

**A Decade of Research:
Travel Literature and the Artistic Heritage of the Way of St James**

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The shrine of St James in Santiago de Compostela was one of the most important pilgrimage sites in medieval and early modern Europe and it retained its attraction to some extent into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries before its revival in modern times. A great number of cities, villages, hospitals and monasteries offered shelter and spiritual care for pilgrims journeying to Compostela visiting additional sanctuaries along the way. These were located along the six major historical routes to Santiago today commonly called the French Way, the Primitive Way, the Coastal Route, the English Way, the Mozarabic or Silver Way, and the Portuguese Way. Unesco recognized their historical legacy when it declared to the French Way (1993) and of the Northern Ways (2015) as World Heritage Itineraries.

Paradoxically the medieval and early modern local chronicles of cities and monuments along these pilgrim trails left virtually no information describing their artistic heritage. At most they address treasured relics and venerated, sometimes miraculous images revered in a given city or shrine. The majority are genealogical histories of noble families, anxious to document lineage, clan alliances and the purity of their Christian blood lines.¹ Fortunately, there is another kind of literature that contains abundant information about the historical heritage along the pilgrimage itineraries to Compostela, namely accounts written by foreign pilgrims who offer invaluable descriptions of places, buildings and works of art they visited during their journeys.

This study deals with these pilgrimage diaries. In particular, it presents the most important of them published in the last ten years, from 2009 until 2019,² a period especially rich in critical editions sponsored by the Xacobeo Foundation of the Autonomous Galician government, the Centro Italiano di Studi Compostellani of the University of Perugia, the Department of Historical Studies of the Santiago de Compostela Consortium, the Foundation David Parou Saint-Jacques, among other institutions dedicated to research on the Way of Saint James and sacred travel. These accounts were chosen because of the wealth of information they give. They are presented here successively in chronological order from medieval times until the early twentieth century, together with information about publishers, translators and other pertinent data about each publication, information about the origin of the account, the motives for the journey, and the itinerary chosen. Finally, I analyze information about successive states of the fabric of the cathedral of Compostela and artworks within it, as the best example of the heritage information they contain. This monument being the goal of the pilgrimage, pilgrims describe its particulars with special interest, briefly in medieval texts and more expansively in the early modern period and into nineteenth century.

The Itineraries of William Wey. Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2010. Edition and translation to English by Francis Davey of the Latin original account in the Bodleian Library.

The English priest William Wey d'Eton recorded his impressions of his journeys to Santiago de Compostela during the Holy Year of 1456, as well as to Rome in 1458, and to the Holy Land in 1458 and 1462. The trip to Santiago was the first of Wey's foreign

pilgrimages but his account of it was the last to be set down in writing, perhaps to complete the series of all major sacred destinations he visited. The manuscript was first published as *The Itineraries of William Wey, Fellow of Eton College. To Jerusalem, A.D. 1458 and A.D. 1462; and to Saint James of Compostela, A.D. 1456. From the Original Manuscript in the Bodleian Library* (London: Rorburghe Club, 1857). The section on Compostela was first issued by Luis Vázquez de Parga, José María Lacarra, and Juan Uría Riu in *Las peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela* (Pamplona: Iberdrola and Gobierno de Navarra, 1993 [1st ed. 1948], vol. 3, 127-32).

Equipped with an official dispensation from duties by King Henry VI, Wey took leave from his post of Eton College and set out for Compostela. He took ship with fellow pilgrims in the port of Plymouth 17 May 1456 and docked at A Coruña 21 May. From this city he went to Compostela presumably following the so-called English overland Way where he lingered around the cathedral during an unrecorded number of days.

Information of historical heritage is scant but describes some Jacobean sites in Santiago, Padrón and Iria Flavia. On the cathedral of Compostela, he reports a list of its relics included the one of Santiago Alfeo³ (p. 216), and the feast of the Trinity, which Wey attended⁴ with the now lost costumes of the celebrants (“scarlet capes”, “long staffs covered with silver”)⁵ (p. 211). The most interesting information is the data about the crown used by pilgrims for the rite of the *Coronatio peregrinorum* which Wey attributes to a donation from a Castilian king whose identity he does not provide: “the king of Castile and León sent the king of Granada’s crown, which was made of gold or gilded, to St James in Compostella. This crown was placed on the head of the seated image of St James in the middle of the high altar on the day of the Holy Trinity in the year of Our Lord mentioned above, being a year of Indulgence at St James” (p. 212). This is one of the oldest testimonies of the existence of this Jacobean object so dear to pilgrims. Wey contemplated it carried from the Treasury and placed on the head in the image of the Apostle on the high altar on the occasion of being 1456 Jacobean Holy Year.⁶ According to Robert Plötz, it was being revered by pilgrims from 13th century, after giving their offerings to the Fabric,⁷ following an old German tradition. Other pilgrims such as Arnold von Harff in 1499 states that playful pilgrims place it on their own heads. This crown was replaced in 1519 by a new one cited in several accounts until the seventeenth century.⁸ The last testimony of its existence is an engraving published in Paris in 1717 where the crown is represented held in the air by two angels on the head of the apostle⁹.

Desde Bohemia hasta el fin del mundo. Santiago de Compostela: Área de Publicaciones del S.A. de Xestión do Plan Xacobeo y Xunta de Galicia, 2010. Traducción y edición de Kateřina Vlasáková.

The Catholic Czech Baron Jaroslav Lev of Rözmitál and his entourage traveled between 1465 and 1467 through Europe with a party of forty sojourners, fifty-two horses and a carriage. They had been commissioned by the Hussite King of the Czech Lands George of Poděbrady to undertake a mission of managing to avoid conflicts with its neighbouring Christian kingdoms because the pope feared their slide into heresy. With this diplomatic mission in mind they incorporated strategic visits to confirm good relations with Duke Philip III of Burgundy in Brussels, Edward IV of England in London, Louis XI of France in Cande, Enrique IV of Castile in Segovia, Alfonso V of Portugal in Braga, Juan II of Aragón in Zaragoza, Duke Galeazo Maria Sforza in Milan, Doge Cristoforo Moro in Venice and the Emperor Friedrich de Habsburgo in Graz.

The account of this journey was translated into Spanish by Vlasáková from the Czech text *Z Čech až na konec světa* (*From Bohemia to the end of the world*) as edited by Alois Jirásek and published in Prague in 1950. It had appeared earlier in the journal *Jarý*

věk in 1889. Jirásek based this account on the Latin *Commentarius brevis et iucundus itineris atque peregrinationis, pietatis et religionis causa susceptae ab Illustri et Magnifico Domino, Domino Leone, libero barone de Rosmital et Blatna* (Olomouc: Millichtaler, 1577) prepared by the learned Stanislav Pavlovský. But this version was in fact a translation of the lost vernacular account written in Czech between 1465 and 1467 by the knight Václav Šašek de Bírkov, member of the Rözmitál's retinue.

There also exists a little known previous translation by Antonio María Fabié, along with the translation of a second account of the journey written in German by the merchant Gabriel Tetzl,¹⁰ also member of the Rözmitál's entourage, published by Fabié himself with title *Viajes por España de Jorge de Eingen, del Baron Leon de Rosmithal de Blatna, de Francisco Guicciardini y de Andrés Navajero* (Madrid: Librería de los Bibliófