703.
[45] *El Fuero de Jaca*, ed. M. Molho (Zaragoza, 1964), pp. 3-5. See also *CFM*, pp. 235-38. On royal control of weights, measures and coinage as symbols of sovereignty, see Wood, *Medieval Economic Thought*, pp. 89-109.
[46] Alfonso VI's *fuero* of Logroño (1095) granted rights to Franks (*Francigeni)* and locals (*Ispanis*) and was referred to as a 'Frankish *fuero*' (*foro de Francos*). *CFM*, p. 535. See also 'El Fuero de Logroño', ed. N. Hergueta (Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia, 1907, vol. 50, book V), pp. 325-326, p. 329. Alfonso VI granted Logroño's *fuero* to Miranda de Ebro in 1099. *CFM*, p. 344. See also *Fuero de Miranda de Ebro*, p. 30 (3): *…ita, bene francigeni sicut yspani uel de alia gente cualquiam populauerint, uiuant a suo foro de ffrancos mantenganse per bonum fidem actoritate istius scripti.*
[47] *CAS*, p. 15. Cluniac involvement at the monastery of Sahagún brought French abbots and monks from 'diverse places' as described by the anonymous author.
[48] *PSC*, II, p. 134.
[49] *CFM*, pp. 410-412.
[50] Lacarra, 'Notas para la Formación de las Familias de Fueros Navarros', pp. 257-58 (IV).
[51] Ibid., pp. 215-16. See also A. Martín Duque, 'El fenómeno urbano medieval en Navarre', *Príncipe de Viana*, 227 (2002), pp. 727-60, p. 739.
[52] *Documentación medieval del Archivos Municipal de Pamplona (1129-1356)*, pp. XV-XVI (1)

were also established within larger cities including Carrión[53] and the political capitals of Burgos and León.

The *fuero* of Sahagún, granted by Alfonso VI of León-Castile to abbot Bernardo in 1085, provides an example of a Frankish pilgrim town founded in the shadow of an important Cluniac monastery. The *fuero* stated Alfonso's intention was to build a good *villa* around the monastery with artisans and merchants from diverse lands.[54] Alfonso was motivated to solidify the power of the monastery he had just gifted to Cluny and build another link in the pilgrimage's devotional infrastructure to support the finances of his kingdom.[55] The *fuero* also shows the hospitality offered by major monasteries alone was not enough to facilitate pilgrim traffic, that additional devotional infrastructure provided by towns, with their merchants and craftsmen, was needed to support the pilgrimage.

Estella exemplified the numerous pilgrim towns settled with outsiders that formed without an adjoining Cluniac monastery. Its *fuero* was granted by Sancho Ramírez in 1090 to establish a population of Franks along the Ega River near an old fortification on the Camino

[53] In 1234 Carrión's Frankish neighbourhood (*barrio de Francos*) was mentioned in a donation made to the monastery of San Zoilo. Some of the houses included in the donation were along the Camino, near the bridge over the Carrión River where some mills were located. This would have placed the Frankish neighbourhood in the shadow of San Zoilo and very near the centre of town where the church of Santiago was located. *Documentación del Monasterio de San Zoilo de Carrión (1047-1300)*, J.A. ed. Pérez Celada (Palencia, 1986), pp. 186-87 (97): *En barrio de San Zoles, quinque casas con su uerto; et habent has affrontationes, de I[a] parte, la caleia de Iohan Remon; de II[a] parte, casas de fiios de Fernan Nunez; de la tercia parte, casa de fiios de Guillem de Cabanolas; de IIII[a] parte, el uerto de Willem Boso; et alias duas iacent en Barrio de Francos, et habent has affrontaciones, de I[a] parte, el camino de Sancto Iacobo, de II[a] parte. La cal que ua al rio; de III[a] parte, el cuarnago que ua a los molinos de la Puent; de la quarta parte, casas de Iohan Golindo*.

[54] P. Escalona, *Historia del Real monestario de Sahagún* (Madrid, 1782), p. 483. Alfonso's 1087 confirmation of the 1085 *fuero* referred to the outsiders as *homines viverent quos tam ab exteriis Nationibus quam de regno meo*. Ibid., p. 485 (119).

[55] Alfonso was also concerned with his own spiritual salvation and that of his ancestors and successors as shown in his confirmation of privileges to the monastery of Sahagún in 1080, undoubtedly keeping in mind the intercessory prayers the monks could offer. *Historia del Real Monasterio de Sahagún*, Escalona, p. 478: *…pro remisione pecatorum meorum & spevite eterne & pro animabus tam antecessorum quam succesorum meorum*…. See also L. Pick, 'Rethinking Cluny in Spain', *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies*, 5 (2013), pp. 1-17, pp. 3 and 6.

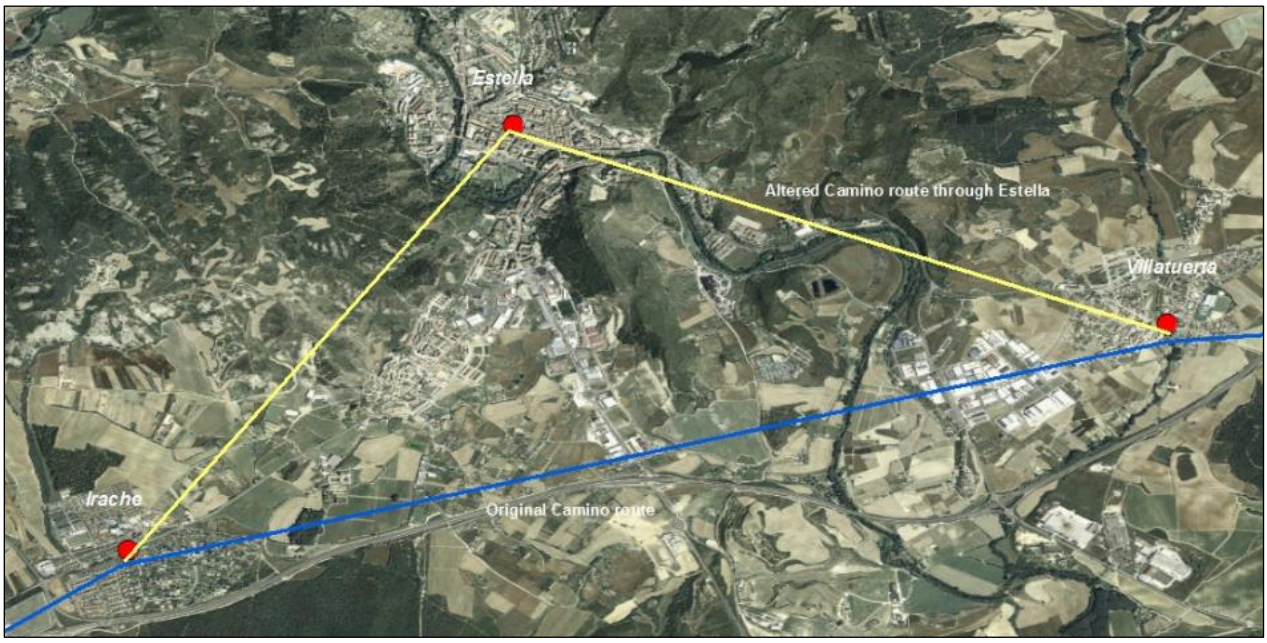
Francés,[56] in order to assist pilgrims travelling between Pamplona and Nájera.[57] The *fuero* granted the 'men, great and small, present and future' of Estella (*hominibus de Stella, tam maioribus, quam menoribus, presentibus et futuris*)[58] the right to enjoy the pastures, forests and waterways located within a one-day walk from the town centre, tax-free procurement or exchange of estates, guarantees of personal safety and protection of personal property, and administration of justice solely from within the town. Additionally, no Navarrese, the native local population, or priests were permitted to live in Estella without the consent of the king and the citizens.[59]

The role of the monarchs in facilitating the pilgrimage through development of Frankish pilgrim towns was clearly demonstrated in the way the pilgrim road was redirected to pass through the newly formed Frankish enclave of Estella. Prior to 1090, Compostela-bound pilgrims heading towards the monastery of Irache went through the town of Villatuerta, and then by the small monastery of Zarapuz, a dependency of the Cluniac monastery of San Juan de la Peña.[60] When Sancho Ramírez established Estella, he redirected the pilgrim road to go through the town, called by its Basque name Lizarra (Map 1.3):

> The monks of San Juan wanted to make a population of Franks in the vicinity of Zarapuz on the road to Santiago; and I would like to change that road to go through Lizarra [Estella] and make there a castle and population of Franks.[61]

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[56] *PSC*, II, p. 134.
[57] The *fuero* of 1090 was confirmed in 1164 by Sancho VI (the Wise) of Navarre. *Fuero de Estella*, p. 319. The *fuero* referred to the men of Estella as *bonis vicinis*. Ibid., p. 328 (I, 9). *Vicini* was commonly used along with *boni homines* and *cives* to describe property-owning men of the towns who were considered citizens. See O'Callaghan, *History of Medieval Spain*, p. 270.
[58] *Fuero de Estella*, p. 327 (I, 1).
[59] Ibid., p. 328 (I, 13): *Et quod ullus navarrus vel presbiter de foras non possit populare in Stella sine voluntate regis et omnium Stellensium.*
[60] *PSC*, II, p. 133. See also J.M. Lacarra, *Fueros de Navarre*, vol. I (Pamplona, 1969), p. 53. San Juan de la Peña was itself very close to the stretch of the Camino Francés that ran between Jaca and Puente la Reina.
[61] *PSC*, III, pp. 14-15 (2): *Volebant illi monachi de sancti Iohannis facere populationem de francos in illo suo termino de Zarapuz, in camino de sancto Iacobo; et ego volebam mutare ipsum caminum per Lizarrara, et facere ibi castrum et populationem de francos.*



Map 1.3. Rerouting of Camino Francés through Estella (1090).

Sancho's establishment of Estella was partly due to the wishes of the monks of San Juan de la Peña who petitioned Sancho to create the town. The monks were certainly aware that they would receive economic benefits from the associated pilgrim traffic as Sancho gifted them one-tenth of the royal rents from the newly founded town.[62] The monastery of San Juan de la Peña was an important symbol of Aragonese royal power, founded in the foothills of the Pyrenees Mountains near Jaca from the time the area was dominated by Muslims. Sancho 'the Great' of Navarre (1004-1035) invited Cluniac monks to reform the monastery using Cluny's interpretation of the Benedictine Rule, and from that point Cluny became the recipient of largesse from the Iberian Christian kingdoms.[63]

[62] *PSC*, III, pp. 14-15 (2): *Hec est carta quam ego Sancius gratia Dei rex Aragonensium et Pamplilonensium facio Deo et altario Sancti Iohannis Baptiste de monasterio quod dicitur Pinna, de decima de illa population quom noviter volo facere in villa que vocatur Lizarrara*.
[63] O'Callaghan, *History of Medieval Spain*, p. 136.

Sancho's gift of one-tenth of the royal rents from Estella to the monks of San Juan de la Peña illustrated how the monarchs shifted commercial wealth from pilgrim towns to financially support religious institutions that were politically and spiritually important to their kingdoms. In a similar type of donation from a Frankish pilgrim town, Urraca of León-Castile (1109-26) donated one-tenth of the *portazgo* from Villafranca del Bierzo to the monastery of Santa Marina de Valcárcel.[64] And in 1135 Urraca's son Alfonso VII of León-Castile (1126-57) donated one-tenth of the tolls from bridges in Logroño and Nájera to the Cluniac monastery of Santa María Real of Nájera and its motherhouse in Burgundy.[65]

After the granting of its *fuero* in 1090, Estella quickly grew into a prosperous urban commercial centre focused on the pilgrim trade. The *Pilgrim's Guide* described the town as 'stocked with good bread and the best wine, and meat and fish, and all good things'.[66] Franks ran shops and inns catering to pilgrims along the *rúa de las Tiendas* (street of the shops), which was also the Camino Francés,[67] and in the portico of the church of San Martín.[68] The house of San Martín was the political and economic centre of Estella, where a Frankish *concejo* (town council) made decisions about the management of the town.[69] It is likely some of the Franks who settled in Estella came from Tours, where the basilica of St Martin was located, notably on one of the principal arteries of the *iter Sancti Iacobi*.[70]

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[64] *PSC*, II, p. 303.
[65] Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla Under King Alfonso VII*, 1126-57, pp. 224.
[66] *Guide*, pp. 14-15 (ch. 3): *…que pane bono et obtimo uino et carne et piscibus fertiles est, cunctisque felicitatibus*.
[67] *PSC*, I, p. 472. See also J. Passini, *Villes Médiévales du Chemin de Saint-Jacques-de-Compostelle de Pampelune a Burgos* (Paris, 1984), pp. 28-30.
[68] *PSC*, II, p. 141 (note 29). In 1142, Pedro, abbot Pedro of the monastery of Irache gave to *Arnaldo mercer de Stella…illa nostra tenda que est in portico Sancti Martini*. In 1174, the abbot of Irache gave to doña Petrone, wife of Stephano Marescoth *quatuor tendas* and garden *que sunt in barrio Sancti Nicolay* and two shops *que fuerrunt de don Bodin ante Sanctum Martinum*. In 1181 abbot Sancho of Irache leased *tibi Petrone et filiis tuis de illa parte tende rotunde que est ante ecclesiam Sancti Martini*.
[69] *PSC*, II, pp. 139-141.
[70] *Guide*, pp. 10-11 (ch. 1).

Patterns of Pilgrim Town Growth

Like Estella, Puente la Reina was a Frankish pilgrim town that developed rapidly after the issuance of a royal *fuero*. In 1122 Alfonso I 'the Battler' granted the *fuero* of Estella to Puente la Reina in order to replicate Estella's success by stimulating the development of another settlement along the pilgrim road.[71] The *fuero* granted settlers the right of self-governance and civil protections, tax-free procurement and exchange of estates, and the right to approve any non-Frankish or ecclesiastical citizens.[72] A charter from 1146 stated that Puente la Reina's townspeople were only subject to justice in Puente la Reina or nearby Estella, illustrating the importance of judicial independence and the cultural connections that existed between Frankish pilgrim towns.[73]

Puente la Reina was located twenty miles west of Pamplona, at the intersection of the two branches of the Camino Francés that emerged from the Pyrenees and converged at the town before continuing the final four-hundred miles to Compostela as a single pilgrim road. Puente la Reina ('the queen's bridge') was named after a bridge over the Arga River that was built in the second half of the eleventh century to facilitate the flow of pilgrim traffic (Figure 1.1).[74] The town (*Pons Regine*) was mentioned in the *Pilgrim's Guide* as a key stopping point.[75]

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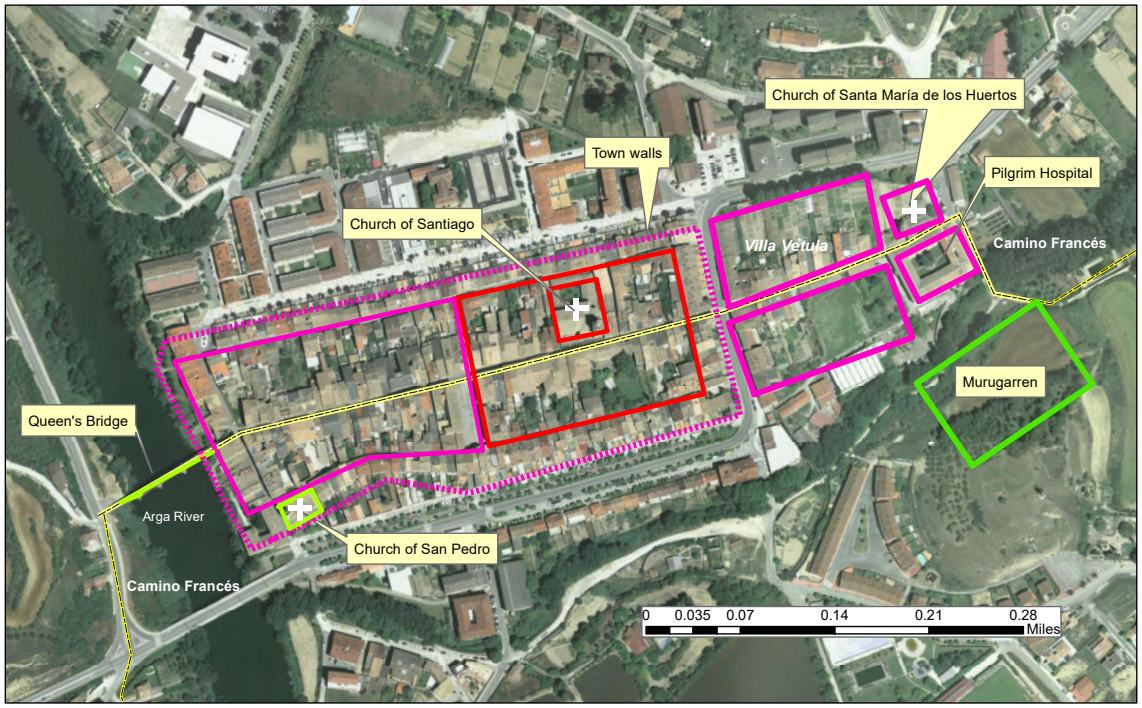
[71] Lacarra, 'Notas para la Formación de las Familias de Fueros Navarros', pp. 257-58 (IV). In 1121, prior to granting the *fuero*, Alfonso I had appointed a knight named *Monetario* ('moneyer'), a faithful vassal and his *poblador* (perhaps an indication that he was a royal representative) of Puente la Reina and exempted him from paying royal taxes. The charter from which this evidence was taken is no longer extant. J.J. Uranga, 'Puente la Reina, del Puente al Fuero (1085-1122)', *Scripta Theologica*, 16 (1984), p. 476.
[72] *Fuero de Estella*, pp. 327-28 (I).
[73] *Cartulario magno del Archivo Real y General de Navarra*, III, p. 80 (2); and *Cartulaire général du Temple*, ed. D'Albon, no. xcii, p. 69.
[74] Construction of the bridge has been attributed to either queen Doña Mayor, wife of Sancho III 'the Great' of Pamplona (990-1035) or Doña Estefanía, wife of King García Sanchez (1035-54) of Navarre. *PSC*, II, p. 124.
[75] *Guide*, pp. 12-15 (chs. 2-3).



Figure 1.1. Romanesque bridge over the Arga River, Puente la Reina.[76]

Significant urbanisation occurred in Puente la Reina over three distinct stages between the late eleventh and early thirteenth centuries.[77] The Romanesque bridge existed from at least 1085 as did a church dedicated to San Salvador from c. 1089.[78] A charter from 1090 documented the existence of an initial group of Frankish millers living in the area of Murugarren, just southeast of what was referred to as the *Villa Vetula* (old town) on the eastern approach into the town (green boundaries on Map 1.4).[79]

[76] Photographed by the author.
[77] See Passini, 'Morphologie et évolution de quelques villes du chemin de Saint-Jacques de Compostelle', pp. 113-18; and Passini, 'El espacio urbano a lo largo del Camino de Santiago', pp. 251-53.
[78] Uranga, 'Puente la Reina, del Puente al Fuero (1085-1122)', pp. 474-75. The church of San Salvador is no longer extant.
[79] Ibid., pp. 474-75. In 1090 two Franks named Bernardo and Iofred (*francigenis Pontis Regine*) and another named Bernero from Estella were asked to build some mills along the Arga River for the abbot Veremundo of Irache and archbishop Bernardo of Toledo (formerly abbot of Sahagún). These Franks likely lived in Murugarren, mentioned as early as 1049, and located just to the east of what would become Puente la Reina. Ibid., p. 117. See also *PSC*, II, pp. 124-25.



Map 1.4. Puente la Reina Stages of Urbanisation (11-12th centuries).

The second stage of growth (red boundaries on Map 1.4) occurred in the second quarter of the twelfth century after the granting of the *fuero*. A 'new town' developed that was populated by Franks,[80] and the church of Santiago was constructed in its centre directly on the Camino Francés (from at least c. 1142)[81] along which large numbers of pilgrims and merchants flowed.[82] At this time two additional streets were laid parallel to the Camino Francés along with perpendicular cross streets. In the third stage (pink boundaries on Map 1.4), the town expanded westward along the Camino towards the bridge and the church of San Pedro (from at least c.

[80] J. Armendáriz Martija and J.M. Jimeno Jurío, 'Puente La Reina/Gares: Estudio histórico-arquelógico de su urbanismo y Sistema defensive medieval', *Trabajos de Arqueología Navarra*, 18 (2005), pp. 113-73, p. 115. The Frankish 'new town' was also referred to as the 'barrio de los Cambios' suggesting commerce (cambios likely meaning exchanges or transactions).
[81] *El Cartulario magno del Archivo Real y General de Navarra*, ed. E. Ramírez Vaquero (Pamplona, 2016), vol. III, p. 663 (314). See also Uranga, 'Puente la Reina, del Puente al Fuero (1085-1122)', p. 477.
[82] In 1235 D. Ponce de Duyme, governor of Navarre, purchased some houses in Puente la Reina and the document indicated the main street (Camino Francés) was 'populated with pilgrims'. *PSC*, II, pp. 125-26.

1174), an area populated by Navarrese.[83] On the east side of town, the church of Santa María de los Huertos (de Murugarren) and a pilgrim hospital were constructed in the late twelfth century.[84]

Puente la Reina's layout and growth pattern were typical of pilgrim towns that expanded dramatically as the popularity of the pilgrimage boomed over the course of the twelfth century. Urbanisation was characterized by shops, inns and churches that spread along the east-west axis of the Camino Francés, resulting in 'long towns', such as Castrojeriz, which stretched for over half a mile along the pilgrim road.[85] Into the late twelfth century, the populations of many pilgrim towns spilled outside the town walls as exemplified by Compostela,[86] Belorado[87] and Sahagún.[88]

As in the case of Puente la Reina, a defining characteristic of many Compostelan pilgrim towns was the establishment of churches dedicated to St James, usually in the centre of the towns by which pilgrims passed, clearly identifying the link between urbanisation and the pilgrimage. In addition to Santiago Cathedral, churches dedicated to St James were found in Sahagún (from

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[83] Armendáriz Martija and Jimeno Jurío, 'Puente La Reina/Gares: Estudio histórico-arquelógico', p. 115. The town was walled from at least 1235. Passini, *Villes Médiévales du Chemin de Saint-Jacques-de-Compostelle de Pampelune a Burgos*, p. 15.

[84] Passini, *Villes Médiévales du Chemin de Saint-Jacques-de-Compostelle de Pampelune a Burgos,* p. 17.

[85] *PSC*, II, p. 204 (see p. 205 for map of town). In his 1495 pilgrimage itinerary Von Vach cited four hospitals. He said the Germans called Castrojeriz 'long town'. Künig von Vach, *The Pilgrimage and Path to Saint James*, pp. 17-18. The German pilgrim Arnold von Harff also noted in his 1499 pilgrimage itinerary that pilgrims called Castrojeriz 'long town'. M. Letts, *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 1496-1499* (London, 1946), p. 270.

[86] The *Historia Compostellana* used *suburbio* (suburb) in referring to the location of Compostela's church of Santa Susanna (previously Santo Sepulcro), which was reconstructed under Bishop Diego Gelmírez. *HC*, p. 45 (I, 19). Santa Susanna was located outside the city walls to the southwest of the city centre, near the road to Padrón. *Guide*, pp. 66-67 (ch. 9). In a decree from 1133, Compostela's municipal *concejo* threatened to expel merchant middlemen (*magulanes*) from inside and outside the town, likely referring to commercial activity within the town walls and in the nearby suburbs. *HC*, pp. 472-73 (III, 33). López Ferreiro translated the Latin *magulanes* into the Spanish *revendedores* (resellers or retailers). *LFH*, IV, p. 189.

[87] Belorado's *barrio nuevo* was constructed in 1187 outside the western town wall. Passini, *Villes Médiévales du Chemin de Saint-Jacques-de-Compostelle*, p. 122.

[88] The parish churches of San Pedro and San Martín were built at the end of twelfth century when Sahagún's population reached twelve thousand and the town expanded beyond its original walls into a new neighbourhood called *Burgo Nuevo de San Facundo.* J.M. Cuenca Coloma, *Sahagún: Monasterio y Villa* (Valladolid, 1993), pp. 70-71.

at least c. 1113),[89] Carrión (first half of twelfth century),[90] Estella (from at least 1176),[91] Jaca (from at least 1088),[92] Sangüesa (from at least 1144)[93] and Villafranca del Bierzo (late twelfth century).[94] The spaces in front of these churches hosted busy pilgrim markets such as Compostela's *parvis* market that was located in front of the north portal of Santiago Cathedral along the Camino Francés (Figure 1.2). It was described as being the length and width 'of a single stone throw',[95] which must have made for quite a chaotic scene given the large numbers of merchants and pilgrims interacting in such a small area.



Figure 1.2. Area of *Parvis* Market, North Portal of Santiago Cathedral.[96]

[89] Archivo Histórico Nacional, *Indice de los documentos del Monasterio de Sahagun, de la Orden de San Benito y glosario y diccionario geográfico de voces sacadas de los mismos* (Madrid, 1874), p. 355 (1542).
[90] Lacoste, 'El Maestro de Carrión de los Condes', p. 157.
[91] *PSC*, II, p. 142.
[92] J.F. Aznárez, 'Datos sobre iglesias y construcciones jacetanas', *Argensola: Revista de Ciencias Sociales del Instituto de Estudios Altoaragoneses*, 40 (1959), pp. 311-18, p. 312. In 1088 Jaca's original church of Santiago was ordered to be rebuilt. The original church may have been built as far back as the tenth century.
[93] Martín Duque, 'El fenómeno urbano medieval en Navarre', p. 738.
[94] *PSC*, II, p. 303. Villafranca del Bierzo did not receive its *fuero* until c. 1190 during the reign of Fernando II of León. The town developed around a Cluniac monastery, mentioned in 1120 as Santa María de *Vico Francorum*.
[95] *Guide*, pp. 72-73 (ch. 9).
[96] Photographed by the author.

Pilgrim Towns as Providers of Crucial Support Services

Towns along the pilgrim roads provided supplies, food, lodging and services that were necessary for the long journey to Compostela. Busy pilgrim-town markets like Compostela's *parvis*[97] sold a wide range of goods necessary for long-haul pilgrimage as described in the *Pilgrim's Guide*:

> After the fountain is the parvis, as we have said, made of stone, where the small scallop shells which are the symbol of the Blessed James are sold to the pilgrims, and wine flasks, sandals, deer-skin scrips, pouches, straps, belts and all sorts of medicinal herbs and other spices; and many other things are for sale there. Moneychangers, indeed, and innkeepers and other merchants are on the Camino Francés. The parvis, in truth, is a stone's throw in length on each side.[98]

The *Pilgrim's Guide* referred to the market as the *parvis* of the city (*de paradiso urbis*) rather than the *parvis* of the cathedral, suggesting the space in front of the north portal of the cathedral was used more for commercial rather than religious purposes.[99]

The *parvis* was the principal market in Compostela, but not the only one that catered to pilgrims. A second market existed on the east side of Compostela's San Pelayo de Antealtares, mentioned in 1147 as a place where public announcements were made.[100] Another existed on the Camino Francés northeast of the cathedral in the Plaza del Campo ('of the field') because it was located outside of the town walls.[101] Commercial spaces like these were found all along the pilgrim roads approaching Compostela as recounted by Al-Idrisi during his visit to Compostela

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[97] *Parvis* corresponds to the Latin *paradisus* used in the *Pilgrim's Guide*, and which generally applied to the open space, courtyard or atrium in front of a church. *Guide*, note 59 on pp. 203-04. See also *PG:M*, p. 204 (note 443).
[98] *Guide*, p. 72 (ch. 9): *Post fontem habetur paradisus, ut diximus, pauimento lapideo factus, in quo crusille piscium id est intersigna Beati Iacobi uenduntur peregrinis, et butti uinarii, sotulares, pere ceruine, marsupia, corrigie, cingula, et omne genus erbarum medicinalium, et ceterera pigmenta et alia multa ibi ad uendendum habentur. Cambiatores uero hospitales, ceterique mercatores, in Uia Francigena habentur. Paradisus uero ille tantus est, quantum iactus est lapidis in utraque parte*. For English translation see ibid., p. 73 [translation modified].
[99] *PG: M*, p. 204 (note 59).
[100] Fletcher, *St. James's Catapult*, p. 182. The street in this area is called *Preguntoiro* based on the word *preconia* for announcements (where the town crier would have made announcements).
[101] *PSC*, II, p. 395. It was later called the Plaza del Pan because of bakeries situated in the area. Today it is called the Plaza de Cervantes.

in c. 1154, when he wrote that crowded markets stretched from grand and populated villages near and far.[102]

Alfonso VII of León-Castile recognized the strength and diversity of Compostela's markets when he sent an estimable and valuable (*honorabilem et pretiosum*) gold chalice there in order to raise some much-needed funds. The chalice had previously been acquired from the archbishop of Toledo and was said to have been worth seven-hundred *morabitinos*. Alfonso chose Compostela because there was 'no place in all of *Hispania* where it could sell better' (*quia nullum locum in tota Hispania, ubi melius uenderetur*).[103] Bernardo, treasurer of the cathedral, cancelled a trip to Jerusalem in order to look at the chalice. After seeing its beauty, he decided to purchase it for the cathedral for the honour of God and St James at the price of one-hundred marks of pure silver. Diego was clearly pleased to acquire such a high-status item that had previously been the property of the rival archiepiscopacy of Toledo, and thus provided him an opportunity to assert Compostela's strong position in the Iberian ecclesiastical hierarchy.

By recounting the chalice transaction in such detail, the authors of the *Historia Compostellana* were also undoubtedly promoting the sophistication and liquidity of Compostela's markets to potential connoisseurs of high-status items, including kings, bishops and wealthy merchants, whilst also touting Diego Gelmírez's accomplishments at fostering development of a prosperous community. Indeed, workshops within Compostela produced many precious items as suggested in an extensive list, compiled in 1122, of gifts given by Diego to important ecclesiastical figures. The list included a gold coffer (purchased for 3,000 *solidi*), three silver chalices and one of gold given to Pope Calixtus II, and two gold censers (the second

[102] Al-Idrisi, pp. 76-77.
[103] *HC*, p. 433 (III, 8). This event likely took place in c. 1130 when Bernardo was said to have taken leave from his treasurer role in order to attempt a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Fletcher, *St. James's Catapult*, p. 262.

of which was funded from his own money) and three silver pitchers for use in the Mass.[104] Al-Idrisi provided further evidence of the existence of valuable religious items during his visit to Santiago Cathedral in c. 1154, stating that he observed 'between large and small, about three-hundred crosses made of gold and silver, and embedded with jacinths, emeralds and other stones of different colours, and nearly two-hundred icons [made] from these same precious metals'.[105]

In addition to their role as commercial spaces, these markets were powerful generators of taxes for monarchs and local lords. Pilgrim-town *fueros* contained a variety of *portazgo* exemptions for settlers that indicates a key goal of the monarchs was to tax travellers from outside the towns. Extensive use of royal tax exemptions also shows they were strong economic incentives to attract and retain populations, concentrate commercial activity and encourage participation in markets. The *fuero* of Nájera (1076) permitted its townspeople to buy and sell bread, wine, meat, cheese and other food products without paying the *portazgo* (*portaticum*).[106] The *fuero* of Logroño (1095) exempted the townspeople from paying a *portazgo* on the purchase of clothing, fabric, and livestock in the market or along the roads, which almost certainly included the Camino Francés.[107] The *fuero* of Belorado (1116) exempted citizens from paying the *portazgo* not only in the town, but surrounding areas and in the town of Cereso.[108]

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[104] *HC*, pp. 333-34 (II, 57). The gifts also included precious books and vestments. For English translation, see Stokstad, *Santiago de Compostela in the Age of the Great Pilgrimages*, pp. 141-42.
[105] Al-Idrisi, p. 76: *Entre grandes y pequeñas hay sobre trescientas cruces labradas de oro y plata, incrustadas de jacintos, esmeraldas, y otras piedras de diversos colores, y cerca de doscientos imágenes de estos mismos metales preciosos*. The number of precious items made of gold and silver also speaks to the size and significance of Compostela's guild of *orífices* (goldsmiths).
[106] Gautier Dalché, *Historia urbana de León y Castilla en la Edad Media*, p. 181. The *fuero* also allowed the townspeople to build mills, ovens, wineries and structures adjoining their houses without having to pay an additional title tax (*título de fonsedera*).
[107] Ibid., p. 188.
[108] *CFM*, p. 411. Belorado's *fuero* was granted by Alfonso I during the height of his conflict with Urraca of León-Castile and the urban revolt centred in Sahagún. Alfonso's goal in Belorado was not only to build the local pilgrim economy, but also to establish a buffer between his kingdom of Navarre and neighbouring Castile, populated with Franks who were sympathetic to his rule.

To optimize tax collection the monarchs established a network of weekly pilgrim-town markets all along the Camino Francés. In his study of pilgrim towns in the Tierra de Campos and León, Martínez Sopena identified a rhythm to weekly markets along the Camino Francés, which acted as an axis along and through which products and agriculture flowed.[109] Market days were strategically spaced at intervals that allowed for travel time between key stopping points as indicated in the *Pilgrim's Guide*.[110] Further analysis reveals that this network also incorporated weekly markets further to the east in Navarre, at Estella and Pamplona. For example, stage three in the *Pilgrim's Guide* from Pamplona to Estella covered a distance of thirty miles, roughly equivalent to two days of walking.[111] Pamplona's weekly market took place on Tuesdays, which would have given merchants time to travel to Estella's Thursday market.[112] Stage eight from Sahagún to León covered a distance of thirty-four miles, which would have allowed merchants to attend Sahagún's Monday market[113] and then travel to León's Wednesday market.

Rights to hold annual fairs were granted to some towns whose weekly markets were no longer sufficient to meet demand, including Sahagún (1155) and Carrión (1169). Sahagún's grant guaranteed the safety for all who attended the fair including those from outside the kingdom such as pilgrims and travelling merchants, and it was to last fifteen days around the festival of the Pentecost (late May to early June).[114] These grants also provide evidence that

[109] Martínez Sopena's study looked at the market days of pilgrim towns on the Camino Francés between Frómista and Villafranca de Bierzo, and also non-pilgrim towns south of the Camino whose market days appeared to be coordinated with those on the Camino. P. Martínez Sopena, 'El camino de Santiago y la articulación del espacio en tierra de Campos y León', pp. 200-03.
[110] *Guide*, pp. 12-13 (ch. 2). See also *PG:M*, pp. 85-86.
[111] Webb concludes that medieval pilgrims could travel an average of twenty to twenty-five miles per day. Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West*, p. 16.
[112] *PSC*, I, p. 492. Estella's weekly market was held from at least 1164.
[113] In 1093 Alfonso VI granted the monastery of Sahagún the right to hold a weekly market in the *villa* on Mondays. Escalona, *Historia de Real Monasterio de Sahagún*, pp. 490-91 (125).
[114] *Colección Diplomática del Monasterio de Sahagún (857-1300), IV (1110-1199),* ed. J.A. Fernández Flórez (León, 1991), pp. 256-58 (1320).

pilgrim towns along the Camino Francés were the economic centres of the surrounding territories, much of which was controlled by the monasteries of Sahagún and San Zoilo.[115]

Like tax exemptions, economic incentives related to commercial rights were also used to attract settlers to pilgrim towns, revealing the significant opportunities that were available to serve passing pilgrims. In 1129, in addition to exemptions from paying market taxes and tolls, Alfonso I granted the Franks of Pamplona's *burgo* of San Cernin a monopoly right to sell wine and bread to pilgrims.[116] Amongst the privileges granted in the *fuero* of Belorado (1116), Franks and Castilians were permitted to establish permanent stalls along the road (*camino*) to 'sell and repair'.[117] *Camino* undoubtedly referred to the Camino Francés that ran through the town and connected it to Burgos to the west and Nájera to the east. Belorado's *fuero* also granted the town the right to hold a weekly market (on Mondays) and an annual fair around the festival of San Miguel, which was notably the first annual fair to be held in Castile.[118]

In addition to supplies that could be acquired in pilgrim town markets and fairs, pilgrims required hospitality, arguably the largest segment of the pilgrimage's devotional infrastructure. Although the number of royal and ecclesiastical pilgrim hospitals had increased by the late eleventh century, their capacity was simply not sufficient to meet demand from increasing numbers of pilgrims in the twelfth century. Demand for beds in pilgrim hospitals was high,[119]

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[115] Rodríguez Fernández, 'Judería de Sahagún', *Archivos Leoneses*, 14 (1953), pp. 5-77, p. 25.
[116] *Documentación medieval del Archivos Municipal de Pamplona (1129-1356)*, p. XV (1): *…non pectetis pedagium, neque leztam, in toto regno meo, neque in meo domini…et quod nullos homo non vendat pane nec vino ad rumeo, nisi in ista populatione.*
[117] *CFM*, p. 411: *Et die lunis habeatis vestro mercato, et de anno en anno feriam habeatis in diebus sancti Michaelis …et foro de camino, sicut de constitutum habuistis antea de vendere, atque reparare.*
[118] Ibid., pp. 411.
[119] Pilgrim itineraries from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries reported that nightly stays were limited to a few days. Hospitals marked pilgrim staffs (*bordones*) with a notch for each day of their stay as a way of monitoring the course of the visit. Corpas Mauleon, *La Enfermedad y el Arte de Curar en el Camino de Santiago,* p. 59. The pilgrim Domenico Laffi described how hospitals marked pilgrim *bordones* at the Hospital of San Marcos in León and the Hospital del Rey in Burgos where he visited in the late seventeenth century. Laffi, *Journey to the West*, p. 149. Although Hall's English translation describes Laffi's description of *bordones* as 'blessed' we can also translate Laffi's original words in Italian – 'segnano il Bordone come fanno ancora in Burgos'. See *PSC*, p. 313 – as referring

especially during the warmer months as shown by the lack of wax donations received at Santiago Cathedral in the winter as documented in the *Historia Compostellana*:

> At this time of year, few pilgrims visit the basilica of St James for fear of the difficulty of the Camino and the rigours of winter, and the wax offerings are not sufficient to illuminate the church.[120]

High demand for hospitality and limited capacity continued into the late twelfth century as shown by the establishment of the Hospital del Rey in Burgos by Alfonso VIII of Castile (1158-1214) in c. 1200.[121] By the time of the founding of the Hospital del Rey, large numbers of the poor, pilgrims and the sick had, according to Luis Martínez García, 'tragically overflowed the capacity of existing hospitals'.[122]

Townspeople met the need for additional capacity by establishing inns and renting rooms in their homes to pilgrims,[123] and lodging became an important economic activity in pilgrim towns. *Fueros* from the pilgrim towns of Estella and Atapuerca show that pilgrims lodged in the homes of townspeople. Provisions made to the *fuero* of Estella between 1090 and 1164 granted special rights and protections to pilgrims and merchants who were staying in the town. The *fuero* awarded triple damages to a pilgrim if his luggage was stolen and the master of the house was found guilty by a trial, and in addition, the guilty party was to pay sixty *solidi* to the king,

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to a mark (from *segnano*) on the *bordone*. The royal hospital in Compostela used the same practice of marking *bordones*, noting in 1524 that pilgrims could not exceed stays of five days in winter and three days in summer. *PSC,* I, p. 313. In Roncesvalles, Laffi described 'a big excellent hospice where pilgrims can stay and have three days board and lodging.' Laffi, *Journey to the West*, p. 112.

[120] *HC*, p. 442 (III, 14.3): *In tempore etenim hyemis pauci peregrini beati Iacobi apostoli limina uisitant, itineris difficultatem et hiemis asperitatem pertimescentes, et cera, quam afferunt, ecclesie illuminationi sufficere non potest.*

[121] *PSC,* II, p. 188.

[122] Martínez García, *El Hospital del Rey de Burgos*, p. 17. The hospital was associated with and physically located near the monastery of Las Huelgas across the Arlanzon River from the centre of Burgos. The Hospital del Rey was not the oldest pilgrim hospital in Burgos. Alfonso VI annexed the already existing Hospital de San Juan and renamed it the Hospital del Emperador in 1085. Ibid., p. 184.

[123] The *Pilgrim's Guide* includes a story of two French pilgrims who were searching for lodging in the homes (*domus*) of Poitevins before finally being offered lodging in the home of a poor man. *Guide*, pp. 88-89 (ch. 11).

and twenty each to the *merino* (royal administrator), *alcalde* (mayor) and lord of the town. If the pilgrim lost the trial, he was to pay sixty *solidi* to the lord of the town.[124]

Estella's *fuero* did not mention inns or hospitals, but rather the homes of townspeople in which pilgrims or merchants might be staying. Given the large number of pilgrims that flowed through Estella, this could have represented a source of significant income and wealth for townspeople. The *fuero* of Atapuerca, located on the Camino Francés between Belorado and Burgos, granted in 1138 by Alfonso VII, provides additional evidence that local people rented rooms to pilgrims as it allowed a townsperson to keep the goods of a pilgrim who died in his home without a will.[125] *Veneranda dies* mentioned pilgrims dying in the homes of innkeepers, illustrating this was not an uncommon situation.[126]

Besides hospitals and the homes of townspeople, lodging options included inns where pilgrims paid for a bed and a meal. Innkeeper became an important profession in pilgrim towns as shown in the *Pilgrim's Guide* that mentioned innkeepers who operated along the Camino Francés.[127] In his travels through northern Iberia in c. 1154, Al-Idrisi specifically mentioned that Sahagún had 'comfortable accommodations', implying the hospitality sector was well established and had certainly grown beyond the monastery's pilgrim hospital.[128]

Innkeeping was a lucrative profession as shown by an 1180 charter from Frankish San Cernin that sought to protect its innkeepers (*albergadores*) amongst various other professions from local competition.[129] A charter of 1133 from Compostela sought to limit the profits of

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[124] *Fuero de Estella* (II, 8.1-3), p. 330.
[125] 'Fuero de Atapuerca', in ed. G. Martínez Díez, *Fueros locales en el territorio de la provincia de Burgos* (Burgos, 1982): *Si quis advena vel peregrinus in ipsa villa obierit sua bona habeat cui ipse dederit, et si ipse nulli dederit habeat ea ille in cuius domus obierit.*
[126] *LSJ*, p. 96 (I, 17).
[127] Innkeepers were found generating business along the Camino Francés. *Guide*, pp. 72-73 (ch. 9).
[128] Al-Idrisi, p. 81: …*desde Leon una jornada a Sahagún, fortaleza populosa, de agradable aspecto y comodo hospedaje.*
[129] *Documentación Medieval del Archivos Municipal de Pamplona (1129-1356)*, p. XXVII.

innkeepers who coordinated with moneychangers and bakers to increase profits,[130] and *Veneranda dies* described innkeepers who received commissions from moneychangers.[131] The coordination of commercial opportunities between innkeepers with moneychangers also occurred in the important pilgrim town of Saint-Gilles, where in 1178 Raymond V of Toulouse (1148-94) and the councillors of Saint-Gilles sought to limit financial abuses being perpetrated against pilgrims by the town's moneychangers in inns, houses and shops.[132]

Oviedo as Beneficiary of the Compostelan Pilgrimage

Not all the urbanisation and material wealth driven by the growth in popularity of the Compostelan pilgrimage took place directly along the Camino Francés. Other beneficiaries of the explosion in pilgrim traffic in the twelfth century were sites that inspired Compostelan pilgrims to make detours from the main route like the shrines of San Millán de la Cogolla (La Rioja)[133] and Our Lady of Rocamadour (the Midi),[134] or towns that sat along secondary feeder routes to the Camino Francés, such as Miranda de Ebro on the stretch between Bayonne and Burgos.[135] The most popular of the secondary destinations in Iberia in the twelfth century was San Salvador of Oviedo, located eighty miles north of León and the Camino Francés.

Alfonso II 'the Chaste' (791-842) made Oviedo capital of the kingdom of Asturias, and he built churches there dedicated to San Salvador and San Julián de los Prados as well as a royal palace.[136] The royal seat was moved from Oviedo to León upon the death of Alfonso III 'the

[130] *HC*, pp. 472-75 (III, 33).
[131] *LSJ*, p. 97 (I, 17).
[132] *Layettes de Trésor de Chartres*, ed. M.A. Teulet, vol. 1 (Paris, 1863-1909), p. 119 (288). For an English translation, see Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West*, pp. 98-99.
[133] *PSC*, II, pp. 160-61.
[134] *The Miracles of Our Lady of Rocamadour*, ed. and trans. M. Bull (Woodbridge, 1999), pp. 73 and 79; and Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade*, pp. 232-35. Compostelan pilgrims travelling on the *via podiensis* likely diverted near Cahors, approximately thirty miles from Rocamadour. See *PSC*, II, p. 66.
[135] *PSC*, II, pp. 454-55.
[136] O'Callaghan, *History of Medieval Spain*, p. 104.

Great' in 910, placing it closer to communication lines with newly repopulated territories.[137] This significant event in Oviedo's history stimulated a long economic decline, which lasted until the end of the eleventh century.[138]

Nevertheless, San Salvador became a symbol of Asturian and Leonese identity, and it was bestowed with significant material wealth in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries. The *Historia Silense* (c. 1115) described how Fernando I 'the Great' of León-Castile (1037-65) venerated San Salvador at a level of importance that matched or perhaps even exceeded the shrine of St James in Compostela:

> He cared for the church of San Salvador at Oviedo above other sacred and venerable places and endowed it with much gold and silver. Furthermore, he strove to adorn the church of the blessed apostle James with varied gifts.[139]

However, besides the wealth of San Salvador, there were no other reasons to justify Oviedo's development in the late eleventh century as it existed in a poor area on the margins of the principal trade routes.[140]

Oviedo's fortunes changed in 1075 when Alfonso VI visited the town on his way to Compostela from León, establishing a tradition that connected it to the Compostelan pilgrimage.[141] During that visit Alfonso lavished San Salvador with precious gifts, and a spurious diploma described how the *Arca Santa* (Holy Arc) was opened and an inventory of its wealth of relics was taken.[142] According to the *Liber testamentorum*, composed by Bishop

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[137] Ibid., p. 163.
[138] González Mínguez, 'La Urbanización del Litoral del Norte de España (siglos XII-XIV)', p. 53.
[139] *Historia Silense*, ed. Santos Coco, pp. 87-88: *Colebat pre ceteris sacris et venerabilibus locis ecclesiam sancti Salvatoris Ovetensis, quam multo auro et argento dotavit. Nichilomimus ecclesiam beati Iacobi apostoli diversis muneribus exornare studuit.* For English translation, see *Historia Silense*, ed. and trans. Barton and Fletcher, p. 61.
[140] Gautier Dalché, *Historia Urbana de León y Castile en la Edad Media*, p. 83.
[141] Ibid., p. 82.
[142] *Colección de documentos de la Catedral de Oviedo*, ed. S.A. García Larragueta (Oviedo, 1962), pp. 214-19 (72). The inventory of relics likely dates to the first quarter of the twelfth century. Reilly believed Alfonso was in Oviedo at the time the arc was purportedly opened in 1075, but he argued the document describing the act of inventorying the relics was a forgery. B. Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla Under Alfonso VI*, p. 85. Fletcher also believed the

Pelayo of Oviedo in c. 1125, the *Arca Santa* was purportedly crafted by the apostles and was moved to Oviedo from Toledo shortly after the Muslim invasion of Iberia in the early eighth century.[143] Amongst the substantial inventory listed in the 1075 diploma were relics from the apostles including SS Peter, John and James (the Lesser), a remnant of clothing stained with milk from the Virgin Mary, a blood-stained cloth (*sudarium*) that covered the face of Jesus after the Crucifixion, a piece of bread from the Last Supper, and relics from Iberian saints including SS Facundus and Primitivus.[144]

As had been the case with the Camino Francés, Alfonso VI and later monarchs patronized the development of devotional infrastructure, including hospitals and towns, along the León-Oviedo-Lugo route to support passing pilgrims (Map 1.5). In 1096 Alfonso donated a royal palace, called the *Palatio Frantisco*, referring to the nearby settlement of Franks, in order to convert it into a hospital to serve the poor, many of which were undoubtedly pilgrims.[145] Establishment of the palatial hospital suggests San Salvador had started to become an inter-regional pilgrimage destination by the late eleventh century.[146]

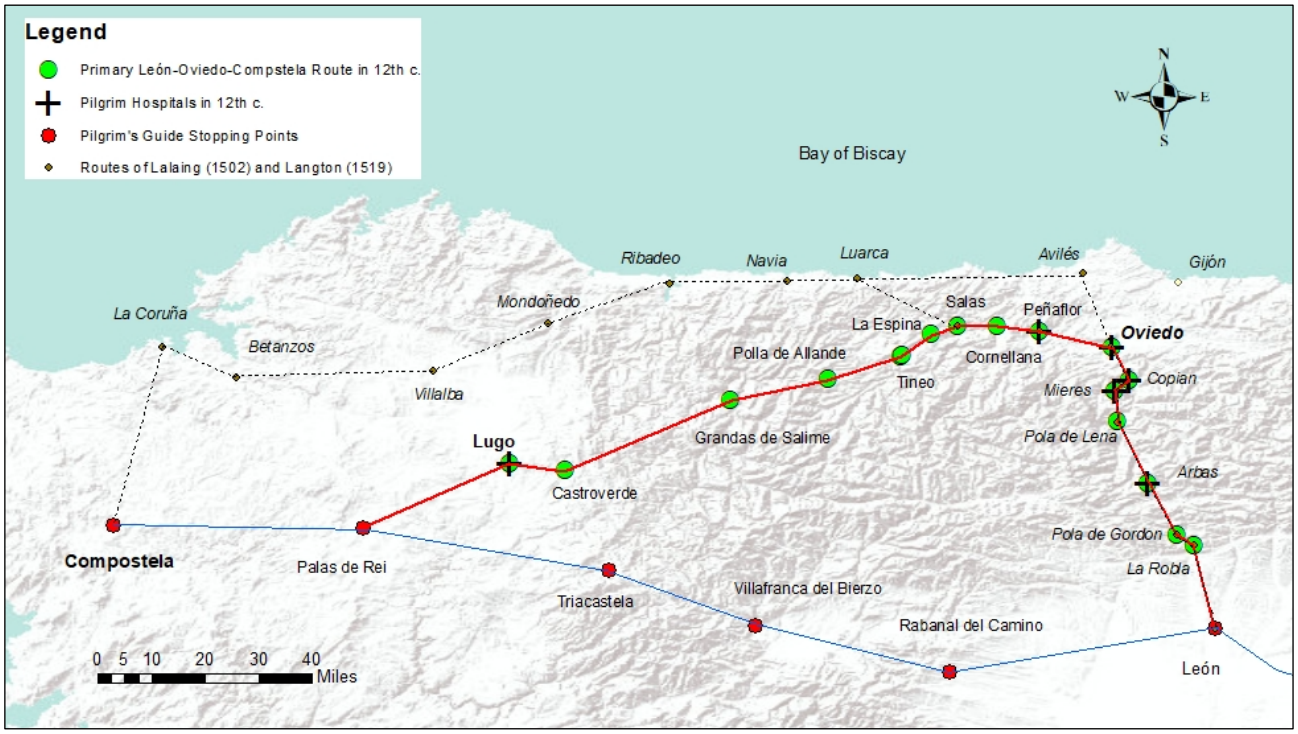
1075 text was not original, but he argued its claims related to the arc were based on 'genuine materials'. R. Fletcher, *The Quest for El Cid* (New York, 1990), p. 211. The arc likely dates to the early twelfth century around the time the *Liber testamentorum* was created. J. Harris, 'Redating the Arca Santa of Oviedo', *The Art Bulletin*, 77 (1995), pp. 83-93, pp. 89-90.

[143] Barton and Fletcher, *The World of El Cid*, pp. 70-71. See also *PSC*, II, p. 480.

[144] *Colección de documentos de la Catedral de Oviedo*, p. 216 (72).

[145] *España Sagrada*, XXXVIII, pp. 338-40 (27). See also Gautier Dalché, *Historia Urbana de León y Castile en la Edad Media*, pp. 82-83.

[146] *PSC*, II, p. 459.



Map 1.5. León-Oviedo-Compostela Pilgrimage Routes.

In addition to his donation of the royal palace in Oviedo in 1096, Alfonso VI sponsored the development of hospitals at Arbas from at least 1103 and the mountain of Copián in 1103,[147] and his grandson Alfonso VII created a hospital near Peñaflor in 1144.[148] Notably, the monastery of Cornellana, located along the Oviedo-Lugo corridor, was donated to Cluny in 1122, the only such Cluniac monastery in Asturias, and one that would have supported pilgrims as was done by its contemporaries along the Camino Francés.[149] The connection between the Oviedo pilgrimage route and the Camino Francés was made clear in 1214, when a charter related

[147] Ibid., II, p. 465.
[148] Ibid., II, p. 551. A hospital at Mieres existed from at least 1186. Ibid., III, pp. 49-50 (42).
[149] Ibid., II, p. 554.

to the founding of the town of Tineo referred to the road between San Salvador and Compostela as the *Camino Francisco*.[150]

Alfonso VI followed a similar pattern to his actions along the Camino Francés when he successfully attracted Frankish merchants and craftsmen to develop Oviedo's pilgrim markets through the economic and judicial incentives in a *fuero*.[151] Sometime between 1085 and 1109, Alfonso granted Oviedo the *fuero* of Sahagún, and it was confirmed by his grandson Alfonso VII in 1145.[152] The *fuero* allowed for separate *merinos* for Franks and Castilians and exempted both groups from paying the market tax.[153] It also outlined regulations for the sale of bread and cider, the staple drink in Oviedo, rather than wine as in Sahagún, likely intended to protect passing pilgrims.[154] Alfonso VII's confirmation further guaranteed the protection and free movement of merchants and exempted them from paying a transit tax paid on goods travelling between the sea and León.[155]

Notably, the *Pilgrim's Guide* omitted San Salvador from its recommended list of shrines to visit along the Camino Francés in Iberia, which included Santo Domingo de la Calzada,

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[150] Ibid., II, p. 557. Later period Compostelan pilgrim itineraries show the tradition of visiting San Salvador of Oviedo continued. Künig von Vach mentioned the route to Oviedo from León in his 1495 pilgrimage itinerary; and Lalaing (1502) and Langton (1519) diverged from the Camino Francés in León to visit San Salvador in Oviedo. After visiting San Salvador in Oviedo, Lalaing and Langton traveled across northern coastal Galicia, passing through Luarca, Ribadeo, Villalba and Betanzos before turning south to Compostela at La Coruña. Their routes differed slightly, as Lailang went from Oviedo through Avilés and Langton followed the primary twelfth-century route to Salas before turning north to the coast. H. Künig von Vach, trans. J. Durant, *The Pilgrimage and Path to Saint James* (London, 2003), p. 18; A. de Lalaing, 'Voyage de Philippe le Beau en Espagne, en 1501', in M. Gachard (ed.), *Collection Des Voyages Des Souverains – Des Pays-Bas*, vol. I (Brussels, 1876), pp. 115-340, pp. 156-58; R. Langton, 'The pylgrimage of M. Robert Langton clerke to saynt James in Compostell and in other holy places in Crystendome', in R. Tate and T. Turville-Petre (eds.), *Two Pilgrim Itineraries of the Later Middle Ages* (Santiago de Compostela, 1995), pp. 93-132, pp. 98-99.

[151] Ruiz de la Peña Solar, *El comercio ovetense en la Edad Media*, p. 342.

[152] J.I. Ruiz de la Peña Solar, 'El comercio ovetense en la Edad Media', *Archivum: Revista de la Facultad de Filología*, 16 (1966), pp. 339-84, pp. 340-41. The original *fuero* of Alfonso VI has been lost. For Alfonso VII's 1145 confirmation, see *El Fuero de Avilés*, ed. A. Fernández-Guerra y Orbe (Madrid, 1865), pp. 111-35.

[153] *El Fuero de Avilés*, p. 113 (3). Signatories of the *fuero* included one *Guillelme de la tienda* who was likely a Frank (William) who ran a shop in the town. Ibid., p. 135.

[154] Ibid., pp. 124-27.

[155] Ibid., p. 133: *Ommes pobladores de Ouiedo non dian portage njn Ribage desdela mar ata leon*. See also Ruiz de la Peña Solar, *El comercio ovetense en la Edad Media*, pp. 343-44.

Sahagún, San Isidoro in León and Compostela.[156] San Salvador would certainly have been known to the authors of the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* given the attention paid to the shrine by Fernando I and Alfonso VI. Excluding Oviedo from the *Pilgrim's Guide* was likely a way for its patrons to protect Compostela from potential competition. This rivalry was especially pronounced during the time of Bishop Pelayo of Oviedo (1101-30 and 1142-43), a contemporary of Compostela's Diego Gelmírez.[157] Whilst Compostela received archbishopric status in 1120, Oviedo was reduced to a suffragan of Toledo in 1121, a political blow that diminished the status of San Salvador relative to the shrine of St James, but one that did not stop pilgrims from visiting Oviedo.[158]

Rapid growth in the second half of the twelfth century and first half of the thirteenth century caused significant food shortages, implying the rural areas around Oviedo were relatively undeveloped.[159] The growth of Oviedo and its related supply problems were likely reasons for the granting of royal *fueros* to the land-based trade routes and coastal areas near Oviedo through which goods could be imported. In 1156, Alfonso VII granted the *fuero* of Sahagún to the port town of Avilés, fifteen miles north of Oviedo.[160] The connection of these port towns to Oviedo would have been a key reason for their development given the Asturian coast's difficult physical geography and its limited land routes to the interior, which were hindered by mountains.

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[156] *Guide*, pp. 64-65 (ch. 8).
[157] Barton and Fletcher, *The World of El Cid*, p. 67. See also González Mínguez, 'La urbanización del litoral del norte de España (siglos XII-XIV)', pp. 53-54.
[158] Barton and Fletcher, *The World of El Cid*, p. 69.
[159] Ruiz de la Peña Solar, *El comercio ovetense en la Edad Media*, p. 346.
[160] *El Fuero de Avilés*, pp. 111-35. On the dating of this *fuero*, see Gautier Dalché, *Historia urbana de León y Castilla en la Edad Media*, p. 90.

Towns along the pilgrim roads to Compostela grew rapidly from the late eleventh to early twelfth centuries after the monarchs of northern Christian Iberia issued *fueros* that granted settlers generous economic and judicial freedoms. The weekly markets of these towns, often located in front of churches dedicated to St James, supplied pilgrims with the goods necessary for their long journeys. These markets were strategically spaced by the monarchs to facilitate commercial activity by travelling merchants and maximize royal tax revenue. The lucrative nature of the pilgrimage to the Leonese monarchs was shown in their efforts to divert Compostelan pilgrim traffic to the shrine of San Salvador in Oviedo. This chapter has thus far outlined royal motivations for developing the devotional infrastructure and the nature of how pilgrim towns developed, and now the people of the towns will be explored, starting with the Franks.

3. Franks Abroad

The backbone of the devotional infrastructure in pilgrim towns was formed by Frankish merchants and craftsmen who emigrated in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. Franks (*Francigeni*[161] or *francos*)[162] came from areas of western Europe outside of the Iberian Peninsula.[163] Frankish merchants, whom Joseph O'Callaghan called 'the most important mercantile element in the western kingdoms', were familiar with the Iberian pilgrim roads from at least the mid-tenth century.[164] Compostela's first burgher was a Frank named Bretenaldo Franco who lived just southwest of the basilica, in an area referred to as *Compostelle* in 955, the

[161] Gautier Dalché, *Historia urbana de León y Castilla en la Edad Media*, p. 184; and *Fuero de Miranda de Ebro*, p. 30 (3).
[162] *CFM*, p. 410. See also García Ramírez's grant of the *fuero* of Estella to Olite that refers to *meos francos de Estela*. J.M. Lacarra, *Fueros de Navarre* (Pamplona, 1969) I, p. 53.
[163] For additional information of the term Franks, see Bartlett, *The Making of Europe*, pp. 101-05.
[164] O'Callaghan, *History of Medieval Spain*, p. 294.

first textual evidence of the city name.[165] Evidence of Frankish influence in Compostela was also seen in the ecclesiastical institutions established in the tenth century with devotions centred outside Iberia, including the monastery of San Martín de Pinario and the church of San Benito.[166]

The *Crónicas anónimas* of Sahagún provided a detailed description of the home provinces and kingdoms for the large population of Frankish merchants and artisans who settled there in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, including Burgundy, Gascony, Lombardy and Normandy:

> …people of diverse and strange provinces and kingdoms such as Gascons, Bretons, Germans, English, Burgundians, Normans, Toulousians, Provençals, Lombards, and many other merchants from diverse nations and strange languages. And so the town was populated and was not small.[167]

Frankish immigrants settled into pilgrim towns alongside their compatriots that mirrored the grouping of pilgrims by their places of origin.[168] *Veneranda dies* described the home regions of pilgrims including Germans, French and Italians, and how they congregated in separate groups whilst conducting their vigils in Santiago Cathedral:

> Germans remain in one area, French in another, Italians in a throng in another, holding burning candles in their hands, from which the whole church is lit up like the sun or the brightest of days. Each one sagaciously carries out his vigils by himself with his countrymen.[169]

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[165] E. Portela Silva, *Historia de la ciudad de Santiago de Compostela* (Santiago de Compostela, 2003), pp. 134-36. Bretenaldo Franco lived in an area described as *suburbia patronis nostri beati Iacobi apostoli, loco predicto Compostelle*. Evidence of Bretenaldo Franco comes from the first third of the tenth century. López Alsina, *La ciudad de Santiago de Compostela en la Alta Edad Media*, p. 275.

[166] López Alsina, *La ciudad de Santiago de Compostela en la Alta Edad Media*, p. 267.

[167] *CAS*, pp. 19-21: *...personas de diversas e estrañas provinçias e reinos, conbiene a saver, gascones, bretones, alemanes, yngleses, borgoñones, normandos, tolosanos, provinçiales, lonbardos, e muchos otros negoçiadores de diversas naçiones e estrannas lenguas. E así pobló e fiço la villa non pequenna.*

[168] On the rise of medieval trading colonies, which showed similarities to Frankish pilgrim towns, see J. Banaji, *A Brief History of Commercial Capitalism* (Chicago, 2020), pp. 15-28.

[169] *LSJ*, p. 89 (I, 17, 78v): *Theutonici enim in alia parte, Franci in alia, Itali in alia, catervatim commorantur, cereos ardentes manibus tenentes, unde tota ecclesia ut sol vel dies clarissima illuminatur. Unusquisque cum patriotis suis per se vigilias sapienter agit*. For English translation see *MSJ*, p. 18.

Franks became the dominant cultural group in many pilgrim towns. Names found in San Cernin's 1129 *fuero* and a charter from 1180 revealed the origins of inhabitants and cultural connections to nearby communities, as was the case in pilgrim towns across the Camino Francés. Witnesses to San Cernin's 1129 *fuero* included Gassion (likely of Gascon origins) from Belforatho (Belorado), Petro Tiçon from Stella (Estella), and Ato Orella (likely of German origins), lord of Sangüesa and Ricla.[170] Witnesses to San Cernin's 1180 charter, included one Johanes of Sangossa (Sangüesa), likely of German origins.[171] Villafranca del Bierzo's inhabitants also came primarily from Germany and France, Bayonne and Burgundy, as shown by names on a twelfth-century document including Petro Alemando, Martino Aleiman, Petro Franco, Raul Franco, Giral de Baiona and Giraldii Borgonii.[172] Many Franks in Carrión had come from Germany and France as shown by the names of witnesses to an early thirteenth century donation including Iohannis Galindo, Iohan Bernal, Pedro Iohan (the *alcade*, or mayor), Iohan de Cabanolas and Pere de Lemoges.[173]

Frankish immigrants were highly skilled, as illustrated by the moneyers of Compostela, led by Randulfo,[174] and masters Bernard and Robert, Frenchmen who coordinated the building of Compostela Cathedral in the first half of the twelfth century.[175] Many pilgrim-town churches showed stylistic similarities to earlier French churches, including Santiago of Carrión (c. 1170) with the basilica of Mary Magdalene in Vézelay (c. 1130)[176] and Santa María of Sangüesa (c.

[170] *Documentación Medieval del Archivos Municipal de Pamplona (1129-1356)*, p. XVI (1).
[171] Ibid, p. XXVII (7).
[172] M.C. Rodríguez González and M. Durany Castrillo, 'El sistema antroponímico como indicador social. Los habitantes de Villafranca del Bierzo en el siglo XII', *Minius*, 2-3 (1993-94), pp. 91-100, p. 97.
[173] Pérez Celada, *Documentacion del Monasterio de San Zoilo de Carrion (1047-1300)*, pp. 186-87 (97).
[174] *HC*, p. 56 (I, 28.1). John the Lombard, a moneyer, was Italian, and so perhaps was his partner Tandulf (*Tandulfus*). Fletcher, *St. James's Catapult*, p. 184.
[175] Fletcher, *St James's Catapult*, p. 175.
[176] Ibid., p. 162.

1170) with Chartres Cathedral (c. 1140),[177] supporting the notion that talented Frankish builders, sculptors and moneyers travelled along pilgrim roads of Iberia, stopping temporarily where their skills were in demand, and undoubtedly in some cases settling in pilgrim towns. Professions of the skilled Frankish townspeople of Sahagún were described in the *Crónicas anónimas*:

> Now then the aforementioned king [Alfonso VI] ordered and established that at this town, burghers would gather from all parts of the world, of many and diverse trades, including blacksmiths, carpenters, shoemakers, tailors, tanners, shield makers, and all skilled in many and diverse arts and professions.[178]

The urban professions in Sahagún were similar to those of other Frankish towns like Jaca and Estella. An onomastic analysis of Jaca's largely Frankish population from 1137 found shoemaker was the most common occupation, followed by blacksmith, merchant, tailor, moneychanger and minter.[179] Nearly eighty percent of the men in Jaca in 1137 had names whose origins were from outside of northern Iberia, including Cahors, Condom, Montpellier, Tarbes and Toulouse.[180] Of those in the local shoemaker guild, eighty percent also had names whose origins were from outside Iberia, including Francese cabater, Martin cabater and Sanc cabater de Tolosa.[181] The number of shoemakers was clearly related to pilgrim demand for shoes at a key stopping point at the foot of the arduous Somport Pass over the Pyrenees.[182]

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[177] B. Müller, 'La arquitectura plástica de Santa María Real en Sangüesa (Navarre)', *Príncipe Viana*, 208 (1996), pp. 247-82.
[178] *CAS*, pp. 19-21: *Pues agora como el sobredicho rei ordenase e estableçiese que aí se fiçiese villa, ayuntáronse de todas las partes del uniberso burgueses de muchos e diversos ofiçios, conbiene a saver, herreros, carpinteros, xastres, pelliteros, çapateros, escutarios e omnes enseñados en muchas e dibersas artes e ofiçios.*
[179] P. García Mouton, 'Los franceses en Aragón (siglos XI – XIII)', *Archivo de filología aragonesa*, 26-27 (1980), pp. 7-98, p. 16.
[180] Ibid., p. 15.
[181] Ibid., p. 16.
[182] A similar onomastic analysis from contemporary Estella determined that roughly ninety percent of the names found in professional logs were from regions outside of Iberia. R. Cierbide, 'Onomástica personal de los francos de Estella (1090-1222), *Nouvelle Revue d'Onomastique*, 25-26 (1995), pp. 209-22, pp. 218-19.

Many pilgrim towns were dominated by Frankish devotions to saints from their places of origin, especially St Martin of Tours, St Nicholas of Bari and St Sernin of Toulouse.[183] Estella exemplified pilgrim-town devotion to Frankish cults, as its political and economic centre was named for St Martin, and it hosted pilgrim hospitals dedicated to SS Peter and Nicholas, and a sanctuary dedicated to Our Lady of Rocamadour.[184] In 1122 the city of León had at least two Frankish neighbourhoods, one dedicated to St Martin, and another near the Church of Santa María del Camino which flanked the Camino Francés.[185] Pilgrims travelling through Burgos passed through the neighbourhoods of Santiago and San Nicolás, and then through that of San Martín where a Frankish neighbourhood likely existed. These devotions were emblematic of how Frankish identity permeated and shaped the cultural landscape of the Camino Francés. The proliferation of Frankish devotions along the Camino was also indicative of what Bartlett calls the 'Europeanization of Europe'.[186]

In addition to influencing the cultural identity of pilgrim towns, it was Frankish, particularly French, ecclesiastics who shaped propaganda about the cult of St James and the pilgrimage to Compostela. The *Liber Sancti Jacobi* and *Historia Compostellana* were written by French ecclesiastics that included Gerald from Beauvais and Hugo, canons of Santiago Cathedral in the early twelfth century.[187] Franks also became prominent members of religious communities as exemplified by Abbot Bernard of Sahagún in the early twelfth century (and later archbishop of

[183] On the shrine of St Nicholas of Bari, see P. Oldfield, *Sanctity and Pilgrimage in Medieval Southern Italy, 1000–1200* (Cambridge, 2014). The basilica of St Nicholas of Bari was developed in the late eleventh century to house the saint's relics when the original location in Myrna was taken by Muslims. The Bari shrine developed when the area was dominated by Normans.
[184] *PSC*, II, pp. 143-44.
[185] Two Frankish *consilios* were mentioned in a charter from 1122, that of San Martín (*consolio Sancti Martini* and the *consilio francorum* in the neighbourhood of Sancte Marie de Camino Sancti Iacobe. Ruiz de Peña Solar, 'Las Colonizaciones Francas', p. 297. See also *PSC*, III, app. 47; and Martínez Sopena, 'Los francos en la España de los siglos XI al XIII', p. 38.
[186] Bartlett, *The Making of Europe*, pp. 269-80.
[187] Fletcher, *St. James's Catapult*, p. 301.

Toledo), and Bernard the treasurer of the cathedral chapter in Compostela under Diego Gelmírez.[188]

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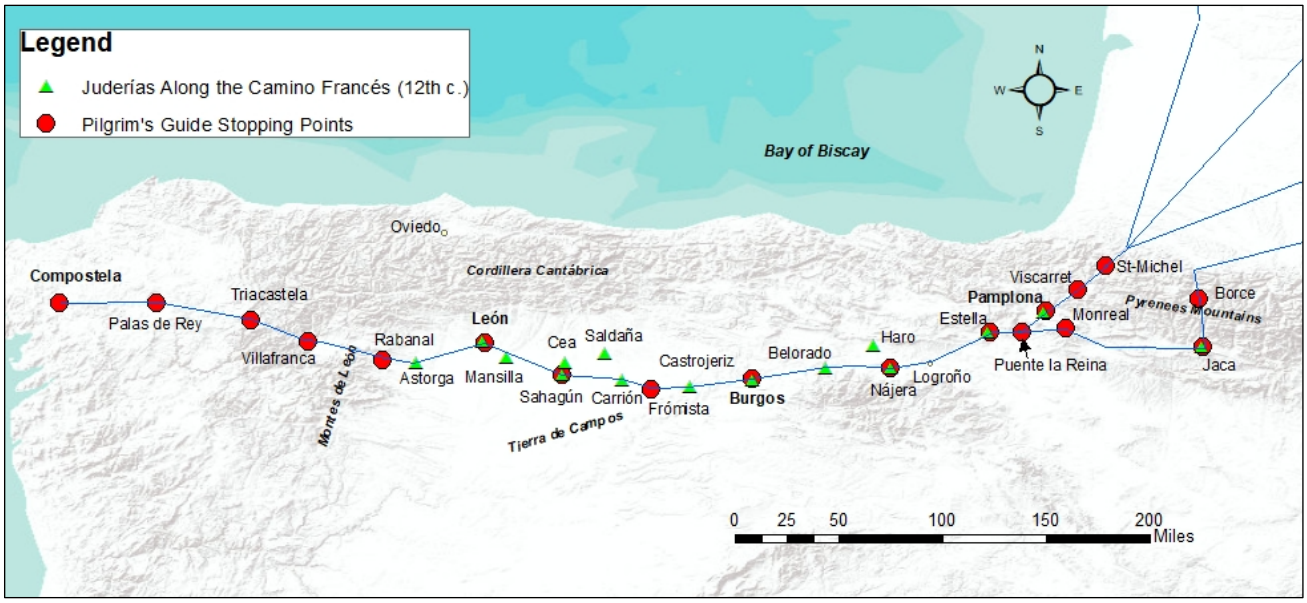
Large numbers of Frankish merchants and craftsmen settled in pilgrim towns along the Camino Francés over the course of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. They were enticed to move by economic and judicial freedoms offered in royal *fueros*, and the tremendous commercial opportunities presented by serving large numbers of passing pilgrims. Like bridges over the many rivers along the pilgrim roads, Frankish pilgrim towns like Estella, Jaca and Sahagún became crucial components of the devotional infrastructure. These merchants and artisans were joined by Frankish ecclesiastics at Cluniac monasteries and Compostela's cathedral chapter who helped shape the narrative around local saints and the cult of St James. The importation of Frankish 'universal' devotions also brought the pilgrim towns of northern Christian Iberia closer to the rest of western Europe.

4. Jews in the Devotional Infrastructure

Franks were not the only outsiders to settle in the emerging pilgrim towns of northern Christian Iberia. Jewish merchants and artisans from outside of Iberia and others driven from Muslim Iberia or areas recently captured by Christians were attracted to the economic and judicial incentives of *fueros* and settled in pilgrim towns in the late eleventh and twelfth century. Small but prosperous Jewish communities (*juderías* or *aljamas*) became important contributors to the devotional infrastructure of the pilgrimage.[189] Many Jewish settlements were found in pilgrim

[188] *Guide*, pp. 72-73 (ch. 9) and note 62 on p. 204.
[189] In this study *judería* is used to define the physical community, often walled, within a town (Jewry). *Aljama* is an Arabic word that was used to define Jewish and Muslim areas in Christian towns, with the Jewish community often associated with a synagogue.

towns along the Camino Francés in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, including Astorga,[190] Belorado, Burgos, Carrión, Castrojeriz,[191] Estella,[192] Jaca,[193] León, Mansilla,[194] Nájera,[195] Pamplona[196] and Sahagún (Map 1.6).



Map 1.6. *Juderías* Along the Camino Francés (12th c.)

[190] A donation of a house by Fernando II of León to one Velasco Fernández and his wife Teresa González in 1187 revealed the existence of Astorga's *judería* or *Castro de los judíos*. M. Rodríguez Diaz, *Historia de la muy noble, leal y benemérita ciudad de Astorga*, 2 vols. (Astorga, 1909), I, pp. 51-53 and 793-94.
[191] *CFM*, pp. 37-42. See also Baer, *History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, I, p. 43; and A.L. Palomino Lázaro, M.J. Negredo García, M. Moratinos García and I.M. Centeno Cea, 'Arqueolgía Sefardí en Castilla y León: Intervención en el Yacimiento de "La Mota", en Castrillo Mota de Judíos (Burgos)', in N. Hernández Gutiérrez, J. Larrazabal Galarza and R. Portero Hernández (eds.), *Arqueología en el valle del Duero. Del Paleolítico a la Edad Media. 6* (2018), pp. 631-56.
[192] Baer, *History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, I, p. 42.
[193] Juderías existed in two *barrios* of Jaca, those of Santiago and las Cambras. M.A. Motis Dolader, 'Reflexiones en torno a las sinagogas de la judería de Jaca en la Edad Media', *Aragón en la Edad Media*, 10-11 (1993), pp. 641-60, pp. 643-44.
[194] A document from 1175 outlined taxes paid in produce by the Jews of Mansilla (de las Mulas) to the prior and chapter of the cathedral of León. Rodríguez Fernández, *Judería de la ciudad de León*, p. 132 (note 17.6). Mansilla (*Manxilla*) was a key stopping point on the Camino Francés, located eleven miles southeast of León. *Guide*, p. 14-15 (ch. 3).
[195] Baer, *History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, I, p. 43. See also Gautier Dalché, *Historia urbana de León y Castilla en la Edad Media*, pp. 177-83.
[196] J. Carrasco Pérez, 'Juderías y sinagogas en el reino de Navarra', *Príncipe de Viana*, 225 (2002), pp. 113-56, pp. 123-24.

The Christian monarchs and the *juderías* of pilgrim towns had an interdependent relationship. The monarchs needed Jewish merchants and artisans to support pilgrim-town markets and Jewish taxes to support their military efforts against the Muslims.[197] Jews became part of the royal treasury[198] and each Jewish household paid an annual census to the monarchs which became a significant portion of royal revenues. According to the *fueros* granted to Sahagún by Alfonso X of León-Castile (1252-84), the 'ancient' Jewish tribute was eighteen dineros for some and 100 *maravedís* annually for others, established as the maximum amount by royal officials.[199] The annual census charged to Jewish households by the Castilian kings was more efficient in its design and execution than the approach used by their contemporaries in England and France who relied largely on punitive but infrequent fines, abrupt and excessive taxes and seizures of outstanding loans.[200]

The economic contributions of the Jews were significant and disproportionately higher than what their numbers might suggest.[201] This was shown by the higher *wergild* (penalty for abuses) collected by the monarchs for Christian violence committed against Jews, royal protections granted to Jews, and the royal taxes Jewish communities were required to pay.

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[197] O'Callaghan argued that in the wake of Alfonso VI's defeat of 1086 by the Almoravids at Sagrajas 'the Christians were kept on the defensive for the next fifty years'. O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain*, p. 30. On other contemporary military action between the Christians and Muslims in Iberia, see ibid., pp. 34 (Uclés, 1108, defeat of Infante Sancho), 40 (Fraga, 1134, defeat of Alfonso I), 61 (Alarcos, 1195, defeat of Alfonso VIII), 43-44 (Lisbon, 1147, combined Afonso I of Portugal and northern crusaders) and 70-74 (Las Navas de Tolosa, 1212 Christian victory led by Alfonso VIII and others). See also S. Barton, *The Aristocracy in Twelfth-Century León and Castile* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 11-26.

[198] The treatment of Jews as part of the royal treasury was shown in 1141 when Alfonso VII granted the town of Calatalifa the *fuero* of Toledo. The *fuero* granted hereditary rights to Christians, but not Jews and Muslims whose property belonged to the 'palace'. *Quicumque vero de populatoribus Calatalife (exceptis Mauris et Iudaeis) tendam in sua haereditate fecerit, eam semper iure haereditario possideat. Maurus vero, Iudaeus si ibi haereditatem fecerit, sit de palatio*. *CFM*, pp. 532-33. Although not a Compostelan pilgrim town (Calatalifa was located approximately 150 miles south of the Camino Francés), this act revealed the royal mindset regarding treatment of Jews across León-Castile.

[199] Rodríguez Fernández, 'Judería de Sahagún', pp. 34-35.

[200] Soifer Irish, *Jews and Christians in Medieval Castile*, p. 34.

[201] Jane Gerber estimates Jews contributed thirty-five to sixty percent of royal income in Iberia's Christian kingdoms. J. Gerber, *The Jews of Spain: A History of the Sephardic Experience* (New York, 1992), p. 95.

Nájera's *fuero* (1076) stated those who struck a Jew were to pay the same fine as if the offence had been committed against a noble or friar.[202] The *fuero* of León, granted to the Jews of Sahagún by Alfonso VI in 1090, stated injuries committed by Christians against Jews resulted in a fine of one-hundred *solidi* payable to the king; whereas Jewish offences against Christians resulted in a fine of fifty *solidi* to be paid to the Christian and fifty *solidi* to the king.[203]

Jewish communities and the associated royal taxes became a crucial element of the pilgrimage's devotional infrastructure. In some cases, the income streams were gifted by the monarchs to ecclesiastical lords and religious institutions, a practice started during the reign of Fernando I of León (1035-65) when he donated five-hundred *solidi* from Jewish rents to León's church of Santa María.[204] In 1085 Alfonso VI made a donation from the *aljama* of Burgos to support his new Hospital of the Emperor that included the daily Jewish tribute of two *solidi* and one *denarius*, the *portazgo* assessed on cloth and charcoal from the Thursday market, and a measure of salt.[205] In other cases, the entire community was gifted, much like donations of royal towns, monasteries and churches, as shown in 1126 when Alfonso VII made all the Jews of Sahagún, said to number thirty families at the time, vassals (*vassalli*) of the abbot.[206] The

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[202] *Los Fueros de Nájera*, ed. C. Diez de Ulzurrun y Orue (Logroño, 1897), p. 41 (XIII). Belorado's 1116 *fuero* levied the same fine on Jews and Christians for physical violence committed against each other. *CFM*, p. 411.
[203] J. Rodríguez Fernández, 'Judería de Sahagún', p. 56 (1): *Et si fue rit venzuto ille de iudeo, pectet ille iudeus L solidos ad illo christiano et L solidos ad merino de rege. Et si christianus aut suo bastonero fuerit venzuto, pectet totam calumniam a parte regis.*
[204] Soifer Irish, *Jews and Christians in Medieval Castile,* p. 21. Royal grants of Jewish taxes to ecclesiastical lords took place in other parts of twelfth-century Latin Christendom. The archbishop of Arles and the abbot of Saint-Denis were both given the rights to taxes generated by their Jewish communities. E. Benbassa, *The Jews of France: A History from Antiquity to the Present* (Princeton, 2001), p. 13.
[205] L. Sorano, *El Obispado de Burgos y Castilla primitiva: desde el siglo V al XIII*, vol. III (Madrid, 1936), pp. 68-70 (27): *Do etiam predicto hospitali ut accipiat cothidie ab ipsis iudeis de Burgos duos solidos et unum denarium, et quinta feria accipiat portaticum de lenia et de carbone et unam mensuram salis*. *Lenia* likely meant *linia*, which can be translated as linen cloth or thread. This charter also documented other donations to the hospital including the pilgrim town of Arcos and the church of San Juan in Burgos. The Hospital of the Emperor catered to pilgrims as they passed through the western gate of the city (San Martín), located near the *judería*.
[206] Escalona, *Historia del Real Monasterio de Sahagún*, p. 106 (5). This donation was confirmed by Alfonso VII in 1152. Rodríguez Fernández, 'Judería de Sahagún', pp. 59-60 (3). The 1152 confirmation was likely made to placate the monastery that had recently lost some of its economic power to the town's *concejo*. Soifer Irish, *Jews and Christians in Medieval Castile,* p. 96.

additional income from Jewish taxes would have helped the abbot rebuild the monastery after the 1111-16 urban revolt[207] and supported the monastery's large pilgrim hospital.[208]

Muslim Iberia contained a large population of Jews, some of whom held positions as court advisors and merchants up through the time of the *taifa* kingdoms (1031-86) in the mid to late eleventh century.[209] But the Jewish situation changed as the Almoravids expanded their strict hold over Al-Andalus in the late eleventh and first half of the twelfth century, and many Jewish communities including those of Granada (1090)[210] and Cordoba (1135)[211] were destroyed. In Almoravid Seville, Jews and Christians were required to wear conspicuous symbols so they would stand out amongst the population as members of lower classes.[212] Jewish persecution continued under the Almohads in the second half of the twelfth century, as they destroyed synagogues and ordered conversion to Islam or exile, and many Jews were driven into the Christian north where very few had lived prior to late eleventh century.[213]

A small segment of Jews who migrated from the Muslim south to northern Christian Iberia held unique advisory roles with the Christian monarchs who valued their administrative skills, especially regarding economic matters, and in their political relations with the Muslims given the Jews had knowledge of the geography and power dynamics and spoke Arabic.[214] After

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[207] Sahagún's urban revolt of 1111-16 will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4.
[208] J. Corpas Mauleon, *La Enfermedad y el Arte de Curar en el Camino de Santiago entre los siglos X y XVI* (Santiago de Compostela, 1998), p. 55.
[209] D. Fernández-Morera, *The Myth of the Andalusian Paradise: Muslims, Christians, and Jews under Islamic Rule in Medieval Spain* (Wilmington, 2016), pp. 184-86; and O'Callaghan, *History of Medieval Spain*, pp. 285-86.
[210] Y. Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, vol. I, trans. L. Schoffman (Philadelphia, 1961), p. 60.
[211] O'Callaghan, *History of Medieval Spain*, p. 286.
[212] A. García Sanjuán, 'Jews and Christians in Almoravid Seville as Portrayed by the Islamic Jurist Ibn ʿAbdūn', *Medieval Encounters,* 14 (2008), pp. 78-98, p. 85. Muslim tolerance of Jews and Christians living in Al-Andalus and cultural pluralism referred to as *convivencia*, has been compelling disputed by modern scholars. See D. Fernández-Morera, *The Myth of the Andalusian Paradise: Muslims, Christians, and Jews under Islamic Rule in Medieval Spain* (Wilmington, 2016), pp. 106-18 and 188-90; and S. Barton, *Conquerors, Brides, and Concubines: Interfaith Relations and Social Power in Medieval Iberia* (Philadelphia, 2015), pp. 9-11.
[213] O'Callaghan, *History of Medieval Spain*, pp. 177 and 286.
[214] Baer, *History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, I, pp. 47-48; and Soifer Irish, *Jews and Christians in Medieval Castile*, p. 35.

his capture of Muslim Toledo in 1085, Alfonso VI granted its Jews freedoms and appointed some to important diplomatic, financial and medical positions.[215] Alfonso VII of León-Castile appointed a Jew, Judah Ibn Ezra, previously of Granada, to be his revenue collector (*almoxarife* or *almojarife*), a position that became almost exclusively Jewish thereafter.[216]

But like their contemporary Frankish neighbours, the majority of Jews living in pilgrim towns along the Camino Francés from the late eleventh to late twelfth centuries were craftsmen, merchants and farmers who sold their goods in the pilgrim town markets and along the pilgrim roads. This is implied by the nature of economic incentives of royal *fueros* that sought to entice Jews to settle in the towns by providing market tax exemptions, evidence from economic transactions, and onomastic evidence. Common Jewish professions included blacksmith,[217] leather worker,[218] goldsmith,[219] cloth merchant[220] and winemaker,[221] with some engaged in

[215] Baer, *History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, I, pp. 49-52. In 1081 Pope Gregory VII warned Alfonso VI not to appoint Jews to positions that held sway over Christians, which shows valued their economic and political contributions. See also O'Callaghan, *History of Medieval Spain*, p. 284.
[216] Baer, *History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, I, p. 77; and Soifer Irish, *Jews and Christians in Medieval Castile*, p. 26.
[217] Blacksmith was a common occupation of Jews in northern Christian Iberia including Carrión, where a group of them had a synagogue. G. Pérez Castaño, 'Los judíos de Carrión de los Condes: una villa del Camino de Santiago', in R. Amrán and A. Cortijo Ocaña (eds.), *Minorías en la España medieval y moderna (ss. XV-XVII)* (Santa Barbara, 2016), pp. 117-28, pp. 119 and 121. A charter from 1187 documenting the purchase of mill rights by a Jew named Mael, lists various Jewish witnesses from Aguilar de Campóo (forty miles northeast of Carrión) with the surname *ferrero* indicating they were blacksmiths. Soifer Irish, *Jews and Christians in Medieval Castile*, p. 61.
[218] Sahagún's *judería* was located just outside the northern edge of town walls, close to the market and near the *Cornodillos* gate and the streets named for tanners and shoemakers. These trades would have required a large volume of water and the town's aqueduct ran through the *judería* supporting a notion that they were involved in those trades. Rodríguez Fernández, 'Judería de Sahagún', pp. 11-12, 21 and 42. The Jews of León's judería of Puente Castro paid the monarchs an annual census of 500 *solidi* aong with one good skin and two embossed skins, showing Jews were involved in the leather and precious metal trades. This royal right was gifted by Fernando I to the bishop of León. Rodríguez Fernández, *Judería de la ciudad de León*, pp. 122-24.
[219] Rodríguez Fernández, *Judería de la ciudad de León*, p. 134.
[220] Fita Colomé, 'Los judíos gallegos en el siglo XI', pp. 172-77. See also Rodríguez Fernández, *Judería de la ciudad de León*, pp. 29-30.
[221] León's 1090 charter granted Jews the right to own farms and vineyards, and Jews in Burgos and León owned vineyards as shown by records of sales transactions to Christians from the mid-eleventh to late twelfth century. Jews would have also used grapes to make kosher wine. Soifer Irish, *Jews and Christians in Medieval Castile*, pp. 61-63.

small-scale moneylending and horse trading,[222] and others supplementing their income through the purchase of mill rights.[223]

Although Jews lived at the foot of royal castles,[224] as in Belorado,[225] Burgos[226] and Pamplona,[227] or inside the castles themselves as in Estella,[228] León[229] and Nájera, they were not sequestered from interaction within their neighbourhoods, and they quickly settled into the pilgrim towns. Jews and Christians transacted on property sales and loans from at least the late eleventh century.[230] In the kingdom of León, early regulations (1017-20) required two Jewish and two Christian assessors to determine the sale price of rural properties built on land they did not own.[231]

Jewish adaptation to the new Frankish-Christian market culture exposed tensions within the broader Iberian Jewish community. Moses Ibn-Ezra (d. 1135) was a rabbi, courtier and distinguished poet who fled Muslim Granada in c. 1090 when it was taken by the Almoravids and as a result lost his status and wealth. After wandering through northern Christian Iberia, he described the formerly Andalusian Jews living there as 'savages' who adopted the corrupt ways

[222] Nelson, 'The Foundation of Jaca (1076): Urban Growth in Early Aragon', p. 700.
[223] Soifer Irish, *Jews and Christians in Medieval Castile*, p. 61.
[224] Soifer Irish argues there is insufficient evidence to prove Jews were specifically housed in royal castles, and that references to Jewish castles may have meant the Jewish quarters were walled, perhaps at their own expense, for protection. Soifer Irish, *Jews and Christians in Medieval Castile*, p. 57.
[225] Belorado's Jews lived in the 'el Corro' neighbourhood at the foot of the castle by which ran the Camino Francés, and their settlement in the area likely pre-dated the *fuero* of 1116. I. Cadiñanos Bardeci, 'Los judíos de Belorado y sus contornos', *Sefarad*, 54 (1994), pp. 227-51, pp. 228-29 and 238-39.
[226] In c. 1154 Al-Idrisi described the *judería* of Burgos as being walled and having its own market. Al-Idrisi, p. 81.
[227] Carrasco, 'Juderías y Sinagogas en el reino de Navarra', p. 121.
[228] Baer, *History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, p. 42. Estella's Jews lived in the citadel and in a nearby *judería* that bordered the Camino Francés, and both groups paid an annual census to the royal treasury (*pariah*).
[229] Soifer Irish, *Jews and Christians in Medieval Castile*, p. 56. On León's judería, see Rodríguez Fernández, *Judería de la ciudad de León*, pp. 25-26.
[230] See Rodríguez Fernández, *Judería de la ciudad de León*, pp. 131-32; and Rodríguez Fernández, 'Judería de Sahagún', p. 41. On Jewish participation in property trading and investment activities in contemporary Aragon, see M. Schraer, *A Stake in the Ground: Jews and Property Investment in the Medieval Crown of Aragon* (Boston, 2019). Schraer challenges the view that Jews were primarily involved in moneylending.
[231] Rodríguez Fernández, 'Judería de Sahagún', p. 44.

of their Christian neighbours.[232] When a friend attempted to dissuade the poet from settling in the pilgrim town of Estella, he replied:

> The star (Estella) you speak of, darkness hid its light.
> Were one to set his seat above it, he would still among the lowly dwell.[233]

These words of Moses Ibn-Ezra show that in his view Jewish life in Frankish Estella, where many were almost certainly artisans and merchants who catered to pilgrims and townspeople, did not compare favourably to the lifestyle his family experienced in the *taifa* kingdom of Granada.

Although evidence is not available to understand the size of all the Iberian pilgrim-town *juderías* in the twelfth century, it is clear that they were relatively small compared to Christian populations. The description of the 1126 gift from Alfonso VII that made the Jews of Sahagún vassals of the abbot stated there were thirty Jewish families living in the town,[234] the same number shown in tax records from 1290.[235] Tax records from 1265 showed Estella had twenty-nine families,[236] similar in size to Sahagún. Burgos had the largest *judería* in León-Castile with between 120 and 150 families in 1291.[237] It can be estimated that Jews represented anywhere from two percent (Sahagún) to ten percent (Burgos) of the population of pilgrim towns.[238]

Jews did not appear to have a significant presence in Galicia in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[239] Jewish merchants, likely from Muslim areas to the south, travelled through Galicia

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[232] Baer, *History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, I, pp. 60-64 and 214-15.
[233] Ibid., I, p. 63.
[234] Escalona, *Historia del Real Monasterio de Sahagún*, p. 106 (5).
[235] Baer, *History of the Jews in Christian Spain,* I, p. 192. Sahagún's *judería* had likely increased from thirty families by 1178 when it acquired additional land for its cemetery. Rodríguez Fernández, 'Judería de Sahagún', pp. 50-51.
[236] Baer, *History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, I, p. 42.
[237] Ibid., I, p. 191.
[238] Assuming each Jewish household had roughly five members, the population of the Burgos *aljama* would have been between 600 and 750 compared to the overall population of 7,000 at the end of the thirteenth century, approximately ten percent of the population. The population estimate is from L. Martínez García, L., *El Camino de Santiago: Una vision histórica desde Burgos* (Burgos, 2004), pp. 105-06. Sahagún is estimated to have had 8,000 inhabitants by the time of the 1085 *fuero*. Cuenca Coloma, *Sahagún: Monasterio y Villa*, pp. 29 and 71.
[239] See Baer, *History of the Jews in Christian Spain,* I, p. 191; and M.G. de Antonio Rubio, 'Judíos, conversos e Inquisición en Galicia (siglos XI-XVII), *Cuadernos de estudios gallegos*, 56 (2009), pp. 171-89, p. 172. Some of the

from at least the middle of the eleventh century but is unclear to what extent they might have settled in the area.[240] Perhaps an explanation lies in the fact that Jews tended to co-exist in communities that also had significant Frankish settlements, and in which many of the *fueros* provided judicial and economic freedoms to settlers of various backgrounds as shown in the *fueros* of Jaca and Estella. Although documentary evidence does not exist, it would, however, be surprising if Compostela did not have a *judería* in the twelfth century, given the number of Jews living in other contemporary pilgrim towns along the Camino Francés.[241]

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Although their numbers were significantly smaller than those of their Frankish neighbours in pilgrim towns, Jewish settlers became important providers of devotional infrastructure along the Camino Francés. In some cases, royal taxes assessed on Jewish *aljamas* were used to support important institutions such as the Hospital of the Emperor in Burgos and the monastery of Sahagún which hosted one of the largest pilgrim hospitals. The contemporaneous settlement of Jews and Franks in Compostelan pilgrim towns suggests both groups viewed the freedoms granted in *fueros* as motivations for settlement, including opportunities to serve passing pilgrims, as shown by the common Jewish occupations of cloth merchant and winemaker. Royal protection of Jews, not only from physical harm but also related to their commercial activities, revealed that the opportunities presented in the pilgrim towns outweighed potential threats.

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earliest textual evidence of *juderías* in Galicia comes from Allariz (1289), seventy-five miles southeast of Compostela, near the town of Ourense. M.G. de Antonio Rubio, 'Distribución urbana de la minoría judía en Galicia: la Judería', *Cuadernos de estudios gallegos*, 51 (2004), pp. 263-79, pp. 268-69.

[240] Fita Colomé, 'Los judíos gallegos en el siglo XI', pp. 172-77. See also Rodríguez Fernández, *Judería de la ciudad de León*, pp. 29-30.

[241] Some have suggested that the rúa de Xerusalén, to the northeast of Santiago Cathedral, and near the old *parvis* market and mint, was the location of an early Compostelan *judería*. This would have been a logical site for a *judería* as it was the political centre of the town from where Jews could have been afforded protections, as was the case in other pilgrim towns where Jewish communities were often located in or around royal fortifications.

5. Hospitallers and Templars

With Cluny in decline after its loss of financial support from León-Castile, the Christian monarchs needed help to keep up momentum in the development of devotional infrastructure including pilgrim hospitality and security. Initially focused on protecting pilgrims to the Holy Land after their formation in the early twelfth century after the First Crusade (1095-99),[242] the Hospitallers and Templars extended their remit to Iberia from the second quarter of the twelfth century,[243] where pilgrims faced a wide variety of dangers, including bandits, murderers and aggressive toll collectors. The arrival of the orders along the pilgrim roads helped Compostela compete with Jerusalem, whose own devotional infrastructure had been developed and supported by the military orders along pilgrimage routes in the Holy Land.[244]

The Hospitallers were formally recognized as an independent order in 1113 when they were placed under the protection of the pope[245] and a papal decree stated their mission was to facilitate 'the support of pilgrims and to the needs of the poor'.[246] The Templars were recognized as an independent order in 1120 to protect pilgrims on their way to the Holy Land.[247] Like monks, the Templars were devoted to a simple, chaste life, dedicated to God and

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[242] J. France, Patronage and the Appeal of the First Crusade', in J. Phillips (ed.) *The First Crusade: Origins and Impact* (Manchester, 1997), pp. 5-34, p. 5. See also S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades, 1. The First Crusade* (Cambridge, 1951), pp. 106-08.

[243] In 1123 Pope Calixtus II, champion of the pilgrimage and pseudo-author of the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, spoke of those who went to fight in Jerusalem or Iberia with crosses on their clothing and decreed both would earn remission of their sins. W. Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia, c.1095-c.1187* (Woodbridge, 2008), p. 129. In 1124 Archbishop Diego Gelmírez of Compostela suggested that crusading against the Muslims in Spain could open up a route to Jerusalem through north Africa (*iter per Hispaniam*), thus linking the campaigns in Iberia and Jerusalem. Ibid., p. 132.

[244] Templar strongholds were placed along the roads between pilgrim arrival points on the Mediterranean coast and Jerusalem, and between Jerusalem and the Jordan River where pilgrims travelled. Barber, *The New Knighthood*, pp. 88-89. See also J. Riley-Smith, 'The Death and Burial of Latin Christian Pilgrims to Jerusalem and Acre, 1099-1291', *Crusades* 7 (2008), pp. 165–79; and J. Bronstein, '*Servus pauperum Christi*: The Hospitallers' Services to Pilgrims in the Latin East, XI–XIII Centuries', *Memoria y Civilización: Anuario de Historia* 16 (2013), pp. 219-36.

[245] M. Barber and K. Bate, *The Templars: Selected sources translated and annotated* (Manchester, 2002), p. 2.

[246] Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, p. 101.

[247] Ibid., p. 101. Templar knights took a vow of obedience to the prior of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. Barber and Bate, *The Templars: Selected sources translated and annotated*, p. 2.

renouncing property, but they also developed a reputation as some of the fiercest and most effective warriors of the Christian crusading armies.[248] In a letter to ecclesiastical authorities in 1144, Pope Celestine II (1143-44) wrote of the Templars:

> They do not fear to lay down their lives for their brothers and protect pilgrims from the attacks of the pagans as they go on their journeys to and from the holy places.[249]

Although both orders provided assistance to Compostelan pilgrims,[250] the Hospitallers made a more significant impact in terms of lodging, alms and medical care.[251] This was consistent with their origins as they started out in the late eleventh century running a hospital for pilgrims and the poor in Jerusalem. The Hospitallers added the military role in the second quarter of the twelfth century, but it did not become their primary function until the last quarter of the twelfth century.[252] The Hospitallers' focus on caring for pilgrims, including medical treatment, prayer and burial, was the main reason for their growing reputation and network of donations across Europe.[253]

In addition to hospitality, both orders filled a security void along the Iberian pilgrim roads in the second half of the twelfth century when the Christian monarchs were engaged fighting the Muslim Almohads on their southern frontiers.[254] Their strongholds were present at

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[248] Constable, *Crusaders and Crusading in the Twelfth Century*, pp. 165-82.
[249] Barber and Bate, *The Templars: Selected sources translated and annotated*, pp. 64-65.
[250] *PSC*, I, p. 304.
[251] The Hospitallers' Jerusalem hospital could accommodate 1,000 patients in times of peace and 2,000 in times of war, included eleven wards, and employed four physicians and four surgeons, in addition to blood letters, barbers, nurses and wet nurses. J. Bronstein, 'Servus pauperum Christi: The Hospitallers' Services to Pilgrims in the Latin East, XI-XIII Centuries', *Memoria y Civilización*, 16 (2013), pp. 219-236, p. 223; E. Rodríguez-Picavea, 'The Military Orders and Hospitaller Activity on the Iberian Peninsula During the Middle Ages', *Mediterranean Studies*, 18 (2009), pp. 24-43, pp. 27-28; Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, pp. 292 and 306 (note 249). The Templars did have a policy for feeding the poor from their tables. Barber, *The New Knighthood*, p. 218.
[252] Constable, *Crusaders and Crusading in the Twelfth Century*, p. 181. See also Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, pp. 163-64 and A.J. Forey, 'The Military Orders and the Spanish Reconquest', pp. 197-234. After Saladin recaptured Jerusalem in 1187, the Hospitallers were forced to retreat, thus elevating their need to engage in warfare. *PG:M*, p. 139 (note 27).
[253] Bronstein, 'Servus pauperum Christi: The Hospitallers' Services to Pilgrims in the Latin East', p. 231.
[254] O'Callaghan, *History of Medieval Spain*, p. 234.

dangerous stretches of the pilgrim roads that included river crossings, mountain passes, the edges of forests, and along frontiers between combative kingdoms. In addition to protecting pilgrims and freeing royal military resources to fight on the Muslim frontier, the orders provided a neutral presence on the borders of the kingdoms of Castile, León and Navarre.

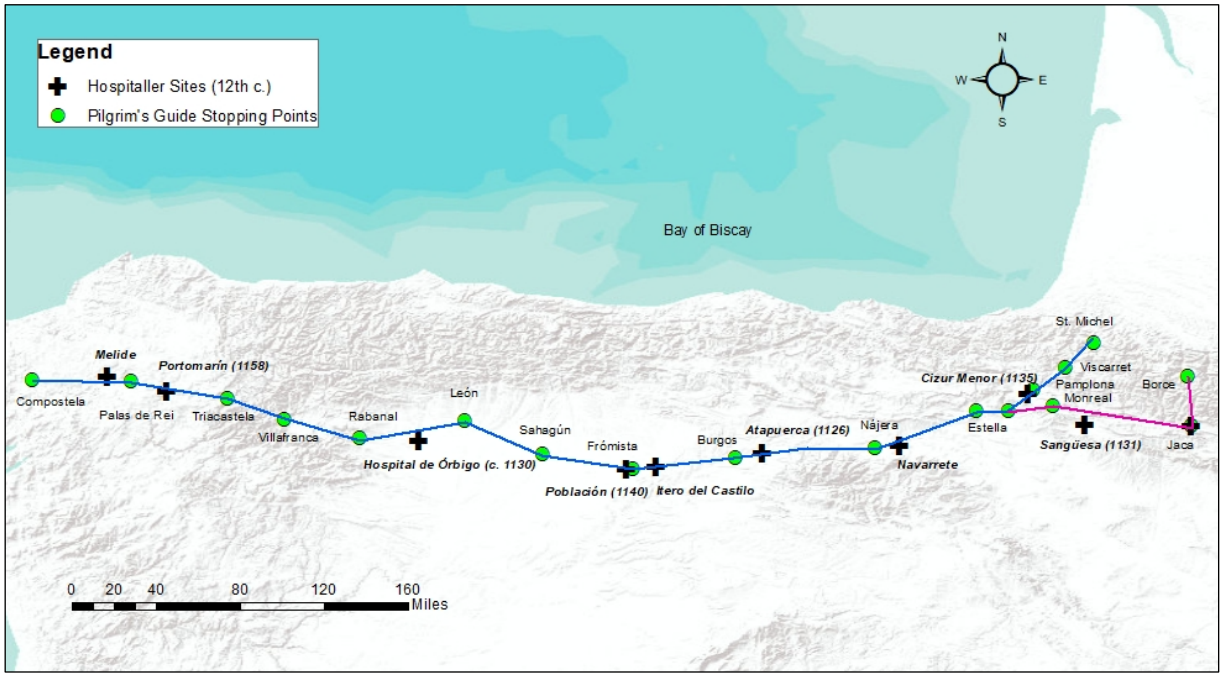
Dangers to pilgrims along the Iberian pilgrim roads increased after the death of Alfonso VI of León-Castile in 1109. The *Crónicas anónimas* of Sahagún described pilgrims and other travellers being killed along the roads during the urban revolts of 1111-16,[255] and the *Pilgrim's Guide* described Basques and Navarrese willing to kill a Frenchman 'for a mere *nummus*'.[256] Abuse from toll collectors was so bad that pilgrims were often forced to hide their money:

> And if someone passing through does not want to give them money in accordance with their demand, they [the toll collectors] both beat him with the sticks and snatch away the assessed sum from him, upbraiding him and searching him down to his underwear.[257]

The Hospitallers were the first military order to establish a presence along the Camino Francés, when Urraca of León-Castile gave them lordship of the town of Atapuerca (fifteen miles east of Burgos) and the surrounding mountains, springs, rivers and grazing lands in 1126 (Map 1.7).[258] Urraca's initial gift was no doubt linked to her desire to solidify León-Castile's hold over lands previously claimed by her ex-husband and rival Alfonso I in the wake of their turbulent breakup.[259] But the charter also clearly outlined the importance of the Compostelan pilgrimage, stating the domain was located between the territories of Burgos and Oca in the

[255] *CAS*, p. 75 (41).
[256] *Guide*, pp. 28-29 (ch. 7).
[257] Ibid., p. 24 (ch. 7): *Et si quis transeuncium secundum eorum peticionem nummos illis dare noluerit, et iaculis illum percuciunt, et censum ab eo auferunt, exprobantes illum et usque ad femoralias exquirentes*. For English translation see ibid., p. 25.
[258] In 1138 Alfonso VII confirmed his mother Urraca's 1126 donation to the Hospitallers of Atapuerca by granting them a *fuero*. *Fueros locales en el territorio de la provencia de Burgos*, ed. G. Martínez Díaz (Burgos, 1982).
[259] G. Oliva, 'Los Fueros de Atapuerca y Lara. Analogías y Disparidades en el Derecho Local de los Concejos de Señorío Eclesiástico y Realengo' in M. Fernández Rodríguez and L. Martínez Peñas (eds.), *Reflexiones Sobre Jurisdicciones Especiales* (Valladolid, 2016), pp. 39-64, p. 40.

middle of the Camino de Santiago.[260] The order would have been expected to provide hospitality and protection to pilgrims in this area that included a dangerous stretch of road near the forest of Oca (*Aucha*).[261] In c. 1142 Juan of Ortega, prolific builder of roads and bridges along the pilgrim roads, described the forest of Oca as being 'inhabited by thieves who robbed many pilgrims by day and night'.[262]



Map 1.7. Hospitaller Sites Along the Camino Francés (12th c.)

Shortly after receiving Atapuerca, the Hospitallers were granted other land and properties along the Camino Francés where they established pilgrim hospitals and expanded their agricultural holdings. These holdings included the towns of Hospital de Órbigo (1130) in

[260] Oliva, 'Los Fueros de Atapuerca y Lara', p. 52.
[261] Martínez García, *El Camino de Santiago*, pp. 124.
[262] L. Martínez García,'El Albergue de los Viajeros: Del Hospidaje Monástico a la Posada Urbana' in J.I. de la Iglesia Duarte (ed.), *IV Semana de Estudios Medievales: Nájera, 2-6 de August de 1993* (Logroño, 1994), pp. 71-87, p. 76.

León,[263] and Sangüesa (1131)[264] and Cizur Menor (1135)[265] in Navarre (Map 1.7).[266] In Castile, the Hospitallers established a commandery in Burgos in 1140 at the church of San Felices,[267] and another at Población de Campos in 1140,[268] two miles west of Frómista in a rich agricultural area.[269] In 1136 their holdings around Cizur Menor were expanded with a donation from García Ramírez of Navarre (1112-50) that included vineyards, houses and lands that were used to help support their operations including a monastery and pilgrim hospital that adjoined the church of San Miguel (Figure 1.3).[270]

[263] In 1130 the Hospitallers received a donation of the monastery of Santa Marina and its domain in the rich agricultural lands of the Órbigo River valley (ten miles south of the Camino Francés). Shortly thereafter, the order received additional gifts in the area in the lands of La Nora (twenty miles south) and Valdefuentes del Páramo (ten miles south). The pilgrim hospital was located on the west bank of the Órbigo River over which passed one of the longest bridges of the Camino Francés. The church of San Juan became the parish church of Hospital de Órbigo, run by the Hospitallers from at least 1184. G. Cavero Domínguez and C. Álvarez Álvarez, 'La encomienda hospitalaria de Puente de Órbigo en la Edad Media (1184-1494)', in J.M. Nieto Ibáñez (ed.), *Lógos hellenikós: homenaje al profesor Gaspar Morocho Gayo*, vol. 2, (León, 2003), pp. 749-62, p. 750.

[264] A. Ancho Villanueva and C. Fernández-Ladreda Aguadé, *Portada de Santa María de Sangüesa: Imaginario románico en piedra* (Pamplona, 2010), p. 84. See also J. Pavón Benito, 'La relación entre la monarquía y la orded de San Juan de Jerusalén en Navarra (siglos XII-XV)', in J. Pavón Benito and M. Bonet Donato (eds.), *La Orden del Hospital de San Juan de Jerusalén: Contextos y trayectorias del Priorato de Navarra medieval* (Barañáin, 2013), pp. 111-177, p. 124. See also *PSC*, II p. 427. The 1131 grant also included Alfonso's palace and the church of Santa María. Alfonso's affinity for the military orders was consistent with his focus on reconquest and expansion of his kingdom and his linkage of those efforts to crusading in the Holy Land. In 1122 Alfonso granted Sangüesa the *fuero* of Jaca to attract Frankish immigrants. *PSC*, II, p. 427. See also Martín Duque, 'El fenómeno urbano medieval en Navarre', p. 739.

[265] For more on the Hospitaller commandery of Cizur Menor, see J. Baldó Alcoz, 'Cizur Menor, un monasterio sanjuanista fortificado', *Castillas de España*, 175-78 (2015), pp. 184-90.

[266] *PSC*, II, p. 122 (note 9). The donation was from Lope Enecones and his wife Sancha Aznárez.

[267] G. Oliva, 'Los Fueros de Atapuerca y Lara. Analogías y Disparidades en el Derecho Local de los Concejos de Señorío Eclesiástico y Realengo', in *Reflexiones Sobre Jurisdicciones Especiales*, ed. M. Fernández Rodríguez and L. Martínez Peñas (Valladolid, 2016), pp. 39-64, p. 49.

[268] Martínez García, *El Camino de Santiago*, p. 116. See also M. Revuelta González, 'Noticias Historicas de la Ermita de Nuestra Señora del Socorro de Campos', *Publicaciones de la Institución Tello Téllez de Meneses*, 34 (1973), pp. 249-77, p. 251.

[269] A sarcophagus cover from the *ermita* of Our Lady of Socorro in Población includes a knight's sword, identified by its distinctive hilt, with an inscription dated 1165 during which time the Hospitallers were lords of the town. Manual Revuelta González identified this feature as a cross rather than a sword. See M. Revuelta González, 'Noticias Historicas de la Ermita de Nuestra Señora del Socorro de Población de Campos', *Publicaciones de la Institución Tello Téllez de Meneses*, 34 (1973), pp. 249-77, pp. 252-53, 256-57 and photo 12. This *ermita* had earlier been part of a larger church of San Pedro.

[270] J. Baldó Alcoz, 'La arquitectura de la Orden de San Juan de Jerusalén en la Navarra medieval: templos con recinto anexo', in *La Orden del Hospital de San Juan de Jerusalén: Contextos y trayectorias del Priorato de Navarra medieval*, ed. J. Pavón Benito and M. Bonet Donato (Barañáin, 2013), pp. 339-479, pp. 373-74. Additional donations of land, vineyards, gardens and houses were made to the Hospitallers of Cizur Menor well into the thirteenth century. Ibid., p. 374.

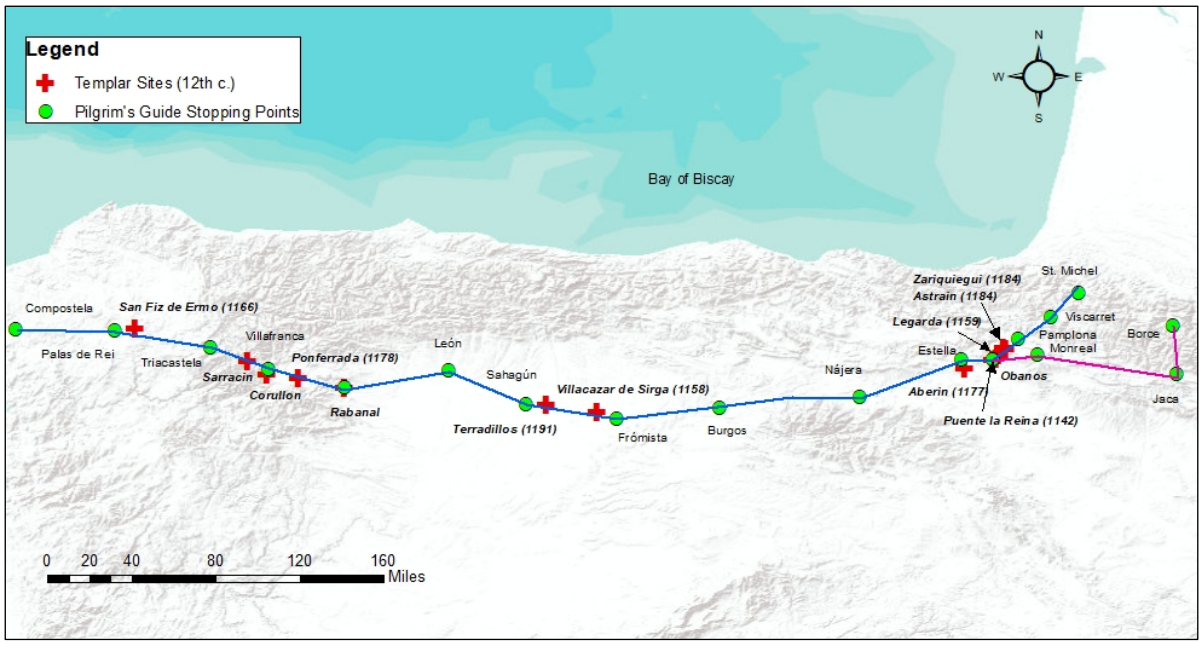


Figure 1.3. Hospitaller Commandery of Cizur Menor in Navarre.[271]

The Templars established a presence along the Camino Francés in Navarre in 1142 when García Ramírez gave them the *Villa Vetula* ('old town') section of Puente la Reina.[272] The charter granted the Templars of Puente la Reina the right to sell pilgrims bread and wine, revealing an important devotional and commercial opportunity, but they were not to charge pilgrims for lodging.[273] Notably the 1142 charter was issued at the church of Santiago in Puente la Reina, showing the connection between the town, the Templars and the pilgrimage.[274] The townspeople were required to make annual payments to the Templars for houses held *in cens*.[275]

[271] Photographed by the author.
[272] *Cartulario magno del Archivo Real y General de Navarra*, vol. III, p. 663 (314). The 1142 *fuero* was confirmed in 1146 by Sancho VI of Navarre. Ibid., vol. III, p. 80 (2); and *Cartulaire général du Temple*, ed. D'Albon, no. xcii, p. 69. For an English translation of the 1146 confirmation, see Barber and Bate, *The Templars: Selected sources translated and annotated*, p. 170.
[273] Forey argues there is no evidence the Templars actually ran a hospital in Puente la Reina. Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, p. 306 (note 249).
[274] In another example connecting the Templars to St James, in 1215 the will of one Peter of Alcala left a large domain to the Templars of Huesca on condition they maintained a priest (with an assistant) and kept a lamp burning twenty-four hours a day at the church of Santiago. Barber and Bate, *The Templars: Selected sources translated and annotated*, pp. 133-34.
[275] Ibid, p. 170.

In the late twelfth century, the Templars built the church of Santa María de los Huertos (later the church and convent of the Crucifijo) by which pilgrims passed.[276] The Templars expanded their domain around Puente la Reina with subsequent donations and acquisitions along the Camino Francés between 1148 and 1185.[277]



Map 1.8. Templar Sites Along Camino Francés (12th c.)

From their initial holdings along the Camino Francés in Navarre and Castile, the Hospitallers and Templars expanded westward into León and Galicia in the second half of the

[276] *PSC*, II, p. 126.

[277] In 1148 Templars added an estate in the pilgrim town of Los Arcos (on the Camino Francés, twelve miles west of Estella); and they received Obanos in the second half of the twelfth century (on the Camino Francés, two miles east of Puente la Reina). J. Pavón Benito, 'La relación entre la monarquía y la orden de San Juan de Jerusalén en Navarra (siglos XII-XV)', in J. Pavón Benito and M. Bonet Donato (eds.), *La Orden del Hospital de San Juan de Jerusalén: Contextos y trayectorias del Priorato de Navarra medieval* (Barañáin, 2013), pp. 111-77, 130 and 134. Other Templar sites along the Camino Francés in Navarre included Legarda from 1159 (four miles northeast of Puente la Reina), Zariquiegui from 1184 (seven miles southwest of Pamplona) and Aberin from c. 1177 (four miles south of Estella). J. Pavón Benito and M.A. García de la Barbolla, 'Hospitalarios y Templarios en Navarra. Formación patrimonial (1134-1194)', in R.I. Izquierdo Benito and F. Ruiz Gómez (eds.), *Las Órdenes Militares en la Península Ibérica*, vol. I, (Cuenca, 2000), pp. 571-87, pp. 573-84. The Templar community in Aberin was governed by the Aragonese provincial master until 1179 when responsibility passed to the provincial master in Castile. Forey, *Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, pp. 104 (note 15) and 107 (note 75).

twelfth century. The Hospitallers established a commandery in Galicia after Fernando II of León gave them the monastery of Santa Marina in Portomarín in 1158.[278] The town was the site of a key crossing over the Miño River and its importance to the pilgrimage was highlighted by its impressive bridge, rebuilt in c. 1120 after it had been destroyed by Urraca during her conflict with Alfonso I, and pilgrim hospital from at least 1126.[279] The Hospitallers erected the imposing fortified church of San Juan in Portomarín in the late twelfth century (Figure 1.4).[280]



Figure 1.4. Church of San Juan (now San Nicolás), Portomarín.[281]

[278] *PSC*, II, p. 336. Portomarín was located on the Camino Francés between the stopping points of Triacastela and Palas de Rei.
[279] *Guide*, pp. 16-17 (ch. 5) and note 9 on pp. 155-56. See also *PG:M*, pp. 88 and 142 (notes 37 and 38); and *PSC*, II, p. 336.
[280] The Templars also had an *encomienda* in Galicia at San Fiz do Ermo, controlled by the order from at least 1166, and located just off the Camino Francés (approximately ten miles east of Palas de Rei). Martínez Diaz, *Los Templarios en los Reinos de Espana*, p. 145.
[281] Photographed by the author.

The Templars also expanded into western León with their holdings in and around Ponferrada on the border of León and Galicia (Map 1.8).[282] Fernando II of León donated the castle of Ponferrada (Figure 1.5) to the Templars in 1178, likely for their assistance in protecting pilgrims and to act as a buffer on León's frontier with Galicia.[283] Like many of the military order possessions along the Camino Francés, Ponferrada (*Pons Ferrata* or 'iron bridge') controlled a strategic river crossing, over the Sil River. From their strongholds in the el Bierzo region, Templar knights probably patrolled the Camino Francés and watched over pilgrims as they passed through an area known for bad weather, bandits, and unscrupulous toll collectors.[284] This would have been consistent with their activities in the Holy Land where they patrolled the pilgrim roads between the ports of Jaffa, Haifa and Acre and the holy sites around Jerusalem.[285]

[282] Ponferrada, an important site in the el Bierzo region, was located roughly at the midpoint between the pilgrim town of Rabanal (twenty miles to the east) and Castro Sarracín (twenty-two miles to the west).
[283] Galicia was being threatened by Afonso I of Portugal (1139-85), who was triggered by an agreement between Sancho III of Castile and his brother Fernando II of León to divide Portugal. O'Callaghan, *History of Medieval Spain*, p. 237.
[284] Templar possessions in the surrounding el Bierzo region included Ulver, Castro Sarracín (castle, near the pass of Mt Cebrero), Antares (today's Castro de Veiga), Vega de Valcárcel (or Valcarce), Corullón and Rabanal (del Camino, where it had a house), an important staging point on the pilgrimage near the pass of Mt Irago. *PG:M*, p. 87. See also M. Gómez Mareno, Catálago. León, I, p. 483 in J. Rodriguez Fernández, *Las Juderías de la Provincia de León* (León, 1976), p. 320 (note 1). The castle was founded in the second half of the ninth century by a certain *Sarracinus* (Muslim) who likely held an important role in the kingdom of Alfonso III of Asturias (866-910). See also Martínez Diaz, *Los Templarios en los Reinos de Espana*, p. 155. Evidence from Aragon provides a sense for the organization of Templar *encomiendas* (commanderies, convents, houses) along the Iberian pilgrim roads to Compostela. These sites typically housed a mix of brothers and lay staff, and sometimes slaves. Roles included military (knights and sergeants), religious (chaplains) and support (cooks, butlers, porters, labourers, oxherds). Some even employed specific trades like shoemakers, tailors, smiths and tanners. Templar convents may have housed a minimum of thirteen brothers as was the custom in the Teutonic Order. Commanders were appointed by the provincial master often after serving as knights. Forey, *Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, pp. 263-93. In other cases, Templar commanders were drawn from the local lower nobility to link houses with the political aristocracy. C. Vogel, 'The Mobility of Templars from Provence' in J. Burgtore and H. Nicholson (eds.), *International Mobility in the Military Orders (Twelfth to Fifteenth Centuries): Travelling on Christ's Business* (Tuscaloosa, 2006), pp. 114-29, pp. 123-24.
[285] Barber, *The New Knighthood*, pp. 88-89.



Figure 1.5. Templar Castle at Ponferrada.[286]

* * *

The Templars and Hospitallers were the recipients of royal grants along the Camino Francés starting in the second quarter of the twelfth century. Both orders provided protection services along remote and dangerous stretches of the pilgrim roads, but the Hospitallers were more focused on providing hospitality. Documentary evidence of Templar activity along the Camino Francés is limited, but in keeping with its mission, the order would have patrolled the pilgrim roads that ran through its possessions in Navarre and the el Bierzo region. Both orders sought to expand and consolidate their holdings along the Camino Francés. The existence of a royal charter granting the Templars of Puente la Reina the right to sell bread and wine to pilgrims shows they also had commercial interests related to the pilgrimage.

[286] Photographed by the author.

6. Conclusion

Early in the fourth quarter of the eleventh century an initial phase of devotional infrastructure development had begun along the northern Iberian pilgrim roads that included bridges, roads and a small number of hospitals. Although Cluny-affiliated monasteries such as Sahagún and San Zoilo, and royal hospitals such as the Hospital of the Emperor in Burgos, provided hospitality, more infrastructure was needed before large numbers of long-haul pilgrims could be adequately supported. It was not until the monarchs of northern Christian Iberia began stimulating a great immigration of outsiders, largely Frankish merchants and artisans, but also Jews, that pilgrim towns formed that could fully support waves of their compatriots with goods and hospitality.[287]

The motivations of the monarchs to increase the popularity of the pilgrimage through enhancement of the devotional infrastructure was clear. They needed tax revenue to support their military efforts against the Muslim Almoravids on their southern frontiers, especially in light of their loss of valuable *parias* in the late eleventh century. Royal revenues came from market and transit taxes (*portazgos*) assessed on commercial activity in pilgrim towns, tolls from merchant traffic and taxes from Jewish communities that were active participants in the money economy.

The monarchs of León-Castile and Aragon-Navarre used *fueros* with generous judicial and economic incentives to stimulate the settlement of pilgrim towns at strategically placed stopping points along the Camino Francés. The chain of towns, markets and fairs helped to maximize royal tax collection from pilgrims and merchants. The emergence of these towns also transformed a previously rural, agricultural society into one increasingly dominated by an urban

[287] On the Frankish aristocratic and commercial diaspora across western Europe over the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, see Bartlett, *The Making of Europe*, pp. 24-59 and 167-96. It would be interesting to know, yet difficult to determine, figures for demographic growth in the region from 1050 to 1200 (both seasonal figures of people passing through but also those who settled in the pilgrim towns).

market-based economy. Numerous *portazgo* exemptions in the *fueros* showed their importance as an economic incentive for attracting settlers including Frankish immigrants and also their significance as royal source of revenue from travellers.

Like the bridges required to cross numerous rivers along the Camino Francés, pilgrim towns became necessary steppingstones in the devotional infrastructure. Large numbers of pilgrims were lodged and fed in inns and the homes of townspeople, providing needed capacity above and beyond what was offered in royal and ecclesiastical hospitals. Stalls set up along the pilgrim roads, weekly markets and annual fairs provided the goods necessary to support pilgrims on their long journeys including footwear, clothing, purses and wine flasks.

Pilgrim towns experienced a common pattern of urbanisation over the course of the twelfth century. The towns initially developed along the axis of the pilgrim road that was lined with inns and shops, often stretching for long distances. The centres of the pilgrim towns were often marked by churches dedicated to St James that were fronted by thriving markets, structurally similar to the *parvis* market outside the north portal of Santiago Cathedral. Frankish neighbourhoods, often with parish churches dedicated to SS Martin, Nicholas and Peter, developed along the pilgrim road and by the end of the twelfth century had overflowed the town walls into suburbs. Jewish communities were often found in and around royal fortifications and along the pilgrim road where their merchants and artisans had access to pilgrim markets.

The Templars and Hospitallers were relatively late arrivals along the Iberian pilgrim roads to Compostela compared to the settlement of Franks and Jews. Their presence was a natural extension to Iberia of their original missions of protecting pilgrims to the Holy Land. After receiving royal grants of land, properties and commercial rights, the orders consolidated and expanded their holdings, moving westward along the Camino Francés from Navarre. They

also played an important security and hospitality role, particularly in dangerous stretches of the roads, along the frontiers between kingdoms and in less-developed areas. The Hospitallers played a more important role in pilgrim hospitality whereas the Templars appear to have been more involved in a security role in which they patrolled the roads from their fortifications such as those in the el Bierzo region.

CHAPTER 2

THE CREATION AND MOVEMENT OF MONEY

Chapter 1 showed how the monarchs of northern Christian Iberia facilitated the establishment and growth of a network of pilgrim towns along the Camino Francés that allowed them to collect transit and market taxes to help finance their military efforts and growing kingdoms. These communities were populated by diverse peoples and identities who were tied economically and politically to the cult of St James. In addition to supplying pilgrims with shoes and clothing for the long journey, the townspeople provided food and lodging that supplemented the hospitality provided by Cluniac monasteries. Crucially, these pilgrim towns became anchors in the devotional infrastructure that accelerated increasing accessibility and popularity of the Compostelan pilgrimage.

This chapter introduces money into the devotional infrastructure and argues it became a crucial component for facilitating the act of the pilgrimage, much like roads, bridges, hospitality and supplies. Money was used to pay for goods, services and tolls, and to make donations at shrines along the route. An industry of moneychangers, minters and moneylenders evolved to accommodate the flow of a tremendous volume of foreign and domestic coinage and to meet the demand for money from pilgrims and the rising class of merchants and artisans of the pilgrim towns. Some of these were larger entities sanctioned by the Church such as Compostela's guild of moneychangers and the Templars, whereas others were individual operators who sought to make a living off pilgrim traffic.

1. Pilgrims and Money

The link between money and pilgrimage was vividly illustrated by the purse that was used by pilgrims to carry money from home or alms received along the way. The 'blessed purse' (*pera benedicta*)[1] was described in the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* and displayed in church sculptural programmes. *Veneranda dies* outlined the ceremony during which Compostelan pilgrims received their purses and a blessing before embarking on their journeys:

> Accept this purse, this symbol of your pilgrimage, that you may be worthy to arrive chastened and cleansed at the threshold of Saint James to whom you wish to go; and with your journey completed, may you return safe to us with delight, with Him as a guarantee, Who lives and reigns as God for ever and ever. Amen.[2]

Images of scallop shells, the most recognizable symbol of the pilgrimage, were displayed on purses in the sculptural programmes of Iberian churches in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, clearly communicating the connection between the pilgrimage and money (Figure 2.1). A sculpture from the church of Santa Marta de Tera, from the twelfth century, shows a solitary St James on pilgrimage to his own shrine (Figure 2.1a),[3] and another from the Cámara Santa in Oviedo, from c. 1200, features St James among other apostles (Figure 2.1b).[4] A sculpture from the cloister of Santo Domingo de Silos (near Burgos), from the late eleventh century, presents a slightly different approach in which Jesus is represented as a pilgrim of St James and is shown meeting two disciples (Figure 2.1c), a clear reference to the biblical story during which a resurrected Jesus meets two of his disciples on the road to Emmaus.[5]

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[1] *LSJ*, p. 91 (I, 17).
[2] Ibid., p. 91 (I, 17): *Accipe hunc baculum sustentacionem itineris ac / ad viam peregrinacionis tue, ut devincere valeas omnes catervas inimici et pervenire securus ad limina sancti Iacobi, et peracto cursu tuo ad nos revertaris cum gaudio, ipso annuente qui vivit et regnat Deus per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.* For English translation see *MSJ*, p. 23.
[3] *PG:M*, p. 58.
[4] J. Fernandez Buelta and V. Hevia Granda, 'La Camara Santa de Oviedo: su Primitiva Construccion, su Destruccion y su Reconstruccion', *Boletin del Insituto de Estudios Asturianos*, 6 (1949), pp. 51-116, p. 63.
[5] Luke 24:13-35. On the dating of this sculpture, see C. Serna and R. Fernández González, *Real Abadía de Silos: Historia-Art-Vida* (Burgos, 2002), pp. 36 and 70-73.

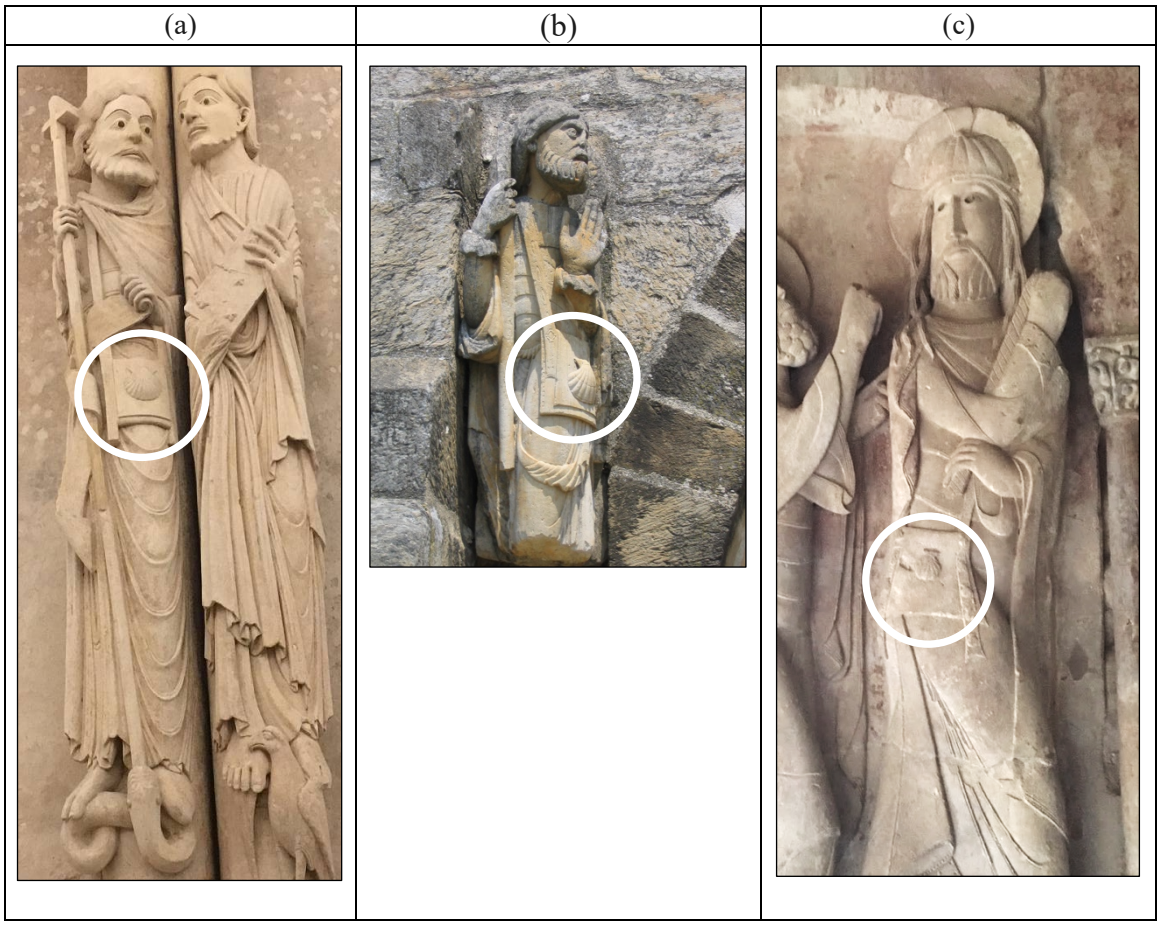


Figure 2.1. Sculptures of Compostelan Pilgrims Carrying Purses with Scallop Shells. (a) St James and St John, Cámara Santa in Oviedo; (b) St James from Santa Marta de Tera; and (c) Jesus as Pilgrim, Monastery of Santo Domingo de Silos.[6]

Pilgrims were expected to adhere to a spiritual ideal of voluntary poverty, characterized by a rejection of wealth and material possessions, through which they could imitate the life of Christ and his apostles including St James.[7] This vow of poverty was clearly articulated in the *Veneranda dies* sermon:

> If Peter and James walked through the world without money, and praying without interruption, what will become of those who go to their thresholds with money acquired

[6] Figures 2.1 (a) and (c) photographed by the author. Figure 2.1 (b) photographed by Pierre Henri Giraud / CC BY-SA 2.5.
[7] Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, pp. 30-58. The moral conflict between the Church-sanctioned ideal of voluntary poverty and the realities of the money economy along the pilgrim roads to Compostela will be addressed in chapter five.

> from robbery or other harm or from usury or with corrupt extravagance or with false tales or with idle words or with contemptuous speech or with drunkenness or with chatter?[8]

Poor pilgrims and those who voluntarily submitted to the vow of poverty travelled with small quantities of coins as shown by a description in the *Pilgrim's Guide* of pilgrims who were said to have hidden coins in their undergarments to safeguard them against toll collectors.[9] Some pilgrims lacking funds for pilgrimage received or borrowed money from friends or acquaintances with the expectation that a donation be made on their behalf at the shrine, and others relied on alms from strangers.[10]

Miracle stories from the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* provide insights into the modest backgrounds of some of the poorer pilgrims. One miracle from c. 1093 described a small and solitary woman who carried her things in a small sack, and another pilgrim who was poor and sick, both of whom encountered a helpful soldier who was also on the pilgrimage to Compostela.[11] A miracle story from 1100 described a man from Poitiers who fled the plague with his wife and two children, all of whom shared a single horse. His wife died in Pamplona where the man subsequently had his money and horse stolen by an evil innkeeper.[12] Another miracle story from 1135 described a serf named Raimbert who travelled with his abusive lord.[13]

Whilst many pilgrims carried a small number of coins to sustain themselves on the journey, others travelled with significant riches. *Veneranda dies* described 'many' who went

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[8] *LSJ*, p. 93 (I, 17): *Si Petrus et Iacobus absque peccunia mundum perambularunt, sine etiam intermissione orantes, quid erit de illis qui cum peccunia rapacitatis vel alicuius iniure, vel derisoriis locucionibus, vel ebrietatibus, vel cantilenis ad eorum limina tendunt?* For English translation see *MSJ*, p. 29.
[9] *Guide*, pp. 24-25 (ch. 7).
[10] D. Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West* (London, 2001), pp. 134-36. The English pilgrim Margery Kempe received alms to finance her 1417 pilgrimage to Compostela during which she departed from the port of Bristol. She had owed a man money from a previous pilgrimage to Rome and was supposed to meet and pay him back, and 'As she went towards Bristol, that she was given so much money that she could easily pay the said man all she owed him.' M. Kempe, *The Book of Margery Kempe*, trans. B. Windeatt (London, 2000), p. 144.
[11] *LSJ*, pp. 170-71 (II, 16).
[12] Ibid., pp. 165-66 (II, 6).
[13] Ibid., p. 169 (II, 13).

with ‘much money’ (*multi peregrini cum magna peccunia*), and others with ‘diverse treasures’ (*diversis gazis*) and ‘great wealth’ (*magno censu*).[14] A miracle story from the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* described a German family on a 1090 pilgrimage to Compostela who took along an ‘abundance of their wealth’ (*cum diviciarum suarum copiis*), suggesting they were travelling with merchandise to be sold along the pilgrim road.[15]

* * *

Money was a crucial component of the pilgrimage’s devotional infrastructure as illustrated by the pilgrim’s purse that was featured in contemporary texts and church sculptures. Although pilgrims were expected by the Church to carry only enough money to provide a minimum level of support, alms for the needy and donations at shrines, some brought substantial riches. Coins carried by these pilgrims passed through the hands of merchants and craftsmen in the busy markets and into the coffers of St James. Some of these coins would have been minted in Compostela, a subject that will be explored in the next section.

2. Compostela’s Mint and its Link to the Pilgrimage

In 1077 Alfonso VI cleared the way for construction of a new cathedral for St James by brokering an agreement between Bishop Diego Paláez of Iria-Flavia (Compostela did not become a bishopric until 1095) and Abbot Fagildo of the nearby monastery of San Payo de Antealtares.[16] The monks of San Payo administered liturgical services in the basilica of St James and the monastery stood in the way of the expanded physical footprint of what was to be the new cathedral. As part of the agreement, the monks of San Payo were to receive one-third of the money donations left by pilgrims at the new altar of St James, rather than one-half that had

[14] *LSJ*, p. 93 (I, 17).
[15] Ibid., pp. 164-65 (II, 5).
[16] *LFH*, III, app., pp. 3-7 (I). For additional commentary on the agreement see ibid., III, pp. 21-23.

previously been the custom.[17] This arrangement suggests both parties expected pilgrim traffic and donations to increase significantly once the new structure was completed. According to the *Pilgrim's Guide*, work on the new Romanesque cathedral, much of which is still standing today, started in 1078, shortly after the agreement was signed.[18]

Financing for the new cathedral became inextricably linked to Compostela's mint from at least 1107 when Alfonso VI granted Bishop Diego Gelmírez the right to mint coins and earmarked minting profits for its construction.[19] Once finished, the profits were to be used 'forever and always for the expenses of the clerics that provide services such as the necessities for the church'.[20] The billon dinero struck in Compostela during the reign of Alfonso VI showed his Christogram, with sideways and elongated 'S' as the mark of the Compostela mint along with the legend *S IACOBI (*Figure 2.2). This particular type was probably circulating in Compostela in the first years of the twelfth century.[21]

[17] Ibid., III, app., p. 5 (I).
[18] *Guide*, pp. 84-85 (ch. 9).
[19] *Tumbo A*, pp. 167-69 (72).
[20] Ibid., p. 168 (72): …*in ornamentis atque conposicionibus eiusden ecclesie omnia illius lucra perseuerent expendere usque in sempiternum*.
[21] Todesca, 'The Crown Renewed: The Administration of Coinage in León-Castile c. 1085-1200', p. 21. A Christogram-type óbolo (half-dinero) of Alfonso VI was minted in León in c. 1080. E. Fuentes Ganzo, 'Moneda y crédito en el Reino de León (1000-1500)', *Pecunia: revista de la Facultad de Ciencias Económicas y Empresariales,* 5 (2007), pp. 53-86, p. 55.

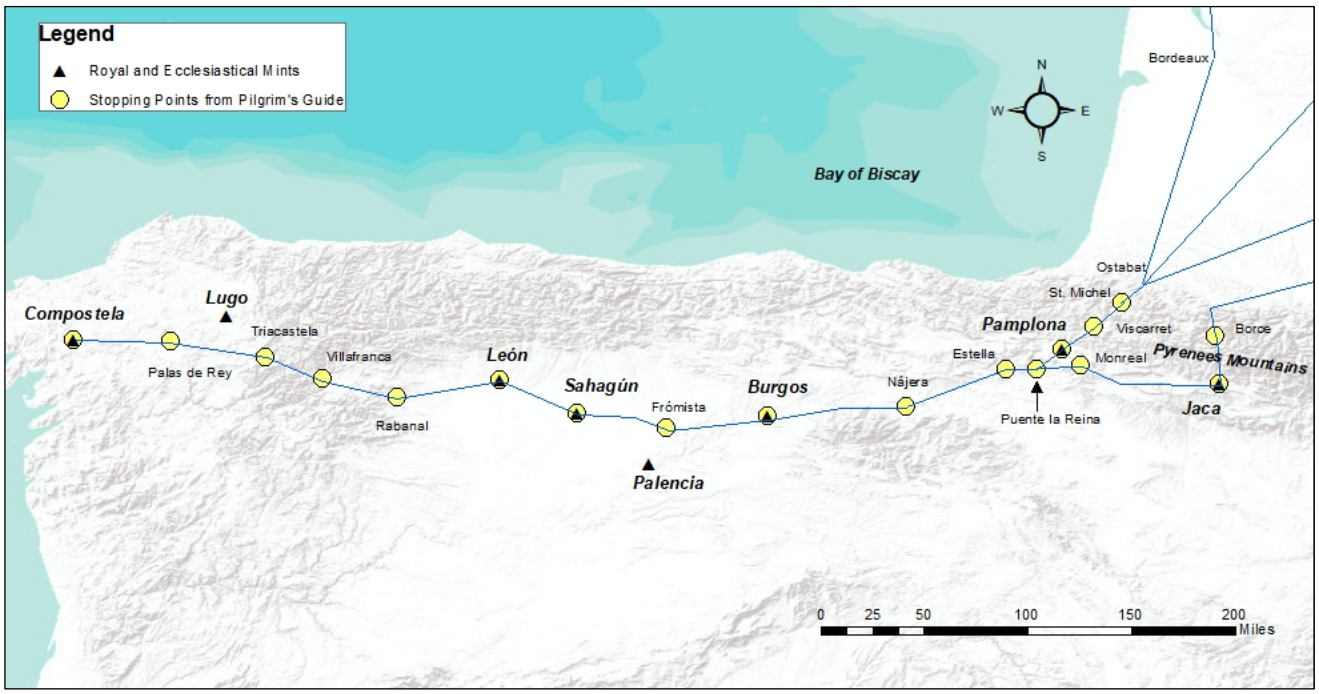


Figure 2.2. Billon Dinero of Alfonso VI of León-Castile (c.1100-04), Museo das Peregrinacións (D-896); (a) Obverse: Crismon with alpha and omega in centre, surrounded by *S IACOBI* with cross; (b) Reverse: Cross in centre, surrounded by *ANFVS REX.* Diameter: 18mm, Weight: 1.08g.

Compostela's minting privilege had undoubtedly come earlier than the 1107 grant. The right to mint coins was mentioned in the *Historia Compostellana* in 1105 and predictably touted the role of Bishop Diego in obtaining the valuable concession.[22] It is likely the mint existed prior to 1105, perhaps even as far back as 1078 when Bishop Paláez started work on the new cathedral.[23] Indeed, in 1100, Princess Elvira, the sister of Alfonso VI, sold a farmhouse and other houses in Compostela that she had purchased previously from a *monetario* named Ademario, suggesting minters had already been operating in the town for some time.[24]

[22] *HC*, pp. 56-57 (I, 28.1).
[23] *Coinage*, pp. 211-12.
[24] *LFH*, III, p. 26 and App. XV. *Monetario* was the same term used to describe minters in Alfonso VI's 1107 grant. *Tumbo A*, pp. 167-69 (72).

From the late eleventh to mid-twelfth centuries, most of the important mints in northern Christian Iberia were found along the Camino Francés, where the monarchs struck coins in royal towns or the rights to mint were granted to ecclesiastical lords (Map 2.1). In the early twelfth century, during the reign of Alfonso VI, Compostela was the only episcopal town striking coins on the Camino Francés in León-Castile, joining the royal mint at León.[25] Minting had started earlier in Navarre and Aragon during the reign of Sancho the Great (1000-35), at Jaca and Pamplona, important royal towns that sat on branches of the Camino Francés.[26]



Map 2.1. Mints Along the Camino Francés (late 11th-12th c.)

[25] Ibid., pp. 211-12. See also Fuentes Ganzo, 'Moneda y crédito en el Reino de León (1000-1500)', p. 55. The only other mint in León-Castile at this time was assumed by Alfonso VI after capturing the city from the Muslims in 1085.

[26] *Coinage*, pp. 100-08. Zaragoza became the site of an important mint after Alfonso I 'the Battler' captured the town from the Muslims in 1118. The sovereign right to mint in Aragon was transferred to Ramon Berenguer IV in 1137, and it is unclear if the Jaca mint continued to operate from that point.

By the mid-twelfth century, mints were added along the Camino Francés in León-Castile at the monastic town of Sahagún and the royal town of Burgos.[27] Episcopal mints were also added at sites within twenty-five miles of the Camino, at Lugo, a key stopping point on the secondary pilgrimage route between Oviedo and Compostela, and Palencia which had important trade links to the pilgrim towns of Carrión and Sahagún. However, these two mints did not likely strike coins with their own marks but rather those of more consequential towns like Compostela, León and Toledo.[28]

No coins bearing the mark of Sahagún's mint have been discovered,[29] and textual evidence of a mint does not exist past 1119 when Alfonso VII confirmed the 1116 minting grant of his mother Urraca.[30] However, a papal bull of Eugenius III from 1148 suggests the monastery was minting in the mid-twelfth century. The bull confirmed various privileges granted to the monastery of Sahagún by popes Gregory VII and Paschal II, and stated the abbot was to send annually to Rome two *solidi* of its own money.[31]

Minting Profits and Counterfeiters

Minting along the Camino Francés was a lucrative enterprise for monarchs and ecclesiastical lords. Alfonso VI recognized Compostela's mint would provide a significant profit (*lucrum*) for the church.[32] Further evidence of the mint's value was shown when his grandson Alfonso VII

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[27] Ibid., pp. 237 and 255.
[28] J. Todesca, 'The Crown Renewed: The Administration of Coinage in León-Castile c. 1085-1200' in J. Todesca (ed.), *The Emergence of León-Castile c. 1065-1500: Essays Presented to J.F. O'Callaghan* (Farnham, 2015), pp. 9-31, pp. 13 (note 9) and 24-27. The mints at Lugo and Palencia, where the bishops received a portion of the proceeds, may have existed since the reign of Alfonso VI but were likely closed by Alfonso VII towards the end of his reign. Fernando II reopened the mint at Lugo in 1158 and Palencia in 1163. Todesca refers to the mints in Lugo and Palencia as 'lesser operations'.
[29] *Coinage*, p. 233.
[30] Escalona, *Historia del Real Monasterio de Sahagún*, pp. 514-15 (149).
[31] Ibid., pp. 529-31 (App. III, 163): *Ad indicium autem huius perceptae à Romana Ecclesia liberatis duos solidos vestre monete nobis nostris que succesoribus annis singulis persolvetis*.
[32] *Tumbo A*, pp. 167-69 (72). *…placuerit et profectum maiusque lucrum sue ecclesie in hoc esse cognouerint*. Minting profit was called seigniorage, the difference between the value of the base metal in the coin and the

attempted to seize the cathedral chapter's minting rights, and only after Archbishop Diego produced Alfonso VI's original 1107 charter in his defence did Alfonso VII back down.[33] Fletcher suggested Diego may have even had to make a payment to keep his minting operations.[34] Diego was obviously keen to keep the minting proceeds given its importance in financing the cathedral's construction and other chapter activities. But Alfonso VII was relentless, and he eventually recovered half of Compostela's minting proceeds after Diego's death.[35]

The financial benefits of striking coins were not limited to royal and ecclesiastical lords. Counterfeiters were also very active along the pilgrim roads. In his confirmation of Compostela's minting grant, Alfonso VI complained that significant quantities of counterfeit money bearing the mark of Compostela's mint flowed along the pilgrim roads and he ordered the chapter to choose a provost (*prepositus*) to ensure frequent changing of the dies to limit the ease with which counterfeiters *(falsificatores*) could copy coinage:

> And because all the counterfeiters of the coins of my land are accustomed to always blame the crime of counterfeiting on the moneyers of Compostela, if it pleases the bishop of this same place along with the council of his canons and they recognize in this that there is great benefit and profit for their church, I ordain that they change the letters of their dies, and so that they achieve this more (readily) they shall appoint a provost for their mint.[36]

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declared value. R. Lopez, 'An Aristocracy of Money in the Early Middle Ages', *Speculum*, 28 (1953), pp. 1-43, p. 16. The gross seigniorage in twelfth-century England under Henry II (1154-89) was established at one shilling per pound. C. Desan, *Making Money: Coin, Currency, and the Coming of Capitalism* (Oxford, 2015), p. 79. There were twenty shillings in a pound which suggests a seigniorage under Henry II of five percent.

[33] *HC*, p. 439 (III, 13).

[34] Fletcher, *St. James's Catapult*, p. 259.

[35] *Coinage*, p. 248. On the importance of minting profits to royal treasuries, see Lopez, 'An Aristocracy of Money in the Early Middle Ages', p. 18.

[36] *Tumbo A*, p. 168 (72): *Et quia omnes falsificatores monetarum mee patrie crimen falsitatis super Compostelle monetarios semper solent obicere, si episcopo eiusdem loci cum consilio canonicorum placuerit et prefectum maiusque lucrum sue ecclesie in hoc esse cognuoerint, uolo ut mutant cuneorum suorum litteras et de illo unde magis impetrauerint faciant sue monete prepositum, et semper hereditario iure ad usum suprascripte ecclessie possideant*. For English translation see Todesca, 'The Crown Renewed: The Administration of Coinage in León-Castile c. 1085-1200', pp. 13-14.

Alfonso further stated counterfeiting of public money was to be 'feared',[37] no doubt since counterfeit coins in the money supply created an inflationary effect that could reduce minting profits and cause unrest amongst the populace, thus threatening royal and ecclesiastical power.

The devastating impact of counterfeiting was seen in contemporary Laon (France) during an urban uprising against its bishop in 1112. In that time, the minters of Laon began flooding the markets with counterfeit coins made primarily from bronze but mixed with a small amount of silver so they would shine like the current coinage. The importance of the money economy in Laon, similar to those of major pilgrim towns like Compostela and Sahagún where mints were under ecclesiastical control, was evident from Guibert of Nogent's description of the debasement on the people of Laon:

> No enemy action, no pillaging, no burning brought greater harm to this province, as in former times the money of this city had been welcome even within the walls of Rome.[38]

Compostela was not alone as a target for counterfeiters along the pilgrim roads as shown by Sahagún's mint grant from 1116[39] and confirmation from 1119[40] that identified counterfeiting as a threat. The prevalence of counterfeiting across contemporary western Europe was reflected in the types of punishments meted out by monarchs, commonly the cutting off of a hand, which reflected the growing connection between money, power and governance.[41] Henry I of England (1100-35), a contemporary of Alfonso VI, subjected counterfeiters to the loss of their eyes and

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[37] *Tumbo A*, p. 168 (72).
[38] GN, p. 160 (III, 7): *Nulla hostilitas, nullae praedae, nulla incendia hanc pejus laesere provinciam, cum vetustam urbis ejus monetam moenia haberent Romana gratissimam.* For English translation see GN: E, p. 129 [translation altered].
[39] *Colección diplomática del monasterio de Sahagún (857-1300)*, IV (1110-1199), pp. 47-48: *Ipse abbas experimentum monete faciat; ipse in ipsis monetariis omnem iustitiam, si monetam falsificauerint, ut sibi placuerit, faciat*.
[40] Fernández Flórez, *Colección diplomática del monasterio de Sahagún*, pp. 58-59 (1201).
[41] Lopez, 'An Aristocracy of Money in the Early Middle Ages', p. 7.

the lower parts of their bodies, and he castrated a group of alleged counterfeiters in 1124.[42] In early thirteenth-century Portugal counterfeiters had their goods confiscated and their hands and feet amputated.[43]

Minting in Carrión

To ensure coins were struck according to royal standards, a very precise and regulated minting process was followed. The process reflected on the façade of the church of Santiago in Carrión was identical to that used in mints across medieval western Europe until the sixteenth century when the mill and screw were introduced.[44] Although it was a manually intensive process, the extraordinary division of labour shown in the Carrión façade would have allowed the group to generate a high volume of coins.[45]

Carrión was an important and wealthy pilgrim town on the Camino Francés, referred to in the *Pilgrim's Guide* as 'an accommodating and excellent town, rich in bread and wine and meat, and all kinds of produce'.[46] Before she died in 1093, the Countess Teresa built a pilgrim hospital near the monastery of San Zoilo and a bridge over the Carrión River.[47] By the early twelfth

[42] G. Dinkova-Bruun, 'Nummus falsus: The Perception of Counterfeit Money in the Eleventh and Early Twelfth Century', in G. Gasper and S. Gullbekk (eds.), *Money and the Church in Medieval Europe, 1000-1200* (Surrey, 2015), pp. 77-91, p. 88; and Todesca, 'The Crown Renewed: The Administration of Coinage in León-Castile c. 1085-1200', p. 15.
[43] O'Callaghan, *History of Medieval Spain*, p. 300.
[44] Lopez used the term 'roundels' rather than blanks. Lopez, 'An Aristocracy of Money in the Early Middle Ages', p. 18 (note 25). A woodcut from fifteenth-century Germany documents the education of the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I (1486-1519) and illustrates a similar set of minting tasks to those shown on the Carrión façade. O. Volckart, 'Technologies of money in the Middle Ages: The "Principles of Minting"', London School of Economics and Political Science, Department of Economic History Working Papers, No. 275 (Feb. 2018), p. 28.
[45] Volckart, 'Technologies of money in the Middle Ages', p. 28.
[46] *Guide*, p. 14 (ch. 3): *...Karrionus, que est uilla abilis et obtima pane et uino et carne et omin fertiltate felix*. For English translation see ibid., p. 15 [translation modified].
[47] J.L. Senra Gabriel y Galián, 'Mio Cid es de Bevar e nos de los Condes de Carrión. Los Banu-Gómez de Carrión a la Luz de sus Epitafios', *Quintana*, 5 (Santiago de Compostela, 2006), pp. 233-67, pp. 240-41. Teresa's epitaph on her tomb at San Zoilo states *OMNIS EAM MERITO PLANGERE DEBET HOMO/ ERA MCXXXII/ AECLESSIA PONTEM PEREGRINIS OPTIMA TECTA/ FECIT PARCA SIBI LARGAQUE PAUPERIBUS*.

century Carrión was already a large town, estimated to have had twelve-thousand inhabitants,[48] similar in size to Sahagún[49] and perhaps larger than other important towns along the Camino Francés including Burgos[50] and even Compostela.[51]

Demand for money in Carrión and the surrounding area was strong after Alfonso VIII of Castile granted San Zoilo the right to hold an annual fair in 1169, fifteen days before and fifteen after the feast of San Juan during the height of the early summer pilgrimage traffic flow.[52] Establishment of the fair showed pilgrim and merchant traffic had increased to a point where Carrión's weekly market was insufficient to meet demand.[53] The annual fair was financially valuable to the monastery of San Zoilo and Alfonso VIII who split the tax collected by participants in the fair.[54] Increased demand for money in the area was also shown by the reopening of Palencia's mint (twenty miles south of Carrión) by Fernando II in 1163.[55]

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[48] Ramírez de Helguera, *El Libro de Carrión de los Condes*, p. 55.
[49] Sahagún had no fewer than 8,000 inhabitants by the time of the granting of its *fuero* in 1085 and 12,000 by the end of the twelfth century. Cuenca Coloma, *Sahagún: Monasterio y Villa*, pp. 29 and 71.
[50] It is estimated that Burgos had a population of 7,000 at the end of the thirteenth century. L. Martínez García, *El Camino de Santiago: Una vision histórica desde Burgos* (Burgos, 2004), pp. 105-06.
[51] Compostela had an estimated population of 2,000 in the sixteenth century estimate. J. Passini, *El camino de Santiago: Itinerario y núcleos de población* (Madrid, 1993), p. 204. However, this may have been significantly lower that its twelfth-century population as the *Historia Compostellana* described a large mob comprised of 'thousands' of citizens that set fire to the cathedral and bell tower where Bishop Diego and Urraca were hiding during the urban revolt of 1116-17. *HC,* p. 273 (I, 114.2). In 1670 the pilgrim Domenico Laffi called Carrión 'an ordinary village, very well supplied with goods', perhaps indicating that although it remained a key stop on the Camino, it may have lost some its glory after the golden age of Cluny and the pilgrimage. D. Laffi, *A Journey to the West: The Diary of a Seventeenth-Century Pilgrim from Bologna to Santiago de Compostela*, trans. J. Hall (Leiden, 1998), p. 145.
[52] *Documentación del Monasterio de San Zoilo de Carrión: 1047-1300*, ed. J.A. Perez Celada (Palencia, 1986), pp. 64-66 (41). The charter distinguishes San Zoilo and its *villa* from the *civitas* of Carrión, which were separated by the Carrión River. See also P. Martínez Sopena, *El Camino de Santiago en Castilla y León* (León, 1993), p. 43. The feast day of San Juan took place on 24 June.
[53] Martinez Sopena, 'El comercio interregional: Sahagún, un ejemplo Castellano', p. 363.
[54] *Documentación del Monasterio de San Zoilo: 1047-1300*, p. 65: *…dono et constituo in perpetuum monasterio Sancto Zoyli de Carrióne…feriam XV dias ante festum Sancti Iohannis et XV alios post festum similiter Sancti Iohannis, tali conditione et tenore, ut ego habeam medietatem integre de solo portagio, et prior de Sancti Zoylo et fratres aliam medietatem integre de omni portagio*.
[55] Todesca, 'The Crown Renewed: The Administration of Coinage in León-Castile', p. 27.

San Zoilo, like other Cluniac monasteries along the pilgrim roads, was integral to the circulation of money across the regional economy.[56] The monastery had extensive seigniorial holdings in the territories of Saldaña, Carrión and Cea and to the southeast in the western Tierra de Campos and the Campo de Toro, including mills, orchards and livestock, and dependent churches and monasteries.[57] The monks would have certainly sold produce in Carrión's weekly market and fair, and used money to procure finished goods, make payments to the abbot of Cluny, and support its pilgrim hospital.[58]

At least nine of the twenty-two figures of townspeople on the archivolt of the Carrión façade were involved in the operation or administration of minting coins (Figure 2.3).[59] Facing the façade and shown from left to right, the first mint worker is striking a piece of metal with a large hammer. An ingot, cast from a required alloy mixture, was hammered until it reached the desired thickness for coins, resulting in a fine flat sheet called a flan.[60] The second worker is shown holding an oval-shaped jar which perhaps contained wine scale acid that was used to soak the blanks in order to test whether the alloy had the right proportion of base metal.[61] The third worker is a bearded man trimming a blank with a large pair of shears in order to ensure the blanks were the correct size and placing the resulting pieces in a pan.

[56] Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe*, pp. 62-69.
[57] *Documentación del Monasterio de San Zoilo de Carrión: 1047-1300*, pp. 96-100 and 126.
[58] In 1325, the monks of San Zoilo leased their interest in San Martin de Fromista so they could make a payment to the abbot of Cluny; and in 1338, the priory table made a payment of 2,000 *maravedís* to the abbot of Cluny. Ibid., p. 261. Between 1321 and 1377, twenty 'pounds' were paid by San Zoilo to Cluny every year. Per the manuscript *Actes relatifs aux pensions dues par diverses maisons de l'ordere de Cluny. XIV et XV siècles*, located in the Biblioteca Nacional de Paris in *Documentación del Monasterio de San Zoilo de Carrión: 1047-1300*, p. 261. The year of reference to the twenty-pound payments was found in 1338.
[59] See Mariño, 'La portada de Santiago de Carrión de los Condes', pp. 53-54 and Torres, 'Monederos de piedra', pp. 301-323.
[60] Volckart, 'Technologies of money in the Middle Ages', pp. 27-28.
[61] Ibid., p. 28.

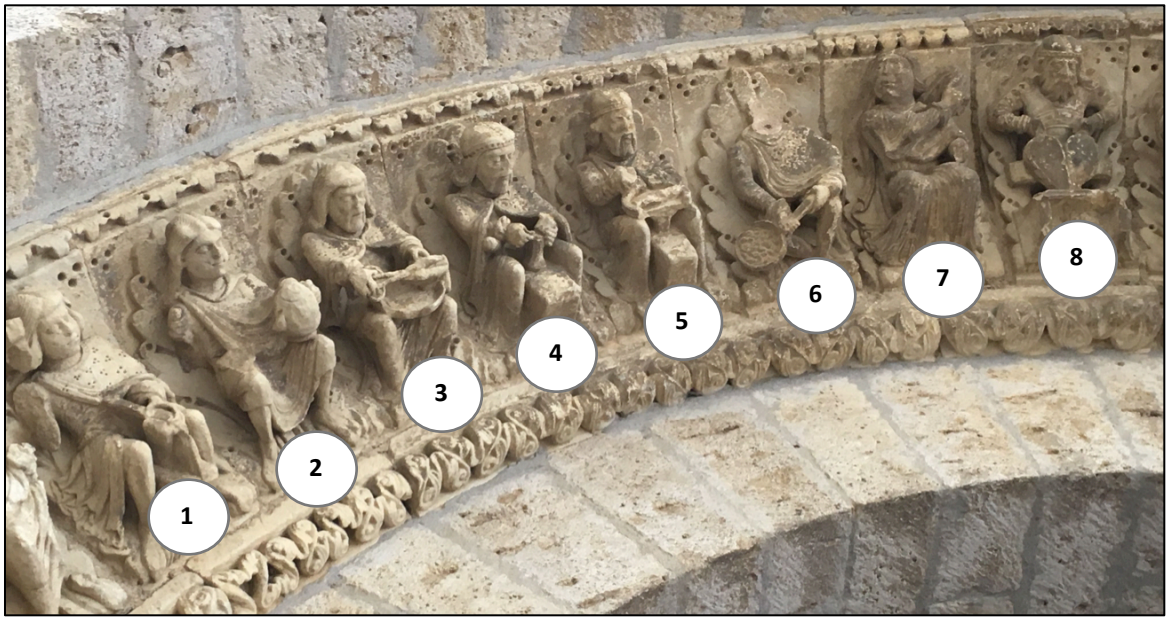


Figure 2.3. Reliefs of Minters from the Archivolt of the Church of Santiago, Carrión.[62]

Figure four, also bearded, is the *monetarius* who is shown placing a metal disc into a die from which a coin could be created. Dies were generally made of steel with each side imprinted with a negative of the coin's design. The lower die was attached to a wood block and then the upper die was struck with a hammer to produce the coin.[63] The fifth worker, also bearded, picks up hot blanks using tongs and prepares to round the edges by striking them with a wooden mallet.[64] The sixth worker, whose head has been lost, is a founder maintaining a small pan over a fire that is full of small metal blanks, related to ensuring the purity of the metal, a crucial task in the minting process.[65] The eighth worker is another founder, shown bearded and maintaining a fire using bellows. Continuous reheating of the blanks was necessary to prevent splitting.[66]

[62] Photographed by the author.
[63] Volckart, 'Technologies of money in the Middle Ages', p. 28.
[64] Before proceeding to the final checks of weight and law, blanks were subjected to an operation designed to 'reconcile' them by softening their edges. This was done by picking up a set of them with a pincer and hitting their sides with a wooden club. Torres, 'Monederos de piedra', p. 313.
[65] Mariño, 'La portada de Santiago de Carrión de los Condes', p. 54.
[66] Volckart, 'Technologies of money in the Middle Ages', p. 28.

The seventh member of the minting group is the master or supervisor of the mint who was charged with knowing the law and weighing the money.[67] He appears to be of a higher social class than the others and is the only one not involved in an act of hard labour, but rather appears to be communicating with the rest of the minters. He may be holding a scroll,[68] perhaps representing royal law and standards for the coinage. The supervisor is also facing a founder maintaining a pan of metal discs (worker six) and pointing to another founder on his left who is working a bellows (worker eight), as if he were directing the work (Figure 2.4).



Figure 2.4. Mint supervisor (centre) Between Two Founders from Church of Santiago, Carrión.[69]

Along with the mint supervisor is another administrative figure, a royal scribe or clerk, who is shown in the ninth position from the left (Figure 2.5). This individual, shown writing in a

[67] Mariño, 'La portada de Santiago de Carrión de los Condes', p. 54.
[68] Lastra, 'Judgment, Work, and Social Change', pp. 192-93.
[69] Photographed by the author.

codex, was probably meant to illustrate the keeping of records regarding the quantity and movement of the metals.[70] Throughout the minting process the amount of base metal could be degraded by acid treatment, heating and trimming. The scribe would have been tasked with documenting the resulting changes in the weights of blanks to ensure the minters were not charged with theft of royal property.



Figure 2.5. Royal Scribe (centre) from Minting Group, Founder (left) and Monk (right), Church of Santiago, Carrión.[71]

Mobile Minting Workshop

The minters of the façade almost certainly represented a group who came from outside northern Christian Iberia, likely members of a guild who travelled across the region working on specific recoinages under royal or ecclesiastical contracts.[72] Evidence exists of foreign minters working

[70] Torres, 'Monederos de piedra', p. 322.
[71] Photographed by the author.
[72] The early twelfth-century border between the kingdoms of León and Castile was generally considered to be the Pisuerga River which would have placed Carrión very close to the frontier. Alfonso VIII's multiple visits to Carrión in the late twelfth century showed the town was firmly within the territory of Castile at that point. The kingdom of

in Compostela. One was Randulfo, who ran the Compostelan mint under Diego Gelmírez from at least 1107,[73] and may have also run the mint at Zaragoza under Alfonso I 'the Battler' of Aragon-Navarre.[74] Other foreign minters were found in Compostela, including the brothers John and Gaufrido of Lombardy,[75] and one Ademario, likely from southern France,[76] who was in the area from at least the late eleventh century.[77]

Once appointed to a guild, moneyers from Lombardy had the right to mint coins 'anywhere in the entire world',[78] showing the mobility of these skilled craftsmen and providing a possible explanation for their existence along the Iberian pilgrim roads. Evidence of a similar situation can be seen in contemporary England, where in 1180 King Henry II (1154-89) contracted with one Philip Aimer of Tours and a company of foreigners to mint coins, and that group returned to the continent after a significant recoinage was completed in 1182.[79] James Todesca speculates Randulfo from Compostela may have been related to one of the minters of William the Conqueror of England (1066-87) who was named Randulf.[80] If true, this would

Castile did not have its own coinage until the reign of Alfonso VIII when the kingdoms of León and Castile were separated. J. Torres, 'Obreros, monederos, y casas de moneda. Reino de Castilla, siglos XIII-XV', *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 41 (2011), pp. 673-98, p. 677. Burgos did not mint coins before the mid-twelfth century.

[73] *HC*, pp. 56-57 (I, 28).

[74] S. Moralejo, 'Artistas, patronos y public en el arte del Camino de Santiago', *Compostellanum: revista de la Archidiocesis de Santiago de Compostela*, 30 (Santiago de Compostela, 1985), pp. 395-423, p. 401. Whilst at Tardajos in September 1121, Alfonso I donated some land in Galicia to one don Riquer de Huesca, and the transaction was witnessed by a *monetario* named Randulfo. See J.M. Lacarra (ed.), *Documentos para el studio de la reconquista y repoblación del valle del Ebro* (Zaragoza, 1982), p. 90 (75). *Et sunt testes don Iofre gramatico et Eustatio et Randulfo monetario*.

[75] *HC*, p. 56 (I, 28). See also *LFH*, III, p. 282 (note 3).

[76] Fletcher, *St. James's Catapult*, p. 184.

[77] *LFH*, III, p. 26 and app. XV.

[78] Lopez, 'An Aristocracy of Money in the Early Middle Ages', p. 2.

[79] N. Oresme, ed. and trans. C. Johnson, *The De Moneta of Nicholas Oresme and English Mint Documents* (London, 1956), pp. xxii.

[80] Todesca, 'The Crown Renewed: The Administration of Coinage in León-Castile c. 1085-1200', p. 18.

provide further evidence that mobile minting families or guilds travelled across western Europe including along the pilgrim roads to Compostela.[81]

Coins produced in Carrión would have met the demand for money at weekly markets or annual fairs in the town or nearby Sahagún (granted the right to hold its annual fair in 1155),[82] perhaps bearing the marks of mints from nearby Sahagún or León.[83] Urraca's 1116 minting grant to the monastery of Sahagún offered a clue as to a potential connection between Sahagún and the minters represented on Carrión's façade. The grant stated that the minters had to be people from the town of Sahagún or another place that was pleasing to the abbot, suggesting quality minters were hard to find and that the coins of Sahagún were minted outside the town.[84] Indeed, until the thirteenth century minting was generally outsourced by monarchs to specialists and their small workshops rather than being done in large, royal mints in fixed locations.[85] Even in the thirteenth century, mint workers often did not live in the cities where coins were minted since recoinages only lasted for a short timeframe.[86]

Additional evidence showing a group of mobile minters was active in the area around Carrión was shown by the existence of another façade with minters on the north portal of the nearby church of San Pelayo in Arenillas de San Pelayo from the late twelfth or early thirteenth

[81] A minter named Radulfus was operating in Chartres in the early twelfth century. Welch Williams, *Bread, Wine, and Money*, p. 110. Could Radulfus of Chartres have been related to the Randulfo who worked in contemporary Compostela?
[82] *Colección Diplomática del Monasterio de Sahagún (857-1300), IV (1110-1199)*, pp. 256-58 (1320).
[83] J. Torres, 'Monederos de piedra. Escenas de acuñación en el románico palentino', p. 323. Coins that bore the marks of particular town mints were not necessarily minted in those towns. Torres, 'Obreros, monederos, y casas de moneda', p. 677.
[84] Escalona, *Historia del Real Monasterio de Sahagún*, p. 512 (146): *Ista tamen ratione servata, ut monetarii sint per manum Abbatis, vel de Villa Sancti Facundi, vel de alio loco quales ei placuerint.*
[85] J. Torres, Obreros, monederos, y casas de moneda', pp. 678-79; and Torres, 'Monederos de piedra', pp. 307-08. See also Spufford, *Money and its use in medieval Europe*, pp. 187-202. As vast quantities of mined silver flowed into Europe in the 1160s and demand for money increased, the need for minting increased with much of the activity taking place in small workshops.
[86] Torres, 'Obreros, monederos, y casas de moneda', p. 679.

century (Figure 2.6).[87] This façade was a smaller-scale copy of Carrión's façade and perhaps represented the same group of minters. San Pelayo included reliefs of seven well-dressed minters engaged in the same tasks as those on the Carrión façade.[88] Moving left to right on the photo, the first figure is a scribe shown writing in a large codex that rests on a desk on his knees, the second figure (armless and headless) is possibly an assayer heating a pan of discs to ensure the quality of the metals, the third (armless) is cutting discs from a metal sheet, the fourth (armless) is positioned to hammer and flatten a metal sheet and the fifth (headless) is using pincers to round the edges of the coins. The sixth member of this minting group (headless) is the *monetarius* shown raising a hammer to strike a coin from a disc whilst the seventh (headless) is a founder working a bellows to keep the fire hot, so the discs are not damaged.



Figure 2.6. Minters from North Portal of the Church of Arenillas de San Pelayo.[89]

[87] A. Gómez Gómez, 'El Nacimiento de la Iconografía de los Comerciantes en la Plena Edad Media', in J.I. de la Iglesia Duarte (ed.), *El Comercio en la Edad Media* (Logroño, 2006), pp. 491-527, pp. 521 and 524. See also Mariño, 'La portada de Santiago de Carrión de los Condes', p. 59.
[88] Torres, 'Monederos de Piedra', pp. 305-23. Notably missing is a mint supervisor.
[89] Photographed by the author.

Arenillas de San Pelayo was located twenty miles north of Carrión in the valley of the Valdavia River. The monastery in Arenillas de San Pelayo was built in 1132 under the sponsorship of the Muñoz family of Saldaña, an important dependency of the monastery of Sahagún.[90] That minters were included on the façade of a church in a small rural community off the Camino Francés, the main artery for pilgrim and merchant traffic, strongly suggests that a group of mobile minters were active in the area.

* * *

The right to mint coins was an important symbol of royal power and the monarchs of northern Christian Iberia used this right to generate profits for their treasuries and enhance their political capital with ecclesiastical lords at important shrines like Compostela and Sahagún. Counterfeiting along the pilgrim roads was a significant threat to this royal power and measures were taken to prevent the dilutive impact of this illegal activity including the appointment of mint provosts, frequent changing of the dies, implementation of a specific and regulated minting process and the enactment of serious punishments. Not all minting was conducted in towns that held royal minting rights as demonstrated by the existence of the company of minters on the façade of the church of Santiago in Carrión, a group that in all likelihood worked under royal contracts to meet the strong demand for money in markets and fairs from pilgrims, merchants and townspeople.

3. Foreign Coinage and Compostela's Guild of Moneychangers

Besides domestically minted coins such as those struck in Compostela, a substantial and diverse body of foreign coinage was used along the pilgrim roads and donated at the shrine of St

[90] F. Antón, 'Monasterios Medievales'. In 1168 the monastery became Premonstratensian.

James.[91] *Veneranda dies* claimed pilgrims from seventy-four different nationalities gathered in Santiago Cathedral at all hours of the day.[92] The sermon described a non-stop celebratory rapture as pilgrims filed through the cathedral:

> A solemn feast is always being celebrated there without cease; a feast is performed zealously; a great gathering is cultivated day and night; praise and jubilation, joy and exultation are sung together. All days and nights are honored in an almost continuous solemn feast for the honor of the Lord and the apostle.[93]

Pilgrims gathered in groups of compatriots, holding candles whilst they completed their vigils, which included singing, praying and leaving gifts (*munera sacrificant*).[94] Although the number of ethnic groups claimed in *Veneranda dies* to have been present at the cathedral may have been exaggerated, there was undoubtedly a large number of foreign pilgrims who carried an array of foreign coins.

The large number of foreign pilgrims was shown in a conversation documented in the *Historia Compostellana* between an ambassador of the Almoravid emir Ali ibn Yusuf (1106-42),

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[91] On the Compostelan pilgrim roads as part of a broader network of coin circulation across medieval western Europe, see J. Suárez Otero, 'Moneda, Peregrinación y Comercio. Una nueva perspectiva del Camino de Santiago en la edad Media', *Reflexos da Peregrinación e do Culto a Santiago. VIII Memorial Filgueira Valverde* (Vigo, 2010), pp. 81-114; and Valci, 'Pilgrims, Merchants and Coins: A Santiago de Compostela Case Study, *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 62 (2018), pp. 83-110. Notably, the *deniers* of Melgueil (outside of Montpellier on the *via Tolosana*) dominated the Languedoc region and became the primary silver coinage circulating in northern Iberia at the end of the twelfth and into the early thirteenth century. Spufford, *Money and its use in medieval Europe,* pp. 191-92. For an analysis of local and Muslim coinage circulating in medieval northern Iberia, see J. Gautier Dalché, 'L'histoire monétaire de l'Espagne septentrionale et centrale du IXe au XIIe siècles', *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 6 (1969), pp. 43-95. Foreign coins were changed into local issuances as shown by archaeological evidence from the tunnel of San Adrián between Burgos and Bayonne, along a route that would have been used by foreign pilgrims and merchants, indicating travellers used this route from at least the mid-eleventh century. Over half of the coins found in a trove of 142 dated from the eleventh to thirteenth centuries, including ten (7%) from the kingdom of Sancho IV of Navarre (1054-76), 53 (37%) from Alfonso I of Aragon-Navarre (1104-34), twelve (8%) from the kingdom of Alfonso VIII of Castile (1158-1214), and thirty (21%) from Alfonso X of León-Castile (1252-84). The large percentage of coins from the reign of Alfonso I suggests that traffic was relatively high during his reign. E. Garcia Retes, 'El camino de San Adrián (Guipúzcoa-Álava) en la ruta jacobea. Análisis documental y arqueológico', *Estudios de Arqueología Alavesa*, 15 (1987), pp. 355-497, pp. 394-436.

[92] *LSJ*, p. 89 (I, 17).

[93] Ibid., p. 89: *Ibi semper sollempnitas assidua celebratur, festivitas sedule agitur, preclara celebritas die noctuque excolitur, laus et iubilacio, gaudium et exultacio iugitur decantatur. Omnes dies et noctes quasi sub una sollempnitate continuato gaudio ad Domini et apostoli decus ibi excoluntur.* For English translation see *MSJ*, p. 19.

[94] *LSJ*, pp. 88-89 (I, 17).

who had come to meet with Queen Urraca of León-Castile, and his local guide, a soldier named Pedro. The ambassador refers to Christians who came to Compostela in such a multitude from across the Pyrenees, and asks Pedro what inspired them to make the journey. Pedro replies with a description of St James and the many miracles he has performed inside and outside of Iberia.[95]

Although pilgrims left wax and other objects made from precious metals, money donations were substantial as shown by the elaborate system used to process them as described in the *Pilgrim's Guide*.[96] The offerings were first divided into three parts, with one part going to the priest whose turn it was to administer mass and other services. The remaining two parts were added together and divided into a further three parts which were split amongst the canons for their communal meal, another for the 'fabric' of the cathedral, and a third to the archbishop.[97]

The *Historia Compostellana* provides a sense for the complex assortment of coins that flowed into Compostela and the cathedral chapter's treasury. In 1119 Bishop Diego Gelmírez sent his envoy Gerald on a mission to Rome with a chest full of money for the newly elected Pope Calixtus II as part of his efforts to secure an archbishopric.[98] Included in the chest were nine *marcas* (marks), one-hundred *morabitinos*, two hundred-eleven *solidi* from Poitiers, seventy *solidi* from Milan, twenty *solidi* from Toulouse, and other money (*et cetera*).[99] Toulouse and Poitiers were found along two of the four main routes from France to Spain as written in the

[95] *HC*, p. 307 (II, 50). See also *PSC*, I, pp. 55-56.
[96] *HC*, pp. 515-16 (III, 14.3). Pilgrims also changed silver, gold and bronze rings, chalices and candelabras into coins which were likely donated, and some of those items themselves were undoubtedly offered to St James as well. *LSJ*, p. 99 (I, 17). Valuable and unique donations included the silver lamps donated by Alfonso I of Aragon-Navarre, and altar ornaments and covers. *Guide*, pp. 80-83 (ch. 9).
[97] *Guide*, pp. 86-87 (ch. 10).
[98] Fletcher, *St. James's Catapult*, pp. 204-05.
[99] *HC*, p. 238 (II, 10): *Commisimus autem pecuniam huic negotio necessariam, scilicet archam auream nouem marcharum, centum morabitinos, CC et XI solidos Pictauienses, sexaginta solidos Mediolanensis monete, XX solidos de Tolosanis et cetera.* Gerald traveled from Compostela across Spain along the Camino Francés through Roncesvalles and over the Pyrenees using the Cize Pass. The use of *et cetera* in Gerald's description implies other types of coins were also included. On the 1119 date, see *HC: Trans.*, p. 315 (note 78).

Pilgrim's Guide, so it is likely the coins sent to Rome by Diego were generated from pilgrim donations or commercial activity in Compostela's markets and that they represented commonly accepted units of account along the pilgrim roads.[100]

Once pilgrim donations were received at the shrine, Compostela's cathedral chapter dealt with several challenges, including theft and counterfeiting. *Veneranda dies* stated guards in some basilicas along the pilgrim roads including Saint-Gilles, Saint-Léonard-de-Noblat, Tours, Le Puy and Rome, would steal donations from the altars and then demand additional payments from the churches for their protection services.[101] Although Compostela was not specifically mentioned, the cathedral chapter was undoubtedly aware of these risks.

Compostela's Guild of Moneychangers

Before money donations could be divided and distributed to different parties, they needed to be collected and valued. The cathedral chapter needed a trusted partner to carry out this task, especially given the diversity of coins carried by pilgrims and merchants, and the prevalence of counterfeiting and theft. This responsibility fell to Compostela's guild of moneychangers (*cofradía de cambiadores*). In addition to changing donations, the guild changed money for use in the *parvis* market just outside the north portal of the cathedral where pilgrims could purchase an exhaustive inventory of goods.

Partnering with the guild of moneychangers gave Compostela's cathedral chapter yet another point of leverage in exercising monopoly control over its local money economy. By controlling the money supply through minting, key pilgrim markets and money changing through its partnership with the guild, the cathedral chapter was positioned to capitalize on the circulation

[100] *Guide*, pp. 10-11 (ch. 1).
[101] *LSJ*, p. 97 (I, 17).

of coinage for its financial benefit.[102] The chapter undoubtedly established beneficial exchange rates that produced profits on a per transaction basis whilst stimulating a high volume of transactions through pilgrim participation in its thriving *parvis* market.[103] If the cathedral chapter had required the use of its own coins in the markets it controlled, the profits could have been even greater.[104]

Although it was claimed that the guild's origins dated to the ninth century,[105] it had likely been founded in the first half of the twelfth century when pilgrim donations at the basilica were starting to peak, other early guilds were being founded in Compostela, and legend-building activities around the cult of St James were taking place.[106] There can be little doubt the guild was operating in the twelfth century, making it one of the oldest guilds in Compostela that also

[102] *LFF*, pp. 94-96 and 113-115. See also J.D. González Arce, 'Los Cambistas Compostelanos, un Gremio de Banqueros Pionero en la Castilla Medieval (Siglos XII-XV)', *Medievalismo: Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales*, 17 (2007), pp. 85-120, pp. 86, 96, 99-100 and 103; and M. Remuñán Ferro, 'Gremios Compostelanos relacionados con la peregrinación Jacobea', *Il pellegrinaggio a Santiago de Compostela e la letteratura jacopea: atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Perugia, 23-24-25 settembre 1983* (Perugia, 1985), pp. 109-126, p. 117. See also *LFH,* II p. 50. Any minting competition from within Galicia was eliminated in 1140 when Alfonso VII closed Lugo's mint. Todesca, 'The Crown Renewed: The Administration of Coinage in León-Castile c. 1085-1200', p. 24 and 27.

[103] *LFF*, pp. 94-95.

[104] *Coinage*, p. 258.

[105] It was not unusual for medieval guilds to embellish origins to support their legitimacy. S. Epstein, *Wage Labor and Guilds in Medieval Europe* (Chapel Hill, 1991), p. 50. See also J.D. González Arce, 'Los Cambistas Compostelanos, un Gremio de Banqueros Pionero en la Castilla Medieval (Siglos XII-XV)', *Medievalismo: Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales*, 17 (2007), pp. 85-120, p. 86.

[106] The *Book of the Moneychangers* made two references to supposed confirmations of the guild's privileges in the first half of the twelfth century as witnessed by Bishop Pedro Seguino of Orense in 1150. In one reference the bishop had seen written confirmations by Ramiro I, Alfonso VI, and later kings of the privileges granted by Alfonso II to the guild of moneychangers. In another the bishop had seen a papal bull from León III that outlined the guild's rights, confirmed by León IV in 848 and Eugenio III in 1146. González Arce, 'Los Cambistas Compostelanos', p. 103 (note 21). It is curious that Bishop Seguino claimed to have seen these confirmations of the guild's ninth-century origins in 1150, roughly the same time other legend-building efforts were taking place around the cult of St James and the church in Compostela.

included the artists and *concheiros* (scallop-shell pilgrim badge sellers).[107] It would also have been one of the oldest guilds in Iberia and Latin Christendom.[108]

The legend of the guild's formation and information about its membership and operations were described in the *Book of the Moneychangers* (*Libro dos Cambeadores*). Seventeenth-century copies of the book were written in *gallego* (the modern-day language of Galicia), and were said to have been copied from a parchment dated 1385.[109] The guild's founding was said to have been the year 837, during the reign of Alfonso II 'the Chaste' of Asturias (791-842) who built the first basilica over the tomb of St James. The legend stated that Alfonso II ordered his chaplain to travel to Compostela where he chose twelve men of knightly origins *(fillosdalgo de cabaleyros)* and established a brotherhood in honour of St James.[110] Its members were obligated to change all the money of silver and gold 'that were not known' for pilgrims, to protect poor pilgrims, especially foreigners, from thieves and killers, and to watch over the tomb of St James during the night.[111]

Members were said to have been chosen from noble families and descendants of former guild members, excluding Jews and Muslims, and they worked next to the north portal of the basilica through which pilgrims arriving on the Camino Francés passed.[112] The prologue of the

[107] González Arce, 'Los Cambistas Compostelanos', pp. 86 and 96; *LFF*, pp. 93-94; and M. Remuñán Ferro, 'Gremios Compostelanos relacionados con la peregrinación Jacobea', *Il pellegrinaggio a Santiago de Compostela e la letteratura jacopea: atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Perugia, 23-24-25 settembre 1983* (Perugia, 1985), pp. 109-26, p. 117.
[108] González Arce, 'Los Cambistas Compostelanos', p. 86.
[109] A 1691 copy of the *Libro dos Cambiadores* is kept in the 'Vaamonde-Lores' collection of documents at the *Arquivo Histórico do Reino de Galicia* in the garden of San Carlos in A Coruña. M.B. Campos Souto, 'La Revisión de un Texto Perdido en la Memoria: *El Libro dos Cambeadores da Cidade de Santiago*' in S. Fortuño Llorens and T. Martínez Romero (eds.), *Actes del VII Congrés de l'Associació Hispánica de Literatura Medieval: (Castelló de la Plana, 22-26 de setembre de 1997)* (Castelló de la Plana, 1999), pp. 421-30, pp. 422-23. The notaries who signed the 1691 document claimed the original manuscript of 1385 was copied faithfully and without alterations.
[110] *Fillosdalgo* must derive from *hijos de algo* or *hidalgos* which referred to the lesser nobility, and *cabaleyros* from *caballero* which referred to mounted warriors or knights. Reilly, *The Medieval Spains*, pp. 145-47.
[111] *LFH,* II, p. 50.
[112] Ibid., II, p. 50.

Book of the Moneychangers also included a list of the names of the twelve founding members, likely added at a later date to legitimize and extend the lineages of some guild families who had perhaps lost administrative control of the guild.[113] The preoccupation of certain families with their connection to the twelve founders suggests the privileges and prestige that came along with this association were significant and would have attracted members of the aristocracy to join its ranks.[114] Although the names of guild families may have been a later forgery, the organizational and operational details of the guild included in the prologue, written down in the early fourteenth century,[115] were likely accurate as shown by corroboration with details from other textual evidence including a 1289 charter and a copy of the 'ancient' ordinances documented in 1490.[116]

The guild of moneychangers was one of three guilds associated with the cathedral chapter that were operating in the twelfth century. The others were the guilds of the artists and *concheiros*. The guild of artists had likely been founded in the late eleventh century when work on the new cathedral started under Alfonso VI of León-Castile and Bishop Diego Peláez (c. 1071-88). In 1131 Alfonso VII confirmed the privileges granted to the guild of artists (*colegio de artistas*) that exercised monopoly rights over construction and decoration activities in the city and included an army of stonemasons, bricklayers, painters, sculptors, glazers and blacksmiths

[113] H. Monteagudo Romero, 'Noticia dun texto prosístico en galego do século XVII: "Memoria da fundación da Confraría de Cambeadores"', ed. R. Lorenzo Vázquez and R. Álvarez Blanco, *Homenaxe á profesora Pilar Vázquez Cuesta* (1996), pp. 352-75, pp. 359-60. See also *LFH,* II, p. 51 (note 1); and J. Villa-Amil y Castro, *Catálogo de los objetos de Galicia en la Exposición histórico-europea del año* (Madrid, 1892), p. 54 (note 2).
[114] González Arce, 'Los Cambistas Compostelanos', p. 86. The guild expanded from the initial twelve members to thirty as implied by the signatories to their ordinances. J. Armas Castro, 'El Afianzamiento de la Realidad Urbana Después del Año Mil (Ch. 3) in E. Portela Silva (ed.) *Historia de la ciudad de Santiago de Compostela* (Santiago de Compostela, 2003), pp. 81-125, p. 115.
[115] *LFH,* II, pp. 17 (note 1) and 49-50.
[116] Villa-Amil y Castro, *Catálogo de los objetos de Galicia*, pp. 62-66 and 72-84. The ordinances (*ordenanzas*) of 1490 referred to the origins of the guild as 'ancient'. One of the earliest extant textual references to the guild was from 1450. Ibid., p. 66. Villa-Amil cites M. Murguía (*Historia de Galicia*, I, p. 97) who suggested the guild of moneychangers was a precursor to the military order of Santiago. Ibid, p. 55. See also González Arce, 'Los Cambistas Compostelanos', p. 104.

amongst its members.[117] These privileges exempted members from paying taxes, they were only answerable to the master of the guild on matters of justice, and local officials were prohibited entry into their houses.[118] Notable twelfth-century masters of the guild of artists included Bernard 'the Elder' and Robert[119] who supervised construction of Compostela's Romanesque cathedral, and Mateo, who created the cathedral's Portal of Glory.[120]

The first reference to Compostela's guild of *concheiros* was in 1200 when Archbishop Pedro Suárez de Déza (1173-1206) fixed the number of shops licensed to sell scallop-shell pilgrim badges to one hundred, with twenty-eight, including three that had previously been owned by the chapter, allocated to the cathedral chapter and the remaining seventy-two to the *concheiros*.[121] This charter clearly referred to a corporation of pilgrim badge vendors, addressing them as a collective body that even conducted two separate religious pilgrimages together each year. Prior to the negotiations of the aforementioned charter, the *concheiros* claimed they had legitimate title to the stores and had inherited the right to have the pilgrim badge stores, clearly showing the guild had been formed years before the 1200 agreement.

Besides the other contemporary guilds in Compostela, the guild of moneychangers would have probably been influenced by other moneyer guilds from outside of Iberia. The requirement that membership in Compostela's guild of moneychangers be limited to descendants of members dates to the early seventh century when Byzantine mints received so many applicants the emperors had to limit membership, and membership by birth was later adopted by the

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[117] *LFF*, pp. 90-91.
[118] Ibid., p. 91.
[119] *Guide*, pp. 84-85 (ch. 9). William Melczer argues that Bernard 'the Elder' was the father of Bernard the treasurer (chancellor of Alfonso VII) who sponsored construction of the famous fountain outside the north portal of the cathedral. Melczer also suggests Bernard and Robert were French based on their names. *PG:M*, pp. 222-23 (notes 562-63).
[120] *LFF*, p. 92.
[121] Ibid., pp. 109-11.

Carolingian emperors.[122] The characteristics from Byzantine mints carried forward to those in Lombardy, and the Lombard model was adopted by the Carolingians and subsequent guilds of moneyers across western Europe.[123]

In contemporary Lombardy the mints were managed by public guilds whose membership was limited to descendants of minters. They were exempted from military service and paying taxes, and were not subject to justice from ordinary courts, and Robert Lopez found those privileges 'went back to immemorial time'.[124] That Randulfo, the provost of Compostela's mint under Diego Gelmírez was an associate of the moneyers Juan Lombardo and his brother Gaufrido, strongly suggests that an early guild of moneyers, perhaps from Lombardy, existed in Compostela and whose ordinances would have influenced those of the guild of moneychangers.[125]

Compostela's guild of moneychangers was managed by four *vicarios* who were also deputies of the archbishop, and a senior changer (*cambiador mayor*) who was responsible for safekeeping of the guild's archives.[126] The *veedor* was responsible for evaluating the quality of metals and scales, a particularly important role as the establishment and enforcement of weights and measures was a sign of sovereignty and control over the money economy. It was also indicative of the religious role of the guild that was supported by Proverbs: 'Honest scales and balances belong to the Lord; all the weights in the bag are of his making'.[127]

Indeed, in addition to changing money for pilgrims and the cathedral chapter, the guild participated in acts that historically would have been the responsibility of religious figures.

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[122] Lopez, 'An Aristocracy of Money in the Early Middle Ages', pp. 3-4.
[123] Ibid., pp. 8-9.
[124] Ibid., p. 8.
[125] *HC*, p. 56 (I, 28). See also Fletcher, *St. James's Catapult*, p. 184.
[126] *LFF*, pp. 94-95.
[127] Proverbs 16:11.

Members of Compostela's guilds of moneychangers and silversmiths, along with those of jet craftsmen and candle sellers, formed at the entrances to Santiago Cathedral during important festivals such as those of All Saints and San Ildefonso and were responsible for illuminating the choir of the cathedral during mass and vespers. Members of the guild of moneychangers also marched with painted axes (*florales*) during certain religious processions including that of the *Corpus Christi*.[128]

In 1289 an alliance was formed between Compostela's guilds of moneychangers and *orífices*, which included goldsmiths, silversmiths, jewellers and glazers.[129] The guild of *orífices* sold their products, which almost certainly included pilgrim souvenirs such as badges and crosses, in the plaza de Platerías in front of the south portal of the cathedral (Figure 2.3). The origins of the guild of *orífices* are not known but its members were likely involved in the creation of the silver altar frontal in 1105, silver retablo in 1135, and the four copper urns that housed the bodies of SS Fructuoso, Silvestre, Cucufate and Susanna.[130]

[128] *LFF*, pp. 95-97.
[129] Ibid., pp. 97-99. López Ferreiro includes a copy of the agreement dated Feb. 1289. See also González Arce, 'Los Cambistas Compostelanos', p. 99.
[130] *LFF*, p. 99.



Figure 2.3. Plaza de Platerías, South Portal of Santiago Cathedral in Background.[131]

As part of the alliance, the two guilds operated under a common administrative structure dominated by the moneychangers. The alliance followed a similar approach to that used in contemporary Florence where powerful guilds absorbed lesser ones to exert influence over the local economy.[132] Members of the two guilds under the moneychangers were only subject to justice on labour matters from within the guild and did not answer to outside judicial bodies such as those of the archbishop, although the town *concejo* would have approved the guild's charter and the vicar acted as judge and chief regulator of their activities.[133]

Every August, Compostela's *cambiadores* and *orífices* met with the *concejo* and cathedral chapter to establish the value of silver for the following year, fixing the level of alloy

[131] Photographed by the author.
[132] González Arce, 'Los Cambistas Compostelanos', p. 100 (note 18).
[133] Ibid., p. 101.

that would go into each ounce and each mark.[134] Although each guild maintained a degree of independence, the moneychangers were ultimately responsible for quality control related to precious metals. Members of the guild of *orífices* were required to show their scales and weights annually to the *veedor* of the moneychangers.[135] Additionally, the *orífices* were forbidden from changing money and from melting down silver and gold for anything over half an ounce, under threat of a one-hundred *solidi* fine.[136] The latter requirement was likely meant to address the practice of melting down precious metals for profit as outlined in *Veneranda dies*:

> …he [the moneychanger] would just as soon melt the heavier one in a fire in a furnace with other silver as sell it to others.[137]

On Sundays moneychangers from the guild collected and valued the coins and precious metal objects from donation boxes in the cathedral.[138] On most Sundays, two changers were sufficient to collect and value donations in the cathedral, but between Passion Sunday and Pentecost, four and sometimes eight changers were required to process the donations that came from the swelling numbers of pilgrims.[139] By the mid-thirteenth century there were multiple collection points, and the process was further complicated as pilgrim offerings could be made to the altar of St James or to the 'fabric of the cathedral.'[140]

The cathedral chapter clearly wanted to promote the services of the moneychangers who facilitated donations to St James and transactions in the busy *parvis* market. The area around the

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[134] *LFF*, p. 96. The task of determining the percentage of alloy that was supposed to go into coins overlaps with tasks normally assigned to minters, supporting the notion that the guild of moneychangers was also involved in the minting process.
[135] González Arce, 'Los Cambistas Compostelanos', p. 100.
[136] Ibid., p. 100.
[137] *LSJ*, p. 99 (I, 17): *...qui magis ponderosus est, magis aliis vendit aut in fornace cum alio argento fundit in igne.* For English translation see *MSJ*, p. 42 [translation modified]. For the Latin *magis ponderosus*, 'heavier' was substituted for 'most weighty'.
[138] González Arce, 'Los Cambistas Compostelanos', pp. 97-98.
[139] *LFF*, p. 96.
[140] *Guide*, note 4 on p. 219.

parvis was also called the *puerta de las cambias*, identifying it as a centre for money-changing services.[141] The guild's changing tables were meant to be seen and used by pilgrims, described as having been 'golden and painted' (*taboas douradas e pintadas*).[142] On their tables, the moneychangers kept scales, weights and materials that allowed them to identify and value coins and precious metals.[143]

The cathedral chapter was not alone in benefiting financially from the work of the guild of moneychangers. As a fee for their services, the *cambiadores* kept a portion of the money they changed, which went to the *cofradía*.[144] Their fees were likely substantial given that the guild came to be seen as the most aristocratic in Compostela.[145] Compostela's guild of moneychangers likely received profits similar to moneychangers in contemporary Italy who received one *denarius* for every *solidus* exchanged, representing a profit of approximately eight percent.[146]

* * *

Compostela's guild of moneychangers represented a new kind of institution whose technology and processes were protected by the cathedral chapter. Coinage was an instrument of governance and the chapter controlled it through the guild and its mint, thus allowing it to extract wealth and concentrate its power. Whilst the cathedral chapter benefited from this relationship,

[141] *LFH,* II, p. 51 and *LFF,* pp. 94-95.
[142] *LFH,* II, p. 50.
[143] Ibid., II, p. 50.
[144] *LFF*, p. 98.
[145] Ibid., p. 94.
[146] Lopez, 'An Aristocracy of Money in the Early Middle Ages', p. 21. Moneychangers in contemporary Chartres, who were also engaged in goldsmithing and minting, became wealthy based on evidence of donations to local monasteries. In 1101 a moneyer named Radulfus bequeathed one-hundred *sous* to the monastery of Saint-Père, but in a second will written fifteen years later he had increased his assets by five times. Welch Williams, *Bread, Wine, and Money*, p. 110.

so too did members of the guild, who used the cult of St James as a means to broker new power relationships based on commerce.

4. Independent Moneychangers

Guilds alone could not meet demand for money-changing services from pilgrims, travelling merchants and townspeople. Compostela's guild of moneychangers was said to have had only twelve members who operated in and around the cathedral. A far greater number of independent moneychangers changed money along the pilgrim roads to Compostela. Much of the contemporary evidence about these independent moneychangers comes from statutes regulating their activities and polemics like that of *Veneranda dies* that preached against their supposed misdeeds.

In 1178 Count Raymond V of Toulouse (1148-94) and the councillors of the town of Saint-Gilles sought to address abuses being perpetrated against pilgrims by the town's moneychangers (*cambiatores S. Egidii*).[147] Under the terms of Raymond's decree, the moneychangers of Saint-Gilles were ordered to conduct their work in the cloister of the abbey or in the houses of the Templars or Hospitallers, rather than in inns, houses or shops where pilgrims could be easily swindled.[148] The decree listed the names of over 130 local moneychangers, providing a sense of the scale of its pilgrim traffic and an indication of how many independent moneychangers were likely active in contemporary Compostela. Moneychanger signatories of

[147] *Layettes de Trésor de Chartres*, 1, p. 119 (288).
[148] Ibid., 1, p. 119 (288). *Constitutum est eciam quod cambiatores cum romeis, infra prescriptum terminum, in albergariis, vel in domibus aliquibus, sive in botiguis, cambium nullum faciant. Indultum tamen eis est ut in domo hospitalis Jerosolimitani et milicie Templi, et in claustro Sancti Egidii, cum romeis cambiare possint legitime.*

the decree included some identified as students (*discipuli*) or sons showing the trade required a training period and that it was also a family profession.[149]

Saint-Gilles was located on the most southerly of the four Compostelan pilgrim roads that ran through modern-day France, called the *via Tolosana* as it had been the Roman road that linked Rome to Toulouse and northern Iberia. Pilgrims from Italy, Switzerland and Central Europe used this road to reach Compostela. In addition to its status as an important stopping point on the pilgrim roads to Compostela and Rome, Saint-Gilles had a thriving port at the mouth of the Rhône River where commanderies of the Templars and Hospitallers were located.[150] Through its port the town engaged in trade with Genoa and Pisa[151] and acted as a staging area for pilgrims and crusaders departing to the Holy Land.[152]

Besides the basilica in Compostela, no other shrine in the *Pilgrim's Guide* received more commentary than Saint-Gilles, with St Giles praised as the worthiest of veneration just after Christ and the apostles, revealing the shrine's importance to patrons of the pilgrimage.[153] The importance of the Compostelan pilgrimage to communities along the *via Tolosana* was illustrated in a prominent sculpture from the cloister of the church of Saint-Trophime in Arles.[154] This sculpture from the cloister's north gallery (c. 1150) shows Jesus meeting two barefoot

[149] Ibid., 1, p. 119 (288). Moneychangers who signed the decree included *Quintinus, Bernardus de Clausona et Vitalis, discipuli ejus, et Bernardus filius suus.*
[150] L. Borel, *Saint-Gilles au Moyen-Âge: Une Abbaye, Un Port* (Paris, 2011), p. 52.
[151] N.J.G. Pounds, *An Historical Geography of Europe: 450 B.C. – A.D. 1330* (Cambridge, 1976), p. 265. The twelfth-century port was significantly larger than what is seen today in Saint-Gilles. Over the centuries since then the river delta shifted and water has been diverted from canals for agricultural purposes.
[152] However, pilgrimage to Rome was secondary to the pilgrimages to Compostela and the Holy Land in the twelfth century. Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome in the Middle Ages*, pp. 175-81 and 187-96.
[153] *Guide*, pp. 34-41 (ch. 8) . The author of the *Pilgrim's Guide* had an affinity for Saint-Gilles and had almost certainly visited as indicated by his first-hand description of the shrine. Ibid., pp. 34-35 (ch. 8). On the legend of St Giles, see A. Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past*, pp. 63-65, 83-84, 183-87, 218-22 and 322-24.
[154] The *Pilgrim's Guide* encouraged pilgrims to visit numerous shrines along the *via Tolosana*, including those of SS Giles (Saint-Gilles), Trophime (Arles) and Saturninus (Toulouse). *Guide*, pp. 32-43 (ch. 8).

Compostelan pilgrims as indicated by the scallop shells on their hats, walking sticks and scrips (Figure 2.7).[155]

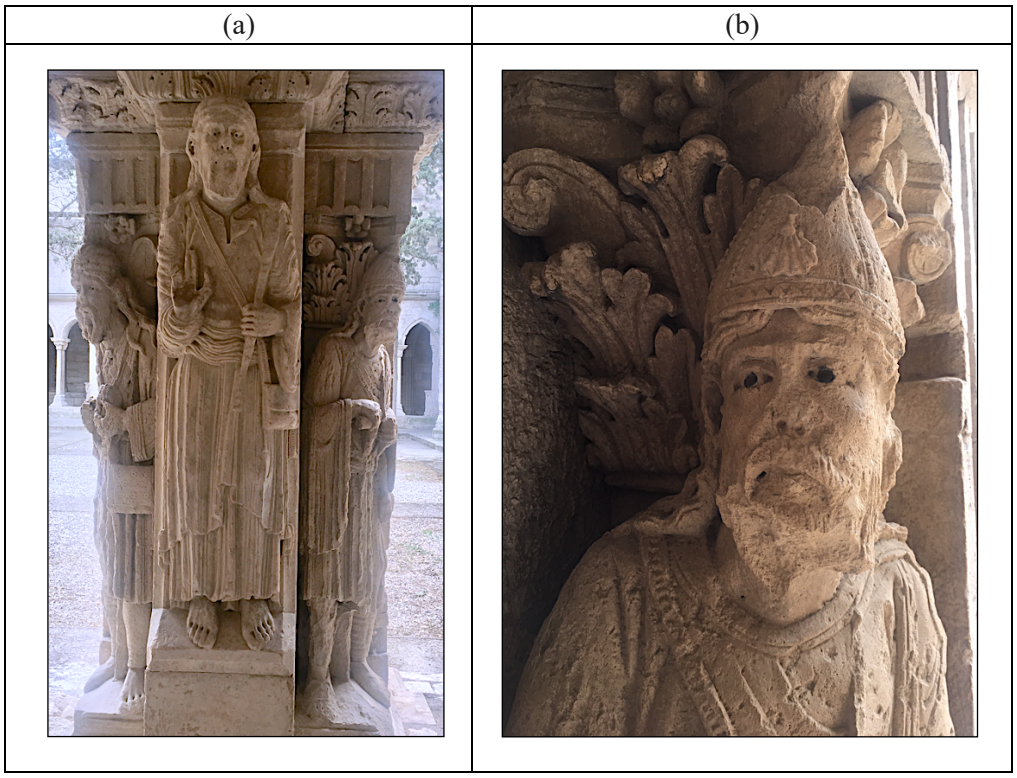


Figure 2.7. (a) Christ Meeting Two Disciples Shown as Compostelan Pilgrims from Biblical Scene on Road to Emmaus; (b) Close-up of Pilgrim Hat with Scallop Shell, North Gallery of Cloister of Saint-Trophime, Arles.[156]

The count of Toulouse and abbot of Saint-Gilles would have benefited financially from money-changing proceeds and market taxes as had been the case with Compostela's cathedral chapter and its guild of moneychangers. Similar arrangements to that between the count of Toulouse and the abbot of Saint-Gilles could be observed between their Iberian royal and ecclesiastical contemporaries who provided economic protections to pilgrims whilst harnessing

[155] Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, I, pp. 298-99. The north gallery of the cloister was dated c. 1150 and the eastern gallery c. 1180. This is a similar scene to the one depicted at the cloister of Santo Domingo de Silos that was based on the biblical story of resurrected Jesus meeting two disciples on the road to Emmaus. Luke 24:13-35.
[156] Photographed by the author.

economic benefits. Amongst these relationships were those between Alfonso VI and Alfonso VII of León-Castile and Compostela's Bishop/Archbishop Diego Gelmírez, and between Fernando II of León and Archbishop Pedro Suárez of Compostela.

The concern shown in Compostela and Saint-Gilles for potential frauds perpetrated against pilgrims by moneychangers also existed in contemporary Lucca. An important stopping point on the *via francigena*, Lucca linked Tuscany and southern Italy to the *iter Sancti Iacobi*, and northern Europe to Rome and seaports through which pilgrims and crusaders sailed to the Holy Land. In 1111 the moneychangers and spice merchants of Lucca took an oath that they would not steal, commit frauds or falsify transactions during the course of their interactions with pilgrims in the market or in private homes.[157] The oath was carved into the portico of the cathedral of San Martino, in front of which was held the market where the moneychangers worked, and it can still be viewed today.

Smaller royal and Church-sanctioned moneyer guilds provided a regulatory function over independent moneychangers. Compostela's guild of moneychangers was likely responsible for regulating weights and measures used by independent moneychangers (those outside the guild) on behalf of the *concejo* and cathedral chapter. This is logical to assume given the guild was already responsible for inspecting the scales and precious metals for other metalworkers as outlined in the late thirteenth-century alliance with the goldsmiths. The notion of 'inspected' gold and silver was described in *Veneranda dies* along with its polemic against the immoral activities of moneychangers:

[157] E. Nys, *Researches in the History of Economics*, trans. N.F. and A.R. Dryhurst (London, 1899), p. 203. See also Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West*, p. 92.

> He [the moneychanger] sells his silver mark and gold talent dearly, if he can, for inspected silver and gold, although they have not been inspected, and he buys cheaply the inspected item of another for non-inspected, although it may have been inspected.[158]

Some moneyers were almost certainly involved in both changing and minting. In 1171 Fernando II ordered the moneyers of León (*numularii qui in Legione regiam monetam tenuerint et fabricaverint*) to pay one mark of silver weekly to support construction work at the shrine of San Isidoro.[159] *Veneranda dies* used the word *numularii* to describe moneychangers, but also further distinguished them as *cambiatores,* signifying moneychanging was a more specific occupation within the larger profession of moneyers.[160] Fernando was likely addressing a group of moneyers in León that changed and minted (*fabricaverint*) money.

Many of the Leonese moneychangers worked directly on the Camino Francés at the southern gate of the city, called the *puerta Moneda* (gate of the money), through which pilgrims entered the city on their way to Compostela.[161] Notably, the *puerta Moneda* was located only a few hundred feet from a busy market that took place in the Plaza del Grano ('of grain') in front of the twelfth-century church of Santa María del Camino, which was a Frankish neighbourhood. The proximity of the moneychangers to a major market along the Camino Francés at León was a similar model to what was found in contemporary Compostela, Lucca and Saint-Gilles, and that was also certainly found at other pilgrim towns along the route.

It is not surprising that money changing was an attractive profession as descriptions of contemporary transactions show it was quite lucrative. In its polemic against fraudulent activity

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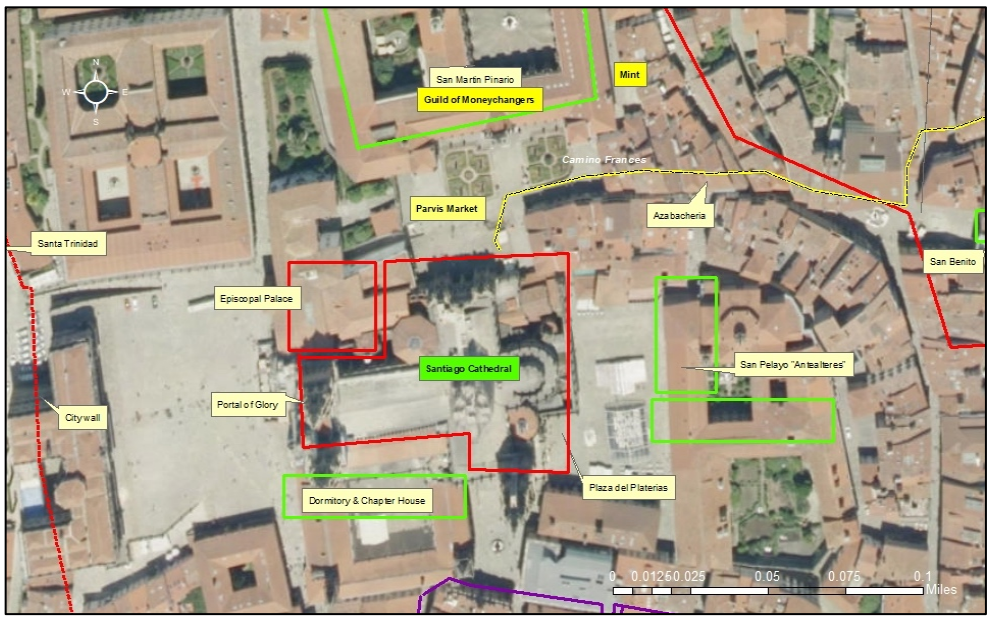
[158] *LSJ*, p. 99 (I, 17): *Suam marcam argenteam et talentum aureum pro examinato argento et auro, quamvis non sit examinatum, si potest, carum vendit et alterius pro non examinato, licet sit examina- / tum, vile emit*. For English translation see *MSJ*, p. 42.
[159] 'Privilegio de Fernando II a favor de la obra de San Isidoro de León' in J.M. Rodrigues Montañas (coord.) *Enciclopedia del Románico en Castilla y León: León* (Aguilar de Campoo, 2002), p. 748. See also González, *Regestra de Fernando II*, p. 404; and Pérez Llamazares, *Catálogo de los códices y documentos de la Real Colegiata de San Isidoro de León*, p. 122 (172). See *LSJ*, pp. 98-99 (I, 17) and *Guide*, pp. 72-73 (ch. 9).
[160] *LSJ*, p. 98 (I, 17) *Et quid de falsis nummulariis, qui 'cambiatores' vulgo vocantur, dicam?*
[161] Flórez, *España Sagrada*, XXXVI, p. 257.

in the markets, *Veneranda dies* provided examples of moneychanger transactions that yielded an average profit of approximately twenty-four percent. In the first example, the changer received thirty *solidi* for a mark of pure silver that was worth twenty *solidi*, a gain for the changer of ten *solidi* or thirty-three percent. In the second example, the changer received sixteen *nummi* for a number worth thirteen, a gain of three *nummi* or nineteen percent; and in the third example, he received twenty *nummi* for some valued at sixteen, a gain of four *nummi* or twenty percent.[162] The *nummo* or *nummus* used in these examples and other contemporary texts referred to a *denarius* or one-tenth of a *solidus*.[163]

Compostela's moneychangers lived and worked near the north portal of the cathedral along the *rúa da moeda vella* ('street of the old money'), a name that is still used today. The *rúa* was on the eastern edge of the monastery of San Martín Pinario, in whose cloister the guild of moneychangers met.[164] The *rúa da moeda vella* was also the site of Compostela's early twelfth-century mint, notably steps away from the thriving *parvis* market and the Camino Francés where the *Pilgrim's Guide* stated moneychangers, merchants and innkeepers operated (Map 2.2).[165] Commercial transactions from the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries mentioned moneychangers living in this area, although it is not clear if they were members of the guild or independent operators.[166]

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[162] *LSJ*, pp. 98-99 (I, 17).
[163] *LFF*, p. 83 (note 1).
[164] Villa-Amil y Castro, *Catálogo de los objetos de Galicia*, p. 74: *Seendo juntados dentro enna Caustra do moosterio de San martino de fora que he dentro enna dita cibdad os honrrados confrades da confraria dos Canbeadores da dita cibdad en seu Cabildo por seu chamamento segun queo had de vso e de costume…*
[165] *Guide,* pp. 72-73 (ch. 9).
[166] These included one Domingo Eanez, a moneychanger of the *camino*, *Lopo Payz da moeda vella* (1332), *Johan Affonso, canbeador morador en rua da moeda uella* and the witnesses to his transaction, *Affon Fernandes Abril* and *Affon Eanes, cambeadores da rua da moneda vella* (1347). Villa-Amil y Castro, *Catálogo de los objetos de Galicia*, p. 69.



Map 2.2. Area Surrounding Santiago Cathedral (mid-12th c.)

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Money changing was a key support service provided for pilgrims along the twelfth-century pilgrim roads as clearly shown by the need for Compostela's cathedral chapter to create the guild of moneychangers and the existence of many independent moneychangers found in pilgrim towns. The potential profits related to changing money offered a significant incentive for people to join the profession but also contributed to financial abuses of pilgrims. To limit these fraudulent activities, Compostela's guild of moneychangers played a role in regulating the activities of independent changers. The work of Compostela's guild was supplemented by financial services provided by other Church-sanctioned groups operating along the pilgrim roads, including the Templars and Hospitallers.

5. Financial Services of the Templars and Hospitallers

Landholding, agriculture and commerce were not the only economic activities engaged in by the Hospitallers and Templars along the pilgrim roads to Compostela. The orders' extensive

networks of fortified houses, churches and castles provided a platform from which to facilitate the movement of money along the pilgrim roads. From at least the mid-twelfth century the orders were providing various financial services that increased the circulation of money whilst providing economic benefits to the orders. They changed money and oversaw the changing of money by others, took deposits of money and other valuables for safekeeping or as collateral, and provided letters of credit, loans and transportation services.[167]

The 1178 decree of Raymond V of Toulouse requiring the moneychangers of Saint-Gilles to work in the abbey's cloister or houses of the Templars or Hospitallers revealed the important role of the Templars and Hospitallers in regulating financial services and facilitating the transferability of wealth for pilgrims. The brothers were responsible for ensuring that the transactions were legitimate, as the decree stated the allowed margin for error was not to exceed one *denarius* for every quarter-mark of money changed.[168]

Like Saint-Gilles, contemporary Jerusalem had many structural similarities to Compostela's markets and money-related trades. In the centre of the city, Latin and indigenous Christian moneychangers worked in the *Cambium Monete*, and much like the area around Santiago Cathedral, near a market where goldsmiths and silversmiths operated as well as a mint.[169] The Hospitallers likely ran an exchange in Jerusalem, as a charter from 1143 mentions the 'Hospitallers Exchange' in a house of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre, and it is also likely

[167] Barber and Bate, *The Templars: Selected sources translated and annotated*, p. 207; W. Goetzmann, *Money Changes Everything: How Finance Made Civilization Possible* (Princeton, 2016), pp. 210-12; M.L. Ledesma Rubio, *Templarios y Hospitalarios en el Reino de Aragón* (Zaragoza, 1982), pp. 208-09; and G. Martínez Diaz, *Los Templarios en los Reinos de Espana* (Barcelona, 2001), p. 95.
[168] *Layettes de Trésor de Chartres*, 1, p. 119 (288): *...in denario de firtone eos nescienter fefellerint, non teneantur*. Diana Webb translates *firtone* as a quarter-mark. Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West*, p. 98.
[169] A. Boas, *Jerusalem in the Time of the Crusades: Society, Landscape and Art in the Holy City under Frankish Rule* (New York, 2009), pp. 167-68. The Latin exchange was at the southern end of the 'Triple Market' in the centre of the city whilst the (Syrian, or indigenous Christian) exchange was at the northern end.

the Templars ran an exchange.[170] Jerusalem had a corporation of goldsmiths from at least c. 1135 that crafted reliquaries and other precious items related to pilgrimage to the Holy Land, perhaps a model for or copy of Compostela's guilds of moneychangers and goldsmiths.[171]

Templar and Hospitaller involvement in changing money at pilgrim destinations such as Latin Jerusalem and Saint-Gilles likely influenced the formation of Compostela's guild of moneychangers and the requirements that its members have knightly backgrounds. The guild's mission of protecting pilgrims and the poor closely resembled that of the Templars and Hospitallers as well as their similar oversight role for financial services and technical knowledge of coinage and precious metals. Indeed, members of Compostela's guild of moneychangers were called *caballeros cambeadores* ('money-changing knights') into the fifteenth century.[172]

Although little historical evidence exists about financial services provided specifically to pilgrims along the Camino Francés, transactional evidence from nearby Aragon, services provided to pilgrims to the Holy Land, and the centralized nature of the orders' administration can be used to paint a picture of what took place along the Iberian pilgrim roads. By the late eleventh century, the Camino Francés was located at least two-hundred miles north of the Muslim frontier,[173] and there was no serious military reason for building (or rebuilding) strongholds such as the massive Templar castle at Ponferrada and the fortified Hospitaller church of San Juan in Portomarín. Even in their role as buffers between hostile Christian kingdoms, they would not have been expected to take sides. They fought 'pagans', not other Christians.[174]

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[170] Ibid., pp. 167-68.
[171] Ibid., pp. 36 and 197.
[172] González Arce, 'Los Cambistas Compostelanos', p. 101.
[173] S. Zeno Conedera, *Ecclesiastical Knights: The Military Orders in Castile (1150-1330)* (New York, 2015), see Plate 1: The Iberian Reconquest, AD 722-1492 (Courtesy of Nick Verelst).
[174] *Milites Templi* (9 January 1144), a letter to the Templars from Pope Celestine II (1143-44), *Papsturkunden für Templer und Johanniter*, ed. Hiestand, no. 8, pp. 214-15, in Barber and Bate, *The Templars: Selected sources translated and annotated*, pp. 64-65.

Given their vows of poverty, the rationale for building castles, fortified churches and houses along the Camino was likely not to protect and hoard their own wealth, but rather to communicate a sense of security for pilgrims/potential depositors, act as a warning to those who might want to do harm to pilgrims, and safeguard money to be sent as support to their brothers on the front lines.[175]

Both orders accepted deposits of money and precious items for safekeeping or collateral. In Zaragoza (eighty miles southeast of Sangüesa), Templar and Hospitaller houses accepted deposits of coins, gold rings and precious stones.[176] In 1240 James I of Aragon (1213-76) and his wife Yolanda withdrew jewels they had deposited for safe keeping at the Templar house in Monzón (ninety miles southeast of Jaca).[177] That the monarchs of Aragon would deposit their valuables in a Templar house rather than their own fortifications implies Templar sites were perceived by elites to have a high level of security.

In addition to changing money and taking deposits, the Templars transported money along the pilgrim roads. In 1221 the Templars used their network of possessions along the Camino Francés to transport a large sum of money from the abbey of Las Huelgas in Burgos. In that year, the Templar friar Diego Manso, under an order from the Templar provincial master Pedro Alvítiz, issued a receipt to the abbess of Las Huelgas for 4,706 gold coins (*aurei,* most of which would have likely been comprised of *morabitinos* from contemporary León and Castile).[178] The money had been generated from a five-percent crusade tax (*vicesima*) and

[175] Martínez Diaz argues the Templars in Iberia had to rely on their own resources to a greater degree than their brothers in the Holy Land. Martínez Diaz, *Los Templarios en los Reinos de Espana*, p. 95.
[176] Barber and Bate, *The Templars: Selected sources translated and annotated*, p. 207.
[177] Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragon*, pp. 385-386. For English translation of Latin see M. Barber and K. Bate, *The Templars: Selected sources translated and annotated* (Manchester, 2002), pp. 207-208
[178] *La documentación pontificia de Honorio III*, *1216-1227*, ed. D. Mansilla (Rome, 1965), pp. 287-88 (387). See also O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain*, p. 156. This papal tax was related to the Fifth Crusade and it was assessed primarily on the clergy. The Templars and Hospitallers were responsible for collecting this crusade tax in Iberia. In Iberia the clergy were not enthusiastic about collecting this tax and use of the military

deposited there by a pontifical collector to be transmitted to Rome or the Holy Land. Notably, this transfer took place on 30 December, the feast day of St James that celebrated his *translatio*, showing a connection between the saint and crusading in the Holy Land.[179] The Templars likely transported this money across Castile and Navarre using the Camino Francés, travelling from Burgos to Puente la Reina (another Templar site), and then southeast through Aragon, crossing the Pyrenees over the Somport Pass onto the *via Tolosana* through Saint-Gilles where they could have continued by sea to the Holy Land or by land to Rome.

Taking deposits was one necessary component of providing letters of credit to pilgrims and other travellers. Under this model, pilgrims deposited money and valuables at a Templar house at the start of their journey and were given a letter of credit (presumably encrypted) stating the value of the deposit. The pilgrims would then present the letter at Templar houses along the way to withdraw funds against the value of the earlier deposits.[180] This system allowed pilgrims to travel without fear of being robbed of their wealth along the way and supported the Templars mission of helping the poor and facilitating pilgrimage. Templars operating along the Iberian pilgrim roads undoubtedly knew about these services and deployed them to support pilgrims and merchants who travelled with money and valuables.

The Templars and Hospitallers also lent money in Christian Iberia as documented by their loans to monarchs and nobles. However, it is unclear to what extent the orders may have lent money to pilgrims. Early evidence of the orders as creditors was shown in Count Ramon Berenguer IV (1131-62) of Barcelona's appeal to the Hospitallers for a loan of 1500 *maravedís*

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orders as tax collectors could have helped to motivate them to follow through on payments. O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain*, pp. 156-57. See also Martínez Diaz, *Los Templarios en los Reinos de Espana*, pp. 94-96.

[179] Mansilla (ed.), *La documentación pontificia de Honorio III*, *1216-1227*, p. 288 (387).

[180] Goetzmann, *Money Changes Everything*, pp. 209-10. Examples of these letters of credit and the encryption methods have not yet been found.

to help finance his war against Navarre.[181] The Templars charged interest on loans which provided another mechanism to earn money to support their mission. James I of Aragon (1213-76) stated ten percent was the 'rate and custom of the Temple', suggesting that rate had been charged on Templar loans for some time.[182]

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By the second half of the twelfth century the Templars and Hospitallers had become important purveyors of financial services along the pilgrim roads to Compostela. Through their exclusive networks, they changed money, took deposits, issued letters of credit and provided loans. The orders also provided a Church-sanctioned regulatory function by ensuring fraudulent acts were not committed by moneychangers against pilgrims as shown in Saint-Gilles. The combination of their commitment to the protection of pilgrims, financial oversight role, and participation in money changing also provided a model on which Compostela's guild of moneychangers was likely based. The lending services of the Templars and Hospitallers, that often catered to the nobility and others growing rich on the back of the pilgrim economy, was supplemented by smaller-scale lenders who supported the growth of the pilgrim towns.

6. Moneylending by Christians and Jews

In addition to the need for money changing and minting, there was a demand for money loans amongst merchants, craftsmen and farmers who travelled and lived along the pilgrim roads to Compostela in the twelfth century. The *fuero* of Estella granted legal protection to Jewish and Frankish debts, evidence that both groups were involved in moneylending, although it is unclear

[181] Ledesma Rubio, *Templarios y Hospitalarios en el Reino de Aragón*, p. 207.
[182] Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, p. 351.

if interest was being charged. Estella's initial *fuero* from 1090 stated 'that no man can be free of a debt with respect to Franks or Jews of Estella'.[183] These were likely small-scale loans used to purchase inventory, land or raw materials given that many Franks and Jews in Estella were merchants and craftsmen who catered to passing pilgrims along the *rua de las Tiendas* (street of the shops).[184]

Additional provisions included in Estella's 1164 *fuero* protected Christian and Jewish debtholders. Both groups were permitted to enforce collection of a debt if two witnesses, one from the ethnic group of the lender and another from that of the debtor, could provide evidence that payment had not been made.[185] Subsequent clauses provided additional details that specifically protected Christian lenders. Upon the death of a Jewish debtor, his son was responsible for making payments as his father had if the Christian held written proof of the loan.[186] Upon the death of a Christian lender, the Jewish debtor was required to continue making payments to the sons of the debtholder unless he could prove with witnesses that payment had been made to the father.[187]

Some pilgrims would have also borrowed money from moneylenders to finance their journeys, much like crusaders had done to finance their expeditions to the Holy Land. It was estimated the cost for crusaders to travel to the Holy Land was four times their annual income;

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[183] *Fuero de Estella*, p. 328 (I, 12). *Et quod nullus homo possit esse ingenuus contra francos de Stella vel iudeos de aliquo debito.*
[184] J. Passini, *Villes Médiévales du Chemin de Saint-Jacques-de-Compostelle de Pampelune a Burgos* (Paris, 1984), pp. 28-30. The judería of Estella was located near the church of Santa María Jus del Castillo, the former site of a synagogue. J.M. Legarda Sembroiz, 'La Judería Nueva de Estella. Intervención arqueológica, 2008., *Trabajos de arqueología Navarra*, 21 (2009), pp. 325-37, pp. 325-26.
[185] *Fuero de Estella*, p. 344 (II, 55.1): *Si aliquis iudeus debet aliquid christiano, et iudeus uult negare, cum testimoniis debet probare; si francus est, cum uno franco et uno iudeo; si homo de foris est, cum uno homine de foris et cum uno iudeo. Et iudeus ad christianus similiter*.
[186] Ibid., p. 344 (II, 55.3): *Et si moritur iudeus, filii iudei debent facere quemadmodum pater suus debebat facere hoc qui suprascriptum est, si cartam habet christianus.*
[187] Ibid., p. 344 (II, 55.4): *Et si non poterit probare cum testibus, iurabit filius qui cartam habet, quod non fuit pagatus de illo censu sui patris, et paganit. Et si non poterit probare cum testibus, iurabit filius qui cartam habet, quod non fuit pagatus de illo censu sui patris, et paganit.*

and pilgrimage, although not requiring the military accoutrements, would have also required significant resources to support.[188] *Veneranda dies* condemned pilgrims who travelled with money, especially if it was acquired through what the Church viewed as immoral means including usury, defined as loans that charged extraordinarily high rates of interest.[189] The lack of a reference to Jewish lenders in *Veneranda dies* strongly suggests usury was being committed primarily by Christians in the first half of the twelfth century.

Jewish participation in moneylending picked up considerably in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, as shown by increasing evidence of Jewish loans,[190] undoubtedly influenced by the Third Lateran Council of 1179 that prohibited Christians from engaging in usury.[191] The *fuero* of Haro (ten miles north of the pilgrim town of Santo Domingo de la Calzada), granted by Alfonso VIII in 1187, gave Jews permission to extend loans with interest to Christians in accordance with the law, with capital and interest payments collected in exchange for grain or grapes.[192] The *fuero* also exempted Jews from paying the *portazgo* throughout the kingdom of Castile, suggesting that some of the town's Jews travelled along the pilgrim roads selling merchandise.[193]

Over time, Jewish lending networks appear to have evolved in which lenders from different towns pooled resources to make larger loans. In 1296 two Jewish lenders from Haro and Pancorbo sent representatives to the town of Miranda de Ebro in an attempt to collect on

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[188] Rist, *Popes and Jews*, pp. 145-47.
[189] *LSJ*, p. 93 (I, 17).
[190] In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries Jews became the dominant player in the moneylending trade in Castile and Portugal. O'Callaghan, *History of Medieval Spain*, p. 486.
[191] Rist, *Popes and Jews*, pp. 141-46. See also R.I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Authority and Deviance in Western Europe 950-1250* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 79-80.
[192] P. León Tello, 'Disposiciones sobre judíos en los fueros de Castilla y León', *Medievalia*, 8 (1989), pp. 223-52, pp. 240-42.
[193] C. Gonzalez Minguez, *El Portazgo en la Edad Media: Aproximación a su estudio en la Corona de Castilla* (Leioa, 1989), pp. 114 (see note 168). *Nullus judeus de Faro in aliqua parte regni mei portaticum aut emendam pectet*.

loans made to Christians.[194] Miranda was on the road that connected pilgrims travelling from Bayonne to the Camino Francés,[195] and it was ten miles northwest of Haro and ten miles northeast of Pancorbo.[196] That multiple lenders were involved with common debtors in Miranda suggests Jewish lending networks had formed along the pilgrim roads to Compostela, increasing the reach and sophistication of their lending operations. A similar type of Jewish credit network model was used in late-twelfth and thirteenth-century England along the pilgrim roads to Canterbury.[197]

Jewish credit also became important to ecclesiastical institutions along the pilgrim roads and some debtors had difficulty making payments, causing them to file charges of usury in an attempt to cease payments and liquidation of assets. This was shown in 1239 when the Hospital of the Emperor in Burgos filed suit in a papal court (under Gregory IX) against the Jewish moneylender Abohad and his associates from the *aljama* of Burgos. The rector and brothers of the hospital claimed the Jewish loans harmed the hospital by causing it to lose houses, possessions, and other things due to the high interest charged, in effect charging the Jews with making usurious loans.[198]

* * *

[194] Soifer Irish, *Jews and Christians in Medieval Castile*, p. 66.
[195] Miranda's role as an important commercial transit point between pilgrim towns along the Camino Francés and areas to the north was shown in the 1099 *fuero* that showed merchandise was moved between Miranda, Najera and Logroño. *CFM*, p. 352.
[196] Jews lived in Miranda from at least 1099 when Alfonso VI granted the inhabitants a *fuero* based on that of Logroño (1095). *Et omnes populatores qui modo sunt, aut de caetero, homines generosi, aut pedonii, aut mauri, aut judaei, habeant istud forum, et in omnibus aliis forum de Lucronio*. *CFM*, p. 351. See also F. Cantera, 'De Hispania judaica. La judería de Miranda de Ebro (1099-1350)', *Sefarad*, 1 (1941), pp. 89-140, pp. 89-90.
[197] R. Mundill, *England's Jewish Solution: Experiment and Expulsion, 1262– 1290* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 236-42. Perhaps an example of sharing best practices between major Latin Christian pilgrimage centres?
[198] A. Andrés, 'El Hospital del Emperador en Burgos', *Boletín de la Comisión Provincial de Monumentos Históricos y Artísticos de Burgos*, 23 (1944), pp. 382-90, pp. 389-90 (17-18): *…super quadam summa pecunie, domibus et possessionibus et rebus allis*. See also Soifer Irish, *Jews and Christians in Medieval Castile*, pp. 111-12.

Moneylending supported the devotional infrastructure of pilgrimage to Compostela by providing needed funds to pilgrims, ecclesiastical institutions and townspeople. *Fueros* from pilgrim towns like Estella protected the debts of Franks and Jews which showed both groups were involved in lending. By the late twelfth century Jews had become more involved in moneylending along the pilgrim roads, largely due to Church doctrine forbidding Christian participation in the trade. Jews likely leveraged credit networks comprised of lenders across their small communities in pilgrim towns as suggested by the *fuero* of Haro and loans to the Hospital of the Emperor in Burgos.

7. Conclusion

The devotional infrastructure of the pilgrimage included not only roads, bridges, hospitality, security and goods required for long-haul travel, but also money, the mechanism through which goods and services were procured and donations made at shrines along the way. Transferability of pilgrim wealth was crucial to the success of the pilgrimage and was symbolized by the pilgrim's purse that the Church expected to hold a modest sum necessary for minimal sustenance along the journey. The movement of money along the pilgrim roads was facilitated by a large number of moneychangers, minters and moneylenders.

Like the pilgrim's purse, the inextricable link between money and the pilgrimage was illustrated when Alfonso VI granted Compostela's cathedral chapter the right to mint its own coinage, with proceeds earmarked for construction and operation of the new basilica. Opportunities to generate profits through the creation of coinage caused Compostela's busy pilgrim markets to become a target of counterfeiters. To limit the negative impact of counterfeiting, Alfonso ordered frequent changing of the dies and the appointment of a provost to oversee the minting process. The specificity and administration of this process was clearly

shown by the group of minters represented on the façade of the church of Santiago in the pilgrim town of Carrión.

Money changing became an important service along the pilgrim roads as pilgrims needed to change their foreign coins into local issues. Large numbers of moneychangers were found at the borders between kingdoms, in important market towns and at shrines. The 1178 decree from Raymond V of Toulouse related to the changers of Saint-Gilles provides evidence about the significant scale of the profession in an important pilgrim town that provides an analogue to contemporary Compostela.

The many fraudulent tactics used by moneychangers to deceive pilgrims so comprehensively described in *Veneranda dies* illustrated the necessity of changing money along the pilgrim roads in the twelfth century but also the need for royal and ecclesiastical oversight. Compostela's chapter-sanctioned guild of moneychangers and the military orders of the Temple and Hospital provided a regulatory function to protect pilgrims from these fraudulent activities committed by independent moneychangers. By facilitating pilgrim donations and market activity, the guild played a crucial role in funding construction of the new Romanesque cathedral and spreading the accessibility and popularity of the pilgrimage.

The Templars and Hospitallers also provided important financial services from their strongholds along the pilgrim roads. Initially focused on safekeeping deposits from monarchs and nobles, the Templars in all probability expanded to provide letters of credit that eased the portability of money, enhanced pilgrim safety and increased the circulation of money in pilgrim towns. The orders established a precedent for handling money, engendering a feeling of trust and security in financial matters as shown by their appointment to oversee the activities of moneychangers in Saint-Gilles. The orders no doubt influenced the foundation story of

Compostela's guild of moneychangers whose members had knightly origins and whose mission included protecting foreign pilgrims.

Moneylending by Franks and Jews in the first half of the twelfth century also played an important role in pilgrim towns, especially for merchants and artisans. The role of the Jews in the pilgrimage's money economy changed in the latter half of the twelfth century when they expanded their lending activities to ecclesiastical lords, merchants and farmers in addition to the monarchs. This change was driven by Church doctrine that sought to limit Christian involvement in moneylending, especially given its connection to usury which was viewed as a serious sin. A notable connection between Jewish moneylending and the devotional infrastructure of the pilgrimage was shown by Jewish loans to the Hospital of the Emperor in Burgos in the early thirteenth century.

* * *

The preceding chapters have framed the broader context related to the devotional infrastructure of pilgrimage including the emergence of a network of pilgrim towns, the role of money and the processes through which money was created and moved along the roads. The next chapter will show that coins themselves were used to promote the pilgrimage and the political and economic agendas of Compostela's cathedral chapter and the Leonese monarchs.

CHAPTER 3

COINS AS A MEANS TO PROMOTE THE PILGRIMAGE

> Therefore, I, Fernando, king of *Hispania*, for the love of almighty God and with reverence for St James our loyal protector, am bound by duty to grant and concede to you, Master Mateo, to maintain and supervise the work for the aforementioned Apostle, an annual amount from my half of the money of Santiago of two marks per week, and when there is a deficiency in one week it will be supplemented in another, so that this grant shall give you one-hundred *morabitinos* per year.[1]

In 1168 Fernando II of León (1157-88) granted a significant sum from the royal half of Compostela's minting proceeds to Master Mateo in order to fund work on the cathedral cloister, choir and Portal of Glory.[2] This grant from the *moneta Sancti Jacobi* amounted to two silver marks weekly, equating to one-hundred gold *morabitinos* per year to be paid over the period of Fernando's lifetime. Fernando's support for the shrine of St James was a continuation of what had started under his great grandfather Alfonso VI, who had designated minting proceeds towards construction of the cathedral from at least 1105.

Contemporaneous with Fernando II's grant to Master Mateo, the cathedral chapter began issuing a series of billon dineros (*denarii*) and óbolos (half-*denarii*) with iconography that promoted the Compostelan pilgrimage and legend of St James. Images on the coins included a bust of the saint, the translation of his relics by sea to Galicia and another of the Camino de Santiago.[3] These were the first and only coins minted in northern Christian Iberia during the

[1] *LFH,* IV, app., pp. 93-94 (XXXVII): *Eapropter ego Fernandus Dei gratia hispaniarum Rex ex amore Omnipotentis Dei….et ob reurentiam Smi. Jacobi, patroni nostri piisimi pro munere dono et concedo tibi magistro Matheo qui operis praefati Apostoli primatum obtines et magisterium in uno quoque anno in medietate mea de moneta Sci. Jacobi refectionem duarum marcharum singulis hebdomadibus et quod defuerit in una hebdomada suppleatur in alia, ita quod haec refectio ualeat tibi centum morauetinos per unumquemque annum.*
[2] Ibid., IV, p. 285.
[3] I am very grateful to the Museo das Peregrinacións e de Santiago for facilitating my access to the coins described in this chapter during a research trip to Compostela in March 2019.

twelfth century with iconic images related to the cult of St James. The coins also included images of Fernando II or references to his rule, thereby linking the popularity of the saint with the king and reinforcing the legitimacy of the Leonese monarchy.

This chapter will argue the iconography of these coins supported broader efforts by Compostela's cathedral chapter and Fernando II to enhance the popularity of the pilgrimage by aggrandizing its primary shrine, building the spiritual connection between pilgrims and the saint, and opening new routes by sea. In return, each party received significant financial and political benefits. Fernando benefited from the elevation of St James to patron saint of his military campaign against the Almohads and increased collection of royal taxes that helped finance those efforts and the growth of his expanding kingdom. The cathedral chapter benefited from the swelling numbers of pilgrims and donations, and lubrication of its pilgrim markets from which it generated taxes and proceeds through minting and direct participation in the sale of pilgrim badges.

1. The Standard Bearer of St James

During a visit to Compostela in 1158, one year after being crowned king of León, Fernando II dubbed himself the 'standard-bearer of St James' (*beati Iacobi vexillifer*).[4] He backed up this claim through the 1168 grant from royal minting proceeds to Master Mateo. Notably, Mateo's Portal of Glory, regarded as one of the most beautiful Romanesque portals in the world,[5] was completed in 1188,[6] the year of Fernando's death. In addition to his support of Santiago

[4] *Tumbo B*, p. 360 (183): *Qui regnum Hyspanie conservari et dilatari desiderant consilium illis est, ut Hyspanorum certum et specialem patronum beatissimum Iacobum studeant habere propitium. Huic studio ego Fernandus, per Dei misericordiam Legionensis sceptri rex et beati Iacobi vexillifer*. This declaration was documented in a charter in which Fernando confirmed the archbishop of Compostela as royal chaplain and chancellor. O'Callaghan suggested Fernando may have included an image of the saint on his banner. *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain*, p. 191.
[5] *PSC*, II, p. 361.
[6] Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, I, p. 263. See also *PSC*, II, p. 361.

Cathedral, Fernando contributed to numerous other redecoration projects at important sites along the pilgrimage route, including the basilicas at Sahagún[7] and San Isidoro in León.[8]

In return for his support of Compostela and the pilgrimage, Fernando sought the assistance of St James in his military efforts against the Muslim Almohads during the second half of the twelfth century, a period Joseph O'Callaghan called 'one of the most critical times in the history of the reconquest'.[9] This was apparent in 1170 when Fernando patronized the military order of Santiago, whose knights later became important participants in Christian military efforts.[10] Other contemporary references to a militarized St James came in the time around Fernando's reign, including the *voto de Santiago*, a tax applied to all Christian areas of the peninsula as a result of St James's mythical assistance at the spurious ninth-century Battle of Clavijo,[11] and the image of *Santiago Matamoros* (St James the Moor Slayer).[12]

Fernando sought to strengthen and control the pilgrim economy to help finance his military efforts and growing kingdom by expanding the use of coin and re-establishing minting rights.[13] Notably, he created the Leonese *morabitino,* or *maravedí* (Figure 3.1), which with its contemporaries in Castile and Portugal, were the first gold coins to be minted in the Christian kingdoms of medieval western Europe, reflecting the abundance of gold recently plundered from Muslim areas.[14] The Leonese *morabitino* has been considered a masterpiece of Romanesque

[7] M. Sánchez Pérez, *El Monasterio de los Santos Facundo y Primitivo de Sahagun: Estudio de los aspectos artísticos* (Sahagún, 1993), p. 21.
[8] A. Viñayo González, *St Isidore's Basilica: The Treasure House of León*, trans. G. Keitch (León, 2000), p. 39.
[9] O'Callaghan, *History of Medieval Spain*, p. 234.
[10] Ibid., p. 239.
[11] The Battle of Clavijo was part of a mid-twelfth century forgery of a charter attributed to Ramiro I (842-50) in which Santiago intervened on behalf of a group of Christians to defeat a larger Muslim army. The *voto de Santiago* will be discussed in Chapter 6.
[12] B. Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record, and Event, 1000-1215* (Philadelphia, 1987), p. 112.
[13] Todesca, 'The Crown Renewed: The Administration of Coinage in León-Castile c. 1085-1200', p. 24 and 27 (note 57).
[14] *Coinage*, pp. 259-60.

art,[15] illustrating the attention paid by Fernando II to the strategy and design of coins. That Fernando's 1168 annual grant to Master Mateo used *morabitinos* suggests gold coins had already become a standard by which value was communicated.



Figure 3.1. *Maravedí* (*Morabitino*) of Fernando II, Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid (1994/104/1); (a) Obverse: Bust and *FERNANDVS:DEI:GRACIA: REX* with sword and cross-sceptre; (b) Reverse: *+INNE:PATRIS:T FLIS:ISPS:SCI*; Lion with Latin cross over globe, *LEO* below. Diameter: 26 mm; Weight: 3.71 g.

Crucially, in 1171 Fernando II reinstated Compostela's original minting privileges that had been granted by Alfonso VI, in part to reimburse the archbishop for his efforts to strengthen and supply fortifications in order to defend against Muslim attacks.[16] The chapter had lost half of the minting proceeds to Alfonso VII, Fernando's father, after the death of Diego Gelmírez in 1140. The reinstatement of minting privileges provided the cathedral chapter with access to all of the proceeds from its mint which according to the original grant of Alfonso VI was to be used to fund construction of the cathedral and its operations. Fernando further made the restoration of

[15] Ibid., p. 259.
[16] *Tumbo A*, pp. 248-50 (121).

minting privileges permanent, at least partly for the remission of his sins and those of his parents. The significance of this act was shown by the manner of Fernando's ratification in 1182, a ceremony held before the cathedral altar at the end of a pilgrimage he made to Compostela.[17]

Fernando received 150 silver marks from the cathedral chapter in return for his reinstatement of the full minting privileges,[18] suggesting that like his father Alfonso VII, Fernando occasionally looked to Compostela's cathedral chapter for funds to support his military operations. However, this payment was small compared to the profits that must have been generated from the mint as shown by the grant to Mateo of one-hundred *morabitinos* annually that was taken from half of the proceeds. Overall, Fernando was a generous benefactor of the shrine of St James as shown by a series of donations he made to Compostela's cathedral chapter in 1183, with the preamble to the first praising St James for the divine clemency he had bestowed upon *Hispania*.[19]

* * *

As self-proclaimed standard-bearer of St James, Fernando II helped Compostela's cathedral chapter aggrandize the shrine through its decorative programme, and in return he sought spiritual, political and military support from the saint. Prior to Fernando's reign, the iconography of coins minted in León and Castile, including those of his father Alfonso VII and his great grandfather Alfonso VI, was limited to royal symbols including Christograms, crosses and busts with legends referencing the mint town or bishopric, and the relevant monarch. This approach changed during Fernando's reign, as shown by the motivations and design strategies of the Compostelan coins to be discussed below.

[17] Ibid., pp. 280-81 (140). See also *LFH,* IV, pp. 330 (note 1) and 334-35.
[18] *Tumbo A*, p. 281 (140).
[19] Ibid., pp. 269-71 (134). For other donations from 1183, see ibid., pp. 271-72 (134) and pp. 274-75 (136).

2. A Coordinated Artistic and Literary Programme

Of the three types of Compostelan coins to be explored in this chapter, the most emblematic of a connection to the cult of St James is one that featured a bust of the saint on obverse that was flanked by two scallop shells (Figure 3.2). On the reverse is a lion, symbol of the Leonese monarchy, along with *REX* and a Christian cross. Images related to the saint and king highlighted the two political powers of the region, Fernando II, king of León of which Galicia was a part, and the archbishop and cathedral chapter of Compostela under whose direction the dineros and óbolos were designed and minted.



Figure 3.2. Billon Óbolo from Fitzwilliam Museum (CM.PG.10966-2006).[20] (a) Obverse: Bust of St James and *IACOBI* underneath with scallop shells on sides of head; (b) Reverse: Lion with Cross above and *REX* beneath. Height: 15mm, Width: 14mm, Weight: .49g.

Detailed features of St James on the bust coin show similarities to the miniature of the saint in the *Codex Calixtinus* and his sculpture on the Portal of Glory, strongly suggesting, as

[20] Another óbolo of this type is in the collection of Compostela's Pilgrim Museum and a dinero version is at the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge University.

convincingly argued by José Suárez Otero and Rosa Vázquez Santos, that it was part of a coordinated decorative and literary programme associated with Compostela's cathedral chapter and led by Master Mateo.[21] The design would have likely been coordinated between Mateo, master of Compostela's guild of artists,[22] the mint supervisor and the master of the guild of moneychangers that regulated the use of precious metals. Notably, all three of these individuals worked in close proximity to each other around Santiago Cathedral, allowing for easy communication, and their organizations were administered by the cathedral chapter.[23]

The head of St James from the coin is surrounded by a halo as commonly shown on images of medieval saints, and as shown in the *Codex* miniature and sculpture from the Portal of Glory. St James on the coin has long, full-bodied hair that is draped on his shoulders to the right and left of the lower edge of his beard, similar to how is hair is represented on the *Codex* miniature which is also in braided ponytails (Figure 3.3).[24]

[21] Suárez Otero, J., 'Coins and art, coins as art: a medieval coin minted in Santiago de Compostela with the bust of St. James and the work of master Mateo', *Boletín auriense*, 43 (2013), pp. 359-372, pp. 363-365; and R. Vázquez Santos, 'Las monedas de la ceca compostelana, ¿una clave para la reconstrucción de los ciclos pictóricos medievales de la catedral de Santiago?', *Locus amoenus*, 11 (2011-2012), pp. 7-17, p. 10.
[22] *LFF*, p. 92.
[23] Crusafont et al., *Medieval European Coinage*, 6, pp. 212 and 223. See also *LFH,* II, p. 51; and J. Carro Otero, 'Moneda del Rey D. Fernando II de Galicia-León y "ceca" compostelana, con el tema de la "Traslación" del cuerpo de Apóstol Santiago (1157-1188)', *Compostellanum*, 32 (1987), pp. 575-94.
[24] Suárez Otero, 'Coins and art, coins as art', pp. 364-65. Suárez Otero also notes that the hair of Fernando II from a miniature in *Tumbo A* from c. 1180 also shows similiarities to the hair of St James on the coin and was created chronologically much closer to the time the coin was minted compared to the *Codex Calixtinus* (c. 1140).

(a)	(b)
	

Figure 3.3. (a) Miniature of St James from *Codex Calixtinus*;[25] (b) St James from bust coin.

The design of St James's tunic collar on the coin, including the piping and ringed pattern, closely resemble the collar of the saint from the *Codex* miniature, and as identified by Vázquez Santos, the lateral columns of the southern façade of Santiago Cathedral, the Puerta de las Platerías.[26] The prominently featured, and outward-facing ears of St James on the coin show similarities to those of St James on the Portal of Glory (Figure 3.4). One peculiarity of the saint's image on the coin is the inclusion of two chevron-type symbols, one pointing upward and the other downward, where the part in his hair should be, perhaps meant to be jewels like those included on the halo of St James from the Portal of Glory.

[25] Photograph of image from public domain.
[26] Vázquez Santos, 'Las monedas de la ceca compostelana, p. 10.

(a)	(b)
	

Figure 3.4. (a) St James from Portal of Glory;[27] (b) St James from bust coin.

The miniature of St James from the *Codex* was not the only possible model for the bust on the coin. Other sculptures in both metal and stone from the early twelfth century were accessible to Mateo and the minters. These works were mentioned in the *Pilgrim's Guide* and included the metalwork of the saint's altarpieces and stone reliefs of the saint on the north, south and west portal facades of the cathedral.[28] Of particular interest was an image of the saint on the *ciborium* (or *baldaquino*), a large, richly-decorated canopy that covered the altar of St James.[29] In the centre of the *ciborium*, the saint was described as holding a book in his left hand whilst using his right to extend a blessing.[30] Given that the image of St James on the *ciborium* was

[27] Photograph of MarissaLR, Parteluz del pórtico de la Gloria de la catedral de Santiago de Compostela, 2010, CC BY-SA 3.0.
[28] *Guide*, pp. 74-77 (ch. 9).
[29] Ibid, pp. 80-81 (ch. 9); and *HC*, p. 14 (I, 18). The *baldaquino* (*ciborium)* was completed in c. 1112. Lopez Ferreiro created a detailed drawing of what the *ciborium* might have looked like. *LFH*, III, p. 236. The *ciborium* was extant in the cathedral until the late fifteenth century. *PG:M*, p. 219 (note 535). Use of the *ciborium*'s artwork as a potential model for the coin's artwork has been argued by Vázquez Santos. Vázquez Santos, 'Las monedas de la ceca compostelana', p. 11.
[30] *Guide*, pp. 82-83 (ch. 9) and note 121 on p. 214. St James would also have been included as one of the twelve apostles on the silver altar frontal that was donated to the cathedral by Diego Gelmírez in c. 1105. However, his image is not mentioned in the *Pilgrim's Guide*, suggesting it was not as important as the one on the *ciborium*. Ibid., II, pp. 80-81 (ch. 9).

meant to be viewed up-close by pilgrims, and used to inspire them to make donations, it is likely that it was produced in detail.[31]

By the time the bust coin was being designed, and the other types to be discussed later in this chapter, the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* and *Historia Compostellana* had been completed and were circulating within the cathedral chapter. After the tumultuous period following the death of Diego in 1140, the cathedral chapter under Pedro Suárez would have been eager to reinvigorate cult-building around the saint as shown by the ambitious resumption of decorative activities under Mateo in 1168. Images of St James created during the bishopric/archbishopric of Diego would have provided fertile ground for creating newer images such as those on the bust coin and Portal of Glory.

Mateo's involvement in the design of coins would not have been unusual given his leadership of the cathedral's expansive decorative programme and the natural intersection of sculpture and metalwork. Mateo worked in Compostela from at least 1168, when Fernando's minting rights were granted to him, to at least 1211 when the new cathedral was consecrated.[32] As master of Compostela's guild of artists, Mateo had been given vast artistic control by the cathedral chapter and he managed what must have been an impressive collection of artists, stonemasons, painters and others who worked on the cathedral including the Portal of Glory, cloister and choir.[33] Given the importance of coinage as a mechanism to project the image of the cult of St James and the seignorial power of the cathedral chapter, Mateo would almost certainly have been involved in their designs.

[31] Vázquez Santos, 'Las monedas de la ceca compostelana', p. 10.
[32] *Tumbo B*, pp. 488-90 (261).
[33] *LFF*, p. 92.

Evidence exists that there was an intersection of minting and the metalwork in contemporary churches. Randulfo, the mint supervisor under Diego Gelmírez, likely supervised the metalwork done on the altar canopy (*baldaquino*) of St James in c. 1105.[34] This would not have been surprising for someone the *Historia Compostellana* described as being endowed with great talent (*maiori ingenio preditum*), suggesting Randulfo's skills extended beyond the design and minting of coins.[35] Like Randulfo, the supervisor of Jaca's mint was also likely involved in decorating its cathedral (c. 1094), which was located in front of the mint.[36] The talents of minters were also on display in Carrión where they had undoubtedly been involved in helping to create the sculptures given the specificity of tasks and tools related to the minting process that were shown on the façade of the church of Santiago.

Including scallop shells on some versions of the bust coin, shown to the sides of the image of St James and above the I's in *IACOBI*, supported the connection between the shell and pilgrimage whilst also providing financial benefits to the cathedral chapter by stimulating the lucrative pilgrim badge market in which it was an active participant. The *Liber Sancti Jacobi* reinforced the role of the scallop shell as principal symbol of the Compostelan pilgrimage. A miracle story from 1106 described scallop shells as items pilgrims customarily brought back with them on their return from Compostela and told how they could perform miraculous healing.[37] *Veneranda dies* noted how returning pilgrims wore the scallop-shell badges to honour St James and the success of their pilgrimages:

[34] *LFH*, III, p. 282 and note 2.
[35] *HC*, p. 56 (I, 28).
[36] Moralejo, 'Artistas, patronos y public en el arte del Camino de Santiago', p. 402. See also S. Moralejo, 'Un reflejo de la escultura de Jaca, en una moneda de Sancho Ramírez (c. 1094)', Scritti di Storia dell'Arte in onore di Roberto Salvini (Florence, 1984), pp. 29-35.
[37] *LSJ*, p. 169 (II, 12).

> …pilgrims returning from the threshold of Blessed James sew them on their capes, and they wear them back to their own country with great exultation in honor of the apostle and in his memory and as a sign of such a great journey.[38]

The *Pilgrim's Guide* discussed scallop shells (*crusille piscium*) being sold to pilgrims in the *parvis* market outside the north portal of the cathedral.[39] The shells mentioned in the *Pilgrim's Guide* were almost certainly actual shells collected along the Galician coast given the lack of evidence related to metal badges prior to the thirteenth century (Figure 3.5a).[40] The assortment of pilgrim badges sold in Compostela's pilgrim markets later included shells cast in bronze or lead alloy, as well as shell-shaped pilgrim ampullae (Figure 3.5b-c). The cathedral chapter was actively involved in the pilgrim badge market as shown by a charter from 1200 that limited the number of licensed pilgrim badge sellers in Compostela to one hundred, with twenty-eight attached to the cathedral chapter and seventy-two to the guild of *concheiros*,[41] although the guild was required to pay an annual rent.[42] The cathedral chapter clearly wanted to benefit financially from the pilgrim badge business and limiting the supply of badges would have driven prices upward, further increasing its profits.

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[38] *LSJ*, p. 92 (I, 17): *...peregrini a beati Iacobi liminibus redientes in capis suis consuunt et ad decus apostoli et memoriam eius in signum tanti itineris ad propia deferunt cum magna exultacione.* For English translation see *MSJ*, p. 25.
[39] *Guide*, pp. 72-73 (ch. 9).
[40] D. Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West* (London, 1999), p. 124.
[41] *LFF*, p. 109. In 1228 Pope Gregory IX issued a bull that gave Compostela's *concheiros* a monopoly right to manufacture Compostelan pilgrim badges for all of Europe. Ibid., p. 114. See also *PG:M*, p. 205 (note 444) and Cohen, 'In haec signa: Pilgrim-Badge Trade in Southern France', pp. 193-214.
[42] *PG:M*, p. 205 (note 444). See also *LFH*, V, pp. 38-40 and 98 (and app. 109) and Cohen, 'In haec signa: Pilgrim-Badge Trade in Southern France', pp. 193-214.

(a)	(b)	(c)
		

Figure 3.5. Pilgrim Badges of St James from Compostela's Museo das Peregrinacións e de Santiago: (a) Scallop Shell Pilgrim Badge c. 1120 (#629): height: 9.2 cm, width: 10.1 cm, length: 3.1 cm; (b) Bronze Pilgrim Badge, 1201-1500 (D-816.2274/176):[43] height: 2 cm, width: 2 cm, thickness: .3 cm; (c) Scallop Shell Ampulla, 15th c. (#D-711): height: 5.2 cm, width: 3.5 cm.

Images of the shells were also found on pilgrim purses as shown on twelfth-century sculptures, highlighting the intersection of money and pilgrimage, and the conflicted attitudes of the Church that promoted both copious spending of money in its markets and a voluntary vow of poverty. Like the group of minters on the façade of the Church of Santiago in Carrión, Compostela's promotional coins further legitimized, in the eyes of the Church, the spending of money by pilgrims, and the participation of merchants and artisans in pilgrim town markets.

Another version of the bust coin uses stars in place of the scallop shells to the right and left of the bust of St James, thus implying an interchangeability between the scallop shell and star as symbols of the pilgrimage (Figure 3.6). Some have suggested the name Compostela, first used in 955[44] to describe the *locus sancti Iacobi*, derived from the Latin *campus stellae* ('field of stars'). However, this theory has largely been rejected by modern scholars, who believe

[43] According to the Museo das Peregrinacións e de Santiago, this bronze pilgrim badge was likely made in Rocha Forte on the road between Compostela and Padrón.

[44] E. Portela Silva, *Historia de la ciudad de Santiago de Compostela* (Santiago de Compostela, 2003), p. 135. In 955 Bretenaldo Franco lived in an area described as *suburbia patronis nostri beati Iacobi apostoli, loco predicto Compostelle*. This area was just south of the cathedral in what was known to be a Frankish neighbourhood.

Compostela derived from the Latin *componere* (to bury), reflecting the site's roots as a pre-Christian cemetery.[45] The 'field of stars' interpretation was likely promoted to match legend-building activities of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries including the discovery of St James's tomb by Bishop Theodemir of Iria after he had followed bright stars to the site.[46] If this interpretation was held by the cathedral chapter in the twelfth century, or created to promote its legend stories, it would have supported use of the star to signify the Compostela mint.



Figure 3.6. Billon Óbolo of Fernando II (1157-88), Museo das Peregrinacións e de Santiago (D-897)
(a) Obverse: Bust of St James; (b) Reverse: Lion with cross above, REX underneath.
Diameter: 15 mm, Weight: .35 g.

* * *

The bust coin highlighted an iconographical link between the literary programme of Diego Gelmírez, the cathedral chapter's mint and the decorative programme of the cathedral led by Master Mateo. The cathedral chapter clearly sought to promote the cult of St James by

[45] Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult*, p. 59. Note: '-ela' is a diminutive suffix thus making it 'little cemetery'. See also *MSJ*, p. XXV.
[46] *HC*, p. 9 (I, 2).

communicating a common visual image, propagating legend stories from the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* and aggrandizing the saint's shrine for the purposes of increasing the popularity of the pilgrimage and furthering its political and economic interests. The next section will show how the legend-building activities of the cathedral chapter under Diego Gelmírez were brought to life by another coin in the second half of the twelfth century in order to expand the political and economic interests of the cathedral chapter and the Leonese monarchy.

3. The Rise of Padrón and Pilgrimage by Sea

In 1985 an extremely rare óbolo was found during archaeological excavation of a medieval churchyard in O Carreiro, near Pontevedra on the Galician coast, thirty-five miles southwest of Compostela.[47] The iconography of the coin, first analysed by José Carro Otero in 1987, conveyed the story of the translation of St James's relics to Galicia by boat from Jerusalem, perhaps the first sculptural representation of the *translatio* (Figure 3.7).[48] On the reverse is the legend *S-IACOB* for St James, indicating the coin was minted in Compostela. It is intersected vertically by a Christian cross mounted on the top of the boat's mast. The head of St James is shown on the right with his body lying head to toe from right to left. To the left, above the lower part of St James' body, are the heads of two passengers, undoubtedly his loyal disciples Teodoro and Atanasio. The obverse shows a lion, surrounded by *FERNANDUS REX* to indicate it was minted during the reign of Fernando II.

[47] Carro Otero, 'Moneda del Rey D. Fernando II de Galicia-León', p. 575.
[48] Ibid., p. 585.



Figure 3.7. Billon Óbolo of Fernando II (1157-88), Museo das Peregrinacións e de Santiago (D-159). (a) Obverse: *FERNANDVS REX* and cross, with lion in centre; (b) Reverse: *S IA-COB* with head of St James (facing upward), two disciples (left) and Latin cross atop mast (centre, top). Diameter: 13 mm, Weight: .28 g.

The story about the translation of St James's relics was circulating in Compostela's cathedral chapter and along the pilgrim roads by the mid-twelfth century. The *Liber Sancti Jacobi* included a letter attributed to a pope named Leo, the *Epistola Beati Leonis Pape*, written for the purposes of celebrating the day of the saint's *translatio*.[49] The letter reported that after St James was beheaded by Herod, his disciples took the body from Jerusalem to the port of Jaffa, and from there transported it by sea to the Galician port of Iria (Padrón).[50] *Veneranda dies* also described the legendary translation of the saint's relics:

> How the translation of this apostle occurred is declared from the mouths of many faithful people who say that after he was killed by Herod, his whole body was carried across the

[49] On the origins of the *Epistola Leonis*, see Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult*, pp. 320-23 (app. C); and López Alsina, *La ciudad de Santiago de Compostela en la Alta Edad Media*, pp. 128-34.
[50] *LSJ*, p. 188 (III, 2, f, 159v). The day of celebration was 30 December.

> sea with an angel of the Lord accompanying it in a boat from Jerusalem to Galicia, with his disciples as sailors, and with various miracles performed along the way.[51]

The *Pseudo-Epistola Leonis* in the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* stated that from Iria, St James's disciples took his body to a small farm called *Liberum donum* (Libredón, on the site of Compostela) where they built a dome-shaped structure to house the tomb of St James over which they built a small church.[52] Teodoro and Atanasio, called 'inseparable out of reverence for their master' (*illi duo discipuli pedissequi pro reverentia illius magistri*), remained with the body of St James whilst the other disciples spread out across Iberia to preach.[53] The two were said to have been buried alongside St James, one on the right and the other on the left.[54] *Pseudo-Epistola Leonis* is also referenced in the *Historia Compostellana* as the source of the translation story, showing its importance to the political interests of the cathedral chapter by justifying Compostela as the location where St James's relics were discovered.[55]

On the Compostelan óbolo, the heads of Teodoro and Atanasio are covered by two dome-like structures, likely intended to represent the arches of the cave that fronted the tomb as described in the prologue of the *Book of the Moneychangers*.[56] The date of the guild's founding in the twelfth century, as argued in chapter two, would have made the writing of the prologue contemporaneous with that of the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* and thus one of the discovery's earliest descriptions. Consistent with the story in the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, the prologue stated the tomb of the saint was found in Libredón:

> For the memory of the foundation of the moneychangers of the church of Santiago, since the body of Santiago appeared in a marble tomb, buried and hidden in a cave fronted by

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[51] *LSJ,* p. 86 (I, 17): *Per multorum fidelium ora asseritur, quod venerandum eius corpus integrum, ab Herode peremtum, angelo Domini commitante per mare navicula in quadam a Iherosolimis in Galleciam, navigantibus discipulis ipsius, per diversa eciam miraculor expirimenta translatum sit.* For English translation see *MSJ*, p. 9.
[52] *LSJ*, p. 188 (III, 2). See also Moralejo et al. (trans.), *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, p. 394 (note 2).
[53] *LSJ*, p. 188 (III, 2).
[54] Ibid., pp. 188-89. (III, 2).
[55] *HC*, pp. 7-8 (I, 1).
[56] *LFH,* II, p. 17.

> two stone arches, in the middle of a hill at Burgo de Libredon [Libredón], above the fortification of San Fiz de Solobio at the end of Bonaval where there is another called Castle of the Camino.[57]

Inclusion of Teodoro and Atanasio on the coin also supported an emerging cult around them that was promoted through the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* and inclusion of their relics near those of St James in the crypt under the main altar of Santiago Cathedral.[58] It also supported the development of local devotions around Iberian saints as exemplified by the veneration of SS Facundus and Primitivus in Sahagún and St Zoilus in Carrión. Sculptures of Teodoro and Atanasio can be viewed today slightly below and to the sides of St James, high on the western façade of Santiago Cathedral from the eighteenth century.

In addition to contemporary textual evidence, a sculpture of the translation story was created towards the end of the twelfth century on the tympanum of the south portal of the church of Santiago de Cereixo (Figure 3.8).[59] This sculpture shows seven individuals around the body of St James, representing his seven disciples who were mentioned in the prologue of translation story from the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*: Torquatus Acci, Tissephons Vergu, Secundus Abula, Endalecius Urci, Cecilius Heliberri, Esicius Carcese and Eufrasius Eliturgi.[60] The rounded shape of the hull on the boat from the tympanum resembles that on the coin, and it is possible the coin acted as a model for the sculpture given it was likely created at a later date. Given Cereixo's coastal location (Map 3.1), it had undoubtedly faced Muslim and Norman attacks as had Padrón,

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[57] F.X.M. de la Huerta y Vega, *Anales del Reino de Galicia* (Santiago de Compostela, 1733), II, pp. 311-12 (book VIII, ch. IX): *Memoria do que conten a fundación dos cambeadores da iglesia de Santiago, e como apareceu o corpo de Santiago todo enteyro, que estaba escondido nua cova labrada con dous arcos de pedra debayxo da térra nun moymentó de marmor no meu do monte de Burgo de Libredon, abaijo do castro de san Fiz de Solobio e termos de Bonaval, donde está outro Castelo chamado do Camino que vay direyto a see do Apostólo*. See also *LFH*, II, pp. 17 (note 1).

[58] *LSJ*, p. 188 (III, 2). See also Moralejo et al. (trans.), *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, p. 387 (note 23). Information from the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century reveals the relics of Atanasio and Teodoro were in the crypt under the altar of Santiago Cathedral, but is unclear at what point they were moved there. *LFH*, I, pp. 342-45.

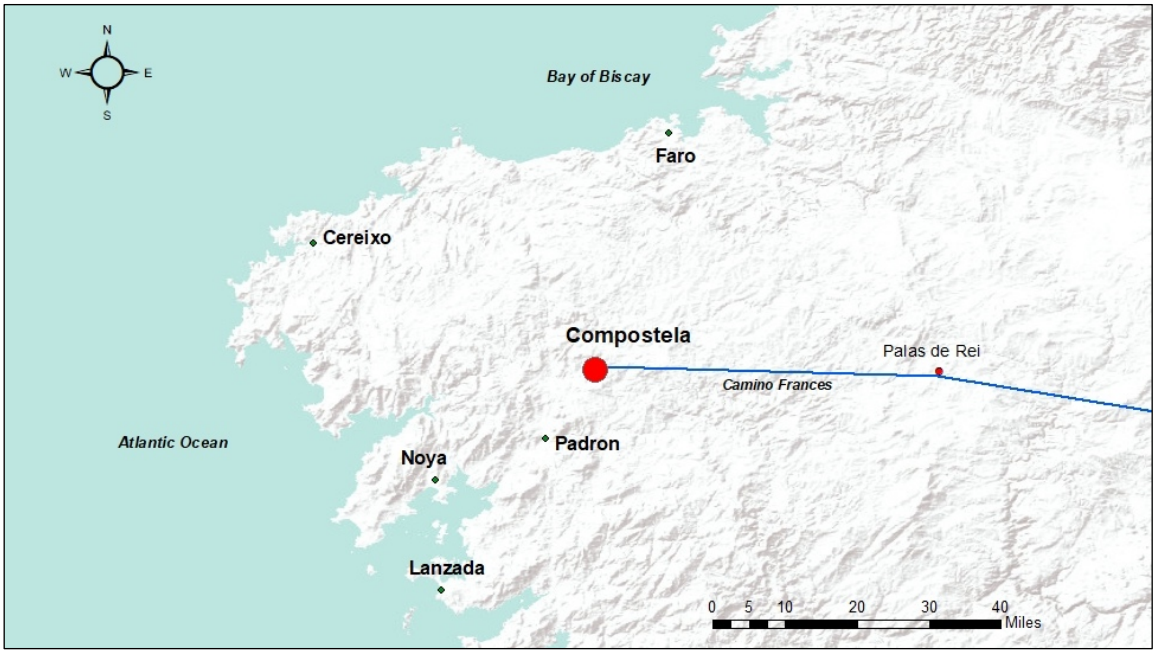
[59] Carro Otero, 'Moneda del Rey D. Fernando II de Galicia-León', p. 585.

[60] *LSJ*, p. 185 (III).

and an image of the translation with its theme of protection by St James would have been coveted by its inhabitants.



Figure 3.8. Tympanum from South Portal of the Church of Santiago of Cereixo.[61]



Map 3.1. Coastal Galicia (late 12th c.)

[61] Photographed by the author.

Promoting Padrón as a Secondary Pilgrimage Destination

Creation of the coin displaying St James's *translatio* by sea was contemporaneous with *fueros* granted by Fernando II to the Galician port towns of Padrón (1164) and Noya (1168)[62] along with his donation of Pontevedra (1180)[63] to the cathedral chapter, an important stopping point on the pilgrim road from Tui on the border between Galicia and Portugal. Fernando had clearly been coordinating with the cathedral chapter to enhance the status of Padrón as a secondary pilgrimage site whilst developing sea routes for pilgrims and merchants to reach Compostela, just as *fueros* had been used to develop pilgrim towns along the Camino Francés. Fernando and the cathedral chapter would have benefited financially through the collection of transit and market taxes at these sites.

Padrón, and the area between the Ulla and Tambre rivers,[64] would have benefited from promotion of the translation legend on the coin, given it was the recipient of pilgrim traffic from both Galician ports and Compostela. Pilgrims journeyed to Padrón to see the stone where legend stated the body of St James arrived and where he had first preached, and worship in the church of Santiago that Diego Gelmírez had rebuilt in the early twelfth century.[65] Diego undoubtedly wanted to promote Padrón as a secondary pilgrimage site as a way to support the translation legend of St James whilst building another source of donations and taxes. The *Pilgrim's Guide* identified Compostela's southwestern gate, the *Porta de Falgueriis* (Gate of the Ferns), through

[62] *Tumbo A*, pp. 282-84 (117). See also *LFH*, IV, App. XXXVIII (1168 charter from Fernando II granting right to the archbishop Pedro II of Santiago to build port in Santa Cristina of Noya on the banks of the Tambre River), pp. 94-96.
[63] *Tumbo A*, pp. 301-03 (127). Along with Pontevedra, Fernando II donated Cotobade Castle (near the pilgrim road between Pontevedra and Tui) along with half the income from the Church of Santa María. and Ibid, pp. 305-07 (129).
[64] In 1127 Alfonso VII gave the land between the Ulla and Tambre rivers and up to the sea to the cathedral chapter. *Tumbo A*, pp. 242-43 (98).
[65] HC, p. 50 (I, 22) and 164 (I, 100). See also *LFH*, II, p. 244.

which traffic flowed to and from Padrón, evidence that pilgrims were already visiting the site by c. 1140.[66]

Hymns about the *translatio* were disseminated by the Church in the twelfth century and were being sung by pilgrims along the roads. Some of these pilgrims were undoubtedly inspired by the music to make the pilgrimage to Padrón after reaching Compostela. In a verse from the hymn called *De Translatione beati Iacobi secundum Leonem papam et magistrum parucham*, the stone (*petra*) and Padrón (*portu petronio* and *villa petronia*) are mentioned.[67] Another hymn called the *Breviario Compostelano* describes the landing of the boat carrying the body of St James at the port of Iria after seven days of travel over the seas.[68]

An itinerary of c. 1180 from an anonymous pilgrim to the Holy Land provides one of the earliest textual references to the pilgrimage to Padrón. The itinerary recounted a story told by local fishermen about how St James himself described that the stone was cleaved into two pieces, with half taken with him to Galicia where it was visited by pilgrims, whilst the other half stayed in the sea near Joppa (Jaffa):

> The fishermen of that land say that when the Lord commanded blessed James to go to Galicia, blessed James replied, 'When this stone comes with me, then I shall go also.' Then the stone was divided in two, and half was taken to Galicia, where today it is visited by pilgrims and is called the *pecerius* of St James, while the other half remained there.[69]

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[66] *Guide*, pp. 66-67 (ch. 9).
[67] *LFH*, I, p. 208.
[68] Ibid., I, p. 209: *Post dies septum Iriae Portum intrantes gaudio.*
[69] Innominatus V, 'De locis sanctis et populis et bestiis in Palaestina vitam degentibus', *Itinera Hierosolymitana Crucesignatorum (saec. XII-XIII)*, 4 vols., vol. 3, ed. Sabino de Sandoli (Jerusalem, 1978), pp. 29-43, p. 42: *Piscatores illius terre referunt, quod cum Dominus preciperet beato Jacobo, ut in Galitiam iret, respondit beatus Jacobus: Cum lapis iste uenerit mecum. et ego ueniam; et tunc lapis diuisus est per medium et medietas delata est in Galiticiam, vbi hodie a peregrinis uisitatur et dicitur pecerius* (?) *S. Jacobi; et alia medietas ibi remansit.* English translation from D. Pringle, 'Traditions relating to St James the Great in the accounts of medieval Latin pilgrims to the Holy Land', in A. Pazos (ed.), *Translating the Relics of St James: From Jerusalem to Compostela* (London, 2017) pp. 124-39, p. 130 [translation modified]. Pringle suggests *peceor* was likely Old French for 'breaker' (into pieces). Ibid., p. 137 (note 43).

The anonymous pilgrim also stated that a 'great and infinite' number of fish were said to congregate around the stone near Joppa, and he compared them to pilgrims, showing the stone of St James was likely a very popular destination on pilgrimages to the Holy Land.[70] This story of the two halves of the stone of St James was circulating along pilgrimage routes no later than c. 1140 as shown in *Veneranda dies* which sought to refute the assertion that half the translation stone remained in Joppa:

> Others say that he [St James] came from Jerusalem to Galicia over the waves of the sea without a boat, sitting on a large stone with the Lord instructing him, and that a certain part of this large stone has remained behind in Joppa. Others say that this very stone arrived on the boat together with his lifeless body. However, I declare both stories to be false.[71]

That *Veneranda dies* addressed this issue was likely a way for Compostela's cathedral chapter to defend and strengthen the legendary status of Padrón's stone and mitigate devotional competition from its pilgrimage rival Jerusalem.

The stone mentioned by the anonymous pilgrim to the Holy Land and *Veneranda dies* was almost certainly the same stone that can still be viewed today under the altar of Padrón's church of Santiago (Figure 3.9). The stone is of Roman origins, part of an altar dedicated to Jupiter, so it existed in 1133 when Diego was rebuilding the church and it is therefore plausible that it was viewed by pilgrims in the twelfth century.[72] Diego likely promoted the existence of

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[70] Innominatus V, p. 42. The stone of St James at Joppa was also mentioned in another anonymous pilgrimage itinerary from c. 1250 and was referred to as the *petronus sci. Iacobi Appli*. Innominatus X', 'Si quis voluerit ire ab Acon', *Itinera Hierosolymitana Crucesignatorum (saec. XII-XIII)*, 4 vols., vol. 3, ed. Sabino de Sandoli (Jerusalem, 1978), pp. 100-07, p. 102.

[71] *LSJ*, p. 86 (I, 17): *Alii vero illum sedentem super petronum a Iherosolimis usque ad Galleciam per maris undas sine rait, Domino ei precipiente, venisse dicunt et quandam partem eiusdem petroni apud Jopen remanisse. Alii eundem petronum in navi una cum corpore exanimi dicunt advenisse. Sed utramque fabulam mendosam esse approbavi.* For English translation see *MSJ*, p. 12.

[72] Some letters are faded at the top of the stone, but the inscription can be interpreted to say: I(ovi) / O(ptimo)/ M(aximo)/ NO/ ORI/ ESES/ D(e)/ S(no)/ P(osuere), which can be roughly translated as 'to the greatest Jupiter the (people of) Oriense place this monument'. F. Bouza Brey, 'Sobre el ara de Padrón y las deidades marítimas de la Galicia romana', *Boletín de la Real Academia Gallega*, 25 (1953), pp. 431-36, p. 434.

the stone by placing it under the altar of the newly rebuilt church of Santiago, thus supporting the description in *Veneranda dies* and replicating what existed in Compostela, where the relics of St James were placed in a crypt under the altar of the cathedral.



Figure 3.9. Stone from the Church of Santiago, Padrón.[73]

Pilgrim itineraries from the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries showed the secondary route to Padrón had become entrenched as part of the pilgrimage experience. Further, Padrón was viewed by pilgrims in a similar manner to other contemporary shrines, a sign that the twelfth-century efforts of the cathedral chapter to build the secondary pilgrimage route had taken root and flourished. Purchas's pilgrim (1422),[74] William Wey (1456) and Robert Langdon (1502),[75] all English, visited Padrón after reaching Compostela, as did the Bohemian Leo Rozmital

[73] Photographed by the author.
[74] Purchas's Pilgrim, 'Purchas his Pilgrimes', ed. and trans. R. Tate and T. Turville-Petre, *Two Pilgrim Itineraries of the Later Middle Ages* (Santiago de Compostela, 1995), pp. 35-59, pp. 39 and 53.
[75] Langton, 'The pylgrimage of M. Robert Langton', p. 99.

(1467)[76] and the Italian Dominico Laffi (1670).[77] Wey described how pilgrims (even without making any donations) could obtain up to '126 Lents of indulgences' by visiting Padrón's four main sites: the church of St James that contained the 'Patron' or stone on which the body of St James lay upon his arrival in Galicia, the 'Most Holy Boat' that was revealed in summer when the water level of the Sar River was low, the church of Santa María of Iria with its many relics from various saints, and the spring on the hill where St James supposedly preached when he was alive.[78] Wey and Rozmital were told the stone boat had been sunk in the river on orders of the Pope because pilgrims had been breaking off small pieces that subsequently performed miracles. Likewise, Wey indicated the 'Patron' had been buried under the altar in the church of St James because pilgrims had been taking away small pieces.[79]

Pilgrimage by Sea

The translation story on the coin also complemented royal and ecclesiastical efforts to promote seagoing pilgrimage routes and protection of passengers and their goods. Four of the twenty-two miracles from the *Book of Miracles* of the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* addressed pilgrims travelling by sea. In one of these miracles, St James intervenes to save a drowning sailor named Frisonus after an attack by Muslim raiders during a return trip from Jerusalem in 1102. In doing so, St James prevents the Muslims from claiming their loot.[80] Another miracle from 1101 tells how St James

[76] M. Letts (ed.), *The Travels of Leo Rozmital through Germany, Flanders, England, France, Spain, Portugal and Italy 1465-67* (Cambridge, 1957), pp. 109-10.
[77] D. Laffi, *A Journey to the West: The Diary of a Seventeenth-Century Pilgrim from Bologna to Santiago de Compostela*, ed. and trans. J. Hall (Leiden, 1997), p. 183.
[78] W. Wey, *The Itineraries of William Wey*, ed. and trans. F. Davey (Oxford, 2010), pp. 214-15. The number of Lents (springs) associated with the indulgences outlined by Wey implied the relative importance of each site to the Church: Church of St James (25), Holy Boat (25), Church of St Mary of Iria (58), and the spring on the hill (25). Interestingly these add up to 133 Lents, not the 126 mentioned by Wey as the maximum number to be obtained by visiting all the sites.
[79] Ibid., p. 214 and Letts, *The Travels of Leo Rozmital*, pp. 109-10.
[80] *LSJ*, p. 166 (II, 7).

saved, with the help of a wave called *Thetis*, a group of pilgrims returning from Jerusalem. Afterwards a bishop from the group composes a versicle describing the saint as one who helps those on land and sea and leads them into safe ports.[81] Although these were signs about the saint's protection of pilgrims travelling by sea to the Holy Land, they could also have been extended to Compostelan pilgrims travelling by sea to the Galician port towns of Padrón and Noya as the ports of safety.

Indeed, there were significant risks to pilgrims and merchants who travelled by sea, and to those who lived along the coast as vividly described in the *Historia Compostellana*. Muslim corsairs from Seville, Almería and Lisbon sacked coastal settlements across the whole of northern Christian Iberia from Coimbra to the Pyrenees in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries.[82] To avoid attacks, Galicians living along the coast abandoned their homes from mid-April to mid-November and hid with their families in caves.[83] In 1130 English and Lotharingian merchants who had arrived by sea at the port of Padrón were attacked by an armed mob on their way to Compostela carrying a substantial quantity of merchandise, worth 176,000 ounces of silver, at the time of the attack.[84] Notably, in that situation, Compostela's *merino*, some townspeople and knights hunted down the robbers, defeated them in battle and returned the goods to the merchants.[85]

As a result of these dangers, Bishop Diego sought to strengthen Galicia's coastal defences in the early twelfth century.[86] He rebuilt Honesto Castle (or torres del Oueste) at the

[81] Ibid., p. 166 (II, 8).
[82] *HC*, pp. 174-76 (I, 103) and 339-40 (II, 21).
[83] Ibid., pp. 174-76 (I, 103) and 339-40 (II, 21).
[84] Ibid., pp. 447-48 (III, 18). See also *LFH,* III, p. 304. Lotharingia (or Lorraine in French) was comprised of today's Belgium, Luxembourg, Netherlands, sections of western Germany and Lorraine in France.
[85] Ibid., pp. 447-48 (III, 18).
[86] For description of Galician castles under Diego's control see Fletcher, *St. James's Catapult*, pp. 246-47.

mouth of the Ulla River as it had previously been destroyed by frequent Muslim attacks.[87] And in c. 1115 Diego created Galicia's first navy in nearby Padrón, roughly eight miles upstream from the castle, to defend against Muslim corsairs and protect seagoing pilgrims and merchants.[88] The castle was still protecting the area during Al-Idrisi's visit to the area in c. 1154.[89]

The first incarnation of Diego's navy consisted of two galleys (*galeras*) built by a Genoan named Ougerio, and they caused 'great damage' to the Muslims before falling into disrepair (due to negligence of the locals) and being scrapped.[90] In 1124 Diego commissioned a young Pisan named Fuxón, who built a new galley which was not limited to defensive operations. One raid into Muslim territory led to the seizure of 1700 *morabitinos*, of which the cathedral chapter received ten percent.[91]

The boat on the *translatio* coin also resembles those used in the seas around western Europe at this time as typified by the semi-circular shape, clinker-built method of construction and single centred mast.[92] An illustration of a similar type of boat, showing the return of Henry I (1100-35) to England during a storm, was included in the *Chronicle of John of Worcester* from c. 1140 (Figure 3.10).[93] It was likely not a coincidence that the *translatio* coin showed a boat that

[87] *HC*, pp. 63-64 (I, 33). See also *PSC*, II, p. 359 (note 6). This fortress was originally constructed by Alfonso V c. 1000 on a small island (called Catoira) on the Ulla river between the sea and Padrón to defend against Norman attacks. It was rebuilt over the years by bishops Cresconio and Peláez, and then by Diego Gelmírez between 1109-22. Notably, Diego Gelmírez was born in Catoira.
[88] *HC*, pp. 375-76 (II, 75). See also *HC: Trans.*, p. 449 (note 518); and Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult*, p. 247.
[89] Al-Idrisi, p. 76.
[90] *HC*, pp. 174-76 (I, 103). See also *LFH,* IV, pp. 68-69.
[91] *HC*, p. 467 (III, 28). Although this entry in the *HC* describes a ten percent share of booty to the bishop of Compstela, other entries describe a share of twenty percent, see ibid., p. 119 (I, 76.2) and p. 176 (I, 103.3).
[92] Carro Otero, 'Moneda del Rey D. Fernando II, p. 583.
[93] P. McGurk, 'Illuminations of the Chronicle of John of Worcester', *Notes in the History of Art*, 33 (2014), pp. 28-33, pp. 28 and 31 (Fig. 2); and J. Collard, 'Henry I's dream in John of Worcester's Chronicle (Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 157) and the illustration of twelfth-century English chronicles', *Journal of Medieval History*, 36 (2010), pp. 105-125, pp. 108, 111 (fig. 2) and 116. Henry I's dream represented in the boat illustration was said to have occurred in 1131.

was also represented in an English chronicle given that English pilgrims were coming to Compostela by sea in increasing numbers in the late twelfth century.



Figure 3.10. Illustration of Henry I Crossing the English Channel, *Chronicle of John of Worcester*.[94]

In addition to its similarity to the boat in the Chronicle of John of Worcester, the boat on the *translatio* coin also shows similarities to a thirteenth-century Pisan round ship from an engraving on the Leaning Tower of Pisa. This suggests Diego's Pisan-designed *galera* may have inspired the design of the boat on the coin. Connecting Compostela's naval presence with the ship carrying St James's relics to Galicia would have further supported Compostela's connection to St James and the theme of protection of pilgrims and merchants, as well as a crusading aspect given the ship had successfully pushed back against the Muslims. Common characteristics include the curved fore and aft, centre mast, and hull planking (Figure 3.11). The representation of the ship displayed on the coin had obviously been shrunk relative to the sizes of St James and

[94] *Chronicle of John of Worcester* (MS 157, p. 383). © Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

his disciples and simplified (no above-deck cabins are shown), but the general shape and structure of the ship are consistent with the Pisan engraving.[95]

(a)	(b)
	

Figure 3.11. (a) Ship from *translatio* Coin; (b) Pisan Round Ship (13th c.)[96]

The theme of protection extended to travellers' goods, which would have been especially important to seaborne merchants. Noya's 1168 *fuero*, granting the same rights as those in Compostela, ensured that shipwrecked passengers found on the Galician coast from Faro (now called A Coruña) in the northeast, to Noya, Lanzada and Padrón in the southwest (Map 3.1) were guaranteed their goods rather than local lords having rights to them as had previously been the custom.[97] Like Padrón, Noya was an important port linked to the pilgrimage, as shown in its

[95] Diego's two Genoan-designed ships attacked Muslim areas with two-hundred sailors, implying each carried one hundred. *HC*, p. 176 (I, 103.3). Presumably the Pisan-designed ship was of comparable size.
[96] J. Pryor, *Geography, technology, and war* (Cambridge, 1988), p. 31. The leading shipbuilders in the twelfth century were the Genoese, Pisans and Venetians. The *translatio* coin ship also shows similarities to a drawing in a manuscript of al-Hariri's *Maqamat* (1222). Like the ship on the coin, it has distinct rounded stern and stem posts and a single mast, a design commonly used in the thirteenth-century Mediterranean by Byzantine and western European sailors including those from Pisa and Genoa, which would further support the notion that the ship on the coin may have been based on a Galician warship. Ibid., pp. 28-30.
[97] *LFH*, IV, app. XXXVIII, pp. 95-96: *Adjicio etiam quod a Faro usque ad hunc portum, quem Totum Bonum uocamus, et ab hoc portu usque ad Sanctam Mariam de Lanceatam uel etiam usque ad Patronem, non sit illa praua consuetudo naufragii, qua omnes naufragi et nautae, et naues, et omnes res domins terrae in aliis locis et portibus*

1168 *fuero* that sought to 'restore the port of the Apostle' (*ad restaurationem portus Apostoli*).[98] Fernando benefited economically from sea traffic at the port as he was entitled to half of the anchorage fees.[99] He granted an annual pension of ten silver marks from royal rents in Noya to support the Galician monastery of Sobrado, yet another example of how the Iberian Christian monarchs used income from towns associated with the pilgrimage to financially support native religious institutions.[100]

Noya's location, twenty miles southwest of Compostela, presented a convenient disembarking point for merchants and pilgrims travelling to Compostela by sea from northern Europe at a time when the threat from Muslim and Norman pirates had decreased compared to the first half of the twelfth century. The Anglo-Flemish fleet of crusaders heading to the Holy Land in 1147 stopped at the mouth of the Tambre River near Noya where they disembarked to make the pilgrimage to Compostela, and afterwards helped Afonso I take Lisbon before continuing to the Holy Land.[101] Al-Idrisi, in his travels through northern Iberia in c. 1154, also mentioned Noya and the Tambre as a way to reach Compostela, and he called the Bay of Biscay, which covered the northern coast of Galicia, 'the sea of the English'.[102]

* * *

reddere coguntur; sed nauis aliqua ueniens ad portum sancti Iacobi si infra terminus assignatos naufragium et periculum passa fuerit, et nauis et res omnes absque diminutione et inquietatione suorum sint diminiorum, si maris tempestatem eudere poterint. Hoc sit tamen de nauibus, que ad portum Apostoli uenerint, non de aliis. Hoc etiam adjungo, quod omnes incole et habitatores burgi illius memorati sint uassalli uestri et archiepiscopi compostellani, et numquam alterius. See also ibid., IV, p. 286.

[98] *Tumbo A*, pp. 282-84 (117). See also *LFH*, IV, app. XXXVIII, p. 96. See also González Mínguez, 'La Urbanización del Litoral del Norte de España (siglos XII-XIV)', p. 49.

[99] *LFH*, IV, p. 286.

[100] Sobrado also benefited financially from Compostela's mint. In 1168, the same year as Fernando's grant to Master Mateo, Fernando gave the monastery one-third of the royal half of proceeds. See ibid., IV, p. 284; and *Coinage*, p. 257.

[101] C. Storrs, *Jacobean Pilgrims from England to St. James of Compostella: From the Early Twelfth to the Late Fifteenth Century* (London, 1998), pp. 103-04. The crusader fleet was comprised of between 160 and 190 ships.

[102] Al-Idrisi, pp. 76-79.

The iconography of the *translatio* coin was pregnant with themes that were strategically important to the cathedral chapter and the Leonese monarchy. Through its image of the ship carrying the body of St James, the cathedral chapter linked the translation story in the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* and *Historia Compostellana* to the secondary pilgrimage site of Padrón whilst promoting the safety of Galician ports as entry points to Compostela for pilgrims travelling from northern Europe. Inclusion of Teodoro and Atanasio further linked the coin to *Pseudo-Epistola Leonis* whilst expanding the cast of revered figures associated with the cult of St James. Development of coastal Galicia was financially important to Fernando II who was able to extract additional taxes and rents related to increasing merchant traffic. Whereas the *translatio* coin supported the growth of seagoing pilgrimage routes, the next coin to be addressed in this chapter supports the connection that existed between the Leonese monarchy and the land-based Camino Francés.

4. The Camino Francés and Charlemagne

In 1182 Fernando II experienced the Camino Francés first-hand when he made a pilgrimage to Compostela. As an offering to St James at the end of his pilgrimage, Fernando confirmed the cathedral chapter's full minting rights to he held in perpetuity.[103] The significance of his pilgrimage was marked by the fact that it took place during a 'Jubilee Year', when the feast day of St James took place on a Sunday.[104] To commemorate Fernando's pilgrimage, it is likely Compostela's cathedral chapter commissioned the design of a billon dinero showing (on obverse) two parallel bands with a beaded centre above a bust of Fernando II (in profile) with the legend *REX LEO* and a star on the upper right side (Figure 3.12). The bands on this coin were

[103] *Tumbo A*, pp. 280-81 (140).
[104] *LFH,* IV, p. 330 (note 1).

almost certainly meant to represent the Camino Francés, symbol of the Compostelan pilgrimage and principal economic artery through the kingdom of León. On the reverse is a large cross in the centre and the legend *FERNANDVS* with another cross. The parallel bands resemble the sides of a path, and it has been previously suggested by some numismatists, though not convincingly supported with evidence, that this image represents the pilgrim road.[105]



Figure 3.12. Billon Dinero (Camino Francés) of Fernando II, Museo das Peregrinacións e de Santiago (D-459). Legend obverse: <star>*REX LEO*; reverse: *+FERNANDVS*; (a) Obverse: Image of Fernando and Camino; (b) Reverse: Cross in centre surrounded by *FERNANDVS* and small cross. Diameter: 17 mm, Weight: .78 g.

Fernando's interest and support for the pilgrim road were demonstrated well before he made a pilgrimage to Compostela in 1182. In 1168 he issued a decree that altered the direction of the Camino Francés to pass by the basilica of San Isidoro of León and then exit the city westward across the bridge over the Bernesga River rather than bypassing the heart of the city as

[105] J.M. de Francisco Olmos and F. Novoa Portela, *Catálogo de numismática do Museo das Peregrinacións e de Santiago* (Santiago de Compostela, 2009), p. 46. See also *Coinage*, p. 254.

had previously been the route.[106] That same year, contemporaneous with his grant of minting proceeds to Master Mateo in Compostela, Fernando donated the services of a carpenter named Cipriano to work on the basilica of San Isidoro,[107] and in 1171 he ordered the city's moneyers (*numularii qui in Legione regiam monetam tenuerint et fabricaverint*) to pay one mark of silver weekly to support the work.[108] San Isidoro was politically and spiritually important to Fernando as it was the site of the royal mausoleum of the Leonese monarchy, constructed to honour his great-great-grandfather Fernando I. These actions by Fernando II followed a similar approach to his patronage of the decorative programme at Santiago Cathedral, and revealed the extent to which he connected the pilgrimage, money economy and royal support for shrines that supported his political ambitions.

Fernando's interest in the Camino Francés extended beyond the cities of Compostela and León as shown by his support of pilgrim hospitals in the Montes de León near the border between León and Galicia, where pilgrims faced difficult climbing and weather. In 1166 he confirmed the donations made by his father Alfonso VII to the pilgrim hospital in Cebrero.[109] And in 1167 he exempted the pilgrim hospital of Santa María in Foncebedón, including its vassals, from paying tribute, and he donated royal income to support the poor.[110]

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[106] J. González, *Regestra de Fernando II* (Madrid, 1943), p. 404. See also J. Pérez Llamazares, *Catálogo de los códices y documentos de la Real Colegiata de San Isidoro de León* (León, 1923), pp. 121-22 (169); and *PSC*, II, pp. 250-51.
[107] González, *Regestra de Fernando II*, p. 404. See also Pérez Llamazares, *Catálogo de los códices y documentos de la Real Colegiata de San Isidoro de León*, p. 122 (170).
[108] 'Privilegio de Fernando II a favor de la obra de San Isidoro de León' in J.M. Rodrigues Montañas (coord.) *Enciclopedia del Románico en Castilla y León: León* (Aguilar de Campoo, 2002), p. 748. See also González, *Regestra de Fernando II*, p. 404; and Pérez Llamazares, *Catálogo de los códices y documentos de la Real Colegiata de San Isidoro de León*, p. 122 (172). The word *numularii* was used in *Veneranda dies* to describe moneychangers, which suggests Fernando was addressing a group of moneyers in León that changed and minted money. However, they are also further distinguished as *cambiatores,* perhaps viewed as a more specific occupation within the larger profession of moneyers. See *LSJ*, pp. 98-99 (I, 17) and *Guide*, pp. 72-73 (ch. 9).
[109] *PSC*, II, p. 314.
[110] Ibid., II, p. 283. Foncebedón is found at an elevation of 4,700 feet, and Cebrero at 4,400 feet. Both are located on the Camino Francés in the Montes de León.

The Starry Path and Charlemagne

Crucially, the iconography of the coin showing a Christian king superimposed on a path with a star overhead matches the dream sequence from *Historia Turpini* from the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*. In that story, St James implores Charlemagne to follow the 'stellar path' to the tomb of the saint, whilst defeating pagans along the way so future generations can make the pilgrimage unhindered:

> The path of stars that you have contemplated in the sky is the sign indicating that you must take a great army from here to Galicia to do battle with those perfidious pagans, to free my path and my lands and to visit my basilica and my tomb. After you, all peoples from sea to sea will walk there as pilgrims, begging forgiveness for their sins and proclaiming the greatness of the Lord, his virtues and the marvels that he has performed, from your own time until the end of the present age.[111]

The starry path on the coin, shown at the bottom with a rising star overhead, thus signalling it as a ground-based path, would have made it perhaps the earliest visual representation of the Camino Francés. The beading in the centre of the path on the coin could certainly be interpreted as stars. Like the miniature of St James being used as a model for the saint on the bust coin, a miniature of Charlemagne's dream from the *Codex Calixtinus* (c. 1140) may have been used as a model for the image of the pilgrim road on the coin (Figure 3.13).

This miniature, found at the beginning of *Turpin's Chronicle*, shows St James pointing to a path of circular stars along two curving edges, similar to the path shown on the coin with curving edges and centre beading likely meant to represent stars. A later copy of the *Codex* from the archives of the Vatican (1325) shows the same wavy path over which the stars are

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[111] *LSJ*, p. 201 (IV, 1): *Caminus stellarum quem in celo vidisti, hoc significat, quod tu cum magno exercitu ad expugnandam gentem paganorum perfidam, et liberandum iter meum et tellurem, et ad visitandam basilicam et sarcofagum meum, ab his horis usque ad Galleciam iturus es, et post te omnes populi a mari usque ad mare peregrinantes, veniam delictorum suorum a Domino impetrantes, illuc ituri sunt, narrantes laudes Domini et virtutes eius, et mirabilia eius que fecit. A tempore vero vite tue usque ad finem presentis seculi ibunt.* For English translation see K. Poole, trans., *The Chronicle of Pseudo-Turpin: Book IV of the Liber Sancti Jacobi (Codex Calixtinus),* (New York, 2014), p. 6.

superimposed, with a single band of stars surrounded by wavy edges, suggesting the design of the older coin may have even been a model for the drawing (Figure 3.14).

(a)	(b)
	

Figure 3.13. (a) Miniature of starry path from Charlemagne's dream in *Codex Calixtinus*;[112] (b) Camino from coin.

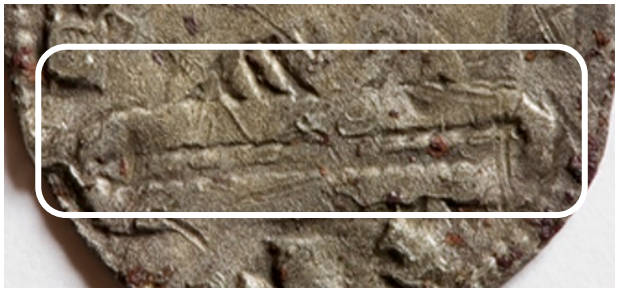
(a)	(b)
	

Figure 3.14. (a) Charlemagne's Dream from Vatican Copy of *Codex Calixtinus* (1325);[113] (b) Camino from coin.

[112] *Pilgrim's Guide*, ed. and trans. Stones et al., I, ill. 19: St James appears to Charlemagne in a dream (f. 162), manuscript C of Codex Calixtinus (c. 1140) from Archivo de la Catedral de Santiago de Compostela.
[113] Ibid., I, ill. 57: St James appears to Charlemagne in a dream (f. 133v), manuscript VA from Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Archivio de San Pietro, C. 128.

The territories Charlemagne sees along the starry path match those pilgrims would have needed to pass through when travelling from his capital of Aachen near the Frisian Sea and passing through Germany, Gaul, Aquitaine, Gascony, Vasconia, Navarre, *Yspania* (Castile and León) and Galicia.[114] These territories match those through which pilgrims would have passed on their way from Germany or Italy to Compostela, corresponding to the four pilgrimage routes that converge in Iberia as outlined in the *Pilgrim's Guide*.[115]

Comparing himself to Charlemagne would have been valuable political propaganda for Fernando. He was certainly aware of his father Alfonso VII's comparison to Charlemagne in the *Poem of Almería,* which was attached to the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* (c. 1150). The *Poem* described the 1147 siege of Muslim Almería on the Mediterranean coast, led by Alfonso 'king of the Toledan Empire…who holds the title of Emperor, continuing the deeds of Charlemagne with whom he is rightly compared.'[116] And although Fernando received the kingdom of León, that his older brother Sancho had been given Castile signalled that Castile was the rising Christian power in northern Iberia. This fact could not have been lost on Fernando who likely felt he had something to prove.

Like Pseudo-Turpin's Charlemagne and his father Alfonso VII, Fernando was engaged in a military campaign against the Muslims, and an association with Charlemagne may have

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[114] *LSJ*, p. 201 (IV, 1). Interestingly, Italy is incorrectly mentioned as being between the Frisian Sea and Gaul.
[115] *Guide*, pp. 10-11 (ch. 1).
[116] *Praefatio de Almaria*, ed. E. Falque, J. Gil and A. Maya, *Chronica Hispana saeculi XII*, *CCCM 71* (Turnhout, 1990), p. 253 (16): *Dux fuit imperii cunctorum rex Toletani; Hic Adefonsus erat, nomen tenet imperatoris, Facta sequens Caroli, cui competit equiparari.* For English translation see *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, ed. and trans. S. Barton and R. Fletcher, *The World of El Cid* (Manchester, 2000), pp. 162-263, p. 250 (15). See also W. Purkis, 'Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Perspectives on State Building in the Iberian Peninsula', *Reading Medieval Studies*, 36 (2010), pp. 57-75, pp. 64-65. The description of Alfonso VII as 'king of the empire of Toledo' was likely a reference to Christian Iberia's Visigothic rule during which Toledo was the capital. For a discussion of the complex and changing views of Charlemagne's impact on Iberian culture in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, see M. Dolan Gómez, '*Rex Parvus* or *Rex Nobilis*? Charlemagne and the Politics of History (and Crusading) in Thirteenth-Century Iberia', in W. Purkis and M. Gabriele (eds.), *The Charlemagne Legend in Medieval Latin Texts* (Woodbridge, 2016), pp. 92-114.

reinforced the appeal to Franks to help in this regard. The comparison also supported the notion of Fernando as king of Spain (*Hispanorum rex*), used on the legends of coins and in charters during the first decade of his rule,[117] and that he was heir to the Asturian/Leonese royal line, especially given the Camino crossed through the kingdoms of Castile and Navarre in addition to León.

Fernando's political aspirations were enhanced by his guardianship of two future kings, Alfonso VIII of Castile from 1158-69 during which time he temporarily occupied Toledo,[118] and Alfonso II of Aragon (who also ruled the House of Barcelona as Alfonso I), the son of Count Ramon Berenguer IV of Barcelona.[119] Given Fernando and his older brother Sancho III of Castile (before his death in 1158) had already divided Portugal between them, Fernando directly or indirectly controlled all of Christian Iberia with the exception of Navarre for a short timeframe.

By 1172 Fernando had likely started to give up any imperial ambitions from the early part of his reign, as shown in a charter related to the Brothers of Avila and the Order of St James, in which Fernando was described as king of León, Galicia, Asturias and Extremadura, and Alfonso VIII as king of Castile, Toledo and Nájera.[120] It is therefore likely the Camino coin was minted sometime prior to 1172 and perhaps during Fernando's guardianship of Alfonso VIII that lasted from 1158-69.

In addition to communicating Fernando's political power and aspirations in Iberia, linking Fernando and the Camino on the coin was a way for the cathedral chapter to assure

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[117] *Coinage*, p. 250.
[118] O'Callaghan, *History of Medieval Spain*, p. 236.
[119] *Coinage*, p. 250.
[120] J. Broadman, trans., 'The Brothers of Avila and the Order of Santiago (1172)', in O. Constable (ed.), *Medieval Iberia: Readings from Christian, Muslim and Jewish Sources* (Philadelphia, 2012), pp. 206-208. Fernando used this title again in the 1182 confirmation of Compostela's minting grant. *Tumbo A*, p. 281 (140).

pilgrims and merchants travelling along the Camino Francés that they were under royal protection, as the *translatio* coin had conveyed to those travelling by sea. Finally, showing the Camino with Fernando was a way for the cathedral chapter to acknowledge Fernando's spiritual connection to St James which was illustrated by his selection of Santiago Cathedral to be his final resting place. López Ferreiro speculated Master Mateo may have completed the full-length sculpture of Fernando on his sarcophagus, which would have been a fitting tribute to his patron.[121] The importance of St James to Fernando was also shown by the fact that the promotional coins were the first in Iberia to include significant artwork related to the cult of St James and the last to do so during the medieval period.[122]

The Camino coin resembles another contemporary coin struck by Fernando II in Salamanca that showcased its Roman bridge in the identical location beneath the bust to the Camino on the Compostelan coin (Figure 3.15).[123] This suggests Fernando was associating his rule with iconic images from towns that were politically important to him. As in Galicia, Fernando had been fighting with Afonso I of Portugal around Salamanca, and Afonso even seized the town in 1163.[124] Thus, the designs of both the Camino and Salamancan coins were at least partially intended to convey the political and military strength of Fernando.

[121] *LFH*, IV, pp. 348-49. Today Fernando's sepulchre can be found in the royal pantheon in Santiago Cathedral's cloister.
[122] Carro Otero, 'Moneda del Rey D. Fernando II de Galicia-León', p. 590. Fernando's son Alfonso IX did use the scallop shell to denote the Compostelan mint on some of his coins.
[123] *Coinage*, p. 254.
[124] González, *Regestra de Fernando II*, p. 59.

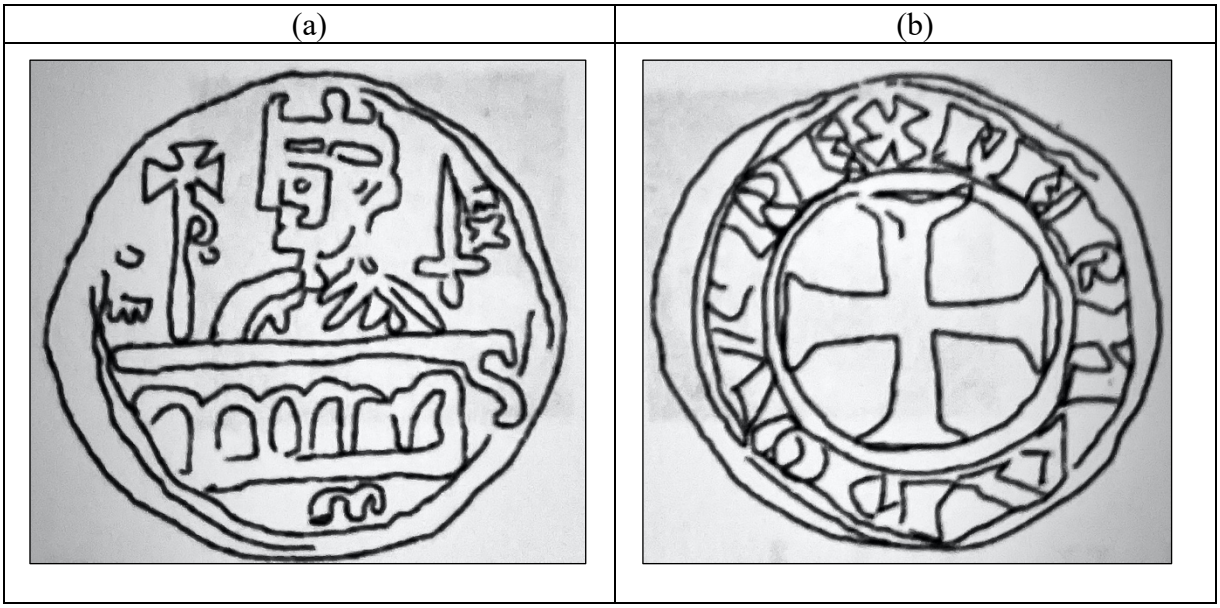


Figure 3.15. Sketch of Billon Dinero of Fernando II from Salamanca; Obverse: Crowned bust facing cross over lance with raised sword behind over arched bridge surrounded by *IS-PAH.IE*, Reverse: *FERNANDVS REX* surrounding cross.[125]

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The iconography of the Camino Francés coin was especially meaningful to Fernando II as indicated by the conjoining of his image and that of the pilgrim road. This linked his reign to the key economic and spiritual artery through the kingdom of León. Politically, imagery of the starry path on the coin linked Fernando to Charlemagne through the dream sequence in the *Historia Turpini*, thus bolstering his claims to be *rex Hispania*. The connection to St James was significant for Fernando who needed the saint for spiritual inspiration in his military efforts against the Almohads as shown by his claim to be the 'standard bearer of St James' and support for the order of Santiago. The iconography of the Camino Francés also maps neatly onto the underlying message of St James's miracle collection, that it was along the Compostelan pilgrim

[125] Photograph of coin sketch from *Coinage*, p. 254 (fig. 43). Extant coins of this type appear to be held in private collections. This typography with the bridge was continued by Fernando's son, Alfonso IX of León (1188-1230), as shown on a gold *maravedí* from the Museo Arquelógico Nacional in Madrid (1973/24/17005).

roads in general, rather than at the shrine centre in particular, where the saint performed his miracles. From a spiritual perspective, the iconography supports the notion of penitential pilgrimage – where the ardour of the journey itself is as important, if not more so, than arrival at the shrine.

5. Promotional Coins from Other Contemporary Shrines

Although none have been discovered, it would not have been surprising if Compostela's mint had struck a coin with an image of the shrine of St James. The cathedral chapter had undoubtedly been aware of the existence of contemporary coins from major shrines such as Jerusalem, its primary competitor in the twelfth century,[126] and Cologne, that showcased iconic structures related to their shrines. Jerusalem's coins with iconography supporting its key shrine undoubtedly became part of the calculus of Compostela's cathedral chapter in deciding to develop its own iconography around the cult St James on its promotional coins. Compostela's efforts to rival Jerusalem as one of the preeminent shrines in the Christian world were reflected in the observations of the Muslim geographer Al-Idrisi, who visited Compostela in c. 1154 as part of his journey to map the known world for Sicily's Norman king Roger II (1130-54). Al-Idrisi, who would have been familiar with contemporary thought and travel across Muslim and Latin lands, compared the two shrines and remarked that they were roughly equal in size and splendour:

> This distinguished church [Santiago Cathedral], where travellers and pilgrims arrive from every corner of Christendom, does not yield in size more than that of Jerusalem, and rivals the Temple of the Resurrection (or Holy Sepulchre) for the beauty of its works, the

[126] Rome was not a potent rival to Jerusalem and Compostela in the twelfth century. Rome not only lacked a comprehensive hospitality infrastructure but also popular advertising for its pilgrimage such as that found in the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*. Rome did not have comparable promotional material until the *Libri Indulgentiarum* were compiled in the fourteenth or fifteenth century, texts that highlighted the significant number of indulgences that could be received at Rome's churches. Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome in the Middle Ages*, pp. 175-81 and 187-96.

amplitude of its reach, and the great size of the wealth of its riches and the donations it receives.[127]

A billon denier struck by Baldwin III (1143-63) of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem contained an image of the Tower of David (*Turris David*), the citadel situated at the one of the main gates to the city (Figure 3.16), which represented royal control of Jerusalem and linkage of the Latin kings to Israel's biblical kings.[128] Baldwin's coin pre-dated another by Amaury I (1163-74), his younger brother, that included a cross on one side and on the other an image of the Holy Sepulchre (Figure 3.17), the primary pilgrimage destination in the Holy Land and symbol of the Latin crusading movement.[129]



Figure 3.16. Billon Denier of Baldwin III of Jerusalem, Museum of Order of St John and University of Birmingham 2016 (LDOSJ_JE21);[130] Inscription obverse: *BALDVINVS REX*; Inscription reverse: *+dE IERVSALEM*. Weight: 1.08 g; Diameter: 17 mm.

[127] Al-Idrisi, p. 76: *Este insigne iglesia, á donde concurren los viajeros y se dirigen los peregrinos de todos los ángulos de la cristiandad, no cede en tamaño más que á la de Jerusalén, y rivaliza con el Templo de la Resurrección (ó Santo Sepulcro), por la hermosura de las fábricas, la amplitud de su distribución y lo crecido de sus riquezas y de los donativos que recibe.*
[128] R. Kool, *The Circulation and Use of Coins in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem 1099–1291 CE*, PhD thesis, Hebrew University of Jerusalem (2013), pp. 99-100.
[129] Ibid., p. 108.
[130] License CC BY-SA 3.0.



Figure 3.17. Billon Denier of Amaury I of Jerusalem, Museum of Order of St John and University of Birmingham 2016 (LDOSJ_JE66);[131] Inscription obverse: *AMALRICVS REX*; Inscription reverse: *+DE IERVSALEM*. Weight: 0.87 g; Diameter: 17 mm.

Archbishop Philip I of Cologne (1167-91), another contemporary pilgrimage destination with its shrine of the Three Kings (the Three Magi of the Bible), minted a silver penny denier[132] with images of him seated holding crozier and book on one side, and three towers shown rising over the town walls on the other (Figure 3.18). Notably, the town walls shown on the coin had been built by Philip and were the largest in western Europe until the late nineteenth century. As in Compostela, the archbishop of Cologne was lord of the town, and would have benefited economically and politically (the church in Cologne was seeking primacy in Germany over its rivals in Trier and Mainz)[133] from increased pilgrim traffic and enhancement of the reputation of the shrine.

[131] License CC BY-SA 3.0.
[132] Kool, *Circulation and Use of Coins in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, pp. 84-85.
[133] D. Luscombe and J. Riley-Smith (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History: Volume IV (c. 1024 – c. 1198) Part 1* (2014), p. 445.



Figure 3.18. Silver Penny Denar of Philip I of Cologne (late twelfth century);[134]
Obverse Legend: *HITARCH EPICOPV*. Reverse Legend: *COLONIA PAICHIAIAIG*.
Weight: 1.46 g; Diameter: 16.4 mm.

6. Coins as Devotional Objects

In addition to their utility in the markets, Compostela's coins that bore images related to the pilgrimage and cult of St James were undoubtedly considered by some pilgrims as devotional tokens or souvenirs from their pilgrimage, much like the scallop shells that often accompanied them to the grave.[135] Some surviving examples of Amaury's coin with the image of the Holy Sepulchre are punctured in a place that would have allowed pilgrims to wear them as a pendant on a necklace, with the image facing outward and hanging in a position that viewers would have seen as being right-side up.[136] Would-be pilgrims in England bent coins to signal they were

[134] Photograph from NumisAntica, CC BY-SA 3.0 NL License.
[135] On pilgrim burials with scallop-shell pilgrim badges, see and J. Justes Floría and R. Domingo Martínez, 'El cementerio Mayor de Jaca en la Edad Media excavaciones arqueológicas en la Plaza Biscós (2005-2006)', *Saldvie: Estudios de prehistoria y arqueología*, 7 (2007), pp. 309-44, p. 331. Other evidence related to the importance of scallop shells in pilgrim burials can be seen in several twelfth-century sepulchre covers with scallop shell reliefs in the Oviedo Cathedral museum.
[136] The Museum of the Order of St John in London currently has a number of medieval pierced coins in its collection. Wearing coins as pendants or amulets was a common practice in the Middle Ages. R. Kelleher, 'The re-

earmarked for donation to a particular saint, with those coins thus transformed into part of a religious contract between the owner and the saint, one that was executed when the coin was donated at the shrine.[137]

Other coins from the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem show wear over the image of the Holy Sepulchre that would have resulted from devotional rubbing in which the coin performed an amuletic function.[138] A similar type of wear pattern can be seen on the obverse of a Compostelan dinero with the bust of St James (Figure 3.19). This could have also resulted from repeated devotional rubbing, in which a thumb would have rubbed from the left edge of the coin (facing St James) to the centre of this face. This coin may have also been pierced at one time as shown by the notch on the edge to the right of St James's collar (facing St James) which has since worn out. To generate a discernible wear pattern would have taken some time, and implies the coin was valued by the holder and kept for a considerable period of time, although it is difficult to determine exactly when the wear took place due to the lack of archaeological provenance.

use of coins in medieval England and Wales c.1050–1550: an introductory survey', *Yorkshire Numismatist*, 4 (2012), pp. 183-200, p. 185.

[137] E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400-1580* (New Haven, 1992), pp. 173-74. See also R. Kelleher, 'Coins, monetisation and re-use in medieval England and Wales: new interpretations made possible by the Portable Antiquities Scheme', Durham University (2013), pp. 230-31. When promised donations were not made the saint could reverse the spiritual or worldly benefits that had been received. Naismith, 'Turpe lucrum? Wealth, Money and Coinage in the Millenial Church', p. 31.

[138] Weetch, 'ineffable power', pp. 475-77.

(a)	(b)
	

Figure 3.19. Billon Dinero (Bust of St James) of Fernando II, Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge (CM.PG.4431-2006); (a) Obverse: Bust of St James; (b) Reverse: Lion and Rex. Height: 18 mm; Width: 18 mm; Weight: 1.1 g.

The Compostelan óbolo featuring the *translatio* was no doubt created with pilgrims in mind and its potential use as a devotional token. The coin is relatively small in diameter at thirteen millimeters and light at .28 grams compared to the other promotional óbolos that ranged in weight from .3-.49 grams, suggesting it may have been valued as a devotional token in addition to spending on other items.[139] The relatively good condition of the coin suggests that it was not used frequently in the markets, but kept as a token, which would have been especially valuable given the owner's location on the coast and not far from Padrón.

A token coin could have also filled an important role in the local economy, particularly for small transactions. Contemporary examples of token coins were found in the Crusader

[139] Spectrographic analysis revealed the coin is forty percent silver and sixty percent copper. Carro Otero, 'Moneda del Rey D. Fernando II de Galicia-León', pp. 575 and 580.

Kingdom of Jerusalem. Token lead coins were minted and circulated in Frankish Christian communities across the kingdom in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[140] These token coins were likely used for small-size commercial transactions at the 'bottom' of the economy.[141] This notion is supported by a twelfth-century coin with geometric patterns that was found in the area where Jerusalem's tanners worked,[142] a hoard from the isolated and royal/Templar castle of Vadum Iacob (1178-79) where the tokens were likely created to pay local craftsman brought in for emergency work at the site,[143] and a hoard found on the Temple Mount, an area occupied by the Templars[144] who were almost certainly engaged in money changing like their contemporaries in Jerusalem, the Hospitallers.[145] These discoveries also suggest there was high demand for the standard billon coins and the token coins were needed by the large numbers of pilgrims and merchants who transacted in the markets of the kingdom, much as would have been the situation in contemporary Compostela.

Unfortunately, the number of coins in museum collections today that were minted during the reign of Fernando II is quite small and not all of these coins show a wear pattern that could suggest their use as a devotional token. This is not to say that the number or percentage of Compostelan coins held as devotional tokens was small. As Weetch has recently argued, alterations and wear on coins diminishes their collectable value and therefore undoubtedly has limited the number available today, and secondly, not all coins treated as devotional tokens were altered in some way.[146]

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[140] R. Kool, 'Lead Token Money in the Kingdom of Jerusalem', *Numismatic Chronicle*, 173 (2013), pp. 293-339.
[141] Ibid., p. 312.
[142] Ibid., p. 297 and 314-15.
[143] Ibid., p. 300.
[144] Ibid, p. 297.
[145] Boas, *Jerusalem in the Time of the Crusades: Society, Landscape and Art in the Holy City under Frankish Rule*, pp. 167-68.
[146] Weetch, 'Ineffable Power', pp. 471-72 and 477.

7. Conclusion

Whereas the number of readers of contemporary literature such as *Liber Sancti Jacobi* was undoubtedly small, large numbers of pilgrims, merchants and locals viewed the images found on coins. Compostela's right to mint coins therefore presented an effective mechanism for the cathedral chapter and the Leonese monarchy of Fernando II to communicate messages that supported their political and economic ambitions which were particularly tied to the pilgrimage. Iconographical analysis of the coins reveals the extent to which the cathedral chapter sought to control messaging about the cult of St James and its power over the regional economy, through its mint and coordination across the guilds of artists and moneychangers and through its direct participation in the pilgrim badge market.

In addition to the economic and political dimensions, the design of these promotional coins reflected a coordinated artistic and literary programme directed by Compostela's cathedral chapter and associated with the building of the cathedral. Artwork on the bust and Camino coins show similarities to miniatures from the *Codex Calixtinus*, including St James and the starry path from Charlemagne's dream. And common characteristics from the bust coin and sculpture of the saint from the Portal of Glory reveal the existence of an iconographical strategy under the supervision of Master Mateo. Further, the description of the *translatio* in the *Codex*, with its introduction of the saint's loyal disciples Teodoro and Atanasio who are displayed on the Compostelan óbolo, supports the notion that iconography on the coins complemented stories told in the texts.

Although the cathedral chapter had a great degree of autonomy in managing its seignorial domain, as reflected in the uniqueness of its coins, it still needed the Leonese monarchy to grant its valuable minting privilege, issue *fueros* to open new seaborne pilgrimage routes and develop

the coastal economy, and to provide protection to pilgrims and merchants. Yet the cathedral chapter did not rely solely on the king for protection as shown by Bishop Diego's reconstruction of Honesto Castle and establishment of a naval presence in Padrón. If Diego's Pisan-designed warship had indeed been a model for the ship on the translation coin, it would have sent a powerful message to pilgrims and merchants about the political and protective power of the shrine.

The cathedral chapter benefited economically from commercial activity in its pilgrim markets and donations at the cathedral, whilst Fernando gained by 'selling' minting rights and collecting transit and market taxes at sites associated with the pilgrimage. The image of the Camino Francés and Fernando on one of the coins highlighted a connection to the Charlemagne legend that supported Fernando's claims as the Asturian/Leonese heir whilst reinforcing St James as patron saint of his military efforts against the Almohads as shown by his contemporaneous founding of the military Order of St James. The political, economic and spiritual connection between Fernando and St James was punctuated by his burial in Santiago Cathedral in 1188.

In addition to passing coins in the markets and as donations, some pilgrims valued coins as devotional objects, much like the ubiquitous scallop-shell pilgrim badges that were sold in the cathedral market and carried back from pilgrims who completed the journey to Compostela. The coins also signalled royal protection for travellers within Galicia and along its coast and increased the appeal of the saint and his spiritual connection to pilgrims given the coins were also likely considered to be devotional tokens much like scallop-shell pilgrim badges.

* * *

Part I has shown how a network of wealthy towns developed along the pilgrim road to Compostela and became a pivotal component of devotional infrastructure that allowed the pilgrimage to flourish. Development of these towns, with settlers from outside of Iberia, many of whom were merchants and craftsmen, helped transform what had primarily been a barter-based economy into one based on money. The transformation to a money economy was facilitated by moneychangers, minters and lenders who lined the pilgrim roads. The link between money and the pilgrimage was highlighted by the cathedral's construction which was financed by minting proceeds and the iconographical strategies of Compostela's cathedral chapter that sought to use coins to spread propaganda about the cult of St James. Part II will pivot to new ground, revealing the ways money fractured existing norms and relationships and led to profound changes to the social and spiritual order.

CHAPTER 4

MONEY AS A SOURCE OF POWER AND SOCIAL CONFLICT

Part I argued that money was a key component of the devotional infrastructure of the pilgrimage to Compostela. It lubricated commercial transactions in thriving pilgrim town markets, financed construction of Santiago Cathedral through donations and minting proceeds, and provided a means to spread political and spiritual messages from Compostela's cathedral chapter and the Leonese monarchy. Part II will argue that money was also a disruptive force to the traditional power structure and moral standards of the Church that led to a social transformation of communities along the pilgrim roads.

This chapter will explore conflict that erupted between various classes of society that sought to control or influence the pilgrimage's money economy, including ambitious ecclesiastical lords, Frankish merchants and the military orders. First, the pilgrim town revolts of the early twelfth century will be assessed, those of Sahagún (1111-16) and Compostela (1116-17; and 1136), where the abbot and bishop/archbishop went to great lengths to administer economic activity within their seignorial domains, thus enflaming tensions with wealthy burghers and leading to violent uprisings. Next, economic competition and conflict between the Franks and Navarrese in Pamplona's *burgo* of San Cernin will be analysed including underlying Frankish prejudices. Finally, conflict between the military orders of the Temple and Hospital, who had become successful managers of their domains along the pilgrim roads, and their neighbouring ecclesiastical lords will be discussed.

1. The Urban Revolt of Sahagún (1111-16)

In 1085 Alfonso VI of León-Castile granted a *fuero* to abbot Bernardo of the Cluniac monastery of Sahagún.[1] The *fuero* granted the abbot tremendous economic and judicial power, telling the townspeople that the abbot and monks were their only lords (*numquam habeatis dominium nisi Abbatem et Monachos*).[2] The rights granted to the abbot afforded the monastery substantial leverage over the local money economy that was dominated by the flow of passing pilgrims along the Camino Francés. These privileges also set the stage for a violent conflict between the Frankish merchants and craftsmen of the town and the monastery, a sign of the tension that existed between ambitious ecclesiastical lords and the people who lived along the pilgrim roads.

Amongst the privileges granted to the monastery of Sahagún in its *fuero*, the abbot was entitled to collect two *solidi* annually from the townspeople. One *solidus* paid for the right, although required, to bake their bread in the monastery's oven and another to cover the *census* of the abbot. If an oven or even a cooking pan was found in the home of a townsperson the abbot was permitted to have the items destroyed and the townsperson charged with a fine of five *solidi*.[3] The abbot was also authorized to put them in jail if they cut 'even one branch' from the seignorial lands of the monastery.[4] Use of the word 'branch' (*rama*) may have referred to grapes, apples or other fruit found on a branch, or perhaps even firewood.

The *fuero* also gave the monastery a monopoly right to sell wine from its vineyards within the town, and no one was permitted to purchase cloth, fresh fish or firewood until the

[1] *CFM*, pp. 301-07.
[2] Ibid., p. 303.
[3] Ibid., p. 304: …*nullus habeat ibi furno vel patella, sed ubi fuerit invento frangitur, et det quinque solidos*. During the rebellion the burghers overturned the required payment of one *solidus* for use of the oven, and enacted new customs and rents for the use of local mills. *CAS*, p. 50 (27).
[4] *CAS*, p. 22 (15): *E si alguno d'ellos tajase o cortase del monte que pertenesçe al monasterio aún tan solamente una rama, que sea puesto en la cárçel e sea redimido a boluntad e beneplaçito del abbad.*

monks had first had the opportunity to do so.[5] If this provision was violated, townspeople were to forfeit the item purchased and pay a fine of five *solidi* to the monastery. The financial benefits to the monastery from the sale of wine alone must have been substantial given the significant number of thirsty pilgrims that flowed through the town.

The abbots of Sahagún aggressively managed their seignorial rights to yield economic benefits. The monopoly right to sell wine enabled the abbot to control prices in order to extract high profits at the expense of the townspeople. The *Crónicas anónimas* discussed how the monks claimed the weekly market held in the nearby royal town of Grajal (four miles south of Sahagún) trespassed on the jurisdiction of the monastery and the abbot subsequently forced it to be moved back into Sahagún.[6] Holding the market outside the seignorial domain of the monastery suggests the town's merchants and artisans preferred to operate under royal administration rather than the more heavy-handed oversight of the abbot.

Strong abbatial lordship and control of the money economy did not prevent Frankish merchants from settling in Sahagún. Alfonso's *fuero* also granted rights to those who settled in the town including exemptions from military service and the freedom to hold and sell merchandise within the town. The town grew rapidly after the granting of the 1085 *fuero* and had a diverse population comprised primarily of Franks but also Castilians and to a lesser extent Jews and Muslims.[7] Initially, the townspeople enjoyed freedoms in how they conducted their

[5] *CFM*, p. 304. The monastery's holdings included orchards, lands, fields, vineyards and mills. *CAS*, p. 54 (30).
[6] *CAS*, p. 23 (15). The right to hold a weekly market on Mondays was granted by Alfonso VI to the monastery in 1093. Escalona, *Historia del Real monestario de Sahagún*, pp. 490-91 (125). Raymond of Burgundy stayed in Grajal rather than Sahagún when he fell ill whilst travelling towards the end of his life (d. 1107), showing the connection between Grajal and royal power. *HC*, p. 54 (I, 26).
[7] *CAS*, pp. 19-21. Sahagún's 1085 *fuero* attracted a diverse population including Jews (who likely came from Toledo after Alfonso VI's capture of the city in 1085), Franks, *castellanos*, and some other Christians from Aragon and Navarre. Muslims from the frontier region along the Tajo Rover were also attracted to Sahagún in the wake of advancing Christian conquests of the area. Rodríguez Fernández, 'Juderia de Sahagún', p. 10.

business, which focused on the bustling pilgrim trade, and they became very wealthy. The monks believed the townspeople became arrogant and prideful as a result of their wealth:

> And how much the townspeople of Sahagún would use the markets and negotiate in great peace and tranquillity, they would come and bring all of their merchandise, both gold and silver, and garments from diverse places, and thus the burghers and townspeople were very rich and supplied in many delights. But as usually reigns in the abundance and multiplication of temporal things, harmful changes and great arrogance and pride, and the hearts of the said burghers started to swell and rise in pride, as often happens to those limited to small houses and vile conditions when they get temporal things.[8]

In response to charges of excess from the monks, the townspeople were said to have replied 'it is from the devil that the monks possess such an inheritance'.[9] The Frankish townspeople resented the excessive taxes and penalties imposed on them and believed the abbot had overreached his involvement in the town's money economy. The nobles and rich merchants also had a high opinion of themselves according to the anonymous chronicler from the monastery:

> Who says that the abbot or monks should lord it over such noble barons and great burghers? Who says, likewise, that they should possess such great lands, fields and vineyards and orchards?[10]

Indeed, the monastery of Sahagún, which Reilly calls the 'most favored of all monasteries of the kings of León', controlled an extensive domain in the rich agricultural area of the Tierra de

[8] Ibid., p. 24 (15): *E por quanto los burg[u]eses de San Fagum usavan paçificamente de sus mercadurías e negoçiavan en gran tranquilidad, por eso benían e traían de todas las partes mercadurías, así de oro como de plata, y aún de muchas bestiduras de diversas façiones, en manera que los dichos burg[u]eses e moradores eran mucho ricos e de muchos deleites abastados. Pero como suele reinar en el abundançia e multiplicación de las cosas tenporales enpeçible e dañosa alteración e gran arrogançia e soberbia, el coraçón de los dichos burgueses començóse a cresçer e levantarse en sobervia, como muchas beçes se acostunbra a los fijos de pequeño suelo e vil condición si tengan abastança de las cosas tenporales.*

[9] Ibid., p. 73 (38): '*De parte del diablo fue e vino quien donó a los monjes poseer tal heredad.*'

[10] Ibid., p. 67 (36): *'¿Quién dio que el abbad o monjes se enseñoreen a tantos nobles barones e tan grandes burg[u]eses?, ¿quién dio, eso mesmo, que ellos deviesen poseer tales e tan grandes tierras, canpos e viñas e güertos?'*

Campos by the early twelfth century.[11] Clearly, the seignorial domain of Sahagún was very rich prior to the revolt and that wealth was viewed as excessive in the eyes of the townspeople.[12]

In 1109 Alfonso VI of León-Castile died without a male heir and his daughter Urraca was appointed to rule the kingdom. Since Urraca's first husband Raymond of Burgundy (Count of Galicia) had died in 1107, Alfonso brokered her marriage to Alfonso I 'the Battler' of Aragon as a way to unite the two kingdoms. Urraca and Alfonso were married in 1109 against the wishes of the Church, which objected due to the fact that they were cousins.[13] The *Crónicas anónimas* called the marriage a 'damned union' (*maldita cópula*).[14] Their acrimonious marriage quickly broke down and they divorced in 1112, which led to open warfare across León-Castile between rival forces loyal to Urraca and Alfonso.

The turmoil surrounding the marriage between Alfonso and Urraca, combined with the perceived injustices of the abbot, became sparks that ignited Sahagún's revolt. The burghers sided with Alfonso and erupted into a rebellion against Urraca and the abbot. Whilst the monks sequestered themselves like 'mice in a cave,' the burghers of Sahagún and Aragonese knights ravaged the town and countryside.[15] The anonymous chronicler from the monastery stated that the rebels included rich and 'noble' merchants and artisans such as butchers, blacksmiths and shoemakers of the lower class:

> In that time, they rose up against the abbot and all of us, not only the rich and if you want to call them the noble burghers, but also the most vile people, such as the butchers,

[11] Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla Under King Alfonso VI*, p. 63.
[12] For a detailed description of dependencies of the monastery of Sahagún, see Escalona, *Historia del Real Monasterio de Sahagún*, pp. 261-78. By the end of the twelfth century, the monastery of Sahagún controlled a network of over one-hundred monasteries, priories, towns and estates, most of which had already been obtained by the end of the first quarter of the twelfth century.
[13] *CAS*, p. 27 (18).
[14] *PCS*, p. 30 (19).
[15] *CAS*, p. 73 (38).

> blacksmiths, shoemakers, tailors, tanners, and such who made their offices in the basements of houses.[16]

The pilgrim roads, which were reported to have been safe and peaceful during the reign of Alfonso VI, had become dangerous and even pilgrims were killed.[17]

Inclusion of shoemakers and tanners in popular revolts against ambitious ecclesiastical lords was part of a general socio-economic upheaval that was taking place across western Europe in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries as a result of the rising money economy and the empowered urban merchant and craftsmen class.[18] The urban communal rebellion in Laon (in northern France) took place in 1112 and was therefore contemporary with revolts in Sahagún and Compostela. It was well documented by Guibert of Nogent in the third book of his autobiography *De vita sua sive monodiarum suarum libri tres* or *Monodiae* (Monodies), written in 1115.[19] During Laon's revolt, the wealthy burghers[20] ceased participating in the markets to prevent their lords from collecting any associated taxes:

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[16] *CAS*, p. 72 (38): *En aqueste tienpo, se levantaron contra el abbad e todos nosotros, non solamente los ricos e aún como quiera deçir los nobles burg[u]eses, mas aún las personas muy biles, ansí como cortidores, ferreros, xastres, pelliteros, çapateros e aún los que en las casas soterrañas façían sus ofiçios*. It is unclear what was meant by those who made their offices in basements or underground houses. Perhaps they were participating in a type of black market to avoid paying taxes to the abbot.

[17] Ibid., p. 75 (41).

[18] Other urban revolts took place in the Iberian towns of Toledo (1114 and 1117), Segovia (1114 and 1118) and Lugo (1110). Reilly, *Kingdom of Queen Urraca*, p. 368; and C. Estapa Díez, 'Sobre las revueltas burguesas en el siglo XII en el Reino de León', *Archivos Leoneses: revista de estudios y documentación de los Reinos Hispano-Occidentales*, 55-56, 1974 (Ejemplar dedicado a: Homenaje póstumo a Don Luis López Santos), pp. 291-307, pp. 292-95. Other 'communal' revolts against ecclesiastical authority also took outside of Iberia, at Le Mans (1070), Worms, Cologne, and Laon. N.J.G. Pounds, *Economic History of Medieval Europe* (Harlow, 1974), pp. 226-27. Pounds notes that the German towns declared independence from Church authority in order to receive the emperor's support (they became 'imperial' towns).

[19] Guibert de Nogent, ed. G. Bourgin, 'De vita sua sive monodiarum suarum libri tres'*, Histoire de sa Vie, 1053-1124* (Paris, 1907). For English translation see Guibert of Nogent, *Monodies* and *On the Relics of Saints: The Autobiography and a Manifesto of a French Monk from the Time of the Crusades*, trans. J. McAlhany and J. Rubenstein (New York, 2011).

[20] At the end of Laon's revolt, wealthy burghers disguised themselves as paupers to hide from the nobles, and their houses were found to be 'filled with riches of every kind'. GN, pp. 180-81 (III, 11). For English translation see GN: E, p. 145.

> …all craftsmen abandoned their trades, the cobblers and tanners shut their stalls, innkeepers rented no rooms, tavern owners offered nothing for sale, so that their thieving lords could not expect anything to be left over for them.[21]

It would be interesting to know, but difficult to prove, whether Frankish immigrants in Sahagún were incited to revolt after hearing from family, friends or even travelling pilgrims about other rebellions taking place in other parts of western Europe like Laon.

At Sahagún, peasants (*rústicos*) joined workers (*labradores*) and refused to provide services to their lords, calling themselves a brotherhood (*hermandad*).[22] They destroyed farms and churches of the monastery and burned royal palaces and lands. The rebels prevented abbatial and royal tax collection, with the anonymous chronicler specifically mentioning *portazgos* and tribute. They further cut off another important source of the abbot's financial resources when they depleted the town of its bread and wine, a move that could also have been intended to reduce his capacity to perform religious rites.[23] And in yet another blow to the abbot's lordship and finances, clerics from parish churches in Sahagún sided with the rebellious burghers. The clerics, who had typically given a share of their oblations to the monastery, stopped making such transfers and insulted the monks.[24]

In the free-for-all to take advantage of opportunities to extract resources, the burghers and their Aragonese allies expelled Castilians from the town and terrorized and sacked the villages of *mezquinos*. Castilians were expelled as a reprisal based on the pretence that they had sought to hand over the town to Urraca, and the anonymous chronicler claimed the rebels sought to rob

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[21] GN, pp. 162-63 (III, 7): *…omnes officiales officia sua desererent, et cerdonum ac sutorum tabernulae clauderentur, et scenae nec venale quippiam a pandocibus et cauponibus sisteretur, apud quos nil futurum residui dominis praedantibus speraretur*. For English translation see GN: E, p. 131.
[22] *CAS*, p. 36 (22).
[23] Ibid., p. 36 (22).
[24] Ibid., p. 55 (30): *E aún los clerigios que eran en las yglesias que son en la villa, de los quales los monjes acostunbravan a reçivir parte de los oblaçiones, revelávanse contra ellos e negavan la parte a que eran obligados, façiendo ynjurias por palabras e denuestos.*

them of their wealth and goods.[25] The rebels also pillaged the homes of *mezquinos*, and took some prisoner, buying them and ransoming them for twice what they paid, often after subjecting them to many horrible tortures.[26] *Mezquinos* can be roughly translated as misers or warts, likely meant to describe royal or abbatial agents such as tax collectors or managers of rural estates of the monastery who would have been unpopular with the burghers and their Aragonese allies. The ransoming of *mezquinos* for specific profits, some as high as five-hundred *solidi*, was comparable to financial transactions in which the town's merchants bought and sold goods, and also shows the *mezquinos* had access to substantial resources.[27]

The rebels also killed Jews, revealing the tenuous nature of their relationship with neighbouring Franks.[28] This also suggests Jews may have been seen by the rebels as having more privilege and power due to their association with the ruling class. The two groups had an interdependent relationship whereby the monarchs benefited from Jewish taxes and loans, and the Jews received royal protection. In a later sign of this relationship from 1126, some ten years after the revolt had ended, the remaining Jews of Sahagún were made vassals of the abbot by Urraca's son Alfonso VII.[29]

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[25] Ibid., pp. 99-100 (67).
[26] Ibid., p. 81 (51). For descriptions of the tortures inflicted on *mezquinos,* see Ibid., pp. 78-81 (44-49).
[27] The term *mezquino* was also used by the anonymous chronicler to describe some of the people that lived in the 'well-stocked' (*abastada*) *villa* of Briçianos that was pillaged and destroyed by the Aragonese and burghers. Ibid., p. 48 (26). Bisson defines *mezquinos* as 'wretched people' and 'dominated peasants'. Bisson, *Crisis of the Twelfth Century*, p. 584. However, it is unlikely peasants would have been an attractive target for ransom, especially given stated ransom prices of 500 and 1,000 *solidi*. *CAS*, p. 81 (51): *E si conpravan uno por çient sueldos, afligíanlo con penas, fanbre e a coçes, fasta tanto que quinientos sueldos. E si por abentura le conprase[n] por quienientos sueldos, mill le demandavan por su redençión.* Miracle stories attributed to SS Facundus and Primitivus from the revolt period described *mezquino* prisoners who were saved from their miseries. Ibid., pp. 101-06 (68-69).
[28] *CAS*, p. 36 (22).
[29] Rodríguez Fernández, 'Judería de Sahagún', pp. 30-31. In yet another example of this interdependent relationship, in c. 1126 the Jews of Burgos demonstrated their loyalty to the Leonese monarchy when they participated in an attack on the city's castle to wrest it from the control of Sancho Arnaldi, an Aragonese knight of Alfonso I. *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, ed. A. Maya Sánchez, *Chronica Hispana saeculi XII: Pars II*, *CCCM 71* (Turnhout, 1990), pp. 149-248, p. 153 (I, 8).

Any notion of a 'brotherhood' broke down in the utter chaos of the revolt. Peasants from the surrounding area came into conflict with rebellious burghers who incited discord between them and workers.[30] The burghers occupied the abbot's fertile lands on which peasants lived and worked[31] and then went on to make 'great persecutions' against them and those who had extracted wealth from the surrounding lands including even nobles.[32] The attacks on nobles revealed the extent of the breakdown in the societal power structure. However, the poor treatment of peasants was consistent with the view of elites that they were mere possessions from which labour and resources could be extracted. Peasants also faced spiritual attacks by the town's clerics, and the anonymous chronicler stated one such cleric equated the penitence for killing one-hundred *rústicos* to the death of a single dog.[33]

The revolt spread to nearby pilgrim towns including Burgos and Carrión, where Alfonso I had brokered alliances with local leaders in opposition to the rule of Urraca.[34] Alfonso's primary concern after the divorce was to reinforce towns along the frontier between La Rioja and Castile where he maintained garrisons in pilgrim towns such as Burgos, Carrión and Sahagún. Urraca's goal was to win back the towns in eastern Castile, in particular the ones Alfonso occupied. Whereas Urraca had good relationships with the nobles in those towns, the Frankish merchant populations tended to side with Alfonso. The spread of the revolt to other pilgrim towns is not surprising given the flow of information along the Camino Francés and similar compositions of wealthy Frankish merchants who served pilgrims and were quite possibly related to those in Sahagún.

[30] *CAS*, p. 50 (27).
[31] Ibid., p. 47 (26).
[32] Ibid., p. 77 (43).
[33] Ibid., p. 81 (52).
[34] Ibid., p. 57 (31).

It is clear that many of the Frankish burghers, local clerics, workers and peasants from the surrounding rural areas were strongly opposed to the abbot's lordship. Their actions also reveal a keen interest in auditioning new lords and renegotiating the terms of their relationship. Indeed, in its description of rebellious peasants and workers, the *Crónicas anónimas* stated 'if any of the nobles favour and give them help, they wish him to be his king and lord'.[35] The wealthy burghers also sought to change their status in the social order by acting as lords themselves to gain economic power and a greater influence in the administration of the town. During the rebellion the burghers overturned the required payment of one *solidus* for use of the monastery's oven, and they enacted new customs and rents for the use of local mills.[36] The burghers also attempted to change the laws and customs of the town, likely through participation in a *concejo*,[37] but when things started to go against them they promised to burn their request and adhere to the laws that existed in the time of Alfonso VI.[38]

Towards the end of 1116 Urraca had restored her authority over Sahagún and other occupied towns in León-Castile.[39] To reward the loyalty of the monastery she granted its abbot the right to establish a mint, with one-third of its proceeds designated to help finance the rebuilding of the monastery and its possessions.[40] The monastery was spiritually important to Urraca and her family as shown by the language in her 1116 grant and son Alfonso VII's

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[35] Ibid., p. 37 (22): *...e si alguno de los nobles les diese favor e ayuda, a tal como aqueste deseavan que fuese su rei e señor.*
[36] Ibid., p. 50 (27).
[37] Ibid., p. 83 (54).
[38] Ibid., p. 110 (73). Sahagún's burghers may have been seeking greater representation in decision making through participation in a *concejo*. Although a town charter from 1119 mentioned a *concejo*, Reilly believes it was stocked with representatives from the monastery rather than the town which would not have allowed the burghers a forum to voice their opinions. Reilly, *Kingdom of León-Castilla Under Queen Urraca*, pp. 348-49. O'Callaghan argued that ecclesiastical lords at this time did not provide more than meagre rights to townspeople living in their domains: '…towns under ecclesiastical domination seldom obtained more than elementary liberties, whilst the essential powers of government remained in the lord's hands.' O'Callaghan, *History of Medieval Spain,* pp. 269-70.
[39] Reilly, *Leon-Castile Under Queen Urraca*, p. 115.
[40] Escalona, *Historia del Real Monasterio de Sahagún*, pp. 512-13 (146). The remaining proceeds were to be split evenly between Urraca and the church of St Peter.

confirmation that both stated the minting privilege was granted in memory of their father and grandfather, Alfonso VI, who had been a generous benefactor of the monastery and was interred there after his death.[41]

The conflict was brought to a formal conclusion at the Council of Burgos in 1117, solidifying royal authority over the kingdom and reinstating abbatial authority over the town of Sahagún. Nobles and Castilians who had previously been driven from the town by the Frankish townspeople and Aragonese were allowed to return and were ordered to pay taxes to the monastery as they had before the revolt.[42] The defeated rebels were expelled from Sahagún and settled in nearby towns with significant Frankish populations including Burgos and León, strongly suggesting that close familial relationships existed amongst Frankish immigrants in towns along the pilgrim roads.[43]

A visual reminder of key moments from the revolt was incorporated into the sculptural programme of the Cluniac church of San Martín of Frómista, a dependency of the nearby monastery of San Zoilo in Carrión from 1118.[44] Two capitals are particularly linked to the revolt. The first depicts violence between townspeople, with one man being stabbed in the neck in the centre of the capital whilst a woman is shown lamenting the situation on the right side (Figure 4.1a). Another capital features a scene of reconciliation, likely meant to represent the

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[41] For Alfonso VII's confirmation of the minting privilege, see Escalona, *Historia del Real Monasterio de Sahagún*, pp. 514-15 (149). In his confirmation Alfonso VII changed the division of minting profits to only two parts with half to the king and the other half to the abbot. On the interment of Alfonso VI in the monastery's chapel, see ibid., p. 73.
[42] *CAS*, p. 121 (75).
[43] Ibid., p. 120 (75). In 1127 Alfonso VII pardoned the rebels who had killed Jews and destroyed or stolen royal property during the 1111-16 rebellion. Rodríguez Fernández, 'Judería de Sahagún', pp. 58-59 (2).
[44] J. Senra, 'Rebellion, Reconciliation, and a Romanesque Church in León-Castile (c.1109–1120)', *Speculum*, 87 (2012), pp. 376-412, pp. 388-403. The monastery of San Martín of Frómista became a dependency of Cluniac monastery of San Zoilo in 1118. *Documentación del Monasterio de San Zoilo de Carrión: 1047-1300*, pp. 37-39 (21). Senra dates the church's construction to c. 1120, shortly after the revolt ended and its donation to Cluny. This is a considerably later date than the c. 1070 used by other scholars. He believes an older church existed on the site that was built in the third quarter of the eleventh century. Senra, 'Rebellion, Reconciliation, and a Romanesque Church in León-Castile, pp. 376 and 412. Frómista was on the Camino Francés, thirteen miles southeast Carrión. It was listed in the *Pilgrim's Guide* as the stopping point between Burgos and Sahagún. *Guide*, pp. 14-15 (ch. 3).

1117 Council of Burgos. In this scene, a half-naked man is shown being held by two other men who are flanked by ecclesiastical figures with one holding a staff and another a crozier (Figure 4.1b). It was during the Council of Burgos that the Aragonese knight Beltrán, chosen as the representative for the rebels, was forced to go half-naked before the council and recount his sins. The messaging of these sculptures targeted merchants and craftsmen of Frómista, which probably included newly settled ex-rebels from Sahagún, and sought to discourage future revolts against ecclesiastical lordship.[45]

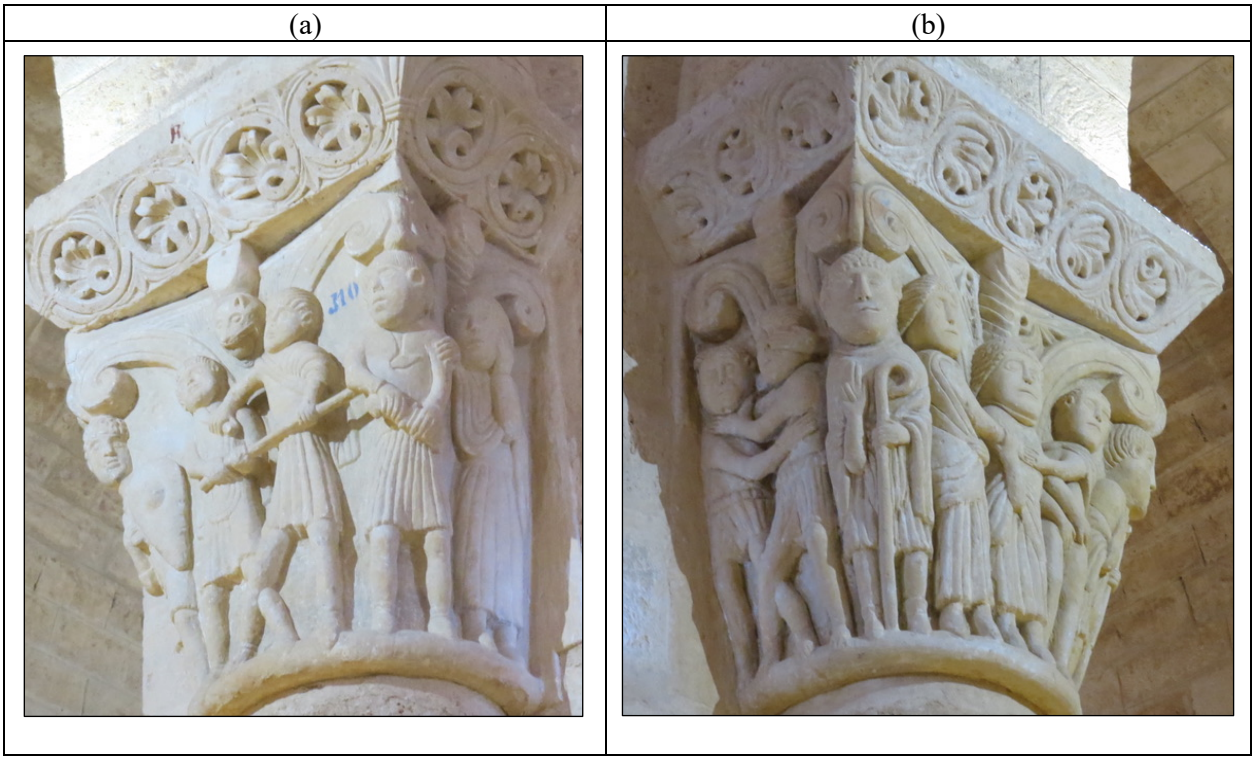


Figure 4.1. Interior Historiated Capitals from Church of San Martín (c. 1120), Frómista; (a) Scene of Violence from Revolts of 1111-16; (b) Scene of Reconciliation likely from Council of Burgos.[46]

[45] The expelled rebels travelled to Burgos, Palencia and León. *CAS*, pp. 122-23. The rebels would have passed through Frómista on their way to Burgos and some likely settled there given it was the site of a Cluniac monastery and had Frankish settlers.
[46] Photographed by the author.

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Control over the money economy played a pivotal role in stimulating the revolt of Sahagún's townspeople against the abbot, with the final provocation being the breakdown of Urraca's marriage to Alfonso I. The extent of the pillaging of monastic and royal properties described by the anonymous chronicler shows the substantial material wealth that must have existed at key stopping points on the Compostelan pilgrim roads in the early twelfth century. Urraca's minting grant rewarding the loyalty of the monastery showed how money could be used to support the spiritual, political and economic interests of the monarchs. The town of Sahagún recovered and went on to new heights by the mid-twelfth century with the *Pilgrim's Guide* describing it as 'abounding in all good things.'[47]

2. Urban Revolt in Compostela (1116-17)

Contemporaneous with the end of Sahagún's revolt was the start of another in Compostela. As in Sahagún, Compostela's townspeople were frustrated with aggressive ecclesiastical administration of the town and local money economy. This frustration was tied to Bishop Diego Gelmírez and the people he chose to manage the town and cathedral chapter. These included members of his family who had been appointed to important positions and were seen by the townspeople as overstepping the bounds of their authority. Diego had also populated the cathedral chapter with many canons from outside Galicia, especially from France. Their influence on the politics and money economy of Compostela, and their share of the shrine's growing material wealth, likely caused a degree of resentment amongst the townspeople and Galician canons.[48]

[47] *Guide*, pp. 14-15 (ch. 3).
[48] Canons of French origins within the cathedral chapter under Diego Gelmírez included the archdeacon Hugo, who became bishop of Porto; Geoffrey, who acted as Diego's emissary to Rome; and Gerald of Beauvais, who along

Like Sahagún, contemporary Compostela had a thriving merchant class that capitalized on the waves of pilgrims that flowed into the town. In 1095 Raymond of Burgundy, count of Galicia, passed an edict to address abuses by local nobles and knights against Compostelan merchants who travelled outside the city to sell their merchandise along the pilgrim roads. The edict stated that merchants were unfairly having their goods, money and carts seized by local lords. The offending nobles and knights were ordered to return double what was taken and to pay a fine of sixty *solidi*.[49] Raymond's 1095 edict was confirmed by his father-in-law Alfonso VI, and in addition to providing Compostelan merchants safe conduct throughout Galicia, granted them the right to face justice only within the confines of Compostela.[50]

The concessions of the 1095 edict were a sign of the importance and power of the merchant class in the local money economy and devotional infrastructure of the pilgrimage. They may have also been made to placate a restless urban merchant class that sought a greater say in the administration of the town. In another sign of conflict between local lords and merchants, the *Historia Compostellana* told of nobles at the castle of Puente Sampayo (near Ponferrada on the Galician coast) who were stealing money and even the clothes of merchants in the name of a *portazgo*. Bishop Diego paid the nobles what they had been used to receiving from the *portazgo* so they would stop perpetrating the abuses on travellers.[51]

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with Hugo, were key authors of the *Historia Compostellana*. *HC*, pp. XIII-XX; and Fletcher, *St. James's Catapult*, pp. 171 and 188. Bernardo, who financed construction of the oppulent fountain outside the north portal of the cathedral along with its water works, and a chapter treasurer who became chancellor of Alfonso VII, was also likely from France. Bernardo was also instrumental in compiling cathedral archives in the cartulary *Tumbo A*. *Guide*, pp. 70-73 (ch. 9) and 204 (note 62). The author of the *Pilgrim's Guide*, written from within the cathedral chapter, was also French. Ibid., pp. 70-71 (ch. 9) and 203 (note 57).

[49] *Tumbo A*, pp. 171-72 (74). See also *HC*, pp. 51-52 (I, 23).

[50] *HC*, pp. 51-52 (I, 23). For additional commentary, see Fletcher, *St. James's Catapult*, p. 184 (and note 80). In 1105 Raymond confirmed the rights granted to the citizens of Compostela in a previous *fuero*. *Tumbo A*, pp. 172-73 (75).

[51] *HC*, p. 52 (I, 24). See also *HC: Trans.*, pp. 118-19 (I, XXIV). Puente Sampayo (San Pelayo de Lodo or *sancti Pelagii de Luto*) was in Pontevedra.

Notably, whereas the authors of royal charters and the *Historia Compostellana* couched the actions of these local lords in terms of theft, abuse and corruption, the perpetrators presumably saw them as part of the rightful jurisdiction of their lordships. That Diego was willing to 'pay off' the lords at Puente Sampayo suggests they had achieved their goal of having their claims officially recognized. This example also illustrates how people living along the Galician pilgrim roads, both local lords and merchants, recognized opportunities and made calculations to pursue their interests.

The local population of Compostela was comprised of large numbers of merchants and artisans who worked in the pilgrim markets, and as in Sahagún, the townspeople were denigrated by Church leaders as being motivated primarily by money:

> What can be said of the majority of Galicians? They are companions of fortune who grow in prosperity and break in adversity, a slight murmur leads them anywhere; they consider the greatest freedom a change of lords and rebel against theirs; they follow money, not justice, and they are content with these sins. They are always willing to mutter something new in the ears of the powerful, to criticize and denigrate their lords and their friends; the art of flattery is well known to them; they love perjury and betrayal.[52]

This description was obviously biased from the viewpoint of Diego's inner circle and the fact that the townspeople had revolted against his rule. And as seen with the peasants during Sahagún's revolt, the Galicians described above appear to have been interested in auditioning new lords and renegotiating their relationships.

A further sign of discontent amongst the townspeople was shown by the public display of a quarrel involving two brothers named John and Gaufrido, moneyers who had settled in Compostela from Lombardy. In 1105 Diego ordered his recently appointed mint supervisor

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[52] *HC*, p. 185 (I, 108.3): *Sed quid referam mores quam plurimorum Gallicie? Sunt hi fortune comites, extolluntur in prosperis, franguntur in aduersis, leuis aura quouis eos impellit, habent pro summa libertate alternare dominos et dominis sauis esse rebelles; pecunniam, non iusticiam sequuntur et unumquemque sua tantum habere nefas est, auribus potenciorum aliquid noui instillare, detrahere et corrodere dominos et amicos suos eis est in prompt; ars adulandi satis nota est eis, periurium et proditio diliguntur ab eis.*

Randulfo to present the details of the disagreement to Alfonso VI.[53] Diego had recommended the brothers perform unspecified services for Alfonso's sister Urraca and count Pedro Fróilaz, but they had attempted to escape from their obligations. Alfonso's reaction to the situation was to state he had no business in the affairs of Compostela since the bishop's lordship had been granted by his grandfather and great-grandfather.[54] By relaying such a story, the authors of the *Historia Compostellana* were clearly seeking to promote the power of Diego over his subjects during what must have been a time of simmering tension amongst the populace.

As the urban revolt in Sahagún was winding down, Urraca sought a distraction on her kingdom's western flank where she had experienced previous trouble with Diego Gelmírez. Diego had supported her son's (Alfonso Raimúndez, the future Alfonso VII) claim to the throne of León-Castile. At the same time, Urraca was dealing with her ex-husband Alfonso I's incursions into eastern Castile. To distract any further political interference from Diego, Urraca successfully encouraged a large segment of Compostela's population to rebel against Diego's rule in the spring of 1116.[55]

In the early days of the revolt, the rebels, with the consent of Urraca, expelled Diego's nephew Pedro, a prior of the church, and his brother Gundesindo Gelmírez, the city administrator (*villicus urbis*).[56] Targeting of potential nepotism was reflected in the killing of various family members and servants from Diego's inner circle including Gundesindo, who was pierced by spears and swords, Rodrigo the butler, Ramirez the chef, and Diego *Strabo* (the 'cross-eyed'), who became the city administrator after Gundesindo's death.[57]

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[53] *HC*, p. 56 (I, 28.1). See also *LFH*, III, p. 282.
[54] *HC*, p. 57 (I, 28.1).
[55] Fletcher, *St. James's Catapult*, pp. 185-86 and 132-42. It was not unusual for contemporary monarchs to encourage popular uprisings to support their political objectives. See R. Hilton, *English and French Towns in Feudal Society: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 133.
[56] *HC*, pp. 189-90 (I, 110).
[57] Ibid., pp. 203-04 (I, 114.8).

The *Historia Compostellana* mentioned three rebel leaders, but the only one to be identified was Arias Muñiz, an archdeacon of the church who had been close to Diego.[58] Another of the leaders was a cleric and likely member of the chapter, and a third lived outside of Compostela and was apparently interested in obtaining some lands that were owned by the cathedral chapter.[59] The *Historia Compostellana* portrayed the rebel leaders as traitorous former colleagues of Diego who wanted him destroyed:

> Oh vile betrayal of Galicia! Those whom the bishop considered very close to him, who ate with him at the same time, with all of this they wished to destroy him with all their heart.[60]

Wealthy and politically savvy merchants were also involved in the rebellion and had previously shown their ability to advance their interests with the political elite as shown by the 1095 edict of Count Raymond. Unlike the revolt in Sahagún, where rebels seemed to be largely comprised of Frankish immigrants, the rebels in Compostela were 'local' Galicians.[61] Perhaps this difference had something to do with the relative age of Compostela versus Sahagún. Compostela was settled with a combination of Frankish merchants and locals in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries and Frankish assimilation had likely already been realized by 1116 when they were merely referred to as Galicians.

After the rebels ran Diego's administrators out of town, they appointed their own administrators and held daily meetings at which 'they concerned themselves with laws and judgments' (*leges et iudicia pertractabant*) and 'made new laws and decrees' (*renovant leges et plebiscita*).[62] The rebels, said to have 'acted like kings', appear to have been seeking to extract

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[58] Ibid., p. 202-03 (I, 114.5) and *HC: Trans.*, p. 265 (note 725).
[59] Fletcher, *St. James's Catapult*, p. 187.
[60] *HC*, p. 194 (I, 111.5): *Proh nefanda Gallitie proditio! quos episcopus precordialissimos habebat, qui una cibum cum eo capiebant, hi in eius eradicamentum corde toto anhelabant.*
[61] Fletcher, *St. James's Catapult*, p. 188.
[62] Ibid., p. 189.

the same economic and political benefits as Diego by becoming lords themselves, but they were derogatively described in the *Historia Compostellana* as 'servants and peasants':

> …for a whole year they had harmed the bishop who struggled for peace; they took over the rights and power of the city, had not obeyed according to their oaths the rule of the queen, had imposed no small injuries upon the princes and knights of Galicia, and acted like kings - they uprooted, destroyed, replaced, and extolled, as is the custom of servants and peasants when they are given power to rule.[63]

In addition to Galician peasants who worked the land around Compostela, 'servants and peasants' almost certainly referred to craftsmen and other *laboratores* who were treated as part of a lower social class. Negative feelings against Diego amongst this group were likely enflamed by a decree passed by the cathedral chapter in 1113 that prohibited the participation of 'peasants' in Compostela's Sunday markets.[64] That an explicit prohibition was decreed suggests they had previously participated in these markets.[65] Paradoxically, the decree was said to have been made to help protect the poor after much of their wealth had been transferred to the arms-bearing class in the turbulent years following the death of Alfonso VI in 1109:

> For property was taken in one way or another from the poorest and least powerful, and it was given prodigiously to the nobles and others who were proficient in the arts of war.[66]

After six months of rebellion, Diego and Urraca signed a peace treaty (interestingly, in Sahagún), and under the terms, Diego was to have had his authority over the town restored. Urraca arrived in Compostela in the spring of 1117 to meet with Diego and disarm the rebels

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[63] *HC*, pp. 198-99 (I, 113.2): *…per totum annum episcopi dampnum, qui ad pacem nitebatur, moliti fuerant, iura et potestatem ciuitatis. Ei abstulerant, nec regine preceptis pro posse obedierant, principibus etiam et militibus Gallicie non minimas iniurias intulerant et quasi reges extiterant, extirpauerant, destruxerant, renouauerant, exaltauerant, u est consuetudo seruorum et rusticorum, postquam datur eis potestas regnandi.* See also Bisson, *Crisis in the Twelfth Century*, p. 254.
[64] *HC,* p. 157 (I, 96.9).
[65] This prohibition was consistent with contemporary Sunday work bans for those involved in 'servile' occupations. Le Goff, *Time, Work, and Culture*, pp. 58 and 63.
[66] *HC*, p. 154 (I, 95): *Pecunia enim imbecillioribus minusque potentibus quoquomodo substracta, nobilibus ceterisque bellorum exercitiis insudantibus larga manu erogabatur.* See also *LFF*, pp. 138-53.

which did not go as planned.[67] The visceral feelings of the townspeople against Diego were revealed when they attacked him and Urraca at the cathedral. A large mob, said to have been comprised of many thousands of citizens, set fire to the cathedral and bell tower where Diego and Urraca were hiding.[68] The *Historia Compostellana* stated there were over three-thousand rebels in the mob that chased Diego and Urraca into the cathedral, likely an inflated number to embellish the story of Diego's escape.[69] Whilst Diego escaped from the mob unscathed by hiding his face with a crucifix, Urraca was caught and thrown to the muddy ground, her clothes torn, and she was injured when an old woman threw a stone at her cheek.[70] The *Historia Compostellana* mentioned the presence of pilgrims from diverse regions who were said to be crying at the site of the burning cathedral.[71]

The violence perpetrated against Diego and Urraca was described in similar terms to that against Bishop Gaudry during Laon's urban revolt of 1112 and reveals the depth of disenfranchisement felt by the rising urban merchant and craftsmen classes of western Europe against perceived unfair treatment by their lords.[72] At the height of Laon's revolt, a mob stormed into the cathedral with a variety of weapons including swords, lances and axes, and attacked the nobles protecting Gaudry, and then turned towards the bishop. They caught Gaudry hiding in the church cellar, and he was brutally killed with an axe before his legs were cut off and his body defiled:

> My God, who could reveal how many mocking insults passers-by hurled at him as he lay there, how many clumps of mud, how many rocks, how much dirt covered his body![73]

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[67] Fletcher, *St. James's Catapult*, pp. 185-86.
[68] *HC,* pp. 200-01 (I, 114.2).
[69] Ibid., p. 203 (I, 114.6).
[70] Ibid., pp. 202-03 (I, 114.5-6).
[71] Ibid., p. 201 (I, 114.2).
[72] See Hilton, *English and French Towns in Feudal Society*, pp. 127-51.
[73] GN, pp. 168 (III, 8): *Deus meus, quis retexat, quot in jacentem a transeuntibus sunt ludibria jacta verborum, quot glebarum jactibus, quot saxis, quot est pulveribus corpus oppressum!* For English translation see GN: E, p. 135.

After escaping the mob at the cathedral, Diego and a retinue of soldiers fled westward along the road to Padrón until they arrived in the safe haven of Iria. At this point, Diego excommunicated all the citizens of Compostela, further evidence as to the significant scale of the rebellion. Urraca was freed after falsely promising to support the rebels' choices for city administrator and prior of the cathedral chapter.[74] Subsequently, a large army supported by her son Alfonso Raimúndez and loyal Galician nobles converged on a heavily armed and fortified Compostela to suppress the rebellion and reinstate Diego's temporal powers.[75] Urraca exiled one hundred of the lead conspirators, including burghers and canons, and their personal property including houses and estates were confiscated. They also promised to disband the brotherhood and agreed to pay 1,100 silver marks and to return any stolen property.[76] Clearly, the rebel leaders had been men of considerable material wealth.

Diego sensed this would not be the last rebellion against his lordship. Under his direction, a stone roof and fortifications were added to the evolving cathedral in 1124, keeping in mind protection from any future violence. Perhaps it was Diego who asked Urraca to help placate the restless burghers of Compostela, characterized by Fletcher as 'prosperous, self-confident and assertive' and 'possessed of shrewd political sense'.[77] In 1120 she issued a decree that exempted the townspeople including ecclesiastics from paying the *portazgo* throughout León-Castile.[78] The *portazgo* exemption was a significant economic incentive as seen in numerous *fueros* granted to contemporary Iberian pilgrim towns.

[74] *HC*, pp. 210-12 (I, 115.1-2).
[75] Ibid., pp. 214-15 (I, 116.3).
[76] Ibid., pp. 216-17 (I, 116.6).
[77] Fletcher, *St. James's Catapult*, p. 184.
[78] *Tumbo A*, pp. 183-84 (83).

Notably 1120 was the same year that Calixtus II granted Compostela its archbishopric status,[79] further enhancing Diego's political and economic clout, as illustrated by his construction of an opulent new palace said to be befitting of an archbishop who needed to receive large numbers of princes and other people. Diego also built a private chapel above the portico in order to make it easier and presumably safer for him to access the interior of the cathedral. The *Historia Compostellana* noted that Diego's new chapel was located above the portico, and 'in front of where the money is made' (*ante quam fit moneta*), showing Diego was also keen to keep an eye on his valuable mint.[80]

Diego seems to have ignored the lessons from the 1116-17 revolt as shown by his continued aggressive management of the money economy. An example of this involvement was shown in the 1133 decree that regulated an incredible variety of products sold in the town's markets, and that undoubtedly incensed the merchants and craftsmen of the town. The decree fixed the prices of wine, food such as fish, bread and octopus, and many types of footwear.[81] It also expelled middlemen from the town who profited by buying goods and selling them to consumers and other traders.[82] Limiting competition by middlemen increased the cathedral chapter's sale of licenses and collection of market taxes, and also had the effect of increasing prices for the goods in which it participated directly such as pilgrim badges.

[79] Ibid., pp. 249-51 (II, 15). See also *HC: Trans.*, p. 327 (note 134).
[80] *HC*, p. 268 (II, 25): *...super porticum, ante quam fit moneta, in fronte ecclesia beati Iacobi dextra egredientibus ab eadem apostilica eccelsia.* Notably, this may be the only textual references to the specific site of Compostela's mint from the first quarter of the twelfth century.
[81] Ibid., pp. 473-75 (III, 33.2-3).
[82] Ibid., pp. 472-73 (III, 33.1). See also *HC: Trans.*, p. 546 (notes 169-70).

3. Urban Revolt in Compostela (1136)

Not even twenty years passed before the peace in Compostela was broken and another unsuccessful rebellion occurred against then Archbishop Diego. The underlying reasons and the composition of rebels including disenfranchised burghers, canons and Galician nobles, were similar to the 1116-17 revolt.[83] The 1133 decree regulating market prices and intermediaries revealed the extent to which Diego had sought to manage the local money economy, and it no doubt caused consternation amongst the townspeople. During the summer of 1136, previously loyal canons and nobles, along with a contingent of burghers, turned against the aging Diego. The 1136 revolt, which lasted from approximately August into October, was described in detail at the end of the third (and last) book of the *Historia Compostellana*.

Diego's adversaries, of which little is known other than they were led by one Guillermo Seguin,[84] were seeking more involvement in the administration of the city and its money economy, particularly through the municipal *concejo*. Armed rebels began to meet every Friday in the church of Santa Susanna where they created new municipal regulations and ordinances whilst disbanding the old ones. They also established a tribunal that absolved the rebels whilst condemning the 'innocent'. The municipal *concejo* also became a tool for the rebels and it accused Diego of perjury with his claims of innocence made in vain.[85]

From the standpoint of money, the most striking aspect of 1136 was the rebels' attempt to use a bribe of three-thousand silver marks to convince Alfonso VII to remove Diego from his temporal powers and send him into exile. The rebels must have included some very wealthy

[83] Thomas Bisson concludes both Compostelan revolts were caused by Diego's worldly ambitions and their imposition on 'urban trades and revenues'. Bisson, *Crisis of the Twelfth Century*, p. 258. See also Fletcher, *St. James's Catapult*, p. 189. On Diego's tension with the Galician nobility see Barton, *Aristocracy*, pp. 212-19.
[84] *HC*, p. 508 (III, 47.1); and *Tumbo A*, p. 215-16 (102).
[85] Ibid., pp. 504-07 (III, 46). See also *LFH*, IV, pp. 200-03.

community members who were willing to pay for their freedom from Diego's heavy-handed administration of his domain. Alfonso was said to have been excited by the quantity of gold and silver, showing the power money had over him especially given his need for financial resources to support his military campaigns.[86] Alfonso was so desperate for money that he seriously considered the offer, despite his close ties to Diego who had baptized, knighted and anointed him as king.[87]

The attempted bribe of Alfonso VII was similar to the lump sum payment made by the burghers of Laon to its lords in 1112 in an attempt to buy their freedom from burdensome taxation and regulation in the markets. Like Compostela, Laon was ruled by a bishop and the town had a robust market economy as indicated by the extensive circulation of money and prevalence of merchants and artisans in the population. In both cases, burghers of wealthy towns had hoped to receive relief from excessive ecclesiastical administration of the money economy. Initially the clergy, archdeacons and nobles of Laon, 'who were always on the lookout to get money out of the people', agreed to the terms and accepted large sums of money from the townspeople with 'greedily gaping maws'.[88] This state of affairs reflected the challenges facing lordship in the rising urban money economy. To maintain their power and wealth, lords were forced to extract taxes from the markets in the face of competition from a new class of aristocratic burghers who sought to keep a greater share of their profits.

In August, the Compostelan rebels decided to remove Diego themselves. An angry mob, wielding axes, swords, hoes and all types of arms, roused Diego from his bed chamber in the archbishop's palace. After failing to break down the doors of the palace, a group of rebels

[86] *HC*, p. 506 (III, 46.3). Alfonso later tells Diego about the attempted bribe. Ibid., p. 515 (III, 49.3).
[87] *HC: Trans.*, p. 593 (note 281). Alfonso was particularly in need of money to pay foreign soldiers in his army. *LFH*, IV, pp. 208.
[88] GN, pp. 156-57 (III, 7). For English translation see GN: E, pp. 126-27.

entered the cathedral and passed through the gallery into the palace where they proceeded to steal 'ornaments' of Diego and his canons. Diego fled to a chapel in the cathedral and later to the altar of St James where a group of rebels rained stones and rocks down upon him and some accompanying canons, striking Diego in the shoulder and damaging the choir and baldaquino. Diego was able to escape after receiving the assistance of some loyal citizens.[89]

In October, Diego and a group of dignitaries travelled to Burgos to attend a royal *concilio* (council). During the *concilio*, ecclesiastics rose and announced the excommunication of the rebels, and they begged Alfonso to subject the rebels to the full weight of civil law. On the second day of the *concilio*, a prior from Cluny arrived with letters of support for Diego, addressed to Alfonso and the papal legate from Peter 'the Venerable', influential abbot of Cluny and patron of the Compostelan pilgrimage. Diego was aware of Alfonso's need for money, and in a face-to-face encounter at the *concilio* agreed to pay Alfonso four-hundred silver marks, a payment that was said to have satisfied the king. Towards the end of the *concilio*, realizing that Alfonso had considered granting some of the rebels' demands, Diego pardoned the rebels with the only condition being that they promise to stop their sacrilegious attacks.[90]

Although the October *concilio* essentially ended the revolt after Diego received the support of Alfonso and pardoned the rebels, more was to come in terms of royal support for Diego and retributions against the rebels. In July 1137, Alfonso VII entered Compostela after securing peace with the breakaway county of Portugal. He was greeted by a grand procession of richly-dressed canons, priests and abbots along with bishops, counts and princes, who were

[89] *HC*, pp. 508-13 (III, 47-48). A cardinal from Pisa, on a pilgrimage to Compostela, witnessed the violence and upon his return told pope Innocent II about the desecration of the altar of St James and stoning of Diego. The pope and cardinals were outraged at the events in Compostela, which they considered to be the 'right arm' of the Church in Rome. Ibid., p. 517 (III, 49.7).
[90] Ibid., p. 517 (III, 49.2-7). See also *LFH*, IV, pp. 207-10

complemented by the ringing of bells and clanging of cymbals. Alfonso stayed in Compostela for twelve days, and Diego spent five silver marks daily to feed and entertain the king and his retinue.[91] Diego's lavish spending on Alfonso reveals the degree to which he needed the monarch's support to regain his seignorial powers.

As was the case at the beginning of the revolt, money became a crucial element to its end, including a reconciliation between Diego and Alfonso. The *Historia Compostellana* reported it was 'divine intervention' that caused Alfonso to divert from such a 'great crime', and Alfonso was said to have bowed his head and kissed the hand of Diego as a demonstration of his fealty. Alfonso announced that he would stop the practice by which the cathedral chapter was required to make annual payments to him, and he promised to give two-hundred gold pieces (*aurei*, which would have been Muslim *morabitinos*, the only gold coins circulating within León-Castile in the second quarter of the twelfth century) annually to the cathedral chapter to help fund construction of the cathedral cloister.[92]

Alfonso exiled 'sacrilegious' rebels who injured Diego and damaged the altar of St James and archbishop's palace, and he confiscated the houses and possessions of others and gave them to the cathedral chapter. The rebels clearly included wealthy burghers and nobles as those banished were said to have been relieved of abundant gold and silver.[93] Amongst those whose goods were confiscated was John of Lombardy, the moneyer who was chastised by Diego and Alfonso VI in 1105 for his (and his brother's) alleged wrongdoing against Urraca.[94] John owned a house near Santiago Cathedral as well as property outside the city, showing he was a man of

[91] *HC*, pp. 520-21 (III, 51).
[92] Ibid., pp. 521-22 (III, 52). As was the case with Fernando II's 1168 grant to Master Mateo, royal support for Santiago Cathedral was stated in terms of gold coins, showing the high degree of prestige attached to them.
[93] Ibid., p. 522 (III, 53).
[94] Ibid., p. 56 (I, 28.1). See also *LFH*, III, p. 282. Were both of these men Lombard transplants involved in Compostela's money trades?

substantial material wealth.[95] Alfonso also helped himself to one-hundred silver marks from Diego's share of John's money, further evidence of John's material wealth and suggestive of the wealth of Compostelan moneyers more generally.[96] John's likely involvement in the revolts of 1116-17 and 1136 suggests moneyers of Frankish origins were key conspirators against Diego.

Alfonso pardoned the townspeople and others who, although not directly involved in the revolt, were considered to have been complicit. In order to secure the peace, Diego promised to send Alfonso five-hundred silver marks, after which Alfonso pledged his loyalty and support for Diego and his seignorial domain.[97] That Diego was able to access these funds to secure his lordship provides additional evidence about the tremendous quantities of money brought into the cathedral chapter and town through the pilgrimage. Indeed, Compostela quickly recovered from the damage done by the 1136 revolt and reached new heights of wealth. The *Pilgrim's Guide* called it a 'most excellent city, richest in all delights' and 'favoured as more fortunate and more noble than all the other cities of Spain'.[98]

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Money was clearly on the minds of burghers, the cathedral chapter and monarchs in both 1116-17 and 1136. Each group sought to capitalize on the profits and political power related to the pilgrimage and its money economy. Compostela's revolts also revealed the complex political and social relationships that existed between Diego and the monarchs who either supported rebellion (as in the case of Urraca in 1116) or were complicit (Alfonso VII in 1136). Notably, the *Historia Compostellana's* description of the revolt of 1136 was riddled with references to monetary payments, showing a further evolution in the importance and circulation of money in

[95] *Tumbo A*, pp. 215-16 (102). See also *LFH*, IV, p. 212.
[96] *Tumbo A*, p. 216 (102).
[97] *HC*, pp. 528-29 (III, 55-56).
[98] *Guide*, pp. 14-15 (ch. 3).

Compostela and the role of money in relations between the cathedral chapter and Leonese monarchy.

The revolts in Compostela did not change the dominant political dynamics and power structures, but rather led to a reinforcement of the existing social order. Diego secured his seignorial domain at the end of both revolts, loyalty to the crown was reinforced and rebel leaders were punished. However, after the 1136 revolt the townspeople received an additional say in the administration of the city through the municipal *concejo*.[99] The involvement of both Urraca and Alfonso in at least tacitly supporting the rebels showed their realization that the political winds were shifting against aggressive ecclesiastical lordship in the increasingly urbanised and money-driven society along the pilgrim roads.[100]

4. Commercial Protectionism in the *Burgo* of San Cernin

Not all social conflict over control of the money economy took place between the merchants and craftsmen of wealthy pilgrim towns and their ecclesiastical lords. Different ethnic groups who lived in close proximity to each other also vied to dominate the pilgrim trade. An example of this type of conflict took place in twelfth-century Pamplona, where rival *burgos*, Frankish San Cernin and the Navarrería comprised of native Navarrese, competed to benefit economically from the pilgrimage.

In 1129 Alfonso I 'the Battler' of Aragon-Navarre granted the *fuero* of Jaca to the Franks of San Cernin of Pamplona (*totos francos qui populaueritis in illo plano de Sancti Saturnini de*

[99] On the role of the *concejo* in Compostela's 1136 revolt and its aftermath, see Gautier Dalché, *Historia urbana de León y Castilla en la Edad Media*, p. 244; and Reilly, *Kingdom of León-Castilla Under Queen Urraca*, p. 369.
[100] The rebel leader Guillermo became the *villacus* of Compostela after Diego's death, in 1140-41 and again in 1149-50. Fletcher, *St. James's Catapult*, p. 189 (note 89). Could this position have been arranged as part of the revolt's settlement?

Iruina).[101] Franks had lived in the area since at least the end of the eleventh century, and their church of San Cernin (or San Saturnino)[102] was constructed in the first quarter of the twelfth century,[103] showing the *fuero's* incentives were intended to maintain the existing population and encourage further Frankish settlement. These privileges included the right to establish a market, exemptions from paying market and transit taxes, and the exclusive right to sell bread and wine to pilgrims. The *fuero* also prevented Navarrese, clerics, nobles and *milites* from living in San Cernin without the approval of its Frankish citizens (*vicini*).[104]

In 1180 the Franks of San Cernin, with the support of Sancho VI 'the Wise' of Navarre (1150-94) and Pedro, bishop of Pamplona, issued a declaration that reiterated language from the 1129 *fuero* that barred the settlement of Navarrese, clerics, nobles and *milites* in the *burgo*.[105] Based on that provision, the Franks ordered the expulsion of any Navarrese who had previously settled in the *burgo*. The Franks further vowed to stop facilitating any commercial activity of the Navarrese including the placement of tables and tents (likely referring to stalls where merchandise was sold). They also swore to never teach the Navarrese skills related to a wide variety of specialized trades, including those crucial to the pilgrimage such as money changing, shoemaking and innkeeping:

> And the aforenamed burghers swore they would never take back the rest of the Navarrese as citizens, unless the son of a Frank or a Frank, and they shall not accommodate [Navarrese] in their homes, nor lease out tables nor tents,[106] nor teach them to change

[101] *Fueros de Navarre I. Fueros derivados de Jaca*, *2. Pamplona*, ed. J.M. Lacarra and A.J. Martin Duque (Pamplona, 1975), p. 118 (5). *Iruina* (Iruña) is the Basque name for Pamplona.
[102] San Cernin is Navarrese Occitan for San Sernin (*Sancti Saturnini* or St Saturninus). Ibid., p. 23. St Saturninus had been the so-called first bishop in the third century.
[103] J. Martínez de Aguirre, 'El Maestro Esteban en Pamplona: ¿arquitecto y urbanista?', *Ad limina: revista de investigación del Camino de Santiago y las peregrinaciones*, 6 (2015), pp. 67-97, p. 91.
[104] *Fueros de Navarre I. Fueros derivados de Jaca*, *2. Pamplona*, p. 118 (5).
[105] Ibid., pp. 134-35 (13). See also *Documentación medieval del Archivos Municipal de Pamplona (1129-1356)*, p. XXVII (7).
[106] *Tabulas* and *tentoria* likely referred collectively to shops, kiosks or stalls comprised of tables backed by a covered area where inventory was kept, or work performed. *Tabulas* can be translated as tables, boards or writing tablets. *Tentoria* can be translated as tents. Documents from contemporary Estella referred to shops as *tendas*. *PSC*, II, p. 141. The modern Spanish *tienda* (shop) can also mean tent. Compostela's guild of moneychangers was said to

> money, [nor] to be innkeepers, dyers,[107] tailors, drapers, beltmakers, butchers, saddlers, muleteers,[108] harnessmakers, blacksmiths, shoemakers, lancemakers,[109] furriers, bellmakers, potters, *mainnarios*,[110] [or] weavers. But they may teach those [Navarrese] that will be taken back to be servants and labourers and bakers and grinders[111] and no other occupation. And if any citizen of the aforesaid town of San Cernin breaks this vow, his house will be destroyed, and he will be expelled from the *burgo* by associates of the aforementioned burghers.[112]

The Franks had clearly felt commercial pressure from Navarrese merchants and craftsmen operating across the *burgo*, and the edict would have allowed them to defend and consolidate their dominant market position from rising competitors. The hostility felt by the Franks towards their Navarrese neighbours was clearly illustrated in the strength of the penalty for those citizens who might break the vow, in which violators were to have been forcefully ejected from the *burgo*, and their homes destroyed. The economic threat and the prejudices of the Franks towards the indigenous population were also revealed in the way any remaining

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have worked on 'golden and painted' tables (*taboas douradas e pintadas*). *LFH,* II, p. 50. The moneychangers of contemporary Chartres were required to work at open-legged tables to expose any potential trickery and prevent fraudulent acts. Welch Williams, *Bread, Wine, and Money*, p. 109.

[107] *Tentore* is similar to the medieval Occitan profession of *tinturer, tenchurier* or *tenturier*, all similar to the modern French *teinturier*, a dyer. J. Santano Moreno, 'Oficios en documentos occitanos de Navarra y Aragón', *Nouvelle revue d'onomastique*, 33-34 (1999), pp. 159-90, p. 173.

[108] *Bardonario* is likely from the Latin *burdonarius*, a muleteer, one who drove mules.

[109] In the medieval Béarnese dialect of Gascon, *aster* referred to someone who made lances. Santano Moreno, 'Oficios en documentos occitanos de Navarra y Aragón', p. 161.

[110] It is unclear what occupation was meant by *mainnarios*.

[111] *Bregatores* is from the medieval Occitan *bregar*, and comparable to the modern French *broyeur*, one who crushes or grinds, and likely referred to someone who ground wheat, stone or other materials. Santano Moreno, 'Oficios en documentos occitanos de Navarra y Aragón', p. 162.

[112] *Fueros derivados de Jaca*, *2. Pamplona*, p. 135 (13): *Et sepenominati burgenses statuentes iurauerunt ut nunqua de cetero nauarros in uicinos recipiant, nisi sit filius franci uel france, nec accomodent eis domos neque locent nec tabulas neque tentoria, nec doceant eos cambiare, albergadores esse, tentores, alfaiades, merceros, corrieros, carniceros, sellarios, bardonarios, frenarios, ferrarios, çapaterios, asterios, peletarios, campanerios, calderarios,* [*ma…ntians*]*, textores; set recipient eos inseruientes et laboratores et fornarios et bregatores et nullum aliud ministerium doceant. Et si aliquis uicinus de prefato Burgo Sancti Saturnini hoc sacramentum disrumperit, domus eius destruatur et a uilla et a consorcio predictorum burgensium eiciatur.* Many of the aforementioned occupations are written in medieval Occitan, suggesting the Franks in San Cernin came from Occitania. See J. Santano Moreno, 'Oficios en documentos occitanos de Navarra y Aragón', *Nouvelle revue d'onomastique*, 33-34 (1999), pp. 159-90.

Navarrese, those whose names were included on a special list,[113] were relegated to servile occupations such as servants, bakers, labourers and grinders.

The 1180 edict may have been a reaction precipitated by news that Sancho VI was planning to copy San Cernin's economic success by establishing a new Pamplonese neighbourhood and repopulating another, notably with more rights granted to the local Navarrese. In c. 1184 Sancho VI created the new *burgo* (or *población*) of San Nicolás by granting it a *fuero* that provided similar rights to Franks and Navarrese (Map 4.1).[114] The older Navarrería was also granted its own *fuero* in 1189 which included the same rights as those that had been given to the Franks of San Cernin in 1129.[115] Notably, the *fuero* stated that the Navarrería had become depopulated, an indication that the walls surrounding San Cernin and the Navarrería[116] had not prevented the migration of Navarrese to nearby San Cernin and its booming pilgrim economy.

[113] *Fueros derivados de Jaca*, *2. Pamplona*, p. 135 (13): *Super hoc concordati burgenses statuerunt inter se ut nauarros de se eicerent, et eiecerunt eos, exceptis illis quos placuit eis retinere pro uicinis et sunt scripti in carta quam burgenses supranominati tenent.*
[114] The *fuero* granted to the *Burgo Nouo Sancti Nicolai de Panpilona* is mentioned in the 1184 *fuero* of Villava (or *Villa nova*, another pilgrim town on the Camino Francés, located approximately two miles northeast of Pamplona). Ibid., pp. 135-36 (14). See also Lacarra, *Colonization, Parias, Repoblacion y Otros Estudios*, p. 177.
[115] *Fueros derivados de Jaca*, *2. Pamplona*, pp. 137-40 (15). See also *Documentación medieval del Archivos Municipal de Pamplona (1129-1356)*, p. XXVII-XXXI (8).
[116] J. Casas Torres, 'Esquema de la Geografía Urbana de Aragón y Navarra', *Geographica*, 1 (1954), pp. 107-19, p. 118.



Map 4.1. *Burgos* of Pamplona (late 12th c.)[117]

The trades protected in the 1180 edict show their importance to the pilgrimage and reveal the extent to which they were financially lucrative to the merchants and craftsmen of Pamplona's communities and to pilgrim towns in general. Compostelan pilgrims were the lifeblood of San Cernin's economy given the Camino Francés ran through the centre of the *burgo* (Map 4.1). The Camino through San Cernin would have been lined with the stalls of merchants and artisans who served a high volume of passing pilgrims as was described in the nearby Frankish settlements of Estella and Puente la Reina.[118]

[117] For map of the medieval *burgos* of Pamplona, see F. Cañada Palacio, 'Pamplona s. XI – XII: el origen de los burgos', *Codex Aquilarensis*, 15 (1999), pp. 189-204, p. 204 (figure 2).
[118] On Estella, see *PSC*, II, p. 141; on Puente la Reina, see ibid., pp. 125-26.

Shoemaking was a highly competitive trade along the pilgrim roads and San Cernin's Franks clearly wanted to protect their market position. A sculpture of a shoemaker from the façade of Pamplona Cathedral (c. 1125), shows the importance of the shoemaking trade, even before the Franks of San Cernin had received their *fuero* in 1129 (Figure 4.2). The shoemaker is shown using an awl with his right hand to make holes that will likely be used to sew the upper of the boot to the sole which appears to be on his left knee.[119] The cathedral was located in the Navarrería, so the shoemaker shown would have in all probability represented a Navarrese worker. The sculpture acted as an advertisement for westbound pilgrims who passed through the Navarrería before San Cernin on their way towards Compostela.



Figure 4.2. Relief of Shoemaker from Pamplona Cathedral (c. 1125), Museo de Navarre, Pamplona (CE000023).[120]

[119] See F. Grew and M. de Neergaard, *Shoes and Pattens* (London, 1988), pp. 44-49.
[120] Photographed by the author.

Innkeepers were also protected in San Cernin's 1180 edict, an occupation clearly linked to the pilgrimage, and one that was frequently chastised by the Church for supposed misdeeds at the expense of pilgrims.[121] The existence of inns in Pamplona was shown in a miracle story from the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* that described a wicked innkeeper who robbed a pilgrim and his family of their money and belongings.[122] The prominence of inns in San Cernin likely mirrored those in nearby Estella as described in the *Crónicas anónimas* of Sahagún. It mentioned the inns (*posadas*) of Estella in its description of Alfonso I's capture in 1116 of the abbot of Sahagún, who was retained there whilst on his way back from Rome with letters of support from Pope Paschal II during Sahagún's urban revolt.[123] The abbot was intercepted and held prisoner by a Frenchman in one of Estella's inns and it was stated that they went by 'many other inns'.[124] This suggests the inns were clustered in one area, likely Estella's Frankish neighbourhood of San Martín given that it was a Frenchman who took the abbot prisoner.

That the money-changing profession was specifically protected in San Cernin provides additional evidence about the involvement of Franks in money-related trades. Contemporary evidence from Compostela and León also showed Frankish involvement in minting and money changing. Randulfo, supervisor of Compostela's mint under Bishop Diego Gelmírez in the early twelfth century, had likely come from a family of Lombard or Norman moneyers.[125] Leonese *monederos* operated directly on the Camino Francés in the Frankish neighbourhood around the church of Santa María del Camino, also called Santa María del Mercado ('of the Market'), and León's guild of moneyers operated out of the monastery of San Claudio, not far from the

[121] *Fueros derivados de Jaca*, *2. Pamplona*, p. 135 (13).
[122] *LSJ*, pp. 165-66 (II, 6). The specific *burgo* within Pamplona was not stated in this miracle story.
[123] Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castile Under Queen Urraca*, p. 113.
[124] *CAS*, p. 108 (71): *…tomárranos aun las cavalgaduras e todas quantas cosas avíamos, dexándonos tan solamente las bestiduras de que héramos bestidos, e sacándandos de la posada donde héramos hospedados, departiéronnos por otras posadas, poniéndonos buenas guardas*.
[125] *HC*, p. 56 (I, 28).

Frankish neighbourhood of San Martín and the Puerta Moneda through which pilgrims on the Camino Francés passed.[126]

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San Cernin's 1180 edict provides a valuable lens through which to view the intense economic competition that existed between the Frankish settlers of pilgrim towns and the indigenous populations, in this case the Navarrese who lived in Pamplona's *Navarrería*. The edict also clearly identified the professions that were valued by the people living along the Camino Francés, including innkeeping, shoemaking and money changing, which would have been in high demand by passing pilgrims. Underlying the need for the edict was a sense of Frankish cultural superiority, supported by royal and ecclesiastical elites, a topic that will be explored in the next section.

5. Frankish Cultural Elitism

Besides highlighting the state of economic competition, the walls separating San Cernin from the Navarrería were also a metaphor for the broad cultural divide that existed between the people of the two communities. Whereas economic competition played an important part in stimulating the 1111-16 revolt of Frankish burghers in Sahagún and in San Cernin's 1180 edict, those events were also influenced by prejudices that caused Frankish settlers to view their culture as superior to that of the native inhabitants.[127] Indeed, the edict stated the remaining Navarrese in San Cernin had to be unskilled servants and labourers.

[126] Florez, *España Sagrada,* XXXVI, p. 14. See also Rodríguez Fernández, *Judería de la ciudad de León*, pp. 113-14 (map) and 131.
[127] See Martínez Sopena, 'Las migraciones de francos en la España de los siglos XI y XII', in J.I. Ruiz de la Peña Solar, M.J. Sanz Fuentes and M. Calleja Puerta, eds., *Los fueros de Avilés y su época* (Oviedo, 2012), pp. 253-80, p. 278.

The *Pilgrim's Guide* and *Historia Turpini* of the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* provide evidence about Frankish opinions of the native peoples of northern Iberia.[128] Pseudo-Turpin described Pamplona as the first city to have been liberated from the Muslims by Charlemagne. Charlemagne may have entered Pamplona during a military campaign in 778, but it would have been under Navarrese, not Muslim control at that point.[129] Pseudo-Turpin recounted how the walls of Pamplona miraculously crumbled after a three-month siege, copying the biblical story of the Battle of Jericho,[130] after St James intervened to help the Franks.[131] Franks were portrayed as liberators of a captive and helpless society, supporting the notion of Frankish cultural superiority. The defeated Muslims in Pamplona were said to have called the Franks 'truly splendid, well dressed and of great elegance'.[132]

Images related to Charlemagne's legendary campaign fighting Muslims in Iberia were found along the Camino Francés. These images, such as the sculpture of his knight Roland fighting the giant Ferragut on a capital from Estella's twelfth-century Palace of Kings, the political and economic centre of its Frankish neighbourhood of San Martín (Figure 4.3), not only promoted the legend of St James, but the notion of Frankish identity which would have made emigration to pilgrim towns even more comfortable for the merchants and artisans who travelled along the Camino Francés.

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[128] The *Pilgrim's Guide* was almost certainly authored by a Frenchman, as pilgrims entering the north portal of Santiago Cathedral were described as 'we French people' (*nos gens Gallica*). *Guide*, pp. 70-71 (ch. 9).
[129] J.M. Lacarra, *Investigaciones de Historia Navarra* (Pamplona, 1983), pp. 41-46.
[130] Joshua 6:1-27.
[131] *LSJ*, pp. 201-02 (IV, 2).
[132] Ibid., p. 202 (IV, 2): *Mirabatur gens sarracenica cum videbat gentem gallicam, obtimam scilicet, ac bene indutam, et facie elegantem…* For English translation see K. Poole (trans.), *Chronicle of Pseudo-Turpin* (New York, 2014), p. 8.



Figure 4.3. Exterior Historiated Capital that features Roland fighting Ferragut (right side of capital). Palace of Kings, Estella.[133]

Prejudicial descriptions of local populations were found in the *Pilgrim's Guide* and presumably many Frankish immigrants in pilgrim towns held similar opinions. Navarre was particularly reviled, and its people were described as '*non verus* - that is, not begotten as the true offspring of a legitimate race'.[134] Navarrese or Basques were said to kill a Frenchman for just a coin[135] and Castilians were called 'wicked and vicious'.[136]

Whereas the people of northern Christian Iberia were described using unflattering terms, the land was seen as rich and fertile. Navarre was described as rich in 'bread, wine, milk and livestock', and that of Castile (connected to the kingdom of León at the time the *Pilgrim's Guide* was written) and the Tierra de Campos (that included Sahagún and Carrión) as 'full of riches,

[133] Photographed by José Luis Filpo Cabana / CC by 3.0
[134] *Guide*, pp. 30-31 (ch. 7).
[135] Ibid., pp. 28-29 (ch. 7).
[136] Ibid., pp. 30-31 (ch. 7).

gold and silver' with 'very strong horses' and 'well-provided with bread, wine, meat, fish, milk and honey'.[137]

These descriptions signalled significant agricultural and commercial opportunities for Frankish merchants and provided incentives for Franks to settle in pilgrim towns beyond the benefits granted in the *fueros*. Indeed, the lands of northern Iberia were ripe for the picking for industrious Franks from places such as the French region of Poitou, whose people were described in glowing terms by the author of the *Pilgrim's Guide*:

> The Poitevins are valiant heroes and fighting men, very experienced in war with bows, arrows and lances, daring in the front line of battle, very fast in running, elegant in their dress, distinguished of face, shrewd of speech, very generous with gifts, lavish in hospitality.[138]

It was these prejudices in conjunction with the desire to protect economic power, much like the situation in 1180 San Cernin, that led the Frankish merchant townspeople of Sahagún and their Aragonese allies, led by the Frenchman Giraldo 'the devil', to expel the local Castilian population along with the abbot from the town during the height of the 1111-16 revolt.[139] Giraldo, along with the Frankish townspeople, perpetrated many heinous tortures on anyone that dissented from their rule including the indigenous Castilians.

The expulsion of non-Franks from San Cernin in 1180 may have represented an inflection point in relations between Franks and 'locals' along the pilgrim roads. The cultural divide between these groups started to dissipate in the fourth quarter of the twelfth century and a broader transformation took place in which Frankish communities blended into a more inclusive

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[137] *Guide*, pp. 30-31 (ch. 7).
[138] Ibid., p. 22 (ch. 7): *Pictaui sunt heroes fortes et uiri bellatores, arcubus et sagittis et lanceis in bello doctissimi, in acie freti, in cursibus uelocissimi, in ueste uenusti, in facie preclari, in uerbis astuti, in premiis largissimi, in hospitibus prodigi*. For English translation see ibid., II, p. 23.
[139] *CAS*, pp. 87 (59) and 100 (67). See also J. Senra, 'Rebellion, Reconciliation, and a Romanesque Church in León-Castile (c.1109–1120)', p. 380.

society. Crucially, this transformation contributed to the increasing 'Hispanisation' of northern Christian Iberia as illustrated by the *voto de Santiago* (c. 1150) that sought to unite the kingdoms under the banner of warrior-saint St James and establishment of a common 'Spanish' tax.[140]

By the end of the twelfth century, Frankish communities and their descendants began to blend into an increasingly homogenous 'Hispanic' society that had mobilized militarily against the Muslim Almohads. This was shown through the convergence of local judges and administrators in places like Sahagún (1195) and the formation of new blended neighbourhoods of Franks and Navarrese in Estella and San Nicolás in Pamplona (c. 1184). Frankish immigration and assimilation over the course of the twelfth century shaped the ideas, skills, economies and devotions of the society of northern Christian Iberia and brought it closer to other areas of contemporary western Europe.

Sahagún provides a further example of how social and political barriers between Franks and indigenous populations began to break down over the course of the second half of the twelfth century. In the first half of the twelfth century Frankish immigrants in Sahagún lived amongst themselves, separate from the Castilian population, as was the case in so many other pilgrim towns such as Burgos, León, Belorado, Estella and Pamplona. This cultural divide was evident in the *fuero* of 1152 in which Alfonso VII of León-Castile appointed separate *merinos* (royal administrators) for the town, one for the Franks and another for the Castilians,[141] and the right to hold a 'Frankish' fair, which lasted fifteen days around the festival of the Pentecost, granted by Alfonso VII in 1155.[142]

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[140] J. Domínguez García, *Memorias del futuro: Ideología y ficción en el símbolo de Santiago Apóstol* (Madrid, 2008), p. 71.
[141] P. Martínez Sopena, 'Los francos y el Camino de Santiago' in *Vida y Peregrinación* (Madrid, 1993), pp. 71-83. See also Rodríguez Fernández, 'Judería de Sahagún', p. 17.
[142] Escalona, *Historia del Real Monasterio de Sahagún*, p. 115. See also R. Pastor, "A lo largo del camino. Trabajo y economía. Ciudad y campo" in *Vida y Peregrinación* (Madrid, 1993), pp. 43-56, p. 50; *PSC*, II, p. 228 and Rodríguez Fernández, 'Judería de Sahagún', p. 26.

Over the second half of the twelfth century the Frankish and Castilian populations of Sahagún blended, and townspeople were referred to generally as 'men of the town', and in 1195 only one mayor was selected.[143] This could be contrasted with places such as Belorado, whose 1116 *fuero* acknowledged the existence of Castilians and Franks and allowed each group to select their own separate judges.[144] Consolidation of judges and *merinos* (royal administrators) also occurred in the late twelfth-century *fueros* of newer pilgrim towns such as Los Arcos and Viana[145] (on the Camino Francés between Estella and Logroño). Further cultural assimilation was shown through the granting of equal rights to Franks and Navarrese in the new neighbourhoods of San Miguel, San Juan (1187) and San Salvador del Arenal (1189) in the Frankish enclave of Estella.[146]

Compostela provided an early model for cultural assimilation in pilgrim towns. Whereas the terms Franks, Castilians, Navarrese and Aragonese were used to describe people in places such as Belorado, Estella, Burgos, Pamplona and Sahagún, the townspeople of Compostela were referred to as Galicians in twelfth-century documents. This difference can be explained by the fact that Frankish immigration had taken place much earlier in Compostela, from at least the mid-tenth century, and thus immigrants had already assimilated into 'local' Galicians by the time Frankish *fueros* were being granted in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries.

Today's *ruo do Franco* (street of the Frank), one of the oldest streets in Compostela, extends from the southwest corner of the cathedral. Like the Frankish merchants who settled around the Cluniac monasteries in Carrión and Sahagún, Bretenaldo Franco and other Franks had in all likelihood followed early pilgrims to Compostela from at least the time of Godelscalc,

[143] Martínez Sopena, 'Los francos y el Camino de Santiago', pp. 71-86, and p. 83.
[144] *CFM*, pp. 410-12.
[145] Martínez Sopena, 'Los francos en la España de los siglos XI al XIII', p. 37.
[146] Lacarra, *Colonizacion, Parias, Repoblacion y Otros Estudios*, p. 177.

bishop of Le Puy, who journeyed to Compostela in 951.[147] Perhaps it was the Frankish heritage of Compostela's population, or a calculated move by the cathedral chapter to associate its domain with Frankish culture, that led the *Pilgrim's Guide* to describe the people of Galicia in a more positive light than others in northern Iberia:

> The Galicians, ahead of the other uncouth nations of Spain, are those who best agree in their habits with our French people; but they are irascible and contentious.[148]

Pseudo-Turpin stated Charlemagne did not distribute Galicia to a group of Franks as he had done with other kingdoms of Iberia as they had refused to live there because it was thought to be too savage.[149] This was no doubt a promotion of Galician independence during the rule of Diego Gelmírez, a time during which Frankish immigrants were gaining power in other areas of northern Christian Iberia.

'Cosmopolitan' Pilgrim Towns?

It is interesting to contemplate at this point whether Compostela and other key towns along the pilgrimage route in Iberia were 'cosmopolitan', a complicated term that has received much scholarly attention in recent years. The notion of a cosmopolitan space has been defined by modern scholars as 'universalist', within which commercial, intellectual and artistic endeavours take place amongst a cross-cultural population that is free to practice unique beliefs. Luke Sunderland argues that cosmopolitan societies exhibit a 'willingness to unsettle one's own perspective and to see with the eyes of others',[150] whilst Marla Segol posits cosmopolitanism 'consists of a belief that anyone can gain access to universal truth, and that this is not dependent

[147] Fletcher, *St. James's Catapult*, p. 86.
[148] *Guide*, p. 32 (ch. 7): *Galleciani uero genti nostre Gallice, magis preceteris gentibus Yspanicis incultis moribus congrue concordantur, sed iracundi et litigiosi ualde habentur*. For English translation see ibid., II, p. 33.
[149] *LSJ*, p. 214 (IV, 18): *Terram Galicie Franci inhabitare noluerunt, quoniam aspera illis videbatur*.
[150] L. Sunderland, 'A Cosmopolitan Middle Ages?', *Exemplaria*, 31 (2019), pp. 63-72.

on membership in regional, linguistic or ethnic groups'.[151] Nile Green defines cosmopolitanism as 'the assumption that ethnic and linguistic pluralism is inherently equivalent to positive forms of social capital and beliefs that formally celebrate such pluralism'.[152]

On the one hand, pilgrim towns along the Camino Francés had diverse populations within which many identities mingled, including indigenous populations, Frankish merchants from across western Europe, artisans, Cluniac monks, Muslim diplomats and merchants, and military orders with connections to the East. Some towns like Compostela may have strived to attain a cosmopolitan status, particularly as it sought to emulate Latin Jerusalem, where Fulcher of Chartes (1059-1127) noted 'God has turned the West into the East'.[153] Compostela hosted rich artistic, architectural and literary programmes and it was frequently visited by monarchs, nobles and foreign diplomats and merchants. Its proximity to the Muslim south presented an opportunity for cultural exchange, but it is unclear to what extent meaningful exchanges occurred.[154] Although judicial and economic freedoms were often granted to different cultures within the Compostelan pilgrim towns, these groups tended to be physically separated and a true mixing of cultures by marriage was prohibited by royal and Church decree.[155] Further, the

[151] M. Segol, 'Medieval Religious Cosmopolitanisms: Truth and Inclusivity in the Literature of Medieval Spain, in *Cosmopolitanism and the Middle Ages*, J. Ganim and S. Legassie, eds. (New York, 2013), pp. 79-103, p. 81.
[152] N. Green, 'The Waves of Heterotopia: Toward a Vernacular Intellectual History of the Indian Ocean', *American Historical Review*, 123 (2018), pp. 846-74, p. 847.
[153] R. Edwards, 'Cosmopolitan Imaginaries', in *Cosmopolitanism and the Middle Ages*, ed. J. Ganim and S. Legassie (New York, 2013), pp. 163-80, pp. 165-69.
[154] Muslim Córdoba in the tenth and eleventh centuries exhibited strong cosmopolitan characteristics. See Gerber, *The Jews of Spain*, pp. 28-57. On cultural exchange within eleventh and twelfth century Al-Andalus, see Reilly, *The Medieval Spains*, pp. 121-28. The Mudéjar architecture of twelfth- and early thirteenth-century churches in Sahagún (those of San Tirso and San Lorenzo) shows that some artistic and architectural exchanges occurred. The same can be said of the use of Muslim *morabitinos* in northern Christian Iberia as a unit of account and that those coins were later copied by the Christian kingdoms.
[155] Similar bans on cultural mixing were found in contemporary Al-Andalus where interaction was limited between the dominant Muslim population and their Jewish and Christian neighbours. See Fernández-Morera, *Myth of the Andalusian Paradise*, pp. 110-18.

Frankish cultural elitism discussed in this section prohibited a true cosmopolitan environment,[156] as did religious intolerance as shown in the *Historia Turpini* of the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* that cast both Jews and Muslims as enemies of the Christian faith.[157]

* * *

Frankish culture dominated pilgrim towns along the Camino Francés from the late eleventh to mid-twelfth centuries. In addition to their considerable commercial and artisanal skills and venerations like those of SS Martin and Nicholas, Franks brought with them prejudices that cast the local populations as inferior as shown through descriptions in the *Pilgrim's Guide* and *Historia Turpini*, which caused conflict in places like San Cernin of Pamplona and Sahagún. By the late twelfth century, Franks had begun to assimilate with the Castilian and Navarrese populations of the pilgrim towns as shown by the blending of rights and consolidation of judges in places like Estella, Pamplona and Sahagún. Yet even though Franks began assimilating into a broader Hispanic society, the Iberian pilgrim towns did not achieve a true cosmopolitan status as the dominant Christian population did not fully engage with Jewish and Muslim cultures.

6. Conflict Between the Military Orders and Ecclesiastical Lords

Frankish merchants and craftsmen were not the only outsiders who came into conflict over the money economy along the pilgrim roads. The military orders also struggled with local ecclesiastical lords and even monarchs over the wealth of pilgrim towns and the surrounding areas. By the late twelfth century, the Hospitallers and Templars had established a significant presence all along the Camino Francés, from Navarre to Galicia. The orders controlled

[156] For more on the separation of Christian, Jewish and Muslim populations in medieval northern Christian Iberia, see S. Barton, *Conquerors, Brides and Concubines: Interfaith Relations and Social Power in Medieval Iberia* (Philadelphia, 2015), pp. 45-75.
[157] *LSJ*, p. 218 (IV, 22): *Quot vicibus per te aut Iudeum perfidum aut Sarracenum peremi, tot vicibus, ut puto, Christi sanguinem, ut puto, vindicavi*.

expansive seigniorial domains that included grazing and farmland, mills, vineyards, and water sources that radiated from their *encomiendas* in pilgrim towns, often at strategic locations at river crossings and borders. They exhibited a high level of sophistication in managing their possessions as shown by their participation in agriculture and commerce (as suggested by the Templars' right to sell bread and wine to pilgrims in Puente la Reina) and consolidation of landholdings around their *encomiendas* through acquisitions and legal actions against competing landholders.

As a consequence of their landholdings, the political and economic power of the Templars and Hospitallers rose to rival the largest monasteries, bishoprics and kingdoms. This power was shown by their jurisdictional conflict with Alfonso IX of León (1188-1230), the abbot of Sahagún, bishop of Astorga, and even Compostela's cathedral chapter. Friction between these groups was an indication of shifting power dynamics along the pilgrim roads to Compostela, the rise of the military orders and sovereign power at the expense of the Cluniac monasteries who were in a state of decline in the second half of the twelfth century.[158]

Tension with competitors and the orders' sophistication at managing landholdings can be seen in legal actions taken by the orders to delineate domain boundaries and defend or enforce the sharing of tithes. In 1211 the Templars settled a disagreement with Alfonso IX of León regarding the pilgrim town of Ponferrada and the surrounding area. The settlement granted the Templars lordship of the town and its *alfoces* (surrounding rural territory) and the rights to the *portazgo* in exchange for their holdings in Algodor and Alcañices and various other

[158] Evidence that the power of Cluny was in decline by the second half of the twelfth century was shown by the precipitous decline in royal donations to the monastery of Sahagún after the reign of Alfonso VI of León-Castile (1065-1109). Escalona, *Historia del Real Monasterio de Sahagún*, pp. 261-78; and the financial situation during the rule of Peter the Venerable (d. 1156) in which Cluny had few benefactors and had become heavily indebted to Jewish moneylenders. Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy*, p. 55.

possessions.[159] The settlement of 1211 shows the Templars had already been in the area for some time and had acquired significant holdings and power to be in a position to negotiate with a king and receive such valuable holdings on the Camino Francés.

The Hospitallers also competed for economic benefits along the pilgrim roads as they engaged various competing ecclesiastical authorities. In 1184 the Hospitallers of Órbigo (on the Camino Francés, twenty miles west of León) settled a dispute with the bishop of the nearby pilgrim town of Astorga regarding the sharing of tithes from the church of San Juan in Órbigo. In the settlement, the order agreed to provide the bishop with one-third of all bread, wine and legumes collected by the church.[160] In 1212 the Hospitallers reached a settlement with the monastery of Sahagún over a disagreement regarding the rights to tithes.[161] In some cases, several military orders joined forces to protect their interests. In 1206 Pope Innocent III confirmed a decision related to a lawsuit between Compostela's cathedral chapter and the Templars, Hospitallers and Order of Santiago regarding their exemptions from paying the *voto de Santiago*.[162]

Sometimes the Hospitallers and Templars administered properties in the same locations. One of the earliest donations to the orders in Iberia was the town and castle of Novillas (forty miles northwest of Zaragoza and seventy-five miles southeast of Pamplona) made by Alfonso I 'the Battler' in c. 1125, and it was to be shared by the Hospitallers and Templars.[163] Sometimes

[159] Rodriguez Fernández, *Las Juderías de la Provincia de León*, p. 206 (note 5). See also Martínez Diaz, *Los Templarios en los Reinos de Espana*, pp. 153-54. Apparently, the Templars' goods were confiscated by Alfonso IX in 1204 which led to this agreement.
[160] Cavero Domínguez and Álvarez Álvarez, 'La encomienda hospitalaria de Puente de Órbigo en la Edad Media (1184-1494)', p. 750.
[161] Ayala Martínez, 'La Orden Militar de San Juan en Castilla y León', p. 36 (note 211).
[162] C. Barquero Goñi, 'Hospitalarios y Obispos en Castilla Durante los Siglos XII y XIII', *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma, Serie III, Historia Medieval*, 30 (2017), pp. 83-120, p. 95. The *voto de Santiago* will be discussed in Chapter 6.
[163] J. Pavón Benito, 'La relación entre la monarquía y la orden de San Juan de Jerusalén en Navarra (siglos XII-XV)', in J. Pavón Benito and M. Bonet Donato (eds.), *La Orden del Hospital de San Juan de Jerusalén: Contextos y trayectorias del Priorato de Navarra medieval* (Barañáin, 2013), pp. 111-77, pp. 126-27 (note 36).

operating in close proximity triggered disputes as shown in a long settlement made in 1179 between the orders in the Levant. At the end of this settlement the brothers of the two orders were 'commanded' by their leaders to (the word commanded suggests there was no small amount of tension between them on the issues addressed) to get along:

> …love and honour each other in all places and each shall seek and observe the well-being of the other in mutual respect so that notwithstanding the fact that they are two houses by profession, by love they may appear to be only one.[164]

It does not appear the Hospitallers and Templars came into conflict with each other along the Camino Francés. For the most part the locations of their *encomiendas* and other holdings along the Camino Francés did not overlap. The most crowded area that could have presented opportunities for disputes was in Navarre, where both orders had possessions between Pamplona and Puente le Reina, but even in this case the nearest Templar possession in its Puente la Reina territory was at Astráin, five miles from the nearest Hospitaller site of Cizur Menor.

* * *

The Templars and Hospitallers became astute managers of their holdings along the pilgrim roads to Compostela which brought them into conflict with ecclesiastical lords whose domains bordered their lands. These economic conflicts were settled amicably through ecclesiastical courts. The two orders appear to have coexisted peacefully along the pilgrim roads without coming into direct conflict with each other over economic issues, and in some cases the orders joined forces to defend their interests against the Church.

[164] Barber and Bate, *The Templars: Selected sources translated and annotated*, p. 177.

7. Conclusion

As Compostelan pilgrim traffic accelerated over the course of the twelfth century, various classes of society wrestled to control and influence the money economy. Revolts against ecclesiastical lordship in Sahagún and Compostela were triggered by the perceived overreaching of the abbot and bishop/archbishop into the local money economies as shown by their excessive taxes and penalties, price regulation, and attempts to control market locations and access to markets by middlemen. Simmering conflict exploded into chaotic, cruel and violent rebellions against authority, revealing the visceral feelings the burghers had against what was perceived to be unfair economic domination. The degree to which the local populations felt disenfranchised by ecclesiastical administration was demonstrated by the extreme and personal vengeance perpetrated against agents of the cathedral chapter and monastery. Whereas the burghers saw their lords as meddling in the markets, the monks and clerics considered the burghers to be greedy for money and driven by self-interest.

The existence of other contemporaneous urban revolts across western Europe indicates broader trends were at work related to the rising merchant class, population growth and urbanisation.[165] Empowered merchants and craftsmen sought to keep a greater share of their wealth and gain more representation in administration of the towns and markets. Lords such as Diego Gelmírez, Urraca and Alfonso I wanted to retain or incorporate wealthy pilgrim towns into their dominions which would have provided them with market taxes and rents for their treasuries. Descriptions of these revolts also reveal the symbiotic relationship between ecclesiastical lords and monarchs, with the latter ultimately having the greater power.

[165] R. Fossier, 'The Rural Economy and Demographic Growth' in D. Luscombe and J. Riley-Smith (eds.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History Volume 4: c.1024–c.1198, Part 1* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 14.

Contributing to economic tension were Frankish prejudices against the native populations who were viewed as a lower and less able social class as exemplified by the exploits of Charlemagne in Iberia as told by Pseudo-Turpin. Frankish immigrants also brought a sense of independence and an entrepreneurial spirit that helped transform the economic and political landscape of communities along the pilgrim roads to Compostela. These factors contributed to a sense of Frankish superiority that led to the urban revolt in Sahagún and the expulsion of non-Franks from Pamplona's *burgo* of San Cernin in 1180.

The military orders also clashed with ecclesiastical lords over the boundaries of domains, rents and tithes. This was a sign of the powerful economic positions the Templars and Hospitallers had cultivated along the pilgrim roads since receiving their initial donations in the second quarter of the twelfth century. That the orders had the confidence to defend their economic interests against local bishops, abbots and even kings showed they had the backing of other perhaps more powerful royal and Church leaders due to their involvement in the crusades and international financial networks.

CHAPTER 5

SIN, SALVATION AND THE MORAL DILEMMA OF MONEY

This thesis has thus far shown that money was a key component of the devotional infrastructure of the Compostelan pilgrimage in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries. It has further argued that pursuit of economic and political power related to the rising money-based economy contributed to conflict between assertive ecclesiastical lords and the empowered merchants and craftsmen of the pilgrim towns, many of whom were outsiders to northern Christian Iberia. The remaining two chapters will reveal how the social problems triggered by increasing circulation of money gained expression and resolution through idioms of sin and salvation.

This chapter explores what Lester Little calls the 'moral uncertainty' triggered by the money economy and places it within the context of those living and travelling along the pilgrim roads to Compostela.[1] The *Veneranda dies* sermon and miracle stories from the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* will play a crucial role in understanding the role of spiritual salvation in the pilgrimage, and Church perceptions about money and its connection to sin. Textual evidence will be supplemented by the visual culture of contemporary church fabrics. Like the coins discussed in chapter three, church sculptures were seen by large numbers of passing pilgrims, merchants and townspeople and therefore offered the Church and its patrons an important platform from which they could communicate their positions.

[1] Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy*, p. 19.

1. Pilgrimage for Spiritual Salvation

Pilgrims trekked to Compostela for a variety of reasons, but chief amongst them was to seek the assistance of St James in securing their spiritual salvation. Pilgrims travelling on the Camino Francés entered Santiago Cathedral through the north portal, or Portal of Paradise,[2] at which point they were said to have been in a heightened state of joy and excitement due to the expectation that their salvation was in the good hands of St James.[3] *Veneranda dies* promised truly penitent pilgrims that they would have their sins forgiven by St James and the Lord,[4] and would receive 'heavenly rewards' (*premia celestia*) and 'eternal salvation' (*salus eterna*).[5]

The arduous journey to Compostela itself was understood to be a means through which pilgrims could cleanse sin and achieve spiritual salvation. *Veneranda dies* stated the pilgrimage was a 'road of penitence' (*via penitencie*)[6] that led to salvation for sinners, and it described some pilgrims who went barefoot or voluntarily shackled in irons as signs of penitence.[7] A miracle from the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, supposedly witnessed by Bede 'the Venerable' (c. 672-735), but likely written in the late eleventh century, told of an Italian man who made a penitential pilgrimage to Compostela with his crime written on a note that he delivered to the altar of St James.[8] He confessed his sin to Bishop Teodomiro, after which point the note was cleansed of any writing. Teodomiro then sent the pilgrim back home fully absolved of his sin and

[2] *Guide*, pp. 72-75 (ch. 9).
[3] *LSJ*, p. 89 (I, 17).
[4] Ibid., p. 89 (I, 17).
[5] Ibid., p. 85 (I, 17).
[6] Ibid., p. 104 (I, 17).
[7] Ibid., p. 89 (I, 17). For more on the penitential sequence, see Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade*, pp. 168-69.
[8] If witnessed by Bede, the miracle would have likely occurred in the early eighth century as he died in 735. But Teodomiro was bishop of Iria in the ninth century. In any case, it was almost certainly a product of the late eleventh century when the miracles of St James were being compiled. *MSJ*, pp. XLVIII-XLIX.

pronounced that those from distant shores who seek forgiveness from Christ and the assistance of St James would have their sins erased.[9]

The depth to which pilgrims were preoccupied with spiritual salvation was illustrated in another miracle story from the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*. Before embarking on pilgrimage to Compostela, a young tanner from Lyon fornicated with a maiden. Along the route the devil approaches the pilgrim, disguised as St James, and tells him that sins must be disclosed before leaving on pilgrimage, otherwise requests for intercession go unheeded. To cleanse his sin and receive salvation, the pilgrim is told by the devil to cut off his genitals. After doing so the pilgrim kills himself by cutting his own throat. At the gates of heaven, the devil and a group of demons claim the soul of the pilgrim, but St James and the Virgin Mary intervene and bring him back to life. The saved pilgrim was said to have recounted the miracle to others and supported the tale by showing his scars and the parts that had been removed.[10]

Pilgrims, merchants and townspeople along the roads to Compostela were frequently confronted with visual reminders about sin and the spiritual consequences of sinning, particularly during the Last Judgment, which was, according to Marcus Bull 'after the Resurrection, the cardinal event in God's scheme of salvation'.[11] Sculptural programmes along the pilgrim roads often featured scenes from the Last Judgment, in which Christ separates the souls of sinners and the saved, with the former group shown subjected to torture, flames and the torments of horrific

[9] *LSJ*, pp. 161-62 (II, 2). In another contemporary example of penitential pilgrimage to Compostela, Grosolano, the prelate of Milan, sent a man who killed his stepmother on pilgrimage to Compostela in 1100. Like the above example from the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, the man was to carry a letter with his crime written on it, and he was supposed to go barefoot whilst fasting in silence. J. Norrie, *Land and Cult: Society and Radical Religion in the Diocese of Milan c.990-1130*, Oxford University (2017), p. 67.
[10] *LSJ*, pp. 172-74 (II, 17). This miracle story was recounted by Guibert de Nogent who heard it from a Burgundian monk, showing it was circulating along the pilgrim roads outside of Iberia in the first half of the twelfth century. GN, pp. 219-22 (III, 19).
[11] Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade*, p. 185. For more on the fear sown by contemporary Church rhetoric about the Last Judgment on the lay population of Latin Christendom, see Ibid., pp. 181-91.

demons and beasts.[12] Such scenes could have struck fear into the hearts of those who viewed them, particularly malfeasant merchants, innkeepers and moneychangers who were addressed in *Veneranda dies*:

> What will you say on the Day of Judgment when you will see all those whom you have defrauded accusing you before God?[13]

The façade of the church of Saint-Trophime (1152) in Arles features Christ in Majesty as the focal point in the tympanum along with scenes from the Last Judgment. A vivid scene shows a sword-wielding angel at the gate of heaven who is turning away a long line of the damned, some of whom appear to be well dressed in long robes and hats, likely meant to represent wealthy merchants or ecclesiastics (Figure 5.1). Another group of the damned at Saint-Trophime is shown chained together, engulfed in flames and led by demons into hell (Figure 5.2). One of the damned, second from the front (far-right side) of the line, and farthest from the gates of heaven, turns back towards Christ, wearing what Henry Kraus called a look of 'regret'.[14]

[12] Scenes from the Last Judgment were found on Santiago Cathedral's Portal of Glory (c. 1188) and various churches along the pilgrim roads including Saint-Trophime in Arles, Santa María in Sangüesa and Santiago in Carrión. On the Portal of Glory, see F. Carbó Alonso, *Pórtico de la Gloria: Mensaje al Peregrino* (Santiago de Compostela, 2019), pp. 68-70. For Saint-Trophime, see Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, I, pp. 298-99.
[13] *LSJ*, p. 99 (I, 17): *Quid dicetis in iudicii die, quando videbitis omnes illos quos fraudastis accusantes vos coram Deo*? For English translation see *MSJ*, p. 44.
[14] H. Kraus, *The Living Theatre of Medieval Art* (Bloomington, 1967), pp. 188-89.



Figure 5.1. Rejection of the Damned from the Façade of Saint-Trophime, Arles.[15]



Figure 5.2. Chain of the Damned from the Façade of Saint-Trophime, Arles.[16]

Like Saint-Trophime, the elaborate tympanum of Santa María of Sangüesa contains vivid scenes from the Last Judgment. Christ in Majesty, surrounded by trumpeting angels, is shown passing judgment on those at the gates of Heaven (Figure 5.3). Facing the façade to the right are the damned, shown naked and in the process of being devoured by a large serpent, a symbol of

[15] Photographed by the author.
[16] Ibid.

the devil. Amongst those being judged is the archangel Michael holding the scales that will weigh their deeds (centre right, to the left of serpent with open mouth and outstretched tongue). To the left are the saved, shown clothed and in prayerful postures. The archivolts of the façade above Christ in Majesty and the upper frieze contain dozens of reliefs of townspeople, including shoemakers, butchers, entertainers, warriors, ecclesiastics, a pilgrim identified by his walking staff, and biblical figures.



Figure 5.3. Tympanum with Scenes from the Last Judgment, Church of Santa María, Sangüesa.[17]

As was the case with numerous churches along the Compostelan pilgrim roads, the focal point of the façade of Carrión's church of Santiago was a dominating Christ in Majesty on the frieze that projected the power of the Church (Figure 5.4).[18] It is surrounded first by a tetramorph of the four evangelists and then six apostles on each side. Below the frieze is the archivolt that displays twenty-two individuals representing Carrión's diverse urban market

[17] Photographed by the author.
[18] Mariño, 'La portada de Santiago de Carrión de los Condes', p. 67.

society including the group of minters, a shoemaker working on the sole of a boot, a locksmith filing a key, a fiddler playing whilst a dancer bends over backwards, and a tailor sewing a tunic.



Figure 5.4. Christ in Majesty and Tetramorph of Evangelists from Church of Santiago, Carrión.[19]

Capitals below the archivolt on Carrión's church of Santiago and to the right of the doorway as one entered the church, display scenes from the Last Judgment. One capital from the façade features a kneeling and agonizing soul, seemingly begging for forgiveness as the jaws of a lion are held open by two angel-like figures (Figure 5.5). This scene represents salvation, with a chosen one being rescued from the lion, thus facilitating his entry into paradise as represented by the angel flying overhead.[20] Stories including the 'Mouth of Truth' (Bocca della Verità) legend from Santa Maria in Cosmedin (Rome) proclaimed that if the jaws closed around someone's

[19] Photographed by the author.
[20] Lacoste, 'El Maestro de Carrión de los Condes', p. 179. See also M.A. García Guinea, *El arte románico en Palencia* (Palencia, 1961), p. 128.

hands they had sworn falsely.[21] In this case the jaws are held open, thus suggesting the figure on his knees is in the process of being saved.



Figure 5.5. Saved Figure from Capital, Façade of Church of Santiago, Carrión.[22]

Scales like those used by moneychangers and merchants were used in contemporary texts and sculptures to illustrate the weighing of souls during the Last Judgment. A relief of the archangel Michael weighing souls can be seen on the façade of the church of Saint-Trophime (Figure 5.6). In the sculpture, naked beings are shown pleading with Michael as he places them on the scales to measure their good and bad deeds in order to judge whether they will be saved or damned. *Veneranda dies* used biblical references including the story of Jesus chasing moneychangers from the Temple to warn merchants they would be measured during the Last Judgment using the same scales with which they defrauded pilgrims:

[21] D. Glass, 'Romanesque Sculpture in American Collections. V. Washington and Baltimore', *Gesta*, 9 (1970), pp. 46-59, p. 57.
[22] Photographed by the author.

‘Deceitful sons of men on the scales, that from concern for the vain they may be captured in that very thing.’ You are deceived in your works, for your works are leading you to the lower places. ‘With that same measure with which you will have measured, it will be measured back to you.’ Measure upon measure, mark upon mark, pound upon pound are at your table. Await therefore what Proverbs says to you: ‘Weight and weight, measure and measure, either is abominable to God.’ For the Lord once overturned your tables in the temple, as it is written in the Gospel: ‘The Lord upset the tables of the moneychangers and the chairs of those selling doves.’[23]



Figure 5.6. Relief of Archangel Michael Weighing Souls, Façade of the Church of Saint-Trophime, Arles.[24]

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As pilgrims passed by the facades of churches along the Compostelan pilgrim roads they observed ubiquitous sculptures of Christ in Majesty passing judgment over the saved and

[23] *LSJ*, p. 99 (I, 17): Mendaces filii hominum in stateris, ut decipiantur ipsi de vanitate in idipsum*. Decepti estis in operibus vestris. Opera enim vestra ad inferos vos ducunt. Eadem mensura qua mensi fueritis, remetietur vobis. Pondus super pondus, marca super marcam, libra super libram sunt ad mensam vestram. Attendite ergo quid vobis quidam sapiens ait:* Pondus et pondus, mensura et mensura, utrumque abominabile Deo est*. Mensas enim vestras olim Dominus in templo subvertit, ut in evangelio scriptum est:* Mensas nummulariorum et cathedras vendentium columbas evertit *Dominus.* The biblical references cited in the passage above are from Psalms 61:10, Proverbs 20:10 and Matthew 21:12. For English translation see *MSJ*, p. 43.

[24] Photographed by the author.

damned. The contrast between salvation with its trumpeting angels and damnation marked by devouring beasts and a fiery inferno was stark and no doubt intended to make a visceral impression on pilgrims and others who gazed upon the sculptures. A primary concern of the pilgrims and townspeople viewing the facades was how their relationship with money and its association with the sin of avarice would impact their spiritual salvation, a topic that will be explored in the next section.

2. Avarice and Money as a Source of Sin

Avarice, widely perceived as greed of money, and often meant to represent wealthy merchants in the rising urban areas along the pilgrim roads, was the principal sin condemned by the Church in the twelfth century.[25] In addition to its connection to the merchant class and commercial activity, avarice increasingly became associated with usury (*usura*), defined as any loan that required repayment of an amount greater than that that was initially lent.[26] Biblical stories condemned loans that charged interest and religious leaders used these stories to support the notion of a prohibition on usury. [27]

Compostela's cathedral chapter viewed avarice as a serious sin that afflicted pilgrims and merchants as clearly shown in *Veneranda dies*. Those who carried gold and silver without making donations to the poor did not emulate the vow of poverty taken by Christ and the apostles and were not considered to be 'true pilgrims', but rather 'thieves and plunderers of

[25] Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy*, p. 36; L. Little 'Pride Goes before Avarice', pp. 31 and 38-39; J. Le Goff, *Your Money or Your Life: Economy and Religion in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1988), pp. 47-48; G. Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 318; and M. Rubin, *Charity and Community in Medieval Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 83-93.
[26] Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy*, p. 179.
[27] In the Gospel of Luke, Jesus promoted lending but with no expectation for return. Luke 6:35. See also Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy*, pp. 179-80; and Le Goff, *Time, Work, and Culture*, p. 61.

God'.[28] The sermon lectured that avarice, and other sins like gluttony and lust, could be subdued through pilgrimage:

> It reduces fat foods, it checks gluttony of the stomach, it tames lust, it suppresses carnal desires, which militate against the soul. It purifies the spirit, it motivates man toward contemplation, it humbles the lofty, it beatifies the humble. It loves poverty; it hates the inventory that avarice keeps but that generosity loves when one dispenses it to the needy. It rewards those abstaining and working well, it does not free those sinning and avaricious on it [the road].[29]

The importance of the vow of poverty to the Compostelan pilgrimage was illustrated through the purse and staff. *Veneranda dies* used these pilgrim possessions to reinforce a dedication to Christ-like poverty and its role in achieving spiritual salvation. The purse was meant to carry money, but it was also a symbol of poverty. It was supposed to be kept open to accept and give alms, and only intended to carry a small provision to support pilgrims on their journeys. Pilgrims who carried large sums of money without giving to the poor were condemned to beg for eternity.[30] In addition to its link to poverty, the purse was made from the hide of a dead animal, typically deerskin,[31] to remind pilgrims of the mortification of the flesh and the many hardships that would be faced on their journeys.[32]

Along with the purse, the pilgrim's staff was blessed in a Church ceremony before embarking on the journey. The staff symbolized a third leg of support and devotion to the Holy

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[28] *LSJ*, p. 93 (I, 17): *Profecto non sunt veri peregrini, sed fures et latrones Dei.* On the vow of poverty, see W. Purkis, 'Religious Symbols and Practices: Monastic Spirituality, Pilgrimage and Crusade' in M. Rubin (ed.), *European Religious Cultures: Essays Offered to Christopher Brooke on the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday* (London, 2008), pp. 69-88, p. 84. See also Le Goff, *Money and the Middle Ages*, p. 4.

[29] *LSJ*, p. 91 (I, 17): *Cibaria pinguia extenuat, ventris ingluviem cohibet, libidinem domat, carnalia desideria que militant adversus animam comprimit, spiritum purificat, hominem ad contemplacionem provocat, sublimes humiliat, humiles beatificat, paupertatem diligit, censum quem observat avaricia odit, sed quem dispergit egenis largitas diligit, abstinentes et bene operantes remunerate, peccantes et avaros in se non liberat.* For English translation see *MSJ*, p. 23.

[30] *LSJ*, p. 93 (I, 17).

[31] Deerskin purses were preferred by pilgrims and they were sold in Compostela's *parvis* market. *Guide*, pp. 72-77 (ch. 9). Counterfeiters tried to swindle pilgrims by passing off purses made from sheepskin, pigskin and horse hide as deerskin. *LSJ*, p. 99 (I, 17).

[32] *LSJ*, p. 91 (I, 17).

Trinity. It also represented poverty and hardship, and offered protection from the devil, often represented as wolves, dogs and demons.[33] In a miracle story from the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, St James uses a beggar's staff as a lance and a small bag (presumably a purse) as a weapon to drive away demons from a pilgrim.[34] This story conveyed the vow of poverty, represented by the staff and purse, as the means through which to extirpate sin.[35]

Like the author(s) of *Veneranda dies*, Bernard of Clairvaux promoted the use of money for pious purposes. In the second book of Bernard's *De consideratione,* written in 1150, he declared that the spending of money could be good, but he further outlined a spectrum of avaricious uses that ranged from abuse and anxiety to greed:

> One thing I know - it is not gold, nor silver, for he himself says, 'Silver and gold I have-not.' If you happen to have them, use them not for your own gratification, but to meet the necessities of the time. You will then be using them as though you used them not. In them as regards man's spiritual welfare, they are neither good nor bad; yet the use of them is good, the abuse is bad; anxiety about them is worse; the greed of gain still more disgraceful.[36]

Bernard was referring to the biblical story in which Peter and John encounter a lame beggar. The beggar expects to receive coins, but instead he is cured of his lameness.[37] In referring to this passage and writing that money should be used to meet the 'necessities of the time', Bernard was alluding to the virtue of poverty and the healing power of Christ over the power of money for personal gratification.

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[33] Ibid., p. 91 (I, 17).
[34] Ibid., p. 171 (II, 16).
[35] On the relationship between aristocratic donations and expectations of spiritual salvation, see Barton, *Aristocracy*, pp. 206-07.
[36] Bernard of Clairvaux, 'De Consideratione', *PL* 182, col. 748 (II, 6): *Unum scio: non est aurum neque argentum, cum ipse dicat: Argentum et aurum non est mihi. Si habere contingat, utere non pro libitu, sed pro tempore. Sic eris utens illis, quasi non utens. Ipsa quidem, quod ad animi bonum spectat, nec bona sunt, nec mala: usus tamen horum bonus, abusio mala, sollicitudo pejor, quaestus turpior*. For English translation see Bernard of Clairvaux, *On Consideration*, trans. G. Lewis (Oxford, 1908), p. 47.
[37] Acts 3:6. 'Then Peter said, "Silver or gold I do not have, but what I do have I give you. In the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, walk."'

The sin of avarice was typically represented in contemporary sculptural programmes as a person burdened by a large bag of coins tied around his or her neck.[38] Examples were found all along the pilgrim roads to Compostela (Figure 5.7), including at Saint-Sernin in Toulouse (c. 1105),[39] Santa María in Sangüesa (c. 1180),[40] San Salvador at the monastery of Leyre (c. 1150)[41] and San Martín in Frómista (c. 1120).[42] At Saint-Sernin in Toulouse and San Martín in Frómista, avarice is flanked by winged demons ready to seize his soul (Figures 5.7a and 5.7d). The Frómista sculpture also shows the head of the avaricious man in the process of being devoured by a demon.[43]

[38] G. Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 318; See also Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy*, p. 36; L. Little 'Pride Goes before Avarice', p. 31; J. Le Goff, *Your Money or Your Life: Economy and Religion in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1988), pp. 47-48; and Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, I, p. 210.
[39] Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, I, p. 210.
[40] Ancho Villanueva and Fernández-Ladreda Aguadé, *Portada de Santa María de Sangüesa*, p. 30.
[41] Leyre was the site of a pantheon of the early kings of Navarre. The monastery was located high in the foothills of the Pyrenees, lying just off the stretch of pilgrim road between Sangüesa and Monreal. Its sculptural programme clearly targeted visiting pilgrims as shown by a prominently displayed boot and gourd on one of the archivolts.
[42] Senra, 'Rebellion, Reconciliation, and a Romanesque Church', pp. 388-403.
[43] F. de Olaguer-Feliú Alonso, *El arte románico español* (Madrid, 2003), p. 106.



Figure 5.7. Twelfth-Century Sculptures of Avarice. (a) South Transept Portal of Saint-Sernin of Toulouse; (b) Santa María of Sangüesa; (c) San Salvador of Leyre; and (d) San Martín of Frómista.[44]

Little argues the figure of avarice represented merchants, a new element in society that was different and incremental to the tripartite view of society in which people were grouped into

[44] All sculptures in fig. 5.7 photographed by the author.

three categories, the *oratores, bellatores* and *laboratores*. In this schema, the *oratores* contemplated, the *bellatores* fought and the *laboratores* toiled.[45] The class of *laboratores* included peasants and craftsmen and was generally regarded as the lowest class of society. It was this worldview that informed rhetoric in contemporary Church polemics against the new urban merchant class such as the *Veneranda dies* sermon. The social classification of merchants was buttressed by the perception that they did not create anything, as God had done with man, but rather sold the work of others.[46]

Veneranda dies condemned the avaricious of the pilgrim roads whose thirst for more riches was insatiable, and who ultimately end up in hell, along with the 'high and glorious', a clear reference to the sin of pride that had been the principal sin in the eyes of the Church prior to the rise of avarice in the twelfth century:[47]

> Your avarice is asserted to be like the insatiable person with dropsy. When one with dropsy drinks, he wants to drink more. Similarly, when you acquire more riches from fraud, you work to acquire even more. Your avarice is similar to the bottomless abyss, and to the deep well and to the sea. Just as your cupidity is without measure, so also your pains in the fires of Gehenna [Hell] will be without limit. Await what Isaiah says: 'Because of these things hell has widened its soul and has opened its mouth without end; and its strong and its people and its high and glorious will go down into it.'[48]

A late eleventh-century miracle story from the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* told of a German pilgrim who was travelling through Toulouse with some compatriots and was falsely accused of theft by an

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[45] For detailed analysis of various schemas that delineated different orders of society and their evolution in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, see Constable, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought*, pp. 289-323.
[46] Le Goff, *Time, Work, and Culture*, p. 61.
[47] Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy*, p. 36; and L. Little 'Pride Goes before Avarice', pp. 31 and 38-39; and J. Le Goff, *Your Money or Your Life: Economy and Religion in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1988), pp. 47-48. See also G. Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 318.
[48] *LSJ*, p. 101 (I, 17): *Avaricia vestra more ydropici insaciabilis esse perhibetur. Ydropicus dum magis bibit, magis bibere appetit. Et vos similiter dum magis gazas fraudis adquiritis, magis adquirere laboratis. Avaracia vestra similis est baratro insaciabili, puteoque profundo et mari. Sicut cupiditas vestra est sine mensura, sic pene vestre in gehennalibus incendiis erunt sine meta. Attendite quid vobis Ysaias ait: 'Propterea dilatavit infernus animam suam et aperuit os suum absque termino. Et descendent fortes eius et populus eius et sublimes gloriosique eius ad eum.'* For English translation see *MSJ*, pp. 47-48.

innkeeper. The innkeeper was described as stirred by a spirit of avarice so that he could steal their money.[49]

Church polemic against avarice also drew upon the biblical story of the rich man and the beggar Lazarus.[50] In the story from the Gospel of Luke, the rich man enjoys a sumptuous dinner whilst Lazarus, afflicted by sores that are licked by dogs, attempts to eat crumbs falling from the table. Upon their deaths, Lazarus is carried to heaven by angels whilst the rich man is buried, and his soul sent to hell. As he is tortured by the flames, the rich man begs for help from Abraham who recounts the reason for his condemnation:

> … remember that thou in thy lifetime receivedst thy good things, and likewise Lazarus evil things: but now he is comforted, and thou art tormented.[51]

The rich man, sometimes referred to as *Dives*, was often used to represent the Jewish usurer, who was also linked to the Jewish people, whereas Lazarus represented the 'just man' associated with the 'gentile people'.[52] The façade of Saint-Trophime displays a relief of an enthroned Lazarus in heaven who is sitting on the rich man shown weighed down by money bags tied around his neck (Figure 5.8).[53]

[49] *LSJ*, p. 164 (II, 5).
[50] Little, 'Pride Goes before Avarice', p. 26. The Parisian moralist Alan of Lille (1128-c.1202) preached that the avaricious worship false gods and that the 'rich man does not possess riches but is possessed by them'. O. Langholm, 'A Herald of Scholasticism: Alan of Lille on Economic Virtue', in G. Gasper and S. Gullbekk (eds.), *Money and the Church in Medieval Europe, 1000-1200* (Farnham, 2015), pp. 93-104, p. 97.
[51] Luke: 16:25.
[52] Kraus, *Living Theater of Medieval Art*, pp. 155-56.
[53] Stoddard, *Facade of Saint-Gilles*, p. 284.



Figure 5.8. Lazarus Sitting on the Rich Man (left), with Angel (right) Guarding Gate of Heaven, Saint-Trophime.[54]

Two capitals from the south transept portal, the *Porte des Comptes* (Portal of the Counts) of the basilica of Saint-Sernin in Toulouse also conveyed the story of the rich man and Lazarus.[55] The story was part of a broader morality sermon spread across the portal's capitals that featured the sins of avarice, lust, gluttony and vanity.[56] Compostelan pilgrims were encouraged in the *Pilgrim's Guide* to visit the basilica that housed the remains of St Saturninus and they would have had the opportunity to view and contemplate messages from these sculptures as they entered or exited the basilica.[57] One of the capitals features the rich man alone at his table and

[54] Photographed by the author.
[55] Avarice and the story of Lazarus and the rich man were also included in the sculptural programme of the abbey church of Moissac, another Cluniac monastery that sat on the pilgrim roads to Compostela. Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy*, p. 37.
[56] T. Lyman, 'Sculpture Programme of the Porte des Comptes at Saint-Sernin in Toulouse', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 34 (1971), pp. 12-39, pp. 14-15.
[57] *Guide*, pp. 42-43 (ch. 8).

attended to by a servant, whilst a haloed Lazarus to his right begs for scraps as dogs lick his sores.[58] Another capital shows Lazarus being carried to heaven by two angels (Figure 5.9).

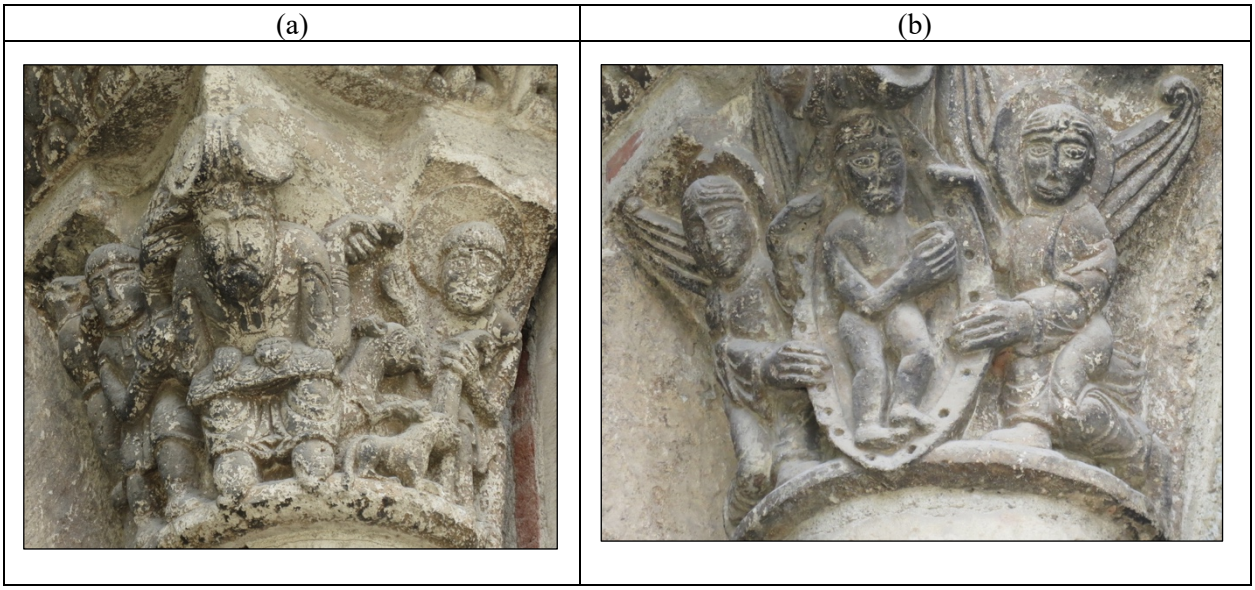


Figure 5.9. (a) The Rich Man at Table with Servant and Lazarus with Halo; (b) Lazarus Raised by Angels, Count's Portal, Cathedral of Saint-Sernin, Toulouse.[59]

The intended audience for these sculptures included pilgrims travelling with large quantities of money or merchandise like the German family of merchants on pilgrimage to Compostela, who, according to a miracle story from the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, travelled through Toulouse in 1090 with plentiful riches.[60] The audience would have also included merchants and craftsmen from Toulouse, some of whom travelled along the *via Tolosana* and settled in Iberian communities along the Camino Francés like Pamplona's *burgo* of San Cernin,[61] and the towns of Jaca and Sahagún,[62] where they sought to capitalize on the commercial opportunities of the pilgrimage. Artisans from Toulouse also likely worked and settled in Compostela in the twelfth

[58] The sores of Lazarus were likely meant to represent leprosy. The word leper was derived from a corruption of Lazarus as a *ladre* or a *lazar*. Fossier, 'The Rural Economy and Demographic Growth', p. 16.
[59] Both sculptures photographed by the author.
[60] *LSJ*, p. 164 (II, 5).
[61] *Documentación medieval del Archivos Municipal de Pamplona (1129-1356)*, p. XVI (1).
[62] *CAS*, pp. 19-21.

century as shown by the architectural similarities between Santiago Cathedral and the basilica of Saint-Sernin.[63]

Besides avarice, other sins were attacked by the Church along the pilgrim roads, including lust and gluttony which were also related to the rising urban-based merchant class. *Veneranda dies* connected gluttony to drunkenness, and to lust through the image of a serpent:

> The snake that has bitten the sleeping man, symbolically portrays the devil who excites and pierces with the fire of lust the one whom it finds sluggish from the vice of drunkenness.[64]

Certain occupations were considered to be sinful because of their associations with societal taboos. Lust was associated with occupations that promoted or facilitated debauchery including innkeepers, bathkeepers, jongleurs and female textile workers who were said to contribute significantly to the ranks of prostitutes, and gluttony was often associated with cooks.[65]

Innkeepers were one of the groups most targeted in *Veneranda dies* for fraudulent and immoral activity along the pilgrim roads. The profession of innkeeping, so crucial to the pilgrimage's devotional infrastructure and one that clearly employed large numbers of townspeople, was associated with lust and sexual temptation because prostitutes were known to operate in inns. Prostitutes, called the servants of innkeepers, were said to sleep with pilgrims in their beds and in the woods along the roads, for pleasure and to steal from them, due to the encouragement of the devil.[66]

Lust (*luxuria*) was commonly represented on sculptural programmes of the pilgrim roads to Compostela (Figure 5.10). On the façade of the church of Saint-Trophime, lust was

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[63] Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Architecture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, I, pp. 211-16.
[64] *LSJ*, p. 95 (I, 17): *Coluber qui hominem dormientem momordit, diabolum tipice ostendit, qui igne libidinis inflammat et percutit, quem in ebrietatis vicio torpentem invenit*. For English translation see *MSJ*, p. 33.
[65] Le Goff, *Time, Work, and Culture*, pp. 58-61.
[66] *LSJ*, p. 96 (I, 17). Prostitutes were said to have approached pilgrims in the woods between the Galician pilgrim towns of Portomarín and Palas de Rei.

represented by a naked woman sitting on a serpent, underneath a grotesque demon holding upside-down what appear to be two naked souls.[67] At the church of Santa María in Sangüesa, lust was shown as a woman-serpent creature with exposed breasts, notably placed next to a relief of a shoemaker shown working on a shoe held between his legs, undoubtedly sending a warning against immoral activity to the town's powerful shoemakers.[68]

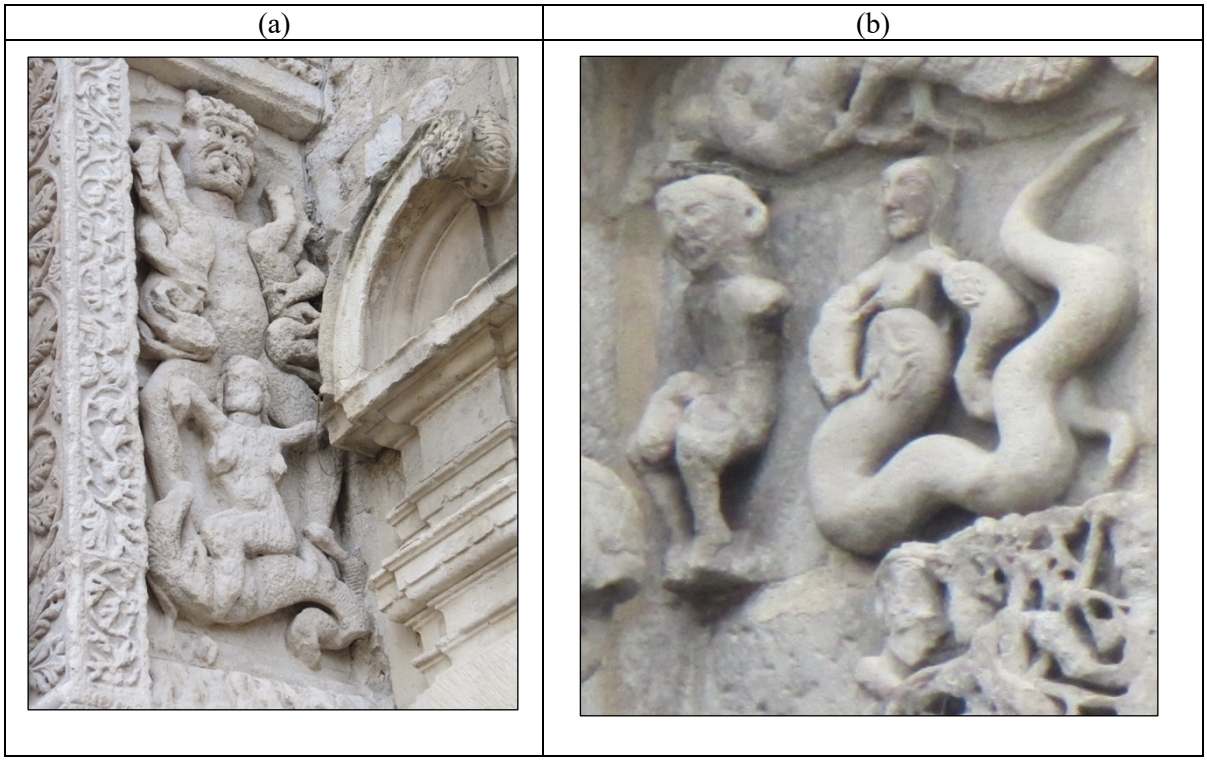


Figure 5.10. (a) Sculpture of *Luxuria* from Saint-Trophime; and (b) Shoemaker (left) and *Luxuria* from Santa María of Sangüesa.[69]

Lust was also presented to pilgrims on the south portal façade of Santiago Cathedral (Puerta de las Platerías), where silver pilgrim souvenirs were sold. The sculpture, dating from the early twelfth century, shows lust as a full-haired adulterous woman with one breast exposed

[67] W.S. Stoddard, *The Facade of Saint-Gilles-du-Gard: Its Influence on French Sculpture* (Middletown, 1973), p. 287.
[68] To the left of the shoemaker (not shown in photo) is an ecclesiastic making a blessing type of hand gesture. This could have been intended to show how the Church could facilitate salvation.
[69] Both sculptures photographed by the author.

(Figure 5.11).[70] The *Pilgrim's Guide* stated she is holding the head of her lover that had been cut off by her husband. According to the story, because of her sin the woman was forced to kiss the rotting head of her lover twice daily.[71] The author of the *Pilgrim's Guide* clearly saw the sculpture as a way to preach against the immoral acts of lust, stating 'Oh, what ingenious and admirable justice for an adulterous wife; it should be recounted to everyone!'.[72]



Figure 5.11. Woman and Skull from South Portal of Santiago Cathedral, Santiago de Compostela.[73]

The relief of the women and skull from the portal of the Platerías could have been a warning against sexual infidelity as suggested by the descriptions of prostitutes and their

[70] Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Architecture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, I, pp. 211-16. The woman and skull relief was created by the same sculptor of Saint-Sernin's south portal.
[71] *Guide*, pp. 74-77 (ch. 9).
[72] Ibid., pp. 76-77 (ch. 9).
[73] Photographed by the author.

temptations in *Veneranda dies*. Indeed, pilgrims travelling into Compostela on the Camino Francés entered the cathedral through the north portal and after visiting the altar they exited through the south portal.[74] At this point, enterprising locals might have approached pilgrims with offers of lodging, goods and other services. The intended audience could therefore have been the local population, perhaps with a focus on innkeepers and prostitutes, and their potential pilgrim clients.

Lust was also associated with musicians and dancers, called *juglares* (jongleurs), who entertained Compostelan pilgrims and townspeople along the pilgrim roads and in the markets.[75] The Church viewed their profession as idle and sinful and they were openly condemned.[76] *Juglares* were included on the late twelfth-century pilgrim town church facades of Santiago in Carrión (Figure 5.12) and Santa María in Sangüesa, placed amongst other urban professions such as shoemakers, blacksmiths, butchers and tailors. The first reference to the profession of *juglar* was made in the *Crónicas anónimas*[77] and notably Sahagún was the site of the first school for the trade in Iberia.[78] Such a presence of the *juglar* profession in an important pilgrim town shows the importance of entertainment along the roads and in the markets and even a degree of Church acceptance for their trade.

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[74] *Guide*, pp. 70-71 (ch. 9). A capital in the south transept portal of Santiago Cathedral shows lust as a bare-breasted woman bitten and enveloped by serpents. Two additional capitals from the north portal archivolts of Santiago Cathedral (now residing in the cathedral museum) also illustrated lust including male figure with genitals being bitten by a beast and a female with breasts being bitten by serpents. B. Abou-El-Haj, 'Santiago de Compostela in the Time of Diego Gelmírez', *Gesta*, 36 (1997), pp. 165-79, pp. 172-75.
[75] Mariño, 'La portada de Santiago de Carrión de los Condes', p. 66.
[76] Le Goff, *Time, Work, and Culture*, p. 60. See also B. Mariño, 'La portada de Santiago de Carrión de los Condes', *Palencia en los siglos del Románico* (Palencia, 2002), pp. 49-69, p. 66.
[77] *CAS*, p. 120 (75).
[78] Cuenca Coloma, *Sahagún: Monasterio y Villa 1085 – 1985*, pp. 62-64.



Figure 5.12. Fiddler (left) and Dancer (centre) from Façade of Church of Santiago, Carrión.[79]

Gluttony was also represented in the sculptural programmes of pilgrim town churches that sought to influence passing pilgrims. Gluttony symbolized the perceived excesses and hording of material wealth of the urban merchant class. The church of San Salvador at the monastery of Leyre in Navarre, located on a stretch of the pilgrim road between Jaca and Puente la Reina, displays gluttony as a man wearing a horned helmet who is drinking from two bottles simultaneously (Figure 5.13).

[79] Photographed by the author.



Figure 5.13. Gluttony from the Church of San Salvador, Monastery of Leyre.[80]

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As pilgrim traffic and the money economy surged along the roads to Compostela in the twelfth century, the Church sought to distinguish a boundary between greed and sanctity. Money was a crucial component of the pilgrimage's devotional infrastructure but adherence to a voluntary vow of poverty was a major issue for the Church. Sculptural programmes along the Compostelan pilgrim roads and textual evidence from *Veneranda dies* clearly displayed Church concern about the money economy, particularly greed for money amongst the emerging merchant and artisan classes as well as pilgrims. This greed was expressed as the sin of avarice, represented in church sculptures as a figure burdened by a large money bag tied around his neck

[80] Ibid.

and by scenes from the story of Lazarus and the rich man. Whilst the Church confronted avarice, pilgrims and townspeople who relied on money for their journeys and livelihoods faced a morally complicated path to spiritual salvation.

3. Church Polemic Against Fraud

In addition to concerns about avaricious merchants and pilgrims who travelled with money and 'inventory', Compostela's cathedral chapter expressed concern about merchant profiteering at the expense of pilgrims. *Veneranda die*s detailed an exhaustive list of fraudulent acts perpetrated against pilgrims in the pursuit of 'riches' and outlined the spiritual consequences:

> Know that you will give up in the future not only the riches that you have wickedly amassed with innumerable frauds, but also your soul and your own name...[81]

The sermon detailed specific prices, weights and measures that were part of alleged frauds committed by nearly every trade associated with the pilgrimage including moneychangers, innkeepers, bakers, spice merchants, cloth merchants and even prostitutes. This level of detail revealed that the sermon's authors were intimately aware of Compostela's market activities. The sermon further stated that St James himself, and other saints with shrines along the Compostelan pilgrim roads including St Giles, would be accusers of fraudulent merchants during the Last Judgment, testifying 'May death come over them and may they descend alive to hell.'[82]

Contemporary perceptions of fraudulent merchants were also held by Church leaders outside of Iberia. In the first half of the twelfth century, Honorius Augustodunensis (d. 1151) wrote that merchants did everything through frauds, false oaths and a corrupt desire for earthly

[81] *LSJ*, p. 100 (I, 17): *Ecce quia non solum gazas quas inique fraudibus inummeris adunastis, verum etiam animam propriumque nomen in futuro dimittetis...* For English translation see *MSJ*, p. 46.
[82] *LSJ*, p. 100 (I, 17): *Veniat mors super illos, et descendant in infernum viventes, quoniam nequicie in habitaculis eorem, in medio eorum*. For English translation see *MSJ*, p. 44.

profits.[83] And Peter Lombard (1100-60), bishop of Paris and popular religious scholar, wrote in his *Sententarium* (c. 1150) that he believed merchants (*negotiatores*), along with knights (*milites*), could only operate by sinning.[84] These beliefs were influenced by biblical sayings and stories such as Ecclesiasticus that stated: 'A merchant shall hardly keep himself from doing wrong, and a huckster should not be freed from sin', conveying little doubt that merchants by their very nature were dishonest and sinful.[85] Ecclesiasticus further condemned buying and selling, cornerstone of the urban-market society:

> As a nail sticketh fast between the joinings of the stones; so doth sin stick close between buying and selling.[86]

Perhaps the most vivid biblical story castigating money was that of Jesus chasing the moneychangers, along with merchants selling cattle, sheep and doves, from the Temple in Jerusalem. The Gospel of John described the event:

> The Passover of the Jews was near, and Jesus went up to Jerusalem. In the temple he found people selling cattle, sheep, and doves, and the moneychangers seated at their tables. Making a whip of cords, he drove all of them out of the temple, both the sheep and the cattle. He also poured out the coins of the moneychangers and overturned their tables. He told those who were selling the doves, 'Take these things out of here! Stop making my Father's house a marketplace!'[87]

This scene was dramatically represented on the façade of the abbey church of Saint-Gilles (c. 1142), a major pilgrim town on the *via Tolosana*, the southernmost Compostelan pilgrim road

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[83] Honorius Augustodunensis, 'Speculum Ecclesiae', *PL* 172, cols. 807-1108, col. 865: *Nune vos hortor, qui mercatores estis, ne in tantum terrenis lucris inheietis ut animam vestram venalem faciatis et eam fraudibus, perjuriis, mendaciis perdatis*.

[84] Peter Lombard, 'Sententiarum', *PL* 192, cols. 878-79: *Falsas poenitentias dicimus, quae non secundum auctoritates sanctorum pro qualitate criminum imponuntur. Ideoque miles, vel negotiator, vel alicui officio deditus, quod sine peccato exercere non possit, si culpis gravioribus irretitus ad poenitentiam venerit, vel qui bona alterius injuste detinet, vel qui odium in corde gerit, recognoscat se veram poenitentiam non posse peragere, nisi negotium relinquat, vel officium deserat, et odium ex corde dimittat, et bona quae injuste abstulit, restituat.*

[85] Ecclesiasticus 26:29.

[86] Ibid., 27:2.

[87] John 2:13-16. Moneychangers at the Temple in Jerusalem exchanged Greek and Roman coins for Jewish and Tyrian coins which were the only types of money that could be used in the Temple.

through Provence and Languedoc.[88] The sculpture shows an aggressive Jesus chasing four moneychangers from the Temple of Jerusalem, identified as a two-storey arched structure framing the scene (Figure 5.14).



Figure 5.14. Jesus Chasing the Moneychangers, Façade of the Abbey Church of Saint-Gilles.[89]

The moneychangers in the sculpture hastily try to escape with their money bags and livestock. This sculpture conveyed the emotions of the moneychangers, with the one closest to Jesus showing fear as he attempts to scoop coins into his tunic, and the one furthest away showing contempt as he looks back at Jesus shaking his money bag.[90] The sculpture also communicated an unmistakable message to the merchants of Saint-Gilles, and to those along the

[88] On the dating of the façade of Saint-Gilles, see W.S. Stoddard, *The Facade of Saint-Gilles-du-Gard: Its Influence on French Sculpture* (Middletown, 1973), pp. 127-59 and Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Architecture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, I, pp. 273 and 297. That the façade of Saint-Gilles was not included in the *Pilgrim's Guide's* extensive description of the shrine indicates it had not been fully completed at that time, thus helping to date the façade to c. 1142.
[89] Photographed by the author.
[90] Scenes with a moneychanger in the Temple looking at Jesus with contempt were common in medieval sculpture. Kraus, *Living Theater of Medieval Art*, p. 155. See also Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy*, p. 39.

pilgrim roads more generally, that they were not to profit excessively from pilgrims, defraud or steal from them. Indeed, *Veneranda die*s listed Saint-Gilles as one of the sites along the pilgrim roads where boys were sent to learn fraudulent trades.[91]

Moneychangers were especially targeted in *Veneranda dies*. They were accused of using various fraudulent tactics included cutting and shaving larger coins with pincers, selling silver- and gold-plated works as pure silver and gold and non-precious stones as very precious.[92] Use of false weights was one of the tactics used by moneychangers in which they would buy coins using a lighter weight and sell with a heavier weight:

> The wicked money changer has various weights, large and small. He buys the mark and silver with the heavy and larger weight, and he sells them with the lighter and smaller weight. He praises his gold and silver and his happiness, he spurns that of others. He sells dearly, he buys cheaply.[93]

As in Compostela, moneychangers in Saint-Gilles were known to take advantage of pilgrims as shown in the 1178 statute from Raymond of Toulouse and the councillors of Saint-Gilles that sought to address abuses that were perpetrated in spaces outside the open spaces of the market.

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Biblical stories and their representation in church sculptures and texts such as the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* reinforced twelfth-century stereotypes of merchants and those who handled money as perpetrating frauds and acting immorally. Christ and the apostles including St James who embraced poverty were seen as role models for pilgrims and townspeople. The rejection of

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[91] *LSJ*, p. 99 (I, 17). Other towns where boys were claimed to have been sent to learn fraudulent trades included Lucca, Tours, Piacenza, Le Puy, Rome, Bari and Barletta. Notably the sons of moneychangers were listed in the 1178 statute from Saint-Gilles that regulated the moneychanging trade. Moralized bibles from thirteenth-century France often characterized moneychangers as sinful and avaricious. Welch Williams, *Bread, Wine, and Money*, p. 124.

[92] Ibid., pp. 98-99 (I, 17).

[93] Ibid., p. 98 (I, 17): *Diversa pondera, magna et parva, cambiator habet iniquus. Forti pondere et maiori marca emit argentum, et leviori vel pauciori vendit. Suum aurum et argentum suasque felicitates laudat et alterius sprevit. Care vendit, vile emit.* For English translation see *MSJ*, p. 42.

money and commerce on moral grounds was embodied in the biblical story of Jesus chasing the moneychangers from the Temple. Compostelan pilgrims and the merchants and artisans who served them along the roads needed to balance the importance of money and commercial activity with the moral expectations of the Church as they pursued their ultimate goal of spiritual salvation.

4. Anti-Jewishness and the Money Economy

Avarice and usury increasingly became linked to Jews over the course of the twelfth century, especially as their occupational opportunities shrank and they were forced into moneylending.[94] In *Dialogus inter Philosophum, Iudaeum, et Christianum* (c. 1136), written by the moral theologian Peter Abelard, his Jewish interlocutor describes the Jews' troubled entry into the money-lending profession:

> We are allowed to possess neither fields nor vineyards nor any landed estates because there is no one who can protect them for us from open or occult attack. Consequently, the principal gain that is left for us is that we sustain our miserable lives here by lending money at interest to strangers: but this just makes us most hateful to them who think they are being oppressed by it.[95]

Abelard's contemporary Peter 'the Venerable' (c.1092-1156), abbot of Cluny which had itself become indebted to Jewish moneylenders, preached to Louis VII that Jews should help finance the Second Crusade (1147-50).[96] Peter declared Jews should be stripped of their property since all their wealth was attributed to moneylending and therefore theft, and the proceeds used to fund

[94] Rist, *Popes and Jews*, pp. 141-46. See also R.I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Authority and Deviance in Western Europe 950-1250* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 79-80.
[95] Peter Abelard, trans. P. Payer, *A Dialogue of a Philosopher with a Jew, and a Christian* (Toronto, 1979), p. 33. One the dating of *Dialogue*, see ibid., pp. 6-8.
[96] Peter the Venerable, trans. I.M. Resnick, *Against the Inveterate Obduracy of the Jews* (Washington D.C., 2013), pp. 29-30.

the Crusade.[97] In 1145 Pope Eugenius III (1145-53) had demanded that crusaders, who often had to borrow money to finance their voyage and participation in the fighting, be absolved from paying interest on loans to Jews.[98]

Although Jewish involvement in moneylending in Iberia lagged behind that of other areas of western Europe, contemporary Christian stereotypes against Jews and money flowed along the pilgrim roads to Compostela. Pilgrims were frequently reminded of Judas, who was said to have betrayed Jesus for thirty silver coins.[99] The Church sought to project the avaricious and traitorous behaviour attributed to Judas upon all Jews of contemporary society as well as the Christian merchant class.[100] *Veneranda dies* described innkeepers who approached pilgrims with a kiss, as if they were family, in an effort to entice them into their inns, and they were compared to Judas who betrayed Jesus through a kiss.[101]

The kiss of Judas was included in the sculptural programme of Saint-Gilles and was likely seen as a warning against potential immoral activity by innkeepers, merchants and moneychangers in the thriving pilgrim town (Figure 5.15). Textual references to Judas' betrayal of Christ were often used in the context of loyalty and were frequently included in *fueros* such as those of Logroño (1095)[102] and Belorado (1116),[103] and charters such as Alfonso VII's 1127 pardon of rebels from the 1111-16 urban revolt of Sahagún, which stated Christians in violation of the laws would be damned and sent to burn in hell with Judas.[104]

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[97] Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy*, p. 55.
[98] Rist, *Popes and Jews*, pp. 146-47.
[99] Matthew 26:15.
[100] Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy*, pp. 53-54; and L. Little, 'Pride Goes before Avarice', p. 37. See also Kraus, *Living Theater of Medieval Art*, p. 162.
[101] *LSJ*, p. 96 (I, 17).
[102] *CFM*, pp. 334-43.
[103] Ibid., p. 412.
[104] Rodríguez Fernández, 'Judería de Sahagún', pp. 58-59 (2).



Figure 5.15. The Kiss of Judas from the Façade of Saint-Gilles.[105]

At Saint-Gilles, pilgrims would have gazed upon a vivid biblical scene of two people haggling in the Temple market on the left section of the panel, followed by Judas receiving coins from the high priest in exchange for his betrayal of Jesus on the right side (Figure 5.16).[106] Money as a symbol of Judas' betrayal of Christ was also displayed in the cloister of Saint-Trophime in Arles where Judas and a large money bag, presumably filled with his silver coins, are shown next to a sculpture of Christ on the column of flagellation (Figure 5.17).

[105] Photographed by the author.
[106] The same arched background in used in this scene as well as that of the moneychangers, but not in the scene with the spice merchants.



Figure 5.16. Judas (second from right) Receiving Payment from High Priest, Façade of Abbey Church of Saint-Gilles.[107]



Figure 5.17. Christ Tied to Column of the Flagellation (left) and Judas with Purse (right), East Gallery of Cloister, Saint-Trophime, Arles.[108]

[107] Photographed by the author.
[108] Ibid.

A sculpture of a hanging Judas was included on the façade of the church of Santa María (c. 1180) in Sangüesa (Figure 5.18). Compostela-bound pilgrims passed directly in front of the façade as they approached the bridge crossing the Aragón River. Judas, represented as a significantly smaller man perhaps to illustrate his moral weakness, is placed to the right of SS Peter and Paul with a demon hanging overhead.[109] On the other side of the portal are sculptures of the Three Marys (or Holy Women of the tomb), a sign of piety and bravery, as well as pilgrimage, notably on a church that had been started under the direction of the Hospitallers who made a vow of poverty and were committed to protecting pilgrims.[110] Including *Maria Iacobi*, the mother of St James, amongst the Holy Women, was likely a way of recognizing the importance of the saint and pilgrimage.[111]

[109] Müller, 'La arquitectura plástica de Santa María Real en Sangüesa (Navarre)', pp. 250-51.
[110] I. Shagrir, 'The 'Holy Women' in the Liturgy and Art of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Twelfth Century Jerusalem', in E. Lapina and N. Morton (eds.), *The Uses of the Bible in Crusader Sources* (Leiden, 2017), pp. 455-75, pp. 460-63.
[111] See Ancho Villanueva, *Portada de Santa María de Sangüesa*, pp. 14-15. St James is included in two sections of the Santa María façade as part of larger groups of apostles, and in the lower group he is shown seated directly to the right of the Virgin Mary.

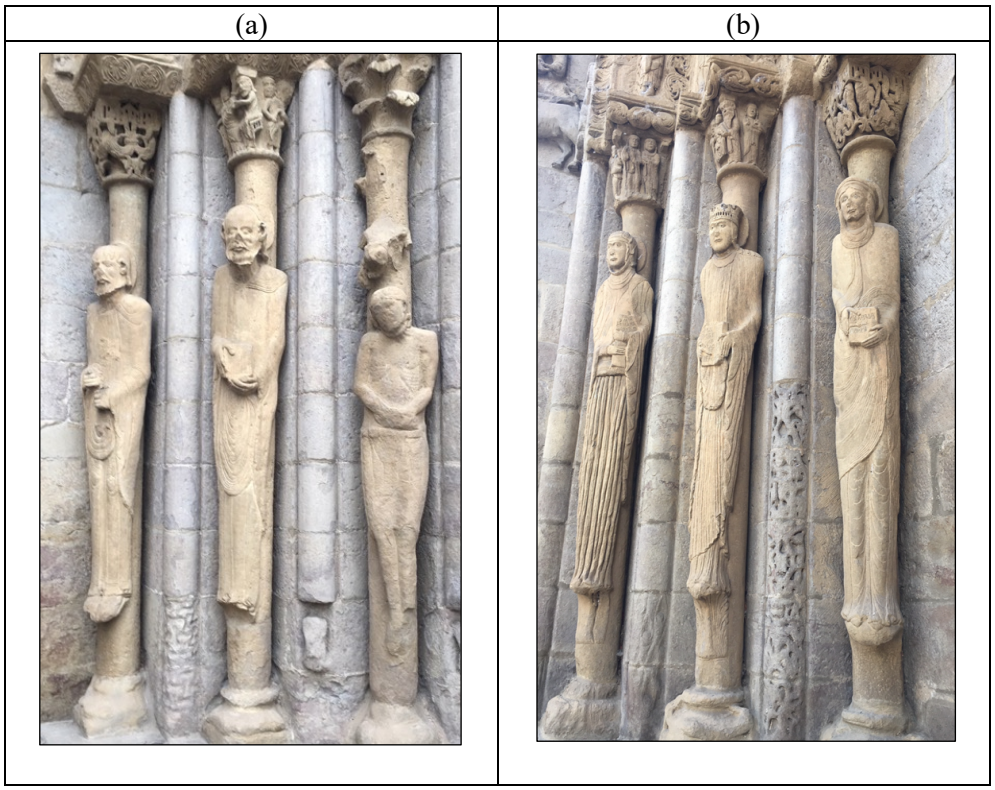


Figure 5.18. (a) Peter (left), Paul (centre) and Hanging Judas with Demon Overhead (right); and (b) the Three Marys: Mary Magdalene (left), Mary the Mother of Jesus (centre) and Mary the Mother of James the Greater from the Façade of the Church of Santa María, Sangüesa.[112]

A capital from the façade of the church of Santiago in Carrión shows a damned soul, naked and thin with ribs exposed, who is being tormented by hyenas (Figure 5.19). Hyenas were compared to Jews in medieval bestiaries and were said to dig up and feed on corpses, a scene depicted on the right side of the same capital.[113] Here a bearded man, likely meant to be a Jew,

[112] Both sets of sculptures photographed by the author.
[113] Lastra, 'Judgment, Work, and Social Change', pp. 182 and 198 (note 33). See also D. Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons and Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art* (Princeton, 2003), pp. 147-48 and 153-54.

as indicated by the pointed hat[114] and proximity to the hyenas, is shown hunched over a tomb from which he is removing a small figure (or perhaps, placing the figure into the tomb).[115]



Figure 5.19. (a) Damned Soul Devoured by Hyenas; and (b) Jewish Figure, Capital from Façade of Church of Santiago, Carrión.[116]

Notably, Carrión had one of the largest Jewish communities in northern Christian Iberia, and this scene could have been a hostile critique of Jews in the town who were associated with moneylending and commerce, and therefore associated with usury and avarice.[117] The outward criticism of Jewish merchants also contained a hidden polemic against Christian moneylenders

[114] By the mid-twelfth century the pointed hat and beard had become signs of Jewishness in Christian iconography. S. Lipton, *Dark Mirror: The Medieval Origins of Anti-Jewish Iconography* (New York, 2014), p. 57. R.I. Moore argues the 'distinctiveness' of Jews 'was not the cause but the result of persecution'. Moore, *Formation of a Persecuting Society*, pp. 62-63.
[115] Lacoste sees these animals as dogs, wolves or hyenas, and identifies the small person being removed from a tomb by a figure with cone-shaped hat to be the victim of a Jew, a sign of contemporary anti-Jewish attitudes. Lacoste, 'El Maestro de Carrión de los Condes', p. 179.
[116] Photographed by the author.
[117] In 1127 townspeople from Carrión, along with those of nearby communities of Cea and Saldaña, were amongst those pardoned by Alfonso VII for their part in killing Jews and destroying royal and abbatial property during the revolts of 1111-16. Rodríguez Fernández, 'Judería de Sahagún', pp. 58-59 (2). The monastery of San Zoilo became so indebted to Carrión's Jewish moneylenders that by 1325 it had to lease its rights to San Martín of Frómista to cover its payments. Soifer Irish, *Jews and Christians in Medieval Castile*, p. 120. See also Baer, *History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, I, p. 191. On Jews as a scapegoat for Christian involvement in the money economy, see Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy*, pp. 54-55.

and merchants in Carrión and along the pilgrim roads.[118] Both Christians and Jews participated in moneylending as shown by the royal protections granted to Jewish and Christian lenders in the *fuero* of Estella (1090).[119]

Another interpretation is that the figure being devoured by hyenas is female, a notion supported by the pronounced chest, with the hyenas representing Jews. This interpretation would have conveyed a message that supported Church prohibition of sexual relations between Christians and Jews.[120] Personal relationships between Jews and Christians would not have been unheard of in a town like Carrión, where these groups almost certainly interacted in the markets, fairs and along the roads. The attack by unclean hyenas on a Christian may have also been a polemic against religious contamination, which in its most extreme form meant Christian conversion to Judaism, with the corpse perhaps representing what Debra Higgs Strickland calls a 'spiritual death'.[121]

The iconography of the aforementioned capital from Carrión's church of Santiago showed that although Jews were granted some rights in the *fueros*, and lived as merchants and artisans like their Frankish neighbours, they were still subject to discrimination by the Church and Christian population.[122] Pilgrims and settlers from Toulouse and Arles would have been aware of the annual humiliation during which a Jew was slapped by church officials on Easter as revenge for alleged traitorous actions against the local population or their participation in the

[118] On Jews as a scapegoat for Christian involvement in the money economy, see Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy*, pp. 54-55.
[119] *FE*, pp. 7-8.
[120] D. Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons and Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art* (Princeton, 2003), pp. 153-54. The Third (1179) and Fourth (1215) Lateran Councils prohibited intermarriage between Jews and Christians and required Jews to wear clothing that differentiated them. O'Callaghan, *History of Medieval Spain*, p. 284. On sexual relations between Christians, Jews and Muslims in medieval Christian Iberia, see S. Barton, *Conquerors, Brides and Concubines: Interfaith Relations and Social Power in Medieval Iberia* (Philadelphia, 2015), pp. 45-75.
[121] Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons and Jews*, p. 154.
[122] See Soifer Irish, *Jews and Christians in Medieval Castile*, pp. 42-43.

death of Jesus. The Jews of Toulouse paid a special tax in the twelfth century to stop the practice during which the bishop would slap a Jew on the steps of the cathedral,[123] and those in Arles avoided the slap by financing construction of a bridge in 1178.[124]

Jews in Iberian pilgrim towns lived in relative safety in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries under the protection of monarchs such as Sancho Ramírez of Aragon-Navarre, Alfonso VI of León-Castile, Sancho 'the Wise' of Navarre and Alfonso VIII of Castile,[125] but anti-Jewish attitudes existed and flowed into the area with foreign pilgrims and crusaders.[126] The *Historia Turpini* of the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* celebrated Roland's vanquishing of Muslims and 'perfidious' Jews during his participation in Charlemagne's mythical Iberian military campaign and pilgrimage to Compostela. As Roland lay dying, he addressed his sword and its deeds that avenged the death of Christ:

> You carry out the justice of God, tearing from their owner's body the foot and the hand accustomed to robbing. How often with your help have I taken the life of a perfidious Jew or of a Saracen, and as many times have I avenged the blood of Christ![127]

Use of the word 'robbing' was undoubtedly a reference to alleged Jewish participation in moneylending and usury that was seen by contemporary Church leaders as theft.

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[123] The slap in Toulouse had its origins in the ninth century and was based on false account that the Jews had turned over the city to the Muslims. This Easter practice (called colaphization) was more generally viewed as Christian revenge for Jewish participation in the death of Christ. E. Benbassa, *The Jews of France: A History from Antiquity to the Present* (Princeton, 2001), p. 10.

[124] H. Kraus, *The Living Theatre of Medieval Art* (Bloomington, 1967), p. 148.

[125] For discussion of royal protection of Jews, see above pp. 77-78 and 141-43.

[126] In 1212 these anti-Jewish attitudes contributed to the slaughter of Jews in Christian Toledo by mostly French crusaders during the military campaign of Las Navas de Tolosa. Toledo's local Christian militia dispersed the foreign crusaders involved in the slaughter. M. Dolan Gómez, 'The Crusades and Church Art in the Era of Las Navas de Tolosa', *Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia*, 20 (2011), pp. 237-60, pp. 238-39; and O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain*, p. 70.

[127] *LSJ*, p. 218 (IV, 22): *Per te Dei iusticia ad-/ impletur, pes manusque latrocinio assueta a corpore evellatur. Quot vicibus per te aut Iudeum perfidum aut Sarracenum peremi, tot vicibus, ut puto, Christi sanguinem, ut puto, vindicavi*. For English translation see Poole, *Chronicle of Pseudo-Turpin*, p. 64. For additional analysis, see W. Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia*, 158-59.

Contemporary stereotypes of Jews as avaricious moneylenders were reinforced in the epic poem *Song of the Cid* (c. 1207), which recounted the life and deeds of the Castilian warrior El Cid (Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar, c.1043-99). It celebrated El Cid's crafty strategy to trick Jewish moneylenders from Burgos into giving him a loan collateralized by two chests filled with sand instead of gold.[128] The Jews, named Raquel and Vidas, said to have been 'weighing and counting gold and silver' when El Cid's agent Martín Antolínez arrived to negotiate a deal, were portrayed as seeking profit from interest on the loan:

> 'Any business we do must earn us a profit.
> But he who travels, burdened with gold, won't sleep at night.
> Yes, we'll take those chests,
> We'll keep them hidden where no one will know.
> But how much does my Cid want of our gold?
> And how much interest will come from this entire year?'[129]

After receiving the heavy chests, Raquel and Vidas were described in avaricious terms, as the 'bountiful treasure thrilled them both'.[130] Although written in the early thirteenth century, the poem reflected oral traditions that circulated in the years after El Cid's death and would have represented the attitudes of people living and travelling along the Iberian pilgrim roads in the twelfth century.

As Jews in northern Christian Iberia expanded further into moneylending and property holding in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, the Church became increasingly concerned with loans made to ecclesiastical institutions and the payment of tithes on properties acquired from Christians, as these tithes had become an important source of Church funds.[131] But Jewish loans and taxes were crucial to maintaining the treasuries of the monarchs and they

[128] B. Raffel (trans.), *The Song of the Cid* (New York, 2009), pp. 8-15 (I, 6-11).
[129] Ibid., pp. 10-11 (I, 9).
[130] Ibid., pp. 12-13 (I, 9).
[131] Rist, *Popes and Jews*, pp. 136-37.

initially refused to restrict Jewish economic activities. In 1205 Alfonso VIII of Castile (1158-1214) was threatened with excommunication by Pope Innocent III for failing to collect tithes on Jewish-owned properties, and Innocent even charged him with favouring Jews over Christians:

> …you nevertheless have not only refused to have them compelled to pay the tithe but have even granted them greater opportunity not to pay the tithe, and given them greater rights in the buying of more extensive possessions. Thus while the Synagogue grows in power the Church becomes weaker.[132]

Alfonso would have needed Jewish loans and taxes to finance his military efforts which must have been considerable as shown in his 1204 will that ordered payment of 12,000 *maravedís* owed to his Jewish *almojarife* (treasurer), Abū ʿUmar ibn Shushan.[133] In 1231 Pope Gregory IX (1127-41) protested to the bishop of Burgos about Castilian parish churches that were losing properties to cover interest on Jewish loans and in 1233 he complained to the archbishop of Compostela that the Jews were charging exorbitant interest.[134]

In a strike against Jews as symbols of royal power, the *aljama* of Puente Castro in León, one of the oldest Jewish communities in northern Christian Iberia, was destroyed in 1196 by Aragonese and Castilian troops under Alfonso VIII and Pedro II of Aragon (1196-1213) during a brief war with Alfonso IX of León (1188-1230).[135] This was clearly a strategic move by Alfonso VIII to cut off the financial resources of his rival who undoubtedly borrowed money from León's Jewish lenders, just as he had done with those of Burgos to finance his war efforts. Notably, the *aljama* of Puente Castro, called *Castrum Iudeorum* in the *Pilgrim's Guide*, was located along the Camino Francés at the south-eastern entrance into the city of León, and the Leonese monarchs

[132] S. Grayzel, *The Church and the Jews in the XIIIth Century*, vol. I (New York, 2011), pp. 112-13. For additional discussion, see ibid., pp. 47-48 and 50. See also Soifer Irish, *Jews and Christians in Medieval Castile*, p. 104.
[133] O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain*, p. 171.
[134] Rist, *Popes and Jews*, p. 156.
[135] Rodríguez Fernández, J., *Judería de la ciudad de León*, pp. 33-34. See also Soifer Irish, *Jews and Christians in Medieval Castile*, p. 27.

had undoubtedly benefited economically from Compostelan pilgrim traffic that flowed through the community.[136]

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Jewish lines of credit gave Christian rulers an edge over rivals, but this was a forbidden relationship in the eyes of the Church. To facilitate this arrangement, the monarchs protected Jewish communities and licensed them to lend with interest, a trade that Christians were forbidden from practicing. The moral uncertainty triggered by Christian participation in the twelfth-century money economy led to Church rhetoric against Judas, portrayed as the embodiment of traitorous merchants. Judas and Jewish stereotypes became a mechanism by which Christian participation in the money economy was criticized by the Church. Violence against Jews along the Compostelan pilgrim roads did occur as a result of anti-Jewish attitudes as seen by colaphization in Arles and Toulouse, but in Iberia it more frequently resulted from strikes against royal power as in the case of the destruction of León's *aljama* of Puente Castro.

5. Moral Tension within the Church

Tension over the morality of money and material wealth was not just occurring between the Church and urban merchant class of the pilgrim towns. It also existed within the contemporary Church as revealed in a controversy between the rival Cluniac and Cistercian monastic orders. Crucially, the pilgrimage to Compostela, its propaganda and numerous shrines along its roads were associated with Cluny.

In his *Apologia ad Guillelmum*, written in 1125 to Abbot William of Saint-Thierry, Bernard of Clairvaux satirically criticised the material wealth of Cluny.[137] It was written as a

[136] *Guide*, pp. 18-19 (ch. 6). Jews settled in the Santa Ana neighbourhood of León after the destruction of Puente Castro.
[137] Bernard of Clairvaux, 'Apologia ad Guillelmum', *PL* 182, cols. 893-918.

response to William's request that he comment on the appropriateness of monastic art. Bernard believed the excessive material ornamentation commonly found on Cluniac churches was useful to help bishops stimulate devotion in a 'carnal people'[138] whilst encouraging them to make donations:

> The very sight of such sumptuous and exquisite baubles is sufficient to inspire men to make offerings, though not to say their prayers. In this way, riches attract riches, and money attracts more money. For some unknown reason, the richer a place appears, the more freely do offerings pour in. Gold-cased relics catch the gaze and open the purses.[139]

However, Bernard went on to say that whilst encouraging donations from the masses the elaborate decorations did not stir devotion and care for the poor, but rather encouraged the greed of wealthy ecclesiastics.[140] He further criticized expensive sculptures of animals, soldiers, hunters and grotesques in the cloisters where monks were expected to contemplate and pray.[141] Bernard's assessment of monastic art revealed a moral conflict within the Church that extended to richly decorated shrines lining the Compostelan pilgrim roads that sought to attract and impress pilgrims in order to entice donations.[142]

The concerns presented in Bernard's *Apologia* highlighted the quandary of monastic life in the new money economy. Were monasteries complex organizations motivated by economic wealth creation or were they devout organizations that wanted to separate from worldliness? A letter from Peter 'the Venerable' of Cluny to Bernard of Clairvaux from the 1140s outlined various differences between their orders, but there was no mention of economic policies,

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[138] Ibid., col. 914.
[139] Ibid., col. 915: *Ipso quippe visu sumptuosarum, sed mirandarum vanitatum, accenduntur homines magis ad offerendum quam ad orandum. Sic opes opibus hauriuntur, sic pecunia pecuniam trahit: quia nescio quo pacto, ubi amplius divitiarum cernitur, ibi offertur libentius. Auro tectis reliquiis saginantur oculi, et loculi aperiuntur.* For English translation see Bernard of Clairvaux, *An Apologia to Abbot William*, trans. M. Casey (Kalamazoo, 1970), p. 65.
[140] Bernard of Clairvaux, 'Apologia ad Guillelmum', col. 915.
[141] Ibid., col. 916.
[142] For more on Bernard's conflicting views of church art, see Bernard of Clairvaux, *An Apologia to Abbot William*, trans. M. Casey, note 169 on pp. 66-67.

suggesting they employed similar approaches in managing their seignorial domains.[143] Indeed, by the late twelfth century, the Cistercians had become extremely wealthy through successful administration of their domains and deployment of lay brothers (*conversi*) as manual labor and economic managers.[144] But their success may have contributed to their moral downfall, with Little arguing that in less than a century from its founding 'the early Cistercian ideals of simplicity, poverty, and manual labor were dissipated in an orgy of wealth'.[145]

The popularity of the pilgrimage to Compostela was inextricably linked to Cluny and its chain of opulently decorated dependent and affiliated shrines along the pilgrim roads whose promotion was coordinated to provide material gains for the order.[146] Arthur Kingsley Porter, eminent art historian of the nineteenth century who was intimately familiar with the rich decorative programmes of Cluniac shrines, argued Cluny strategically controlled shrines at the most lucrative points along the pilgrim roads to Compostela:

> It is evident that Cluny held in her grip the entire lower, and consequently richer, course of the gold scattering stream, as well as the strategic points of the headwaters.[147]

The lower course of the stream included the Camino Francés and its Cluniac possessions or affiliations that were spaced across the entire length of road including at San Juan de la Peña, Leyre, Sahagún, Frómista, Estella, Irache, Nájera, San Zoilo in Carrión, San Isidoro in León, Santo Columbo of Burgos, San Salvador of Astorga, Villafranca del Bierzo and Ferreiros.[148] The headwaters referred to shrines along the four branches of the pilgrim roads through France

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[143] C. Brittain Bouchard, *Holy Entrepreneurs: Cistercians, Knights, and Economic Exchange in Twelfth Century Burgundy* (Ithaca, 1991), pp. 195-96.
[144] See Brittain Bouchard, *Holy Entrepreneurs*, p. 195; and B. Noell, 'Expectation and unrest among Cistercian lay brothers in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries', *Journal of Medieval History*, 32 (2006), pp. 253-74.
[145] Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy*, pp. 93-94.
[146] On payments made to the abbot of Cluny by monastery of San Zoilo, see *Documentación del Monasterio de San Zoilo de Carrión: 1047-1300*, p. 261.
[147] Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrim Roads*, I, pp. 175-76.
[148] Ibid., I, p. 175.

that included Moissac, Vézelay, Saint-Gilles, Saint-Martin of Tours, Saint-Eutrope of Saintes and Saint-Jean d'Angély, all of which were promoted in the *Pilgrim's Guide*, revealing a coordinated effort by Cluny to optimize material gains from its network.[149]

Santiago Cathedral was the crown jewel of the pilgrimage route that was heavily promoted by Cluny. The *Pilgrim's Guide* compared Santiago Cathedral to a royal palace and its design as perfectly beautiful:

> In truth, in this church no fissure or fault is found; it is admirably constructed, grand spacious, bright, of proper magnitude, harmonious in width, length and height, of admirable and ineffable workmanship, built in two storeys, just like a royal palace. For indeed, whoever visits the naves of the gallery, if he goes up sad, after having seen the perfect beauty of this temple, he will be made happy and joyful.[150]

The relics of St James were placed in a marble sarcophagus below a small altar that was itself enclosed on three sides within a larger altar, with a removable frontal decorated with gold and silver.[151]

Notably, the upper section of the silver altar frontal contained an inscription that promoted its patron, Bishop Diego Gelmírez, and the seventy-five silver marks that he paid to have it made in 1105.[152] It also recognized that the work was completed during the reign of Alfonso VI of León-Castile and Raymond, Count of Galicia. This inscription would have been seen by the majority of pilgrims who entered the cathedral and left donations at the altar and was clearly a strategic decision by Diego. By linking his name to Alfonso VI, Diego intended to promote his political aspirations and the independence of the cathedral chapter. Including the

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[149] *Guide*, pp. 32-65 (ch. 8).
[150] Ibid., pp. 68 and 70 (ch. 9): *In eadem uero aecclesia nulla scissure, uel corrupcio inuenitur; mirabiliter operatur, magna, spaciosa, clara, magnitudine condecenti latitudine longitudine et altitudine congruenti, miro et inefffabili opere habetur, que etiam dupliciter uelut regale palacium operatur. Qui enim sursum per naues palacii uadit, si tristis ascendit, uisa obtima pulcritudine eiusdem templi, letus et gauisus efficitur*. For English translation, see ibid., pp. 69 and 71. The scale, length and height of the cathedral were said to be impossible to comprehend. Ibid., pp. 66-67 (ch. 9).
[151] Ibid., pp. 78-81 (ch. 9).
[152] Ibid., pp. 80-81 (ch. 9).

cost of the altar frontal on the inscription was a way to advertise the wealth of the shrine and inspire larger pilgrim donations. Indeed, 'riches attract riches' as Bernard of Clairvaux had stated.[153]

The gilded reliquary of St Giles at the Cluniac abbey in Saint-Gilles was indicative of other shrines along the pilgrim roads to Compostela. It was located behind the altar and above his body and its lavish decoration was described in painstaking detail in the *Pilgrim's Guide*.[154] An inscription carved into the upper section of the 'vessel' alluded to its rich decorations and warned against defiling the shrine, stating that whoever breaks it would be cursed forever by the Lord.[155]

Like Saint-Gilles, the monastery of Sahagún was also incredibly wealthy. Called the 'Cluny of Spain' by Edwin Mullins,[156] it managed a vast seignorial domain composed of over one-hundred dependences that generated income from rents, tithes, agricultural products, minting proceeds, market taxes and donations. Many of Sahagún's dependent monasteries came with other estates, possessions, rents and churches (with tithes). In 1168 doña Elvira (granddaughter of Alfonso VI) donated San Salvador de Nogal to Sahagún, along with the town, its *portazgo* and its 'rights'.[157] Some of Sahagún's dependent monasteries were described as 'rich' such as San Salvador de Belver[158] (donated in 1122) and Santiago de Valdevida (dependency from at least 1160),[159] as having 'very good rents' such as San Salvador de Villagarcia (donated in 1097),[160]

[153] Bernard of Clairvaux, 'Apologia ad Guillelmum', col. 915.
[154] *Guide*, pp. 34-41 (ch. 8).
[155] Ibid., pp. 38-39 (ch. 8).
[156] Mullins, *Cluny: In Search of God's Lost Empire*, p. 76.
[157] Escalona, *Historia del Real Monasterio de Sahagún*, p. 259.
[158] Ibid., p. 261.
[159] Ibid., p. 276.
[160] Ibid., p. 264.

or as having material possessions such as the silver found at San Pelayo de Villa Burgula (donated in 1073).[161]

The townspeople of Sahagún clearly viewed the monastery as wealthy, allegedly charging that the possessions and rights of the monks were granted to them by the devil.[162] Dominico Laffi, a seventeenth-century Italian pilgrim who had no doubt seen many great churches, described the refectory of Sahagún's monastery as 'such that I cannot believe any other could be finer…a vaulted ceiling of carved wood which is most magnificent and worth seeing by anyone'.[163] Carrión's church of Santa María del Camino (c. 1150), which sat only two-hundred meters southeast of the church of Santiago, displayed a sculpture of avarice on its façade depicted as a tonsured figure with a heavy money bag tied around his neck. This relief likely revealed a personal feeling of malice the sculptor or patron had against the monks from the nearby Cluniac monastery of San Zoilo.[164] It may have also been a visual polemic against sinners within the clerical class including false pardoners who operated along the pilgrim roads[165] and those who horded riches.[166]

Bernard was not the only contemporary religious leader to express cynicism about the way ecclesiastical lords exploited popular piety for personal material gain. In his treatise *De sanctis et eorum pigneribus* (On Saints and their Relics), written in c. 1120, Guibert of Nogent criticized the acts of bishops, abbots and other ecclesiastics who commercialized the relics of

[161] Ibid., p. 276.
[162] *CAS*, p. 73 (38). *De parte del diablo fue e vino quien donó a los monjes poseer tel heredad.*
[163] Laffi, *Journey to the West*, pp. 145-47. Sahagún's basilica was finished in 1183 and the relics of SS Facundus and Primitivus were moved there in 1213. The ruins of the basilica's chapel of San Mancio indicate that it was immense in scale. M. Sánchez Pérez, *El Monasterio de los Santos Facundo y Primitivo de Sahagun: Estudio de los aspectos artísticos* (Sahagún, 1993), pp. 21-33.
[164] M.F. Cuadrado Lorenzo, 'La iglesia de Santa María del Camino de Carrión de los Condes y su programa escultórico', *Publicaciones de la Institución Tello Téllez de Meneses*, 57 (1987), pp. 203-92, p. 234 (note 32).
[165] *LSJ*, p. 98 (I, 17).
[166] Ibid., pp. 100-01 (I, 17).

saints. These gains often came at the expense of poor pilgrims as was the case of a certain abbot who supported the circulation of false miracles as he had become corrupted by the copious gifts left by pilgrims.[167] He argued these individuals turned donations into 'excrement for their purses' rather than for the benefit of their spiritual salvation[168] and that these acts were motivated by avarice:

> What sort of judgment will they receive who, motivated by avarice alone, scatter the restless bodies of saints here and there, turning them into a daily spectacle for, if I may say so, the sole purpose of collecting offerings? They habitually cover the bare bones of saints in little ivory or silver chests and at a specified time and hour uncover them, for a price paid in advance.[169]

Guibert also addressed competition for relics amongst contemporary shrines. He had heard countless claims of different shrines claiming to have the bodies of the same saints. In the prologue to *On Saints and their Relics*, Guibert wrote about relics to his friend Odo, abbot of Saint-Symphorien, in the context of a discussion about the claim of the nearby church of Saint-Médard to have a tooth of Christ.[170] In another example, he mentioned that both the church in Constantinople and the monastery of Saint-Jean d'Angely claimed to have the head of St John the Baptist. To this situation, Guibert wrote sarcastically: 'Could there be anything more ridiculous preached about such a man, other than both groups saying he was two-headed?'.[171]

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[167] Guibert de Nogent, '*De sanctis et eorum pigneribus'* in R.B.C. Huygens (ed.) *Guitberti Abbatis Sanctae Mariae Novigenti Quo ordine sermo fieri debeat: De bucella Iudae data et de veritate Dominici corporis. De sanctis et eorum pigneribus poetica*, Corpus Christianorum, vol. 127 (Turnhout, 1993), pp. 79-109, p. 97.
[168] Ibid., p. 104: *Hoc plane fit per eos qui iuxta apostolum questum existimant pietatem, dum quod esset, si saperent, suarum conducibile saluti animarum, hoc excrementa efficiant crumenarum*.
[169] Guibert de Nogent, '*De sanctis et eorum pigneribus'*, p. 106: *...quid de eis iudicii proferetur, quibus avaricia sola in causa est et sanctorum corpora faciunt irrequieta dispergi, immo, ut sic dicam, pro sola oblationum illatione cotidiano ostentui haberi?* For English translation see GN: E, p. 214.
[170] Guibert de Nogent, '*De sanctis et eorum pigneribus'*, p. 79.
[171] Ibid., p. 103: *Quid ergo magis ridiculum super tanto homine predicetur quam si biceps esse ab utrisque dicatur?* For English translation see GN: E, p. 210.

He further argued that veneration of false relics, even if unbeknownst to the one venerating, was dangerous and sacrilegious.[172]

Overlapping claims for relics also existed along the contemporary pilgrim roads to Compostela where shrines competed for pilgrim traffic and donations.[173] Compostela's cathedral chapter sought to protect its claims to the relics of St James and the claims of other prominent shrines along the pilgrim roads including Saint-Gilles, Tours and Limoges. In its defence against competing claims for these relics, the *Pilgrim's Guide* stated it had never been possible to remove the holy remains of those saints from their sarcophagi.[174] The number of competitors claiming to have the relics of St Giles must have been significant and was said to include Hungarians, the people of Chamalières and Normans of the Cotentin:

> Therefore, may the Hungarians blush, who say they have his body; may the people of Chamalières be wholly confounded who fancy that they have his entire body; may the people of St-Seine waste away, they who praise themselves for having his head. Similarly may the Normans of Cotentin stand in awe, they who boast of having his entire body, because there is no way, as many people assert, that his most holy bones could have been transported away from this place.[175]

Protecting Compostela's claim to have St James' relics was at least partially related to competing claims by the cathedral chapter of Saint-Sernin in Toulouse.[176] Saint-Sernin had

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[172] Guibert de Nogent, '*De sanctis et eorum pigneribus',* pp. 103-04.

[173] In another example of the competitiveness of shrines, Our Lady of Rocamadour focused its promotional efforts on the Virgin Mary rather than St Amator because she was more likely to entice Compostelan pilgrims to visit the shrine. *The Miracles of Our Lady of Rocamadour*, pp. 73 and 93. Various miracle stories of Rocamadour from the second half of the twelfth century speak of Compostelan pilgrims. Ibid., pp. 103-04 (I.4), 117-18 (I.24), 124-25 (I.36) and 174 (II.44).

[174] *Guide*, pp. 40-41 (ch. 8).

[175] Ibid., p. 40 (ch. 8): *Erubescant igitur Ungarii, qui dicunt se habere eius corpus; conturbentur omnino Caamelarii, qui somniant se habere eius integrum corpus; tabescant Sanctisequanici, qui extollunt se habere eius caput. Reuereantur similiter Constanciani Normanni, qui iactant se habere totum ipsius corpus, cum nullo modo eius ossa sacratissima ut a multis probatur queant extra horas ipsius deferri.* For English translation see ibid., II, p. 41 [translation modified].

[176] It is unclear specifically which part of St James was said to be at the basilica of Saint-Sernin of Toulouse in the twelfth century. According to legend, the body of St James the Greater was given to Saint-Sernin by Charlemagne after his expedition to Iberia. In the latter half of the fourteenth century, Saint-Sernin claimed to have the entire body of St James. A. Rucquoi, 'Relics and Pilgrimages of St James the Greater in France', in *Relics, Shrines and Pilgrimages: Sanctity in Europe from Late Antiquity*, ed. A.M. Pazos (New York, 2020), pp. 41-62, pp. 49-50. It is curious that Compostela's cathedral chapter does not appear to have had any issues with Reading Abbey's claim to

likely sought to copy the Compostela model in order to create its own pilgrimage destination for the enrichment of the chapter. This notion is supported by the near-identical design, including a large apse with three transepts to facilitate the flow of pilgrims, and the scale of its basilica compared to Santiago Cathedral. Saint-Sernin's strategy to claim the relics of St James created tension with the bishop of Toulouse, an ally of Cluny, who expelled the chapter in 1082. They were reinstated by the pope the following year, but by that time appear to have given up their claims to the relics.[177]

Compostela's cathedral chapter was no stranger to competition for relics. The *Historia Compostellana* recounted how in 1102 Bishop Diego Gelmírez, inspired by divine grace, led a party into Braga in Portugal in order to 'translate' the relics of SS Fructuosus, Silvester, Cucuphas, and Susanna back to Compostela.[178] Diego likely justified this action as *furta sacra* (holy theft), in which the Braga relics were guided into his possession by the desire of the saints themselves.[179] Diego appreciated the value of relics, calling them 'precious pearls', and he wanted them to further enhance the attractiveness of Compostela as a pilgrimage destination.[180]

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have had the hand of St James. On the hand, see S. Yarrow, 'Keeping the Angevin peace: The hand of St James in England', in *Relics, Shrines and Pilgrimages: Sanctity in Europe from Late Antiquity*, ed. A. Pazos (Oxford, 2020), pp. 63-77. Geary argues apostolic saints who were believed to have connected with western Europe during their lifetimes, like St James, gained popularity relative to Roman saints from Italy in the eleventh century. P. Geary, 'Sacred commodities: the circulation of medieval relics', in A. Appadurai (ed.), *The social life of things: commodities in cultural perspective* (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 169-91, p. 179.

[177] Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrim Roads*, I, p. 206.

[178] *HC*, pp. 31-36 (I, 15).

[179] Naismith, 'Turpe lucrum? Wealth, money and Coinage in the Millenial Church', p. 17. On the moral justification of *furta sancta*, see P. Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1990), pp. 108-28. On medieval relics as commodities, see Geary, 'Sacred commodities: the circulation of medieval relics', pp. 169-91.

[180] *HC*, p. 33 (I, 15.2). In another contemporary example of the competitiveness of shrines, Our Lady of Rocamadour in the Midi focused its promotional efforts on the Virgin Mary rather than St Amator because she was seen as more likely to entice Compostelan pilgrims to make a visit. *The Miracles of Our Lady of Rocamadour*, pp. 73 and 93.

Some of the relics from the Braga raid such as those of Fructuosus were interred in Santiago Cathedral whilst others like Santa Susanna were moved to their own churches.[181] The people of Compostela were clearly pleased by the arrival of the relics, as they were said to have jubilantly greeted Diego 'amid hymns and songs of pious devotion'.[182] Whilst these relics were seen as valuable by the local population of Compostela, they may not have had the same appeal to pilgrims from outside of Iberia compared to saints with universal followings such as St James. Diego was demonstrating an awareness of local devotions, perhaps to satisfy a populace with growing discontent with his management of the town.

Compostela's cathedral chapter also received relics as gifts by royal patrons. In May 1117, Urraca of León-Castile gifted valuable relics to Diego Gelmírez, including the head of St James 'the Lesser', a piece of the Holy Sepulchre and a bone of St Stephen.[183] These gifts were given to help Urraca reconcile with Diego after she stirred the initial unrest against him during the revolt of 1116-17 and as a way to make peace with her son Alfonso Raimúndez who had claimed a competing kingship of Galicia. These relics of universal appeal to pilgrims were greatly valued by Diego as a way to further distinguish Compostela as the preeminent pilgrimage destination in Latin Christendom. As the relics arrived in Compostela, they were greeted by a mob of joyous citizens.[184]

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[181] The *Pilgrim's Guide* listed the church of Santa Susanna as one of ten churches in the city. It had originally been built in 1105 as the church of the Holy Sepulchre. *Guide,* pp. 66-67 (ch. 9) and note 17 on p. 196.
[182] *HC*, p. 35 (I, 15.4).
[183] Ibid., pp. 194-97 (I, 112). The *Historia Compostellana* does not indicate whether the head belonged to St James 'the Greater' or St James 'the Lesser'. Compostela's cathedral chapter was keen to show it had the entire body of St James 'the Greater' including the head as shown by the iconography of the *translatio* coin discussed in Chapter 3. See also *LFH*, III, pp. 462-64.
[184] HC, p. 196 (I, 112.3).

Competition for pilgrim traffic and its associated money donations, market taxes and status led to increasing embellishment of shrines with precious metals and grandiose sculptural programmes. It also resulted in overlapping claims and even theft of relics as in the case of Diego Gelmírez's Braga raid to enhance the attractiveness of shrines with a wider audience of pilgrims. Bernard of Clairvaux and Guibert of Nogent voiced concerns about the widening gap between the stated moral position of the Church and rich decorative programmes of shrines, particularly those associated with Cluny, that sought to attract additional riches at the expense of pilgrims.

6. Conclusion

From the late eleventh to mid-twelfth centuries, the Church struggled to define a moral position on money. At the centre of the debate was the Church expectation that pilgrims take a Christ-like vow of poverty.[185] A powerful visual emblem of the paradox between money and poverty was the pilgrim's purse that was featured in numerous twelfth-century church sculptures and described in the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*. Although the Church encouraged pilgrims to travel in voluntary poverty like Christ and the Apostles, being religious did not require one to be a mendicant wandering around begging. However, the Church did expect pilgrims to be responsible and charitable dispensers of money. In doing so, pilgrims socialized and sacralised their money, and they gained religious benefits by practicing the responsible governance of a scarce resource.

The rise of the urban-based merchant class that served pilgrims along the roads to Compostela also presented a moral challenge for the Church. Whereas some religious leaders

[185] For discussion of the concept of the imitation or mimesis of Christ's divinity, see Constable, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought*, pp. 145-67.

such as Bernard of Clairvaux were ambivalent about the role of money in society, others including Honorius Augustodunensis and Peter Lombard believed merchants could only operate through sinning. Biblical stories reinforced notions of merchants acting immorally in order to enrich themselves at the expense of others, as exemplified by the story of Jesus chasing the moneychangers from the Temple. The moral stigma around merchants was enflamed by the fraudulent activities of some along the pilgrim roads. The *Veneranda dies* sermon, written within Compostela's cathedral chapter, detailed an exhaustive list of alleged frauds committed by merchants, artisans, moneychangers and innkeepers against pilgrims. Although intended to prevent such abuses, this polemic also revealed how crucial the merchant class was to the devotional infrastructure of pilgrimage.

Along with the rise of the money economy the Church shifted its attention to battling the sin of avarice, which comprised greed for money and hoarding of material wealth which were often associated with the new urban-based merchant class. Avarice not only targeted merchants, but also pilgrims who carried large sums of money without giving away as donations or alms along the journey. Numerous sculptures of avarice on church facades along the pilgrim roads coincided with expansion in the circulation of money and credit.

Through textual and visual representations of Judas, the Church attacked merchants and others involved in the money economy. Christian merchants who were perceived to have acted fraudulently or greedily were included in the same category as Jews who were described in contemporary documents as perfidious thieves. Jews became a target of Church polemic against avarice and usury as they were increasingly forced by Church doctrine to become moneylenders in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Anti-Jewish attitudes appear to have been stronger outside of Christian Iberia, particularly France where calls for the Second Crusade were being

made. Nonetheless, these stereotypes flowed along the pilgrim roads to Compostela as well as with foreign *milites* destined to fight in Iberia and undoubtedly influenced local prejudices.

Moral tension over money and material wealth was also occurring within the Church, whose polemic against avarice revealed a level of hypocrisy as shown by the heavy involvement of ecclesiastical lords in managing their money economies and the elaborate decorative programmes that sought to entice donations at shrines along the Compostelan pilgrim roads. Church leaders such as Bernard of Clairvaux and Guibert of Nogent criticized ecclesiastics who embellished shrines to attract donations but did not pass on charity to the poor. Crucially, the pilgrim roads to Compostela were lined with gilded shrines, many dependents and affiliates of Cluny, the chief propogandist of the pilgrimage which was the recipient of tremendous material wealth. Compostela's cathedral chapter itself engaged in a rich decorative programme to impress pilgrims as well as the theft of relics to enhance the attractiveness of Compostela as a pilgrimage destination.

Whilst Bernard attacked Cluny over the morality of its material wealth, Cîteaux was building a sophisticated network of rural properties and financial management techniques that included the deployment of lay brothers for manual labour and market intermediation. As a result, the Cistercians became wealthy themselves, although they did not showcase that wealth through lavish decorative programmes like the Cluniacs along the pilgrim roads. The evolution of the Cistercian order provides yet another example of a moral conflict that arose within the Church and that was triggered by participation in the money economy.

CHAPTER 6

MORAL ACCOMMODATION

The previous two chapters have shown how the social structures of Compostelan pilgrim towns were fractured as money coursed through them in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries. To protect its political, spiritual and economic interests, the Church focused its rhetoric on fighting the sin of avarice which was closely associated with the rising urban-based merchant class and pilgrims who travelled with money. Church polemic against the money economy resulted in a moral tension and profound spiritual uncertainty for the people who lived and travelled along the pilgrim roads.

This chapter will reveal the degree to which the fractured societies along the pilgrim roads reconfigured themselves over the course of the twelfth century, through the assertion of new identities, social classifications and groupings of interest. As part of this transformation, the Church moderated its moral position on money in order to accept, if not embrace, the vital role of merchants and artisans in facilitating the act of pilgrimage. This new moral governance of the money economy used salvation as a reward that was constrained by varying degrees of sin. The Church used the visual culture of church fabrics, miracle stories and the polemic against corruption and immorality found in charters and regulatory documents to communicate the rationale for these changes to the societal losers and the responsibilities to the winners.

1. Signs of Moral Accommodation

Although there was a degree of ambivalence about the use of money amongst Church leaders in the early to mid-twelfth century, the prevailing attitude was that money was dangerous. Those who worked with money, especially when it was hoarded, flaunted and coveted, were expected to be damned. But by the time the *Veneranda dies* sermon was written in c. 1140, the Church was beginning to soften its stance and the sermon left the door open to spiritual salvation for merchants, craftsmen, innkeepers and moneychangers if they acted appropriately and facilitated the act of pilgrimage:

> Whoever has not violated those travelling, whether in the market or in a shop or in a changing house or in an inn or in any of the previously mentioned frauds, but who has conducted himself most properly toward them, will without doubt have a reward here and in the future from the Lord.[1]

This was an extraordinary statement to be included in a sermon that was largely a polemic against fraudulent market activity and violations of the vow of poverty. These conditions placed on spiritual salvation showed an important level of Church acceptance of key occupations in the devotional infrastructure.

A striking visual representation of this moral accommodation was displayed on the façade of the abbey church of Saint-Gilles (c. 1142), sculpted contemporaneously with the writing of *Veneranda dies*. Saint-Gilles was an important pilgrim town for Compostelan pilgrims as well as crusaders and pilgrims to the Holy Land. A relief on the south transept portal depicts two spice merchants transacting with the Holy Women, using scales to measure their products, and adding coins to a pile in the centre of their table (Figure 6.1). This scene reflected activity in Saint-Gilles's busy pilgrim market that would have existed in the space that faced the

[1] *LSJ*, p. 101 (I, 17): *Quicumque ergo peregrinantes aut in foro, aut in negocio, aut in cambio, aut in hospitalitate, au ten prefatis fraudibus non violauorit, sed rectissime erga illos se habuerit, procul dubio hic et in futuro remuneracionem a Domino habebit*. For English translation see *MSJ*, p. 48.

front of the façade. Notably, the market transaction shown in this relief was not described in biblical accounts of the Holy Women and their visit to the tomb of Christ.[2] Mark's Gospel merely stated: 'Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of James, and Salome bought spices so that they might go to anoint Jesus' body.'[3]



Figure 6.1. Spice Merchants Transacting with the Holy Women from the Façade of the Abbey Church of Saint-Gilles.[4]

Like *Veneranda dies*, this scene conveyed a message to merchants that if they facilitated the act of pilgrimage, and if they acted properly, spiritual salvation could be obtained. *Veneranda dies* described 'crafty' spice merchants who sold putrefied plants and used false weights by adding sand to pepper to increase weight and price, and tree sap to frankincense.[5]

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[2] See M. Schapiro, *Romanesque Architectural Sculpture: The Charles Eliot Norton Lectures* (Chicago, 2006), pp. 132-35. I would like to thank Iris Shagrir for her help in identifying a number of other contemporary sculptures that feature the Holy Women buying from spice merchants. These include a capital from Musei Civici in Modena, a Catalunian capital from the third quarter of the twelfth century, now in the Musée de Cluny, and a sculpture from the north portal of the cloister of Saint-Trophime in Arles, and a sculpture from Notre-Dame-des-Pommiers de Beaucaire. Stoddard believes the Saint-Gilles relief is the oldest of these sculptures (1140s). He dates the north portal of the Saint-Trophime cloister to the 1150s, Beaucaire to 1165, and the capital from Modena between 1165-75. Stoddard, *The Facade of Saint-Gilles-du-Gard: Its Influence on French Sculpture* (Middletown, 1973), p. 194.
[3] Gospel of Mark 16:1.
[4] Photographed by the author.
[5] *LSJ*, p. 99 (I, 17).

The added detail regarding the market transaction of purchasing spices conveyed the important role of merchants in the devotional infrastructure that facilitated the act of pilgrimage. The scene also contrasted with the same façade's depiction of Christ chasing the moneychangers from the Temple in Jerusalem, a visual polemic against inappropriate uses of money.

Displaying spice merchants selling to the Holy Women reflected the realities of commercial activity in busy pilgrim-town markets that would have resonated with contemporary pilgrims, merchants and townspeople who lived in an increasingly urban society.[6] Through vivid scenes of markets and transactions, the sculptural programme of the church of Saint-Gilles brought to life the urban-market environment of the town that provided an analogue to contemporary Compostela. As an important stopping point on the *via Tolosana* and pilgrim road to Compostela, a Mediterranean port and a staging area for the crusades, Saint-Gilles by the late eleventh century had become a bustling town with an active money economy.

The façade of Saint-Gilles also features a relief of the Holy Women visiting the empty tomb of Christ. This scene was a sign of courage and sacrifice in the twelfth century given that after the Crucifixion the disciples had fled the area whilst the women risked their lives to care for the body of Christ. The Holy Women were considered to be the first pilgrims to the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem and the scene depicting their visit to the tomb became an inspirational symbol for pilgrims and crusaders to the Holy Land, thus supporting another important theme of the Saint-Gilles façade related to the Christian victory in the First Crusade.[7]

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[6] The lifelike details sculpted into this façade also reflected an evolution in medieval thinking as contemporary pilgrims and townspeople increasingly sought explanations to religious stories. Schapiro, *Romanesque Architectural Sculpture*, p. 134. This was also reflected in the evolution of the story of the translation of St James' relics in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries which sought to explain how the relics made their way to Padrón from the Holy Land and then on to Compostela.

[7] Shagrir, 'The 'Holy Women' in the Liturgy and Art of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Twelfth Century Jerusalem', pp. 460-63.

Highlighting the scales and coins of the spice merchants also sent a warning to merchants and moneychangers operating in the markets of Saint-Gilles against the use of false weights. The 1178 statute from the count of Toulouse showed moneychangers in Saint-Gilles were known to cheat pilgrims,[8] and one of the tactics was to buy coins using a lighter weight and then sell them using a heavier weight.[9] In addition to their significance as a tool that facilitated the act of pilgrimage, the scales in the sculpture also represented weights and measures, the regulation of which was a sign of seignorial power that ensured the protection of pilgrims and the smooth operation of markets that in turn contributed to tax receipts.[10] Concern for legal weights and measures along the pilgrim roads was clearly shown in *fueros* like those of Jaca (1076)[11] and Estella (1090)[12] that outlined fines for the use of false weights, Compostela's 1133 decree that addressed false brands and weights,[13] and the cathedral chapter's use of its guild of moneychangers to regulate scales used by the city's goldsmiths and silversmiths.[14]

The sculpture of the spice merchants selling to the Holy Women at Saint-Gilles also reflected the increasingly transactional nature of charity and spirituality that sprouted from commercial activity in the money economy.[15] Along with this trend came the complex notion of Purgatory, a middle ground between Heaven and Hell, that became commonly accepted from the late twelfth century.[16] Purgatory was not mentioned in *Veneranda dies*, but Heaven (or Paradise) and Hell were commonly referred to, showing that the concept had not yet become a popular

[8] *Layettes de Trésor de Chartres*, 1, p. 119 (288).
[9] *LSJ*, pp. 98-99 (I, 17). The scales used by moneychangers were called a *trubuchetum*, which can be translated as 'catapult'. *MSJ*, p. 124 (note 363).
[10] For more on weights and measures as a symbol of seignorial power see Wood, *Medieval Economic Thought*, pp. 89-109.
[11] *Fuero de Jaca*, ed. Molho, pp. 3-5
[12] *Fuero de Estella*, p. 328 (I, 11).
[13] *HC*, pp. 473-74 (III, 33.2).
[14] González Arce, 'Los Cambistas Compostelanos', p. 100.
[15] Davis, *The Medieval Economy of Salvation*, pp. 12-15 and 34-36.
[16] J. Le Goff, trans. A. Goldhammer, *The Birth of Purgatory* (Chicago, 1981), p. 135.

belief at the time of the text's compilation in c. 1140. Religious leaders of the mid to late twelfth century believed that some sinners relegated to Purgatory, depending on the nature of their sins, could be released to Heaven if their relations on earth supported their spiritual causes with alms, masses and other good deeds performed on their behalf, a series of transactions that could result in spiritual salvation.[17]

The notion of merchants facilitating the act of pilgrimage extended to their participation in crusading. Bernard of Clairvaux specifically urged the merchant class to take up the cross for the Second Crusade in his letter to the English people, written in 1146. He sought to entice their participation by linking the notion of commercial profit to spiritual salvation, yet another example of the connection between the money economy and religion:

> But to those of you who are merchants, men quick to seek a bargain, let me point out the advantages of this great opportunity. Do not miss them. Take up the sign of the Cross and you will find indulgence for all the sins which you humbly confess. The cost is small, the reward is great. Venture with devotion and the gain will be God's kingdom. They do well therefore who have taken up this heavenly sign, and they also will do well, and profit themselves, who hasten to take up what will prove to be for them a sign of salvation.[18]

Bernard clearly recognized that the merchant class would be a valuable addition to crusading forces as shown by the successful contributions of Genoese, Pisan and Venetian merchants who helped take the Latin East, and they would have also had funds to help sustain their crusading activity.[19]

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[17] This was a primary activity of confraternities and trade guilds. Le Goff, *Birth of Purgatory*, pp. 327-28. For more on alms as a means to spiritual salvation and lay reaction to the Last Judgment, see Bull, *Knightly Piety*, pp. 181-91.
[18] Bernard of Clairvaux, 'Letter to the English People', *The Letters of St Bernard of Clairvaux*, trans. B. James (Stroud, 1998), p. 462 (391.5). According to James, this English translation is the only version of this letter to have been published or translated. Ibid., p. 460. Notably, this was the only appeal preached to merchants that survives the crusading period. J. Phillips, *The Second Crusade: Extending the Frontiers of Christendom* (New Haven, 2007), pp. 73-74.
[19] Phillips, *The Second Crusade*, p. 74.

Church rhetoric against immoral merchants and the money economy along the pilgrim roads did not materially impact growth in the circulation of money and the importance and popularity of the pilgrim markets. By the mid-twelfth century, the *Veneranda dies* sermon and church sculptural programmes expressed the necessity of money and morally upstanding merchants and craftsmen in the devotional infrastructure of the pilgrimage. This moral accommodation was represented clearly at the abbey church of Saint-Gilles, where a sculpture displayed spice merchants selling to the Holy Women as they prepare to make a pilgrimage to the tomb of Christ, whilst collecting coins in the process of the transaction.

2. Pious Violence and the *Voto de Santiago*

The tacit moral accommodation reached between the Church and merchant class of Compostelan pilgrim towns was similar to the symbiotic arrangement between the Church and crusaders. Indeed, the Church came to accept violence, anathema to biblical teachings, to the extent it facilitated the act of pilgrimage to the Holy Land.[20] Iberia was seen as an acceptable substitute for crusading in the Holy Land from the 1120s onwards,[21] and by then Compostela's cathedral chapter had already begun to leverage the legend of St James to ensure the financial integrity of the cult and pilgrimage.

In his treatise promoting the Templar order, *Liber ad Milites Templi de laude novae Militiae* (c. 1130), Bernard of Clairvaux used the biblical story of Jesus chasing the moneychangers from the Temple in Jerusalem to justify the pious violence of the Templars.

[20] The occupation of soldier was condemned in biblical teachings such as Exodus that stated 'thou shalt not kill'. Exodus 20:13. This command was repeated by Jesus in his Sermon on the Mount regarding the spiritual reckoning for murderers: 'You have heard that it was said to the ancients, "Do not murder, and anyone who murders will be subject to judgment."' Matthew 5:21. Writing in c. 1150, Peter Lombard included knights (*miles*) along with merchants when discussing those who could not operate without sinning. Peter Lombard, *Sententiarum*, book IV, cols. 878 (dist. 16, 2). Barber states Templars who were 'men previously regarded as criminals and a menace to society' were able to be cleansed of sin through their participation in the order. Barber, *The New Knighthood*, p. 45.
[21] Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia*, pp. 126 and 170.

Notably, this scene depicted the only violent act committed by Jesus during his life.[22] Bernard compared the whip used by Jesus to the swords of the Templars,[23] and he described the 'infidels' who occupied the Temple prior to the First Crusade to be even more unacceptable than the merchants, thus providing a pretext for Templar establishment in the shrine:

> Moved therefore by their King's example, his devoted soldiery, considering it far more unfitting and infinitely more intolerable for a holy place to be polluted by unbelievers than to be crowded with merchants, have installed themselves in this holy house with their horses and their armor.[24]

The moral accommodation was clearly shown by Bernard's sanctioning of Templar violence whilst at the same time promoting their pious standards and how they exemplified 'brotherly goodwill, devoted submission, [and] voluntary poverty'.[25]

Like the sanctioning of pious violence, Bernard and other religious leaders likely approved of Templar involvement in financial services to the extent it facilitated pilgrimage to holy sites. Military order participation in money changing and lending also allowed the Church to advance its goals through the emerging money economy. By recruiting and licensing financial agents from the arms-bearing class, it was able to steer resources towards religious institutions and away from the rising aristocratic families of the wealthy pilgrim towns. This strategy was exemplified in the founding charter of Compostela's guild of moneychangers that described the

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[22] Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Praise of the New Knighthood: A Treatise on the Knights Templar and the Holy Places of Jerusalem*, trans. C. Greenia (Trappist, 2001), p. 23.
[23] Bernard of Clairvaux, 'Liber ad Milites Templi de laude novae Militiae', *PL* 182, cols. 917-940, col. 927.
[24] Ibid., col. 928: *Tali proinde sui Regis permotus exemplo devotus exercitus, multo sane indignius, longeque intolerabilius arbitrans sancta pollui ab infidelibus, quam a mercatoribus incestari, in domo sancta cum equis et armis commoratur*. For English translation see Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Praise of the New Knighthood*, trans. Greenia, pp. 49-50.
[25] Bernard of Clairvaux, 'Liber ad Milites Templi de laude novae Militiae', col. 928: *Honorant certatim Dei templum sedulis et sinceris obsequiis, jugi in eo devotione immolantes, non quidem veterum ritu pecudum carnes, sed vere hostias pacificas, fraternam dilectionem, devotam subjectionem, voluntariam paupertatem*.

twelve founding members as having had knightly origins and stated members were obligated to help protect poor pilgrims, especially foreigners, from thieves and killers.[26]

The act of crusading itself was considered by contemporary Latins as a form of pilgrimage, with Marcus Bull referring to the First Crusade as 'a species of pilgrimage'[27] and William Purkis calling it 'penitential pilgrimage-in-arms'.[28] This link between pilgrimage and crusading was starting to be leveraged by champions of the Compostelan pilgrimage by the end of the first quarter of the twelfth century. In 1123 Calixtus II described those who went to fight in Jerusalem or Iberia with crosses on their clothing, and decreed both would earn remission of their sins, equating the spiritual value of crusading in Iberia and the Holy Land.[29] And in 1125 Diego Gelmírez sought to link crusading in the Holy Land to the fighting against Muslims in Iberia by promoting the development of a new route to Jerusalem through Iberia (*iter per Hispaniam*).[30]

Compostela's cathedral chapter began to use a militarized image of St James, propagated through the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*[31] and the *voto de Santiago*, as justification and motivation for crusading activity in Iberia, and as a means for reaping economic and political benefits. The timing of St James's transformation from pilgrim to warrior coincided with the arrival into Iberia of the Muslim Almohads who presented a new and significant military threat to the Christian

[26] *LFH*, II, p. 50. See also J.D. González Arce, 'Los Cambistas Compostelanos', p. 96 (note 15).
[27] Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade*, p. 204.
[28] Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia*, p. 19.
[29] Ibid., pp. 129 and 161; Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade*, p. 108; and O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain*, p. 48.
[30] *HC*, p. 379 (II, 78). See also Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, pp. 131-32; and P. O'Banion, 'What has Iberia to do with Jerusalem? Crusade and the Spanish route to the Holy Land in the twelfth century', *Journal of Medieval History*, 34:4, 2008, pp. 383-95.
[31] See *MSJ*, p. 147 (note 689). Arms-bearers were the recipients of miracles in nine of the twenty-two miracle stories in the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* (1, 4, 9, 12, 13, 15, 16, 18, 20). Ibid., pp. LIV-LV. For additional analysis of the arms-bearing class in the miracle stories, see Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia,* p. 145.

kingdoms.[32] It was also contemporaneous with an acceptance amongst Latin arms-bearers that the rewards of fighting the Muslims in Iberia were commensurate to those earned in the Holy Land.[33]

A miracle story from the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* described the metamorphosis of St James into a warrior who would lead Christian military efforts against the Muslims. This story, said to have occurred in 1064, told how a Greek pilgrim named Stephen, formerly a bishop but now committed to a vow of poverty, arrived at the basilica of St James in Compostela where he dedicated the rest of his life to serving the apostle. As he was going about his business near the altar, Stephen heard a group of peasants refer to St James as a soldier, to which Stephen angrily retorted that the saint was not a soldier but a fisherman who had left his trade to follow Christ. The following night, a fully-armed St James appeared in bright white clothing and announced to Stephen that he had indeed transformed into a soldier who would lead Christians in their battles against the Saracens.[34] To prove his change was complete, St James told Stephen he would deliver the keys to the Muslim-held city of Coimbra that had been besieged for seven years by Fernando I of León-Castile.

Compostela's cathedral chapter built upon this militarized image of St James by orchestrating a forgery called the *voto de Santiago* (or *Privilegio del Voto*), a tax applied to all of Christian Iberia and paid to the chapter as thanks for St James's assistance at the mythical ninth-century Battle of Clavijo (ten miles south of Logroño and the Camino Francés).[35] During the

[32] O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain*, p. 47.
[33] Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia*, pp. 126 and 170.
[34] *LSJ*, p. 175 (II, 19). For more on St James as the face of Christian military efforts against the Muslims, see B. Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record, and Event, 1000-1215* (Philadelphia, 1987), p. 112.
[35] The earliest surviving copy of the *Privilegio del Voto* resides in the archives of Santiago Cathedral. This copy was confirmed by Pedro Marcio, a cardinal who worked in Compostela's cathedral chapter in the second half of the twelfth century, and who likely authored the forgery. Barton transcribed the Latin text found in *LFH*, II, pp. 132-37 and also translated it into English. S. Barton, *Conquerors, Brides, and Concubines: Interfaith Relations and Social Power in Medieval Iberia* (Philadelphia, 2015), pp. 152-63. López Alsina argues the *voto* was based on an earlier tax

supposed battle in 844, St James appeared and intervened on behalf of a group of badly outnumbered Christians who were fighting their Muslim subjugators from Córdoba over an annual tribute of one-hundred virgin maidens.[36] Although the *voto* was attributed to a charter of Ramiro I of Asturias (allegedly written in 834), it was undoubtedly a forgery created in the mid-twelfth century, created within Compostela's cathedral chapter to raise much needed funds.[37] Indeed, after the death of Diego Gelmírez in 1140, and until the reign of Archbishop Pedro Suárez in 1173,[38] Compostela's cathedral chapter went through a difficult political and financial period. This was shown by high turnover of its archbishops (six pontificates over that thirty-three-year timeframe, including a two-and-a-half-year vacancy) and a halt in construction activities on the cathedral.[39]

The scale of the *voto's* required payments and the areas subject to it were far-reaching. Privileges granted to the church in Compostela included collection of payments described as the 'best crops' from first harvests and a 'portion that corresponds to a knight' of any booty taken during military campaigns against the Muslims. Crucially, the payments were outlined to be made 'throughout Spain' and 'in perpetuity':

> Reflecting on this unexpected victory of the Apostle's great miracle, we decided to establish for our patron and protector, the most Blessed James, some gift that would last forever. We therefore established throughout Spain, all the regions of the Spaniards,

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levied by the Compostelan church on its dependent bishoprics and parishes, located north of the Duero River and west of the Pisuerga River, prior to the forgery. López Alsina, *La ciudad de Santiago de Compostela en la Alta Edad Media*, pp. 180-86. However, Fletcher believed *votos* were not being collected by Compostela prior to c. 1150. Fletcher, *St. James's Catapult*, p. 294. The *voto* was later copied into other documents including the *Chronicon Mundi* of Lucas of Tui. E. Falque, 'El Llamado *Privilegio de los Votos*, Fuente del Chronicon Mundi de Lucas de Tuy' in *Habis*, 33 (2002), pp. 573-77, pp. 573-74; B. Reilly, 'Bishop Lucas of Túy and the Latin Chronicle Tradition in Iberia' in *The Catholic Historical Review*, 93 (2007), pp. 767-88, p. 780.

[36] J. Domínguez García, *Memorias del futuro: Ideología y ficción en el símbolo de Santiago Apóstol* (Madrid, 2008), p. 69. Domínguez García argues that many of the events described in the *voto de Santiago* may have been based on the Battle of Simancas in 939 between Ramiro II of León and the emir of Córdoba, Abd-al-Rahmon III.

[37] Barton, *Conquerors, Brides, and Concubines*, p. 86. The *voto* was not mentioned in the *Historia Compostellana* (c. 1140), nor the Santiago Cathedral cartulary, *Tumbo A*, which was copied between 1129 and 1131. See Domínguez García, *Memorias del futuro*, p. 71; and Fletcher, *St. James's Catapult*, p. 294.

[38] On the tenure of Archbishop Pedro Suárez, see *LFH,* IV, pp. 311-50.

[39] Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult*, pp. 293-94.

> every one of which God had deemed worthy of deliverance from the Saracens in the name of the apostle James, to pay every year in perpetuity, by way of first fruits, from each yoke of land a measure of the best crops, and the same of wine, to feed the canons who reside in the church of the Blessed James and for the ministers of the same church. We also grant and equally confirm in perpetuity, that the Christians throughout Spain, from the plunder that on each of the expeditions they seize from the Saracens, should give to our glorious patron, the protector of Spain, the Blessed James, exactly that part and portion that corresponds to a knight.[40]

The *voto* was being collected from at least 1150 when Alfonso VII recognized the portion collected in Toledo and earmarked it for Compostela, in part for the remission of his sins and those of his ancestors.[41] The *Chronica Adefonsi lmperatoris* (c. 1150)[42] also likely referred to the portion of booty expected to be sent to Compostela as required in the *voto*, which would suggest an even earlier date to its creation. The *Chronica* stated that after the battle with kings Azuel of Córdoba and Avenceta of Seville in c. 1143, the victorious Muño Alfonso (*alcaide* of Toledo) and his comrades divided the spoils and gave the customary twenty percent to Alfonso VII and also separated many precious gifts that they sent to the shrine of St James in Compostela.[43]

The *voto* provides further evidence of how Compostela's cathedral chapter manipulated

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[40] *LFH*, II, p. 135: *Tantum igitur apostoli miraculum post inopinatam uictoriam considerantes, deliberauimus statuere patrono et protectori nostro beatissimo iacobo donum aliquod in perpetuum permansurum. Statuimus ergo per totam hispaniam, ac uniuersis hispaniarum partibus, quascumque deus sub apostoli iacobi nomine dignaretur a sarracenis liberare, uouimus obseruandum, quatinus de uno quoque iugo boum singule mensure de meliori fruge ad modum primitiarum et de uino similiter ad uictum canonicorum in ecclesia beati iacobi commorantium annuatim ministris eiusdem ecclesie in perpetuum persoluantur. Concessimus etiam et similiter in perpetuum confirmauimus quod xpiani. per totam hispaniam in singulis expeditionibus de eo quod a sarracenis acquisierint ad mensuram porcionis unius militis, glorioso patrono nostro et hispaniarum protectori beato iacobo fideliter attribuant*. For English translation see S. Barton, *Conquerors, Brides, and Concubines: Interfaith Relations and Social Power in Medieval Iberia* (Philadelphia, 2015), p. 159.

[41] *Tumbo B*, pp. 259-62 (120). See also López Alsina, *La ciudad de Santiago de Compostela*, p. 193.

[42] On the date of composition, see *Chronica Adefonsi lmperatoris*, ed. and trans. Barton and Fletcher, *The World of El Cid*, p. 157.

[43] *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, ed. A. Maya Sánchez, *Chronica Hispana saeculi XII: Pars II*, *CCCM 71* (Turnhout, 1990), pp. 149-248, p. 231 (II, 78): *In primis datis ex omnibus decimis Deo et ecclesie Sancte Marie, deinde dederunt imperatori quintam partem, sicut mos est regum, et desuper uexilla regalia et equos regum et mulas et alia plurima dona et de communi separauerunt preciosa dona, que miserunt ad Sanctum Iacobum Compostelanum.* On the date of this battle, see *Chronica Adefonsi lmperatoris*, ed. and trans. Barton and Fletcher, p. 235 (note 155).

the past to support its political and economic interests. The *voto* forgery was consistent with what Amy Remensnyder calls the 'imaginative memory' of medieval religious institutions that allowed them to 'create identity and meaning' in the present and make 'claims to new rights'.[44] Legend building related to Charlemagne and his mythical relationship to the pilgrimage and cult of St James in the *Historia Turpini* was used to support the notion of an Iberia-wide tax to support the church in Compostela. Crucially, Pseudo-Turpin outlined an annual tax of four *nummi* to be paid to the church in Compostela by property owners that was supposedly imposed by Charlemagne:

> The king subjected all the lands of Spain and Galicia to that same church [Compostela], giving them as an offering and mandating that all property owners in all of Spain and Galicia give four coins to it each year. In doing so, they would remain free from servitude by order of the king.[45]

Similarities exist between the spurious *Diploma of Ramiro I* and the *Historia Turpini* and *De miraculis* of the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* that provide further evidence of a coordinated literary programme by Compostela's cathedral chapter. In both the *Diploma*[46] and *Historia Turpini*,[47] St James appears to the Christian kings in a dream and urges them to fight Saracens in Iberia. And like the miracle story in which St James announces his transformation into a white-clad warrior,[48] the saint tells Ramiro in the *Diploma* that he will arrive on the battlefield dressed in white, riding a white horse and carrying a white banner.[49]

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[44] A. Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past: Monastic Foundation Legends in Medieval Southern France* (Ithaca, 1996), pp. 1-4. See also Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, p. 143; and G. Constable, 'Forgery and Plagiarism in the Middle Ages', *Archiv für Diplomatik*, 29 (1983), pp. 1-41.
[45] *LSJ*, p. 214 (IV, 19): *Et subiugavit rex eidem ecclesie totam terram hyspanicam et gallecianam deditque ei in dote, precipiens ut unusquisque possessor uniuscuiusque domus totius Hyspanie et Gallecie IIIIor nummos annuatim ex debito daret, et omni servitute rege precipiente liberi essent.* For English translation see Poole, *Chronicle of Pseudo-Turpin*, p. 53.
[46] *LFH*, II, p. 134.
[47] *LSJ*, p. 201 (IV, 1).
[48] Ibid., p. 175 (II, 19).
[49] *LFH*, II, p. 134.

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The tacit moral accommodation between the Church and merchant class was similar to the one reached between the Church and crusaders in which violence was accepted if it facilitated the act of pilgrimage. The nexus of the Compostelan pilgrimage and warfare was expressed in the transformation of St James into a warrior and patron saint of Christian military efforts against the Muslims in Iberia as promoted in the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* and *voto de Santiago*. Creation of the *voto* within Compostela's cathedral chapter showed once again, as with its efforts to use the mint and establish the guild of moneychangers, that it was prepared to develop a morally acceptable framework within which it could maintain the financial integrity of the cult of St James and pilgrimage.

3. Transformation of the Social Order

The tacit moral accommodation between the Church, merchants, pilgrims and crusaders travelling along the roads to Compostela marked the start of a wider trend that transformed the social order across western Europe. This transformation coincided with the rise of scholasticism at the end of the twelfth century. The religious centres of learning in Paris were particularly important, where leading intellectuals like Peter the Chanter (d. 1197) and Thomas of Chobham (c. 1160–c. 1235) debated the morality of specific professions and laid the moral groundwork that helped revolutionize Church thinking related to occupations of the rising money economy.[50] Notably, these scholastics contributed to Church acceptance of earning money wages for one's labour even if tangible products were not created.

[50] Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy*, pp. 174-78.

The notion of creation was analogous to God's work as Creator and therefore occupations that failed to 'create' were viewed as being of a lower class. Like merchants, masters in medieval universities did not create tangible products, yet they charged fees for imparting their knowledge to students. Academics were prohibited by the Church from charging for their services because it was believed knowledge was a gift from God and therefore could not be sold. But by the end of the twelfth century, it was accepted that academics could earn a wage, justified in that they were receiving payment for their labour, not by selling their knowledge, which was still believed to be a gift from God.[51]

By the late twelfth century merchants began to be morally accepted by the Church, based on their contributions to the common good of society. This notion of social utility, first conceived by Aristotle, was used by the Parisian moralists as a crucial distinction that allowed a wide variety of previously condemned occupations to be embraced as part of the universe of faithful Christians to whom were afforded a path to spiritual salvation.[52] Thomas of Chobham, writing in his *Summa Confessorum* in the first quarter of the thirteenth century, defended the income of merchants by arguing that they prevented economic shortages by balancing the supply and demand of goods:

> There would be great poverty in many countries if merchants did not bring what abounds in one place to another where these same things are lacking. They can therefore justly receive the price of their labor.[53]

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[51] Le Goff, *Time, Work, and Culture*, pp. 60-63. See also Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy*, p. 177.
[52] Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy*, p. 178. See also Constable, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought*, pp. 318-19.
[53] Thomas of Chobham, *Summa Confessorum*, ed. F. Broomfield (Paris, 1968), p. 301: *Aliter enim multus defectus esset in multis regionibus, quia mercatores de eo quod abundat in uno loco usque in alium locum in quo eiusdem rei est egestas deferunt. Unde mercatores bene possunt percipere pretium laboris sui et evectionis sue et expensas suas ultra sortem quam dederunt in emptione*. For English translation see Le Goff, *Time, Work, and Culture*, p. 65. On the dating of the *Summa Confessorum*, see Thomas of Chobham, *Summa Confessorum*, ed. F. Broomfield, pp. XL-LXII.

Medieval scholars debated the morality of money and occupations and concluded in the late twelfth century that the intentions of the person were more important in judging potential sin than solely the nature of the occupation.[54] This reasoning impacted how merchants and artisans were viewed by the Church along the pilgrim roads to Compostela and provides a rationale for the inclusion of trades on pilgrim-town facades. This moral accommodation drastically reduced the number of occupations considered sinful by their association with societal taboos. In fact, Le Goff argued that by the early thirteenth century, the number of illicit occupations based solely on the nature of the work had largely been reduced to usurers, prostitutes and jongleurs (with the exception of those who sang the praises of saints and alleviated sadness).[55]

Profit and the Just Price

Contemporaneous with the establishment of the new social order, the notion of profit started to be accepted on moral grounds as a wage for labour, as long as the merchant operated honestly and without greed or intent to accumulate wealth. Profit was viewed by the Church as acceptable provided it was given away to the poor or needy.[56] Alan of Lille (1128 - c. 1202), writing in the late twelfth century, articulated Church opinion on monetary gains generated by the merchant class:

> Do you wish to be an excellent merchant, an outstanding moneylender and a prudent shopkeeper? Give what you cannot preserve so that you may pursue that which you cannot let slip, give a little so that you pursue a hundredfold gain; give possessions that are not yours so that you may pursue your eternal heritage.[57]

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[54] Le Goff, *Time, Work, and Culture*, p. 62.
[55] Ibid., pp. 64-67.
[56] Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy*, pp. 178-79.
[57] Alan of Lille, 'Summa de arte praedicatoria', *PL* 210, cols. 109-98, col. 124: *Vis esse mercator optimus, foenerator egregius et prudens mercenarius? Da quae non potes retinere, ut consequaris ea quae non potes amittere, da modicum ut consequaris centuplum; da alienam possessionem, ut consequaris aeternam haereditatem*. For English translation see O. Langholm, 'A Herald of Scholasticism: Alan of Lille on Economic Virtue', in ed. G. Gasper and S. Gullbekk, *Money and the Church in Medieval Europe, 1000-1200* (Farnham, 2015), pp. 93-104, p. 97.

Indeed, just as it was acceptable for pilgrims to travel with money as long as it was passed to the poor, the same could be said for merchants and profits. In this way merchants and craftsmen acted as clearinghouses for money, collecting it in the markets and then channelling it towards the poor and the Church.

The concept of profit was not foreign to the monarchs, ecclesiastical lords and merchant class of the pilgrim towns in the twelfth century. Alfonso VI's minting grant to Compostela's cathedral chapter acknowledged it would be a valuable source of profit (*lucrum*).[58] Fair prices, or market prices, were well known inside Compostela's cathedral chapter as shown in the 1133 decree that fixed prices on a wide variety of products sold in the pilgrim markets, the charges of fraudulent prices in *Veneranda dies*,[59] and in *fueros* such as that of Padrón (1164) that fixed prices on staple goods like bread and wine.[60] The polemic against the fraudulent activities of merchants, artisans, innkeepers and moneychangers in *Veneranda dies* was partially directed at perceived excessive profits being earned by reselling products purchased in the markets at higher prices. In its condemnation of high prices charged to pilgrims by innkeepers for candles purchased in the market, the sermon exclaimed 'O what an abominable market and detestable profit!'.[61]

In one trick played on pilgrims, innkeepers were said to provide a meal of fish or meat that was worth eight *nummi* in the market to a pilgrim at no charge, but would then sell the pilgrim four *solidi* worth of wax for six *solidi*.[62] Based on the statement that twenty *nummi* were equal to two *solidi*, it can be determined that the innkeeper's profit for this entire transaction was

[58] *Tumbo A*, pp. 167-69 (72).
[59] *LSJ*, p. 96 (I, 17).
[60] *LFF*, pp. 156-59.
[61] *LSJ*, p. 96 (I, 17): *O quam nefandum forum, quam detestabile lucrum!* For English translation see *MSJ*, p. 37.
[62] *LSJ*, p. 96 (I, 17).

1.2 *solidi* or twenty percent.[63] The sermon also stated innkeepers would sell a measure of barley or oats to pilgrims for as much as twelve *nummi* when it could be had in the market for six *nummi*, revealing a profit of fifty percent for the innkeeper. Likewise, a sesterce of wine was sold to pilgrims for twenty *nummi* when the price in the market was only twelve, a profit of forty percent for the innkeeper.[64]

The author(s) of *Veneranda dies* did not appear to have had a problem with the fact that innkeepers were reselling wax, food and wine to pilgrims. Rather, the source of the claimed fraudulent activity was the perception of excessive profits being extracted from pilgrims. Indeed, in its polemic against fraudulent activity in the markets, the sermon described merchants whose cupidity drove them to hoard 'savage and illicit profits' (*lucra immania et illicita*).[65] Whilst this statement attacked excessive profits and the hoarding of money resulting from fraudulent activity, it also highlighted the notion of a 'just price' which entitled those merchants and craftsmen who treated pilgrims fairly to earn a wage in excess of the cost of materials in order to maintain an appropriate standard of living.[66]

Perceptions of just prices varied between the Church and merchants.[67] This was illustrated by the efforts of Compostela's cathedral chapter and the *concejo* to fix prices rather than let them be negotiated freely based on the fluid supply and demand in the markets. The 1133 decree fixed prices, limited participation in the market by middlemen and asserted the administrative role of the cathedral chapter in market activities.[68] That the decree sought to fix

[63] Ibid., p. 96 (I, 17). Therefore, the fair value of 8 *nummi* was equal to .8 *solidi*. This suggests the trick resulted in a profit of 1.2 *solidi* or 25% (1.2 *solidi*/4.8 *solidi*).
[64] Ibid., p. 96 (I, 17).
[65] Ibid., p. 100 (I, 17).
[66] Welch Williams, *Bread, Wine, and Money*, p. 138.
[67] For more on the concept of just prices, see Wood, *Medieval Economic Thought*, pp. 132-58.
[68] *HC*, p. 474 (III, 33.3).

prices shows that those being charged in the markets and within the town, and therefore the material gains to merchants, craftsmen and innkeepers, had been even higher.

It was concern for just prices that initially led the Church to counter the formation of trade guilds whose goals included the monopolization of resources and finished goods and therefore afforded them the ability to charge higher prices. The Church therefore only embraced trade groups to the extent they also performed religious functions that supported the notion of poverty and the act of pilgrimage. Jacques Le Goff described this process as a 'dialectic between the corporative spirit and confraternal spirit'.[69] Indeed, the early guilds of artists and moneychangers Compostela were called confraternities.

In addition to debates about the utility of the merchant class, leading Church moralists debated credit, and what if any role Christians should take in moneylending. Money loans were a critical issue for the Church that needed funds to build and maintain devotional infrastructure such as the Hospital of the Emperor in Burgos. Pope Urban III (1185-87) invoked the notion of intention from the Gospel of Luke to gauge the morality of usury which allowed the charging of interest in a wide variety of situations.[70] Robert of Courçon (c. 1160-1219), another Parisian moralist argued in his *Summa* that lenders should not benefit from penalties on defaulted loans, but rather, the penalties should be paid to the poor so the lender did not benefit.[71] Notably, the monarchs of Castile did not heed calls by Rome to press charges against Jewish moneylenders given the need for credit and its role in supporting the devotional infrastructure of the Compostelan pilgrimage.

[69] Le Goff, *Time, Work, and Culture*, p. 111.
[70] Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy*, p. 180.
[71] Ibid., p. 181.

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Visual and textual Church rhetoric along the Compostelan pilgrim roads in the first half of the twelfth century signalled the start of a wider trend of acceptance for merchants and the money economy that was reinforced by the Parisian moralists in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. There were caveats to this moral accommodation, mainly that prices were not to be excessive, that profits were compensation for labour that was needed to maintain a minimal standard of living, and that any profits beyond that were to be given to the poor. Along with the transformation of the social order came a similar evolution in attitudes surrounding specie and those who created it, a topic to be explored in the next section.

4. The Divinity of Carrión's Minters and their Coins

The reliefs of minters and other urban trades on the façade of the church of Santiago in Carrión were indicative of the change in Church attitudes towards money, morality and the new social order that started to accelerate in the second half of the twelfth century. The details sculpted into each worker represented a recognition by the Church that they were part of a new spiritual paradigm in which merchants and craftsmen were valued as important contributors to society and religion.[72] These were also visual reminders that although money was made physically, it could be remade in a spiritual context.

It was an extraordinary and meaningful gesture to highlight the minting profession, or even celebrate specie, on a church dedicated to St James in the heart of the Camino Francés. This was especially the case given the vow of poverty that was expected to be taken by pilgrims and that was aggressively promoted by the Church. Other contemporary sculptural programmes

[72] Le Goff, *Time, Work, and Culture*, p. 67. See also Welch Williams, *Bread, Wine, and Money*, p. 141.

along the pilgrim roads attacked money and its association with avarice through sculptures of figures weighed down by heavy money bags or the biblical story of the rich man and Lazarus. But patrons of the church of Santiago's façade decided to include sculptures of minters and townspeople rather than explicit symbols of avarice and other sins.

It was certainly not a coincidence that construction of the façade was contemporaneous with the granting of the month-long annual fair to the monastery of San Zoilo. Money was coursing through Carrión and along the pilgrim roads and was enriching churches and townspeople along the way, including those involved in the money trades. The façade highlighted the role pilgrimage played in facilitating commerce and contributing to the wealth of pilgrim towns. Further, the iconography of the facade was indicative of a broader transformation of northern Christian Iberia to a money-based economy that was itself driven by the pilgrimage.

Although no textual evidence exists about the minters displayed on the Carrión façade, they almost certainly helped finance its construction. The specificity of tasks displayed on the façade indicates the sculptor had a detailed knowledge of the minting process, tools and administrative functions, and was thus closely connected to the minters. In return for their monetary investment in the façade, the minters would have benefited financially by obtaining moral approval from the Church for their participation in the money economy, and also spiritually as their salvation would not have been blocked due to the mere nature of their work.

Perhaps it should not be surprising that minters were featured on the Carrión façade. Minters had been part of a small group of sacred professions that largely escaped Church polemic against sin. They were metal workers, and along with goldsmiths, ironsmiths and sword makers, held a prestigious status in society because they were viewed by some as 'sorcerers' who

could transform metal into luxury items that were symbols of religious and royal power.[73] The moral acceptance of metal workers acted as a starting point from which other professions would eventually receive social and spiritual acceptance from the Church.

Workers of precious metals had unique technical and artistic skills, and minters were often involved in the creation of gold and silver works for shrines and churches. Master Mateo, leader of Compostela's guild of artists in the second half of the twelfth century, was actively involved in coordinating the decorative programme for the cathedral as well as the cult of St James overall as shown by his likely involvement in the design of the promotional coins with a bust of the saint and *translatio*. Mateo's involvement in creating the coins would not have been unusual given the natural intersection of sculpture and metalwork.

The unique skills of occupations in contemporary pilgrim towns were illustrated in the descriptions of Sahagún's Frankish burghers in the *Crónicas anónimas* and in the *Veneranda dies* sermon. The early guilds of Compostela, like those of the moneychangers and *concheiros*, provided a taste of what was to come in terms of Church acceptance of merchants and craftsmen and their role in the devotional infrastructure of the pilgrimage. The lesson from these early Compostelan guilds was that in order to protect their economic and spiritual interests, trade groups needed to specialize and promote pious acts.

As more urban merchants and artisans crossed a threshold in terms of material wealth in the second half of the twelfth century, they organized to protect their spiritual salvation and newfound economic power. As was the case in Italian city-states such as Florence in the late twelfth century, guilds in Compostelan pilgrim towns started to put their material wealth to work

[73] Le Goff, *Time, Work, and Culture*, p. 62. See also W. Tormey, 'Magical (and Maligned) Metalworkers: Understanding Representations of Early and High Medieval Blacksmiths', in ed. A. Classen, *Magic and Magicians in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Time: The Occult in Pre-Modern Sciences, Medicine, Literature, Religion, and Astrology* (Boston, 2017), pp. 109-48, pp. 110-12 and 147-48; and Weetch, 'Ineffable Power', pp. 475-76.

by investing in their relationship with the Church to receive acceptance and blessings.[74] This was shown by the patronage of church facades, financial donations given to monasteries, and sponsorship of pilgrim hospitals.

The façade of the church of Santiago in Carrión also allowed the minters and their royal clients to promote the sanctity of their work and the coins themselves. Some contemporary religious figures believed divine power was infused into coins through the minting process, therefore elevating minters into a sacred realm.[75] This was clearly illustrated by the mint supervisor, who points towards Christ in Majesty whilst directing the work of the minters (Figure 6.2), thus linking their work to Christ and the apostles, including St James who is shown on the frieze above (Figure 6.3).[76]



Figure 6.2. Mint Supervisor (centre), Façade of Church of Santiago, Carrión.[77]

[74] Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy*, pp. 206-10. Little calls the rise of wealthy merchant and artisan townspeople the emergence of a new 'urban nobility'.
[75] Weetch, '"Ineffable Power": Pierced Coins and Belief in the Latin East', pp. 475-76; and Mell, *Myth of the Medieval Jewish Moneylender*, II, pp. 149-57.
[76] See Lastra, 'Judgment, Work, and Social Change', pp. 192-93; and Lacoste, 'El Maestro de Carrión de los Condes' pp. 178-79.
[77] Photographed by the author.



Figure 6.3. Mint Supervisor Pointing to Christ, Façade of Church of Santiago, Carrión.[78]

Reinforcing royal authority over the money supply were sculptures of two lions that flanked the figures of the Carrión archivolt (Figure 6.4). Notably, contemporary judicial trials were conducted *inter leones* (between the lions) in front of the facades of pilgrim town churches such as Saint-Trophime in Arles (1152), a contemporary of the Carrión façade.[79] The iconography suggests the minters and townspeople of the Carrión façade were metaphorically on trial from a temporal as well as spiritual perspective. Pilgrims entered Santiago Cathedral through the north portal, or Portal of Paradise, which was described in the *Pilgrim's Guide* as

[78] Ibid.
[79] M. Schapiro, *Romanesque Architectural Sculpture: The Charles Eliot Norton Lectures* (Chicago, 2006), pp. 191-92. See also Mariño, 'La portada de Santiago de Carrión de los Condes', p. 67; and Lastra, 'Judgment, Work, and Social Change', pp. 191 and 204 (note 85). On the dating of Saint-Trophime's façade see Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, I, p. 298.

having been framed by two lions and above which sat Christ in Majesty.[80] The legality of coinage was therefore an important consideration for pilgrims and townspeople and the inclusion of minters on the façade could have been used to convey that specie met the legal standards established by the monarchs.



Figure 6.4. Lion Facing Townspeople from Façade of the Church of Santiago, Carrión.[81]

Guibert of Nogent's account of the urban revolt in Laon in 1112 revealed that counterfeiting was sometimes undertaken by rogue minters who normally worked under contract with or on behalf of their lords. Significant technical skill was required to counterfeit coins as shown by the mixing of specific parts of bronze and silver by Laon's minters to match the look of the existing coins, and they almost certainly used dies from the existing legal coinage to recreate the legends and images. Crucially, the minters of Laon counterfeited knowing they

[80] *Guide*, pp. 72-75 (ch. 9).
[81] Photographed by the author.

would benefit financially and that the sins related to violating their responsibilities would be forgiven through 'monetary redemption' (*pecuniaria redemptioni*), another example of the connection between money and spiritual salvation.[82]

It is possible the minters on the façade of the church of Santiago in Carrión were intended to represent a group of counterfeiters, but this is unlikely for a number of reasons. The specificity of the tasks and tools shown in the sculptures suggests the minters were involved in the sculptures themselves and counterfeiters would not have been solicited to participate in the sculptural programme by the church or townspeople. Second, the details of the minting process and activities of other professions such as the tailor proudly sewing a tunic show that the trades were being celebrated, not condemned. But in addition to promoting their trade, inclusion of the minters could have sent a tacit warning that they should not engage in counterfeiting as happened in Laon.

Like the mint supervisor's connection to Christ, the early thirteenth century stained-glass window programme of Chartres Cathedral promoted the connection between moneyers and piety. In addition to being shown weighing objects and inspecting coins, various windows display scenes of moneychangers engaged in the facilitation of devout acts.[83] One features a moneychanger with a small ciborium, used in religious ceremonies to hold the consecrated host.[84] In another window, a man is shown purchasing or selling a gold vessel related to a donation to the Virgin Mary, the patron saint of the cathedral to whom he is gesturing, communicating how the moneychangers facilitated pilgrim donations made at the shrine.[85]

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[82] GN, p. 158 (III, 7).
[83] Welch Williams, *Bread, Wine, and Money*, p. 103. Only four of the windows featuring moneychangers survive today.
[84] Ibid., p. 120. Another window also features a box where the moneychanger's weights were kept, or perhaps meant to be another box that held the consecrated host.
[85] Ibid., p. 121.

The contemporary moneyers of Chartres, who minted coins, changed money and crafted religious objects from precious metals, had an exclusive relationship with the cathedral chapter.[86] This was a similar arrangement to that which existed between Compostela's cathedral chapter and its guild of moneychangers who were also likely involved in minting given their proximity to the mint and knowledge of precious metals.[87] Like the members of Compostela's guild of moneychangers, the changers of Chartres probably operated in front of the cathedral where there was a market, and also within the cathedral to collect donations.

To overcome the negative perceptions surrounding money and to uphold the moral authority of the Church, strict qualifications were established for becoming members of Compostela's guild of moneychangers. To obtain the title of *cambiador*, potential members had to be approved by the archbishop and cathedral chapter. They also needed to be considered honourable citizens, honest and of high moral standing, a citizen of Compostela (excluding Jews and Muslims), and a descendant of a previous member.[88] Notably, other contemporary western European guilds of moneyers required members to be descendants of other moneyers which may have also reflected the desire for royal and ecclesiastical officials to exert control over the money supply.[89]

Like the religious acts performed by Compostela's guild of moneychangers,[90] the moneyers of Chartres made financial donations to support pious acts by religious institutions and to politically support their monopoly of the money trades. In 1192 the moneyers of Chartres

[86] Ibid., pp. 108 and 124.
[87] *LFF*, p. 94. See also González Arce, 'Los Cambistas Compostelanos', pp. 86 and 96; and M. Remuñán Ferro, 'Gremios Compostelanos relacionados con la peregrinación Jacobea', *Il pellegrinaggio a Santiago de Compostela e la letteratura jacopea: atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Perugia, 23-24-25 settembre 1983* (Perugia, 1985), pp. 109-126, p. 117.
[88] *LFF*, p. 95.
[89] Lopez, 'An Aristocracy of Money in the Early Middle Ages', pp. 1-2
[90] *LFH*, II, p. 50; and *LFF*, p. 94.

pledged their revenues from Sunday changing activity to the church of Bourdinière to support its brothers and the soul of the late husband of Countess Adèle of Chartres and Blois, an important political figure in Chartres.[91] Moneychangers from Compostela's guild also worked on Sundays, collecting and valuing the coins and precious metal objects from donation boxes in the cathedral.[92] Working on Sundays was unusual for secular occupations, thus showing the important role changers held in supporting the shrine and providing another example of an expanding list of exceptions for Church-sanctioned participation in the money economy.[93]

The close relationships between the moneyers of Compostela and Chartres and their respective cathedral chapters, and their involvement in religious acts, provides an analogue to the minters of Carrión's façade. In order for merchants and craftsmen to advance their interests in the new money economy, they needed to partner with ecclesiastical institutions and support religious causes that aided the stated mission of the Church. Indeed, the earliest trade-related guilds along the Iberian pilgrim roads, those of the artisans, moneychangers and pilgrim badge sellers of Compostela, were closely connected to the cathedral chapter and devotional infrastructure of the pilgrimage.[94]

In return for their patronage of Carrión's façade, the group of minters would have expected something in return.[95] The transactional nature of charity was illustrated by the relationship between León's guild of moneyers and the monastery of San Claudio. A copy of a seventeenth-century charter, no longer extant, mentioned the existence of this Leonese

[91] Welch Williams, *Bread, Wine, and Money*, p. 108.
[92] González Arce, 'Los Cambistas Compostelanos', pp. 97-98.
[93] Le Goff, *Time, Work, and Culture*, pp. 58, 62-63 and 118.
[94] J.D. González Arce, *Gremios y cofradías en los reinos medievales de León y Castilla. Siglos XII-XV* (Palencia, 2009), p. 218; and L. Huidobro y Serna, *Las peregrinaciones jacobeas* (Madrid, 1950), p. 680.
[95] On the spiritual expectations of contemporary guild members, see G. Rosser, *The Art of Solidarity in the Middle Ages: Guilds in England 1250-1550* (Oxford, 2015), p. 39.

confraternity of moneyers from at least 1206.[96] Its members were said to have hailed from the kingdoms of León, Castile, Navarre and Aragon.[97] The charter stated the moneyers conducted their work in front of the basilica of San Isidoro (the *agora*), and it was signed by monks from San Claudio, moneyers and princes. Notably, San Isidoro was the spiritual and economic heart of León, and the *Pilgrim's Guide* encouraged pilgrims to visit the shrine.[98]

Members of the guild, said to number more than thirty, pledged to make financial donations to León's San Claudio, notably the oldest monastery in the city, from the places where they minted coins.[99] On a weekly basis, the moneyers were to give one *denarius* to the monastery, and the master of the mint was to give one *solidus*.[100] In return for their donations, the moneyers were to be buried in the monastery[101] and upon their deaths were to receive masses and pious works in their names,[102] showing their preoccupation with spiritual salvation. San Claudio was located in what was called the *burgo nuevo* (new town) of León near the twelfth-century extramural suburb of Franks near the church of San Martín, suggesting the moneyers were Franks.[103]

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[96] In 1324 Alfonso XI of León-Castile (1313-50) confirmed the privileges granted to León's confraternity of moneyers (called a chapter, or cabildo at that time). The confirmation stated the privileges were from kings and their ancestors, indicating the guild had been in operation for many years prior to the confirmation. Flórez, *España Sagrada*, XXXVI, p. 14.

[97] E. Díaz-Jímenez y Molleda, *Historia del Real Monasterio Benedictino de San Claudio, de León* (Madrid, 1930), pp. 377-78. See also González Arce, *Gremios y cofradías en los reinos medievales de León y Castilla*, p. 222; and A. Represa Rodríguez, 'El León de los Gremios y Artesanos', in J.M. Blázquez Martínez et al. (eds.) *Conozca León y sus hombres* (Madrid, 1986), pp. 85-100, p. 96.

[98] *Guide*, pp. 64-65 (ch. 8).

[99] M. Risco, *Iglesia de León, y Monasterios Antiguas y Modernos de la Misma Ciudad* (Madrid, 1792), p. 86. Risco mentions the archives of San Claudio that contained other records related to the confraternity of moneyers up until the year 1400, including papal bulls.

[100] Díaz-Jímenez y Molleda, *Historia del Real Monasterio Benedictino de San Claudio*, pp. 377-78.

[101] Ibid., p. 377.

[102] M. Risco, *Iglesia de León, y Monasterios Antiguas y Modernos de la Misma Ciudad* (Madrid, 1792), p. 90. Risco states the moneyers were to give two *solidi* from any of the places where they minted coins to San Claudio.

[103] C. de Valle Rodríguez, *La controversia judeocristiana en España desde los orígenes hasta el siglo XIII* (Madrid, 1998), p. 245.

The Sanctity of Coins

In addition to promoting the divinity of the minters and their work, the connection between the minters and Christ on the façade of the church of Santiago in Carrión sent a reassuring message to pilgrims and townspeople about the virtue of the minters' coins. Although the façade illustrated that specie was becoming an increasingly accepted or even celebrated component of the societal fabric in the second half of the twelfth century, it was still surrounded by a significant cloud of moral uncertainty. Indeed, some believed that even though coins looked the same, there could be good, bad and even dangerous money.

The notion of bad money was illustrated in *Veneranda dies* which warned pilgrims who went to the shrines of saints with money obtained by theft, usury or other immoral means would 'beg for eternity'.[104] This warning clearly showed that coins could be spiritually hazardous to their owners. The notion of dangerous money was also connected to counterfeiting which was rampant on the pilgrim roads to Compostela in the twelfth century. Counterfeit coins triggered price inflation which increased the costs of goods in the markets and decreased the value of taxes collected by the monarchs and ecclesiastical lords. In his minting grant to Diego Gelmírez, Alfonso VI stated that counterfeit coins were to be feared and he ordered frequent changing of the dies to thwart counterfeiters.[105]

An example of good money was found in a twelfth-century miracle story from the shrine of Our Lady of Rocamadour, a popular secondary destination for Compostelan pilgrims travelling through the Midi. In this miracle, a blacksmith from Acre named John made a

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[104] *LSJ*, p. 93 (I, 17). A popular *exemplum* (morality tale) circulating in the late thirteenth century typified the notion of 'good' and 'bad' money. It told of an ape that smells the coins of his master, a pilgrim travelling by sea to the Holy Land. The ape rejects foul-smelling coins that were obtained through usury and throws them into the sea, but he places the good coins back into the bag. See Mell, *Myth of the Medieval Jewish Moneylender*, II, pp. 152-54; and J. Le Goff, *Your Money or Your Life: Economy and Religion in the Middle Ages*, trans. P. Ranum (New York, 1988), pp. 34-35.

[105] *Tumbo A*, p. 168 (72).

pilgrimage to Rocamadour and then decided to make a subsequent trip to the shrine of St James in Compostela. After setting off towards Compostela, he is assaulted by three bandits who attempt to steal his possessions. The hands of the bandits become 'paralysed and shrivelled' when they touch John's money after he prays to the Virgin asking for help.[106] Here the money of the pilgrim is shown as having magical, devotional and protective powers.

The use of coins as a mechanism through which poverty and spiritual salvation could be obtained was visually shown in the similarities between coins and the consecrated wafers of the Eucharist. In the late eleventh century, coins replaced the traditional church offerings of bread and wine at the same time coin-shaped wafers were starting to be used as the consecrated host during the Eucharist.[107] Like coins, the consecrated wafers were stamped with symbols of the Christian church and were thus transformed from bread into the figurative body of Christ. Honorius Augustodunensis (d. 1151), the prominent twelfth-century theologian and preacher, described how bread used in the Eucharist was made to resemble a coin.[108] Honorius explained that coins were used as offerings to remind the faithful that Christ was betrayed by Judas for coins, and that he, the 'living bread' (*Christus panis vivus*), should be accepted as the 'true coin' (*verus denarius*).[109]

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[106] *The Miracles of Our Lady of Rocamadour*, pp. 103-04 (I.4). Other miracle stories of Rocamadour from the second half of the twelfth century also incorporate Compostelan pilgrims. Ibid., pp. 117-18 (I.24), 124-25 (I.36) and 174 (II.44). Miracle II.44 also refers to money. In this miracle another Compostelan pilgrim, one Peter from Tours, is threatened by bandits so he buries his ten gold coins under his feet along the road. On his way back through the area he notices some of the coins are gone and pleads for help from the Virgin, after which the remaining coins reappear.

[107] Kumler, 'The multiplication of the species', p. 188. See also Le Goff, *Money and the Middle Ages*, pp. 74-75.

[108] Honorius Augustodunensis, 'Gemma Animae', *PL* 172, cols. 541-690, col. 555. For more on the similarities between medieval coins and bread of the Eucharist, see Kumler, 'The multiplication of the species', p. 188; and L. Travaini, 'Coins as Bread. Bread as Coins', *The Numismatic Chronicle*, 173 (2013), pp. 187-200.

[109] Honorius Augustodunensis, 'Speculum Ecclesiae', *PL* 172, cols. 807-1108, col. 853; and Honorius Augustodunensis, 'Eucharistion', *PL* 172, cols. 1249-1258, cols. 1256-57.

Further evidence of the connection between coins and the Eucharist can be seen in trials conducted between royal officials and moneyers in thirteenth-century England. During these trials, a sample of newly minted coins was placed in a *pyx*, the same name used for the box that held the consecrated host.[110] Coins were then selected from the *pyx* and their fineness assayed to determine whether they were worthy of being placed into circulation. The 'just' pennies that were deemed worthy as royal coinage had a value that was greater than the underlying metal, suggesting the trial and subsequent judgment added economic value to the coins.[111]

Like consecrated wafers that deepened the relationship between Christ and his believers, coins connected St James to the salvation of his pilgrims as shown in an early twelfth century miracle story from the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*. In this miracle, a noble French knight fighting near Tiberias in the Holy Land asks for the help of St James in defeating the Turks in battle, and he promises to make a pilgrimage to Compostela if the saint intervenes. St James helps the knight, who then nearly dies after failing to fulfil his vow, but then recovers his health after changing his mind and starting on his pilgrimage. During the journey, the knight and a group of fellow passengers are besieged by a savage storm at sea and ask for help from St James. The group immediately collects coins and pledges donations to help with the construction of Santiago Cathedral, at which point St James appears and tells them that confidence in Christ will bring them salvation, then he calms the storm and promptly disappears. The ship safely docks in Apulia and the passengers make their promised pilgrimage to Compostela where they place their donation in the coffer of St James (*arca beati Iacobi*).[112]

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[110] C. Desan, *Making Money: Coin, Currency, and the Coming of Capitalism* (Oxford, 2015), pp. 75-78.
[111] A twelfth-century stained-glass window from Le Mans Cathedral shows a moneyer placing newly minted coins into a control box for just such a test. Lopez, 'An Aristocracy of Money in the Early Middle Ages', plate 6 and note 25 on p. 18.
[112] *LSJ*, pp. 167-68 (II, 9).

These requests for intercession formed a contract between pilgrim and saint,[113] consummated when a donation was made at Santiago Cathedral or other sites dedicated to St James along the way. Some pilgrims considered other churches dedicated to St James in the same way as Santiago Cathedral as indicated by the late twelfth century church of Santiago in Villafranca del Bierzo, a pilgrim town located seventy-five miles west of León on the Camino Francés. By entering through the church's Puerta del Perdón (Figure 6.5), infirm pilgrims were able to receive forgiveness of their sins if they were unable to complete the final 110 miles along the Camino Francés to Compostela.[114]



Figure 6.5. Puerta del Perdón of the Church of Santiago, Villafranca del Bierzo.[115]

[113] E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400-1580* (New Haven, 1992), pp. 173-74 and 184. See also Kelleher, 'Coins, monetisation and re-use in medieval England and Wales', pp. 230-31. On the notion of pilgrimage contracts, see Bell and Dale, 'The Medieval Pilgrimage Business', pp. 603-04 and 624.
[114] *PSC*, II, p. 301. Prior to the establishment of the Jubilee year, on which the feast day of St James, 25 July, fell on a Sunday, plenary indulgences were only granted to pilgrims who died on their journey. General indulgences related to the Compostelan pilgrimage only date to the mid-thirteenth century. L. Dennett, 'The Origins of Holy Years and the Compostela' in *Confraternity of St James Occasional Paper No 7*, (London, 1999), pp. 1-19, pp. 5-8.
[115] Photographed by the author.

* * *

Moneyers were visible in markets along the pilgrim roads, like those who operated in front of San Isidoro in León and the north portal of Santiago Cathedral in Compostela. Detailed characterizations of minters on the Carrión façade would have been comprehensible to pilgrims and townspeople, and the link between their coins and spiritual salvation would have resonated profoundly. Through these sculptures the Church was able to communicate the moral expectations of a new sacred economy,[116] and the important roles played by specie and the rising class of merchants and craftsmen.

It was not a coincidence that the Eucharistic host was made in the shape of a coin at the same time the circulation of money was taking off across western Europe. Both host and coin were used to create bonds between their holders and Christ or others who could intercede on behalf of their spiritual salvation like St James. Whereas money was viewed suspiciously by the Church, coins were used as a means for their owners to achieve spiritual salvation through alms and donations. Patronage of churches by guilds of moneyers allowed these groups to promote the sanctity of their coins and services, and to protect the spiritual and political interests of their members.

5. Evolution of Trade Groups: The Shoemakers of Sangüesa

As illustrated by the facades of the churches of Saint-Gilles and Carrión's Santiago, merchants and craftsmen began to be more boldly and explicitly represented in sculptural programmes along the Compostelan pilgrim roads over the course of the twelfth century. Another important contemporary façade is that of the church of Santa María in the pilgrim town of Sangüesa

[116] See Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture*, p. 14.

(Navarre). It features reliefs of five shoemakers, one of the largest surviving sculptural representations of the profession from medieval western Europe.[117] The Hospitallers started construction of Santa María in c. 1135, although it is unclear what if any part they played in overseeing its design or construction. Work on the main (lower) section of the façade was completed in c. 1160-70 and the upper section was completed in c. 1190-1200.[118]

The five archivolts of Santa María's façade contain reliefs of eighty-four characters,[119] representing people from biblical stories, saints, sinners, various occupations and animals. The five shoemakers are not the only occupation found on the façade, nor the most numerous, but they do represent the most emblematic of craftsmen who participated in the pilgrim markets. Besides shoemakers, the façade includes reliefs of butchers (four), blacksmiths (two), warriors (nine), musicians and entertainers (twelve), a bishop[120] and two pilgrims.[121]

Three of the shoemakers on the second archivolt of the principal part of the Sangüesa façade are shown as a group (Figure 6.6). They are bearded, wearing aprons and engaged in specific aspects of making or repairing shoes. The first shoemaker (Figure 6.6a) appears to be sewing the lasting margin which fastened the sole to the upper sole to the upper of a boot. The second shoemaker is holding a boot or shoe on a table with his right hand, perhaps inspecting it

[117] Gómez Gómez, 'El Nacimiento de la Iconografía de los Comerciantes en la Plena Edad Media', pp. 515 and 518. The relief of the shoemaker from the Romanesque cathedral in Pamplona currently resides in the Museum of Navarra in Pamplona. Mariño indicates there are six images of shoemakers on the façade at Santa María in Sangüesa. 'La portada de Santiago de Carrión de los Condes', p. 58. However, during a visit to Santa María of Sangüesa in May 2018 I only observed five shoemakers on the façade.
[118] Ancho Villanueva and Fernández-Ladreda Aguadé, *Portada de Santa María de Sangüesa*, pp. 57 and 84-86. See also Müller, 'La arquitectura plástica de Santa María Real en Sangüesa (Navarre)', pp. 250 and 257.
[119] Müller, 'La arquitectura plástica de Santa María Real en Sangüesa (Navarre)', p. 251.
[120] Ancho Villanueva and Fernández-Ladreda Aguadé, *Portada de Santa María de Sangüesa*, pp. 24-47.
[121] Given Sangüesa's location on the Compostelan pilgrim road and appearance of walking staff, I believe these figures could be pilgrims. Ancho Villanueva and Fernández-Ladreda Aguadé identify these individuals as abbots given the t-shaped nature of the staff. However, St James from the Pórtico de la Glória (1188) also has a t-shaped staff. Ancho Villanueva and Fernández-Ladreda Aguadé, *Portada de Santa María de Sangüesa*, p. 24.

(Figure 6.6b), and the third is finishing a boot by using a knife or other type of tool to smooth the rough edges along the lasting margin (Figure 6.6c).[122]

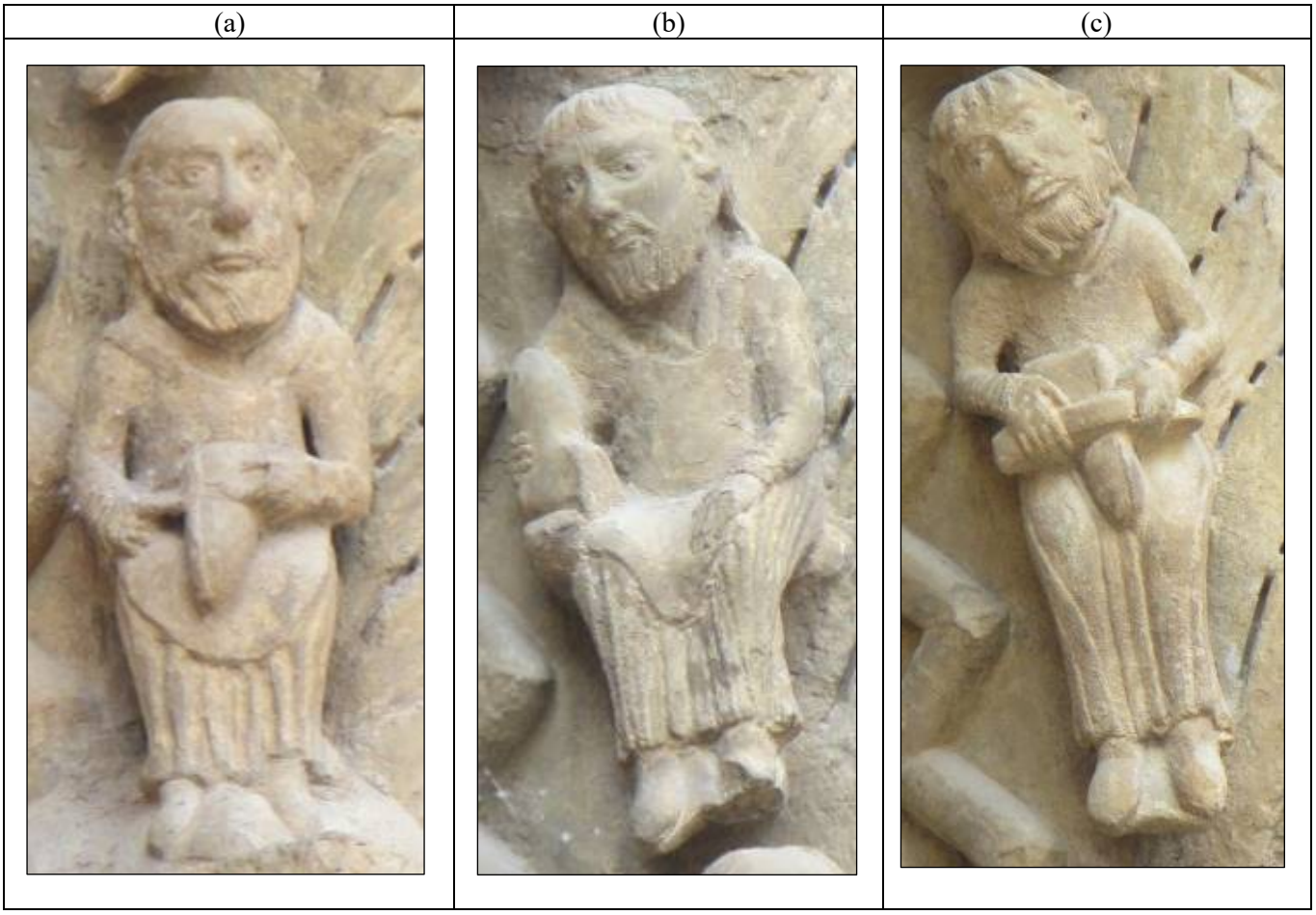


Figure 6.6. Shoemakers from Archivolt of Façade of Santa María, Sangüesa.[123]

Another two shoemakers are found in the upper left and right quadrants of the façade's frieze, above the archivolts and below sculptures of Christ in Majesty and the apostles (Figure 6.7). Both shoemakers are working on shoes with one using a tool to smooth the rough edges of the leather (Figure 6.7b). They are placed below and amongst a seemingly haphazard collection

[122] On the medieval shoemaking process, see Grew and de Neergaard, *Shoes and Pattens*, pp. 44-49. Calfskin for shoes did not become popular until the mid-thirteenth century.
[123] All sculptures photographed by the author.

of other sculptures representing sins and other professions. These two shoemakers are shown nude-faced, contrasting with the patriarchal beards of the three shoemakers found in the lower section of the façade. This may have reflected the tastes of a different sculptor, but more likely the variation in the look of the shoemakers signified some difference in class or function.

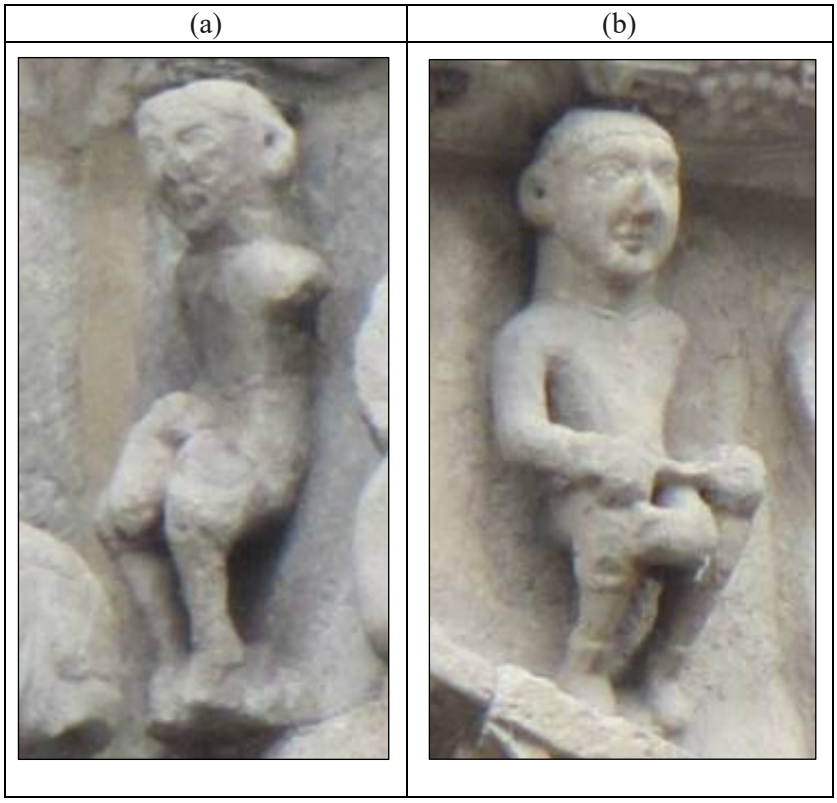


Figure 6.7. Shoemakers from Frieze of the Façade of Santa María, Sangüesa.[124]

Shoemaker was one of the occupations most represented in contemporary descriptions and on the facades of pilgrim town churches.[125] This is not surprising given that footwear was perhaps the most obvious necessity for pilgrims besides food and lodging. Although the Church encouraged pilgrims to go barefoot as a sign of their penitence, most undoubtedly wore shoes or

[124] Both sculptures photographed by the author.
[125] See *CAS*, pp. 19-21; *Guide*, pp. 72-73 (ch. 9); and *HC*, p. 474 (III, 33.2-3).

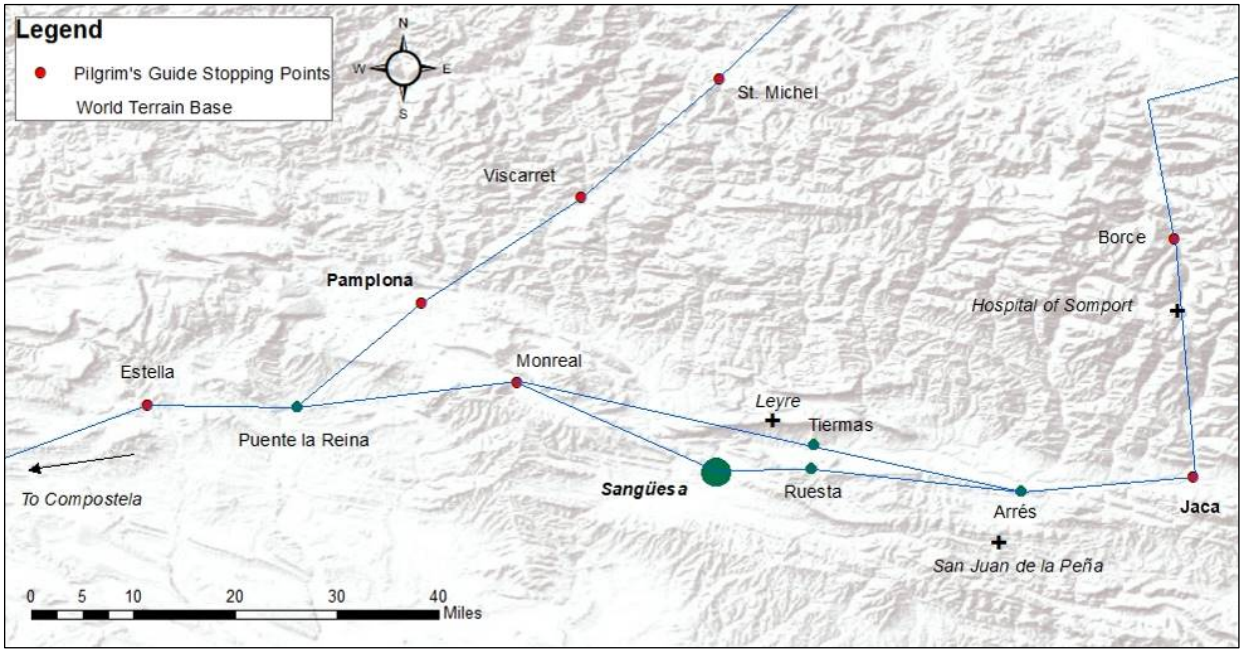
boots to protect their feet on the long journey.[126] Crucially, footwear allowed more pilgrims to journey to Compostela and receive the associated spiritual benefits.

Textual evidence of the wide range of footwear available to pilgrims and townspeople was included in Compostela's 1133 decree that sought to regulate market activity and fix prices. Notably, the diversity of footwear and prices reveals the spectrum of personal wealth that would have existed amongst contemporary pilgrims and townspeople. The best high goatskin boots (*socos*) were to be sold for no more than eighteen *nummi* and good boots (*osas*) for no more than two *solidi*. The best goatskin shoes (*zapatones*) with laces were not to be priced above twelve *nummi*, the best women's shoes for twelve *nummi*, and good children's shoes made from ox leather for five *nummi*, with others sold for three or four *nummi* according to their value. The best clogs (*zuecos*) were not to exceed a price of three *nummi*, with those of lesser quality at one *nummus*, three *óbolos* or two *nummi* according to their value.[127]

Although not mentioned specifically in the *Pilgrim's Guide*, Sangüesa was an important pilgrim town located between Jaca and Puente la Reina where the two branches of the Camino Francés united and continued towards Compostela (Map 6.1).[128] The church of Santa María sat at the point where Compostelan pilgrims crossed a strategic bridge over the Aragón River and the façade would have been viewed by passing pilgrims (Map 6.2). Placement of numerous shoemakers on the façade showed the importance of their products in the local market and the

[126] *LSJ*, p. 89 (I, 17). The notion of pilgrims travelling barefoot was also shown in contemporary sculptures such as those of St James as a pilgrim in the Cámara Santa in Oviedo (late twelfth century); and Jesus as a Compostelan pilgrim meeting the two disciples on the road to Emmaus from the cloister of the monastery of Santo Domingo de Silos (c. 1100) and the north gallery of the cloister of Saint-Trophime (c. 1150).
[127] *HC*, p. 474 (III, 33.3). A *nummus* equated to a *denarius* or one-tenth of a *solidus. LFF*, p. 83 (note 1). López Ferreiro translated the Latin *socos* as 'borceguíes', a type of medieval boot that rose to the knee; and *osas* as 'botas' or boots. Ibid., I, p. 85.
[128] Likely because it was in the process of being repopulated at the time of its compilation. Sangüesa received its *fuero* in 1129 and the *Pilgrim's Guide* was written in c. 1140.

role pilgrimage played in facilitating commerce and contributing to the material wealth of Sangüesa.



Map 6.1. Camino Francés through Aragon and Navarre (c. 1140).



Map 6.2. Sangüesa (mid-late 12th c.)

The need for new footwear and repairs would have been high by the time pilgrims travelling from southern Europe reached Sangüesa after having crossed the Pyrenees, and again as they prepared for their return trip over the pass.[129] The leather soles of shoes and boots would have needed constant repair or replacement given the long distances, harsh terrain including rocky climbs and descents through mountain passes, and extreme changes in weather.[130] Clogs, whose soles were typically made of wood, would have also needed frequent attention. They provided additional protection from water, mud and snow by lifting the foot further above the ground than leather-soled shoes and boots.[131]

Placement of three contiguous shoemakers in the archivolt second closest to Christ suggests a certain level of sanctity for their trade, in a similar way to how the sculpture of the pointing mint supervisor at Carrión was used to connect their work to Christ (Figure 6.8). That musicians, entertainers and various sins including avarice were placed on the outermost archivolt of Santa María's façade, as well as their distance from Christ in the centre, suggests they were farthest from salvation. Notably, the three shoemakers are closer to Christ than even a bishop and pilgrim, suggesting their trade had been accepted and supported by the Church, royal officials and perhaps the Hospitallers.[132]

[129] Arles to Sangüesa by way of the *via Tolosana* through the Somport Pass was approximately 450 miles, and it was another 450 miles from Sangüesa to Compostela through Puente la Reina and then along the Camino Francés. Sangüesa later became a key source of supplies to interior parts of Aragon as shown by the exemption on payment of transit taxes (*lezdas*) its merchants received in 1201 from Sancho VII 'the Strong'. Martín Duque, 'El fenómeno urbano medieval en Navarre', p. 739.
[130] On the repair and reuse of soles, see Grew and de Neergaard, *Shoes and Pattens*, pp. 89-90.
[131] Ibid., pp. 91-93.
[132] Although textual evidence is not available to support the theory, it is possible the Hospitallers were involved in licensing trade groups in the town's pilgrim market whilst offering commercial security. Under this scenario, inclusion of trades on their church could have been a recognition of this relationship.

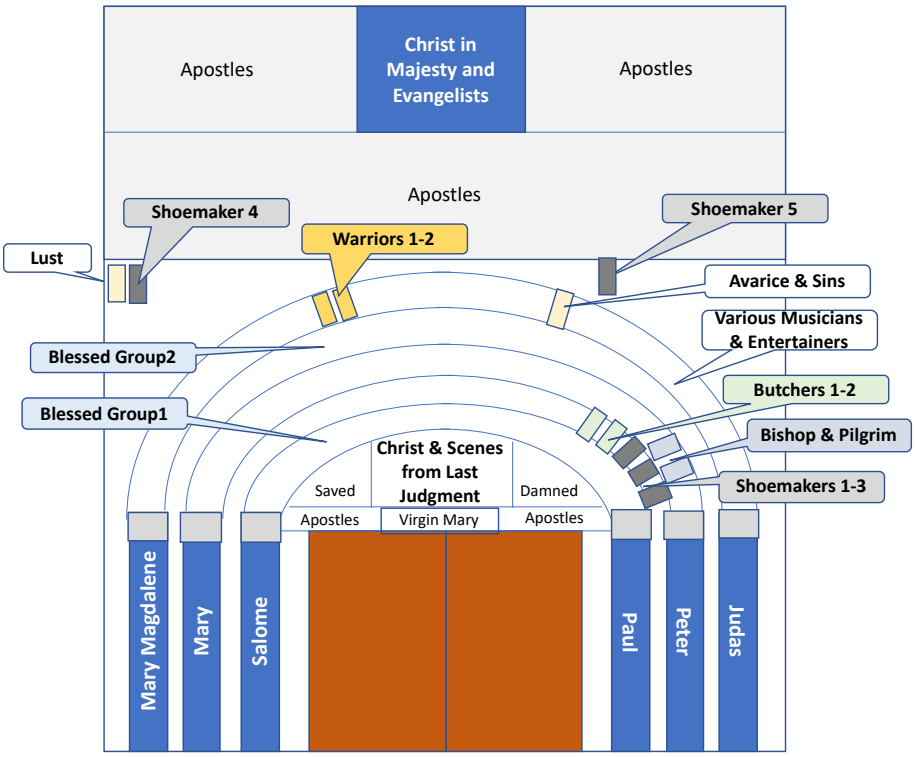


Figure 6.8. Diagram of the Façade of the Church of Santa María, Sangüesa.[133]

Next to the three shoemakers are two butchers, another group of tradespeople that needed help with salvation given the taboos around working with blood, perhaps a sign that they had also patronized the façade.[134] Twelfth-century shoemakers typically used goatskin (the butcher closest to the shoemakers is holding a goat) or sheepskin, and because leather was the primary raw material used in the shoes, butchers and tanners were critically important to the shoemaking trade.[135] The importance of leather used for shoes and other products sold in the pilgrim town markets can be implied by Compostela's 1133 decree, which in addition to establishing price ceilings on footwear, forbade merchants from selling leather from cattle, goats and oxen to ships that arrived into Galician ports.[136]

[133] Diagram created by the author.
[134] Le Goff, *Time, Work, and Culture*, p. 59.
[135] Grew and de Neergaard, *Shoes and Pattens*, p. 44.
[136] *HC*, p. 474 (III, 33.3).

Shoemakers were not immune to Church polemic against the morality of merchants and artisans. The description of Saint-Gilles in the *Pilgrim's Guide* included a story about an individual in the town who had invoked St Giles for protection and to help escape from the house of a local shoemaker named Peyrot.[137] Although nothing further was said of Peyrot in the *Guide*, it can be assumed he was either holding the local individual captive or was in the process of perpetrating an immoral commercial transaction at the individual's expense. Using a shoemaker in this way allowed the author(s) to highlight the immoral activity of a craftsman that likely represented wider Church attitudes about tradespeople in pilgrim towns.

The connection between footwear, morality and the pilgrimage was also displayed on the façade of the church of San Salvador (c. 1150) at the monastery of Leyre, ten miles northeast of Sangüesa. An archivolt from the facade includes reliefs of a boot and gourd used to carry wine or water, symbols clearly linked to pilgrims (Figure 6.9). The Leyre façade conveyed a morality message to Compostelan pilgrims, with reliefs of sins such as avarice, vanity and gluttony surrounding Christ and scenes from the Last Judgment. In addition to its location just off the Camino Francés, Leyre was the ancient spiritual centre of the kingdom of Navarre and included a mausoleum for kings such as Sancho Ramírez of Aragón-Navarre (1063/76-9), a strong patron of the Compostelan pilgrimage.

[137] *Guide*, pp. 34-35 (ch. 8).



Figure 6.9. Gourd and Boot from Façade of San Salvador of Leyre.[138]

The creation of the façade of the church of Santa María in Sangüesa with its shoemakers was contemporaneous with the issuance of Frankish San Cernin's 1180 edict that protected its pilgrimage-related trades including shoemaking. A significant portion of Sangüesa's townspeople was comprised of Franks,[139] who would have been aware of the situation in nearby San Cernin (thirty miles northeast of Sangüesa) and its views on protecting its market position.[140] Given the competitive nature of shoemaking in pilgrim towns, the sculptures of shoemakers on the façade of Santa María were perhaps created to promote the services of local shoemakers to passing pilgrims.

Sangüesa's shoemakers likely pooled their resources to help finance construction of the façade as was almost certainly the case with the group of minters and the façade of the church of

[138] Photographed by the author.
[139] Sangüesa's 1122 *fuero* (based on the *fuero* of Jaca) sought to entice foreign settlers, and in 1171 Sancho el Sabio (the Wise) of Navarre mentioned the rights (*franquezas*) that had previously been granted to Franks in the *burgo* of Sangüesa. Lacarra, 'Notas para la Formación de las Familias de Fueros Navarros', pp. 215-16.
[140] Franks from Sangüesa witnessed various documents San Cernin between 1129 and 1180, including the *burgo's* 1129 *fuero*, 1161 confirmation of the *fuero*, and the 1180 edict protecting trades. See *Documentación medieval del Archivos Municipal de Pamplona (1129-1356)*, pp. XVI (1), XXV (6) and XXVII (7). Witnesses to the 1161 confirmation of San Cernin's *fuero* included Guyllem Acenariz of Sangossa (Sangüesa). Guyllem (William) was possibly of Occitan origins.

Santiago in Carrión.[141] They may have represented an organization as simple as a familial group that lived in the same neighbourhood, or perhaps a corporate group with principles that guided their membership and work. The seeds of shoemaker guilds along the pilgrim roads were planted in the early to mid-twelfth century as shown by the concentration of trades in specific neighbourhoods in Pamplona and Estella.[142] In Huesca (seventy miles southeast of Sangüesa), neighbourhoods were named after leather workers (*Pellizaria*) and shoemakers (*Zapataria*) as early as 1147 and 1161, respectively.[143]

Indeed, shoemakers were one of the first trades to organize into guilds along the Iberian pilgrim roads to Compostela. Astorga's *cofradía* of San Martín, its guild of shoemakers (1210) and the *cofradía* of Santiago, the guild of leather workers (1214) were the first guilds established in the town and were some of the oldest guilds in northern Christian Iberia outside of those in Compostela.[144] These trades were obviously connected as leather workers supplied the raw materials needed for shoemaking. Astorga's placement at a key crossroads on the Camino Francés would have brought significant pilgrim demand for their goods and the *cofradía* of shoemakers' sponsorship of the pilgrim hospital of San Martín was a way of supporting their customers and giving thanks to the pilgrimage.[145]

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[141] Le Goff argued the new social value placed on merchants and craftsmen was at least partially due to 'worker pressure on medieval ideology and mentalities'. Le Goff, *Time, Work and Culture*, p. 86. This supports the notion of ambitious trade groups patronizing facades to support their interests.
[142] J.J. Martinena Ruiz, 'Reseña de la evolución de Pamplona: Desde el siglo XI hasta el derribo de las murallas en 1915', *Príncipe de Viana*, 207 (1996), pp. 143-76, p. 156; and J. Zabalo Zabalegui, 'La Administración de las Rentas Reales en la Bailía de Estella', *Príncipe de Viana*, 193 (1991), pp. 89-106, p. 97.
[143] C. Laliena Corbera, 'Estrategias artesanales en la época de formación de los oficios: Los zapateros de Huesca: Siglos XIII-XIV', *Anuario de estudios medievales*, 18 (1988), pp. 181-92, p. 183.
[144] González Arce, *Gremios y cofradías en los reinos medievales de León y Castilla*, p. 218. See also G. Navarro Espinach, 'Las Cofradías Medievales en España', *Historia 396*, 4 (2014), pp. 107-33, pp. 119-33.
[145] L. Huidobro y Serna, *Las peregrinaciones jacobeas* (Madrid, 1950), p. 680. Many of Astorga's early thirteenth century guilds either ran their own hospitals such as those of the tanners (1214) and carpenters (1226), or assisted others such as those of the shoemakers (1210) and *palmeros* (1217). González Arce, *Gremios y cofradías en los reinos medievales de León y Castilla*, pp. 218-19.

An example of shoemaker patronage of church decoration from outside of Iberia was found at Chartres, where in the early thirteenth century its shoemakers helped finance the cathedral's window of the Good Samaritan. The window features several simply-dressed shoemakers making shoes, whilst finely-dressed men are shown kneeling and holding up small windows, perhaps guild masters in the metaphorical act of offering the windows. The shoemakers of Chartres had a master from at least 1210, suggesting they had been organized as a guild at the time the windows were created.[146]

Compostela's shoemakers formed a guild by at least the mid-thirteenth century although it is likely they had organized themselves into a corporate organization in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century as shown by the existence of early shoemaker guilds in the pilgrim town of Astorga (1210) and at Chartres (1210), and other commercial guilds within the city such as those of the moneychangers and *concheiros* that provided important products and services to pilgrims. In 1250 Fernando III of Castile-León (1217/30-53) ordered the shoemakers of Compostela to remove a house they had built on royal land within the city for their guild headquarters but under the pretext that it was to be a hospital for the poor.[147]

The archbishop of Compostela had complained to Fernando that the headquarters of the shoemakers would cause damage to the city. Damage could have been interpreted in two ways, that caused by monopoly power on the pricing of shoes within the city which would have harmed

[146] Welch Williams, *Bread, Wine, and Money*, pp. 11, 13 and 49-50.
[147] *Tumbo B*, pp. 258-59 (119). See also *LFF*, pp. 210-12. Additional guilds spread across Compostela between the thirteenth and mid-fourteenth centuries including those of the bakers, blacksmiths, butchers, carpenters, jet artisans, leather workers, stonecutters, tailors, tanners and weavers. Ibid., I, p. 100. See also J. Armas Castro, 'El Afianzamiento de la Realidad Urbana Después del Año Mil (ch. 3) in E. Portela Silva (ed.) *Historia de la ciudad de Santiago de Compostela* (Santiago de Compostela, 2003), pp. 81-125, pp. 114-15. Professional guilds were also founded in other pilgrim towns during that time including at Astorga (carpenters, shoemakers, tanners and wool workers), Burgos (shoemakers), and León (butchers, shoemakers, tanners). González Arce, *Gremios y cofradías en los reinos medievales de León y Castilla*, pp. 218-24. Earlier pilgrim town guilds included those of Sahagún (1151, various trades) and the *monederos* of León (1206).

pilgrims and townspeople, or that a powerful commercial group had attempted to brazenly ignore the cathedral chapter's regulations. Trade guilds in Castile and León gained such significant power that they threatened royal control over the economy by seeking monopolies to limit competition and restricting membership. In 1250, the same year he ordered Compostela's shoemakers to remove its guild house, Fernando III condemned his kingdom's trade guilds, stating they diminished royal power and harmed the towns, so he limited their participation in the economy by only allowing those groups that served the poor, sick and dead to operate.[148]

A guild of shoemakers existed in Burgos from at least 1259 as shown in the confirmation of its ordinances in 1270 by Alfonso X of Castile (1252-84).[149] Like Astorga's guild of shoemakers, the Burgos shoemakers supported a hospital of San Martín with two *maravedís* from each member.[150] The hospital undoubtedly served Compostelan pilgrims as it was located outside the town walls, in a meadow along the Arlanzón River, close to where the Camino Francés exited the city and headed towards Compostela.

Association of the shoemaker guilds of Astorga and Burgos with hospitals dedicated to St Martin strongly suggests the shoemakers were Franks since many Frankish neighbourhoods in pilgrim towns were associated with the saint whose shrine was located along the pilgrim road in Tours. Estella's *rua de las Tiendas* (street of the shops), in the Frankish neighbourhood of San Martín, was the oldest commercial street in Estella and it was also the pilgrim road. Members of guilds that supported the pilgrimage would have seen their inclusion on contemporary church façades as supportive of their trade and spiritual salvation.

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[148] O'Callaghan, *History of Medieval Spain*, p. 479.
[149] G. Diez de la Lastra y Díaz de Güemes, 'Las Primeras Ordenenanzas de los Zapateros Burgaleses', *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español*, 1929, pp. 441-43, pp. 442-43. See also Gautier Dalché, *Historia urbana de León y Castilla en la Edad Media*, pp. 442-43. The pilgrim town of Oviedo also had a shoemaker guild from at least 1219.
[150] Diez de la Lastra y Díaz de Güemes, 'Las Primeras Ordenenanzas de los Zapateros Burgaleses', p. 442. *Tal paramiento fazen que todo menestral del so mester que tomare aprendiz que dos maravedís pora seruicio de dios e del Ospital de San martin que es en Vega Cerca San Cosme e damian que non a renta ninguna*.

In addition to ensuring their spiritual salvation, patronizing the façade would have aided Sangüesa's shoemakers in convincing royal and ecclesiastical officials to protect their commercial interests and establish monopoly rights to sell footwear in the town. In Huesca, 'foreign' shoemakers were prevented from selling their products within the city limits in 1270 by James I of Aragon.[151] This decree likely targeted shoemakers from other towns within Aragon or nearby Navarre that may have sought to sell their footwear in Huesca.

Guilds also provided a regulatory arm for royal and ecclesiastical lords by protecting pilgrims against fraud by ensuring the quality of materials and accuracy of weights and measures. In Burgos, four *omes bonos* ('good men') from the guild of shoemakers were responsible for ensuring the quality of leather used by all the *menestrales* (artisans) in the city and those found to be using poor quality leather were subject to a fine.[152] This was similar to the role played by Compostela's guild of moneychangers in taking responsibility for establishing the value of precious metals, ensuring the accuracy of scales and weights used by members of the guild of *orífices* (goldsmiths) and levying fines if they changed money and melted down silver and gold.[153]

Guilds also helped improve the social standing of shoemakers who had been viewed by wealthier merchants, nobles and ecclesiastics as part of a lower class. The *Crónicas anónimas* of Sahagún included shoemakers and tanners amongst the 'vile' townspeople who rebelled against the abbot and differentiated them from the 'rich' merchants and nobles.[154] As occupations became increasingly specialized, social hierarchies even formed within the footwear category,

[151] Laliena Corbera, 'Estrategias artesanales en la época de formación de los oficios: Los zapateros de Huesca: Siglos XIII-XIV', p. 187.
[152] Diez de la Lastra y Díaz de Güemes, 'Las Primeras Ordenenanzas de los Zapateros Burgaleses', p. 442.
[153] *LFF*, pp. 96-99; and González Arce, 'Los Cambistas Compostelanos', pp. 99-100.
[154] *CAS*, p. 72 (38).

with cobblers, those who repaired shoes, viewed as being from a lower class than shoemakers (or cordwainers), and they were prohibited from working with new leather.[155] This notion of upper and lower classes was described by Le Goff who argued the existence of a wealthy bourgeoisie of merchants and exchange agents, and also a poorer lower class comprised of small artisans and journeymen.[156] Use of the term 'vile' by the author of the *Crónicas anónimas* from Sahagún was consistent with the use of 'peasants and servants' by the authors of the *Historia Compostellana* to disparage rebels perceived to be of a lower class during the 1116-17 revolt against Bishop Diego.

* * *

Shoemaker was the most emblematic trade of the pilgrimage's devotional infrastructure, one that allowed more pilgrims to undertake the journey and receive the associated spiritual benefits. Shoemakers, many of whom were Franks, settled in pilgrim towns and often lived in the same neighbourhoods. Over time, shoemakers organized themselves into corporate groups that patronized church sculptural programmes and sponsored pilgrim hospitals to protect their commercial and spiritual interests. These strategies allowed the shoemakers to promote their products and services and legitimize the morality of their trade in the eyes of the Church, pilgrims and townspeople.

6. Conclusion

The twelfth century marked a period of profound societal change along the pilgrim roads to Compostela, including a general recalibration of Church attitudes towards those who operated in

[155] Grew and de Neergaard, *Shoes and Pattens*, p. 89. Perhaps the two shoemakers on the upper frieze of the façade of Santa María in Sangüesa represented cobblers whilst the three in the lower section represented shoemakers?
[156] Le Goff, *Time, Work, and Culture*, p. 69.

the pilgrimage's money economy. This moral accommodation was an early indication of a broader reorganization of the social order that occurred across western Europe, one in which merchants and craftsmen were accepted as playing an important role in defending other groups from scarcity. The path to moral accommodation started in the early twelfth century with the formation of trade guilds in Compostela. The initial phase was marked by spasms of violence occurring between the new urban merchant class and ecclesiastical lords in places like Sahagún and Compostela in the first quarter of the twelfth century.

By the mid to late twelfth century, the *oratores* and *mercatores* realized their fortunes were inextricably linked to the popularity of the pilgrimage as shown in the *Veneranda dies* sermon. A tacit moral accommodation was reached between the Church and the merchants and artisans who supported devotional infrastructure through participation in pilgrim town markets, an arrangement that facilitated increased popularity of the pilgrimage that benefited both groups. This could be compared with the way crusading represented a palatable way for arms-bearers to continue to do what society expected of them whilst earning spiritual rewards in return.

The presence of minters on the façade of the church of Santiago in Carrión and shoemakers on the façade of Santa María of Sangüesa shows the Church sanctioned their work and social function. The visual representation of the mint supervisor connecting the work of the minters and other townspeople of Carrión to Christ in Majesty was a striking testament to the new social order in which merchants and craftsmen became an accepted segment of the kingdom of God that was modelled on a new urban society. In other words, these sculptures presented a platform from which the Church conveyed a morally seamless process in which it regulated the economy and supported a new moral ordering of social relations, in spite of the fact that there were winners and losers.

Like its acceptance of merchants and craftsmen, specie itself was embraced by the Church to the extent it was used for pious purposes. Coins helped pilgrims achieve spiritual salvation through donations at shrines and alms given to the poor. Pilgrim requests for the intercession of St James formed a contract between the giver and saint, with the agreement consummated at the point the donation was made. The resemblance between Eucharistic host and coins clearly demonstrated coins as a means to spiritual salvation, but pilgrims and townspeople needed to be careful with money as it was shown in contemporary miracle stories to have magical properties that were both helpful and hazardous.

In addition to receiving Church approval regarding the morality of their trades, the minters of Carrión and shoemakers of Sangüesa likely patronized the sculptural programmes as a way to protect their market positions and promote their products to passing pilgrims. The change in Church attitudes towards merchants and artisans was reflected in the establishment of guilds that played religious and regulatory roles. This relationship was similar to the role played by the Templars and Hospitallers that were sanctioned by the Church to provide financial services.

In return for their acceptance of key participants in the money economy, the Church received important benefits including increased accessibility of the pilgrimage that allowed it to promote the ideal of voluntary poverty to a wider audience. Increased pilgrim traffic also provided opportunities for ecclesiastical lords to extract additional donations, taxes and profits from direct participation in the markets. In addition to patronizing pilgrim hospitals, guilds also provided a regulatory function on behalf of ecclesiastical and royal lords that ensured smooth operation of the markets and protection of pilgrims from fraud.

* * *

Part II has shown how increasing circulation of money unsettled the prevailing power structure and spiritual paradigm along the Compostelan pilgrim roads. Control of profits from lucrative pilgrim town markets enflamed tensions between a largely Frankish merchant aristocratic class and ecclesiastical lords and led to violent uprisings. Conflict also occurred between the Church and burghers of the pilgrim towns over the morality of money as established Church attitudes tended to vilify merchants, trade and profits. This created a profound moral uncertainty for people living and travelling along the pilgrim roads. However, as the importance of money-related infrastructure became apparent by the mid-twelfth century, the Church embraced a new social order in which merchants, craftsmen and specie itself were accepted to the extent they facilitated the act of pilgrimage and spiritual salvation.

CONCLUSION

The minters represented on the façade of the church of Santiago in Carrión were emblematic of the inextricable link between money and the pilgrimage to Compostela. The pilgrimage's money economy, concentrated in prosperous pilgrim towns like Carrión, became the backbone of a devotional infrastructure that increased the accessibility and popularity of the pilgrimage. Money became a means of economic and spiritual exchange that transformed the social fabric of communities along the pilgrim roads including notions of power and morality. Pilgrims, travelling merchants and townspeople who viewed the minters of the façade would have understood the complex nature of money that presented opportunities and hazards.

The relationship between money and the Compostelan pilgrimage started to take off in the fourth quarter of the eleventh century when the monarchs of León-Castile and Aragon-Navarre lost their valuable *parias*. To generate economic benefits in the face of what they perceived to be an existential military threat by the Muslim Almoravids, the monarchs turned their attention to developing the pilgrimage. The connection between money and the pilgrimage was further shown by Alfonso VI's grant to the bishops of Compostela of the right to mint coins and the designation of valuable minting proceeds for construction of the new cathedral.

The monarchs steadily and methodically stimulated the growth of a devotional infrastructure that was anchored by pilgrim towns along the Camino Francés. Development of these towns was propelled by royal *fueros* that granted settlers substantial judicial privileges and market tax (*portazgo*) exemptions. These incentives were particularly focused on attracting highly skilled Frankish merchants and craftsmen, exemplified by the burghers of Estella and Pamplona's *burgo* of San Cernin. The monarchs established weekly markets and fairs at key

stopping points such as Sahagún and Carrión, creating a chain of economic franchises throughout northern Iberia from which tax collectors generated money for royal treasuries. The monarchs carefully planned their tax strategies as shown in the extraordinary details of Sancho Ramírez's late eleventh-century tariff of Jaca and Pamplona.

Like Frankish settlements, although on a much smaller scale, Jewish *aljamas* represented another key element of the pilgrimage's devotional infrastructure. Jews, part of the royal fisc, were heavily taxed by the monarchs to help support the devotional infrastructure as shown by Alfonso VI's grant of taxes from the *aljama* of Burgos to support the Hospital of the Emperor and Alfonso VII's gift of Sahagún's Jews to the monastery. Jews living along the Iberian pilgrim roads were involved in a variety of trades including blacksmithing, cloth trading and wine making, but increasingly from the late twelfth century they were forced into moneylending, particularly as Church polemic against Christian participation in usury began to accelerate.

Large numbers of moneychangers facilitated the movement of pilgrim wealth along the roads and increased the ease with which pilgrims could travel through myriad kingdoms with unique currencies. Many of these moneychangers operated independently in the markets of busy pilgrim towns. Their tactics to derive profits from their services were outlined in contemporary documents such as the *Veneranda dies* sermon and the edict of Saint-Gilles that sought to regulate the trade and protect pilgrims from fraudulent transactions. The existence along the pilgrim roads of training centres for boys provides further evidence of the scale and appeal of the money-changing trade.

In an effort to protect pilgrims and steer profits away from independent moneychangers and into ecclesiastical treasuries, the Church sanctioned various financial agents. In addition to providing financial services these groups performed pious acts that helped to legitimize the

morality of their work with money. Compostela's guild of moneychangers kept watch over the tomb of St James, changed money for pilgrims in the busy *parvis* market and valued donations at the cathedral. The mission and operations of the guild were likely modelled on those of the Templars and Hospitallers, who changed money and provided depository services, loans and letters of credit that facilitated the movement of wealth along the pilgrim roads. These military orders, sworn to a vow of poverty, also offered critical protection to pilgrims from bandits and rogue toll collectors along desolate stretches of the pilgrim roads, as well as hospitality.

Whilst the Church promoted the ideal of voluntary poverty, ecclesiastical lords such as the bishops of Compostela and the abbots of Cluniac monasteries like Sahagún and San Zoilo became ambitious participants in the money economies of their seignorial domains. The assertive moves by Compostela's bishops to obtain and maintain minting rights, and to participate in money changing and the sale of scallop-shell pilgrim badges, shows they sought financial benefits from the markets much like the city's merchants and craftsmen. Compostela's efforts to fix prices in the pilgrim markets offers further evidence of their involvement in the money economy and reveals a tension that existed between the merchant class and the Church about definitions of 'just' prices and profits.

Like its assiduous management of Compostela's markets, the cathedral chapter leveraged its resources and the legend of St James to ensure the financial integrity of the cult and pilgrimage whilst advancing its political interests. The mint was strategically used as part of a coordinated artistic and literary programme that included iconography of coins created during the reign of Fernando II, stories and images from the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* and sculptures from Santiago Cathedral. The chapter also shrewdly leveraged the evolving mythology of St James as

a warrior to craft the spurious *voto de Santiago* as a way to generate tax revenue from across Christian Iberia during a difficult financial period following the death of Diego Gelmírez.

In return for their support of the shrine of St James, the Leonese monarchs expected to receive spiritual and temporal benefits. From a spiritual perspective, they sought to obtain remissions of sin and prayers for their souls and those of their families and ancestors. The connection between the monarchs and cult was also politically important, especially as the saint came to be seen as the spearhead of Christian military efforts against the Muslims. The monarchs also accessed funds from the chapter's treasury when needed, particularly to finance their military activities exemplified by Alfonso VII's efforts to extract substantial payments from Diego Gelmírez in exchange for his support of the archbishop's lordship.

Aggressive ecclesiastical management of the money economy was often perceived by the wealthy urban merchant class as overreaching into the affairs of the pilgrim markets and triggered urban revolts in Compostela and Sahagún. These revolts revealed a hunger by the burghers of the pilgrim towns to obtain additional economic and judicial freedoms, especially related to their participation in the money economy. That similar revolts were occurring in places like Laon showed how widespread these feelings were amongst the rising merchant class in contemporary western Europe. This was a time of great change to the traditional status system and local lords were searching for new sources of power and wealth in the rising money economy.

Conflict over the control of pilgrim markets and their lucrative profits also occurred between Franks and indigenous populations as shown by the *burgo* of San Cernin's edict to expel the Navarrese from its borders in order to protect its share of key pilgrim-related trades like shoemaking, innkeeping and money changing. Frankish immigrants brought with them an

entrepreneurial spirit that was critical for the commercial development of the pilgrim towns, but they also carried a sense of cultural superiority that contributed to the economic tension in San Cernin. Frankish prejudices towards local Iberians were articulated in the *Pilgrim's Guide* and *Historia Turpini*, with much of the cultural pride derived from their association with the Charlemagne legend.

Whilst the Church actively participated in the money economy, it also condemned the sin of avarice and promoted the pilgrimage's vow of poverty. This revealed a moral dilemma that was rooted in ancient Aristotelian philosophy surrounding money and economy. The paradox of money was illustrated by the pilgrim's purse, meant to carry money, but only a moderate provision, and it was to be kept open to receive or provide alms or donations. Contemporary sculptures and sermons that used biblical stories like Jesus chasing the moneychangers from the Temple, and Lazarus and the rich man, provide further evidence of this moral dilemma. Over the course of the twelfth century, Jews increasingly became a target of Church polemic against the money economy, especially as they were forced into the lending profession, with Judas presented in Christian texts and sculptures as the quintessential greedy merchant.

In a way, sin was being monetized by the Church, with pilgrim donations made to ensure spiritual salvation. Whilst this arrangement allowed religious institutions like Compostela's cathedral chapter to extract wealth and concentrate power, it also created tension within the Church over the morality of material wealth as shown by the dialectic between the monastic orders of Cluny and Cîteaux. Contemporary church writers including Bernard of Clairvaux and Guibert of Nogent criticized shrines that used gilded churches and false relics to attract donations from pilgrims but did not pass on the funds to the poor. Embellishment of Santiago Cathedral and other shrines along the *iter Sancti Iacobi*, like those at Sahagún, Saint-Gilles and Saint-

Sernin, reflected an intense state of competition for pilgrim traffic and donations. Diego Gelmírez's theft of relics from Braga provides evidence that Compostela's cathedral chapter was no stranger to this competition.

There was a clear need for the Church to establish a moral framework for dealing with money and material wealth, and this was communicated through church fabrics, sermons, miracle stories and regulatory documents. The powerful metaphor of the mint supervisor from Carrión's façade linking the work of urban merchants and craftsmen to Christ in Majesty, on a church dedicated to St James, conveyed the structure of the pilgrimage's theo-political economy. Within this construct, the governing and exchange of resources, including money, were guided by a moral and cosmological framework attributed to Christ, the divine economist, and the apostles. The straddling of specie as an economic and religious medium within this framework was further shown by the resemblance of coins to the consecrated wafers of the Eucharist. In each case, the base forms, bread and precious metals, were transformed into things of greater value, both of which were believed to have contributed to the spiritual salvation of their owners, wafers through the Eucharist and coins through donations and alms.

Money had unquestionably become a personal and multi-dimensional concept with magical properties. In addition to having the ability to contribute to spiritual salvation, coins were believed to have been potentially protective or hazardous. The salvation of pilgrims was in jeopardy if they carried coins obtained through usury or fraud which were particularly linked to the sin of avarice. At the same time, coins were perceived to have channelled divine power to protect their holders in the worldly domain as shown in miracle stories related to Compostelan pilgrims from the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* and shrine of Our Lady of Rocamadour. It was certainly not lost on contemporary pilgrims that these intercessory contracts between the Christian faithful

and saints resembled the increasingly transactional nature of urban society in which money passed through hands within busy markets and into church coffers. Bernard of Clairvaux was not operating in an ideological vacuum when he appealed to merchants to join the Second Crusade by promising them the 'profit' of salvation in return for their participation.[1]

The personal relationship between coins and their owners was also vividly illustrated through the iconography of coins minted by Compostela's cathedral chapter during the reign of Fernando II. These coins, which featured a bust of the saint, *translatio* of his relics and an image of the Camino Francés, were partly intended to enhance the spiritual connection between pilgrim and saint. They would have been viewed by some pilgrims as redemptive receipts from their pilgrimages, much like the ubiquitous pilgrim-shell badges that they brought back to their homes and that were often buried with them in another sign of the connection between the pilgrimage and the afterlife.

The iconography of the Carrión façade was also indicative of a transformation of the social order that was taking place in communities along the Compostelan pilgrim roads. The careful depiction of urban trades suggests a tacit moral accommodation had been reached between the Church and merchants and craftsmen of the pilgrim towns. These groups now had a path to spiritual salvation if they facilitated the act of pilgrimage and did so without defrauding or abusing pilgrims. The need for an expansion of the devotional infrastructure to increase the popularity and accessibility of the Compostelan pilgrimage had forced the Church to soften its polemic against money. Whilst merchants and craftsmen gained an increased level of prominence in the social order, they did so largely at the expense of the landed nobility who

[1] Bernard of Clairvaux, 'Letter to the English People', p. 462 (391.5).

struggled to keep their elite status within the money economy as was shown during the urban revolts in Compostela and Sahagún.

Guilds along the pilgrim roads, like those of moneyers and shoemakers, entered into a broader economy of redemption mediated by the cult of St James that allowed them to broker new power relationships based on commerce. In addition to the economic benefits that guilds realized through control of raw materials and labour, their members benefited spiritually through the good works of the organizations, exemplified by the moneyers of León and their donations to the monastery of San Claudio and sponsorship of pilgrim hospitals by shoemakers like those in Astorga and Burgos. The guilds entered into these devout acts with an understanding that their members would receive spiritual benefits in return, in the form of prayers for their souls and burial rights, issues that became increasingly important as the notion of Purgatory became widespread in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century.

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Latin Christendom in the twelfth century was at a cultural inflection point in which money and spirituality were coming into focus. The profound socio-economic transformation triggered by the diffusion of coinage along the Compostelan pilgrim roads from the late eleventh to early thirteenth centuries has offered an informative case study from which to review this moment and refresh our understanding of an important subject in the 'Europeanization of Europe'.[2] The concept of money, the attitudes surrounding it, and the rules governing its use were part of a complex theo-political economy connected to the pilgrimage, in which power and the exchange of resources were linked to spiritual salvation and guided by a moral code attributed to Christ and the apostles including St James.

[2] Bartlett, *The Making of Europe*, pp. 269-80.

Finally, the cross-disciplinary framework of analysis used in this thesis presents opportunities to examine the cultural impact of money not only on communities along the routes of other contemporary pilgrimages but also those beyond Latin Christendom, within the web of commerce and religion that characterized the 'Global Middle Ages'.[3] This approach would also be relevant to the study of money-induced transformations that are occurring even today. Accelerating adoption of cryptocurrencies such as Bitcoin is starting to disrupt the global social order as exemplified by concerns about its impact on morality and sovereignty, debates over true value, and the rise of a wealthy class of elites who have mastered the associated technical and trading skills, issues that suggest when it comes to money, the more things change, the more they stay the same.[4]

[3] See S. Yarrow, 'Economic Imaginaries of the Global Middle Ages', *Past & Present*, 238 (2018), pp. 214-31.
[4] On the ethical issues surrounding Bitcoin, see T. Scharding, 'National currency, world currency, cryptocurrency: A Fichtean approach to the Ethics of Bitcoin, *Business and Society Review*, 124 (2019), pp. 219-38. On similarities between Bitcoin and the ancient stone money of the Yapese islanders of Micronesia, see S. Fitzpatrick and S. McKeon, 'Banking on Stone Money: Ancient Antecedents to Bitcoin', *Economic Anthropology*, 7 (2020), pp. 7-21.

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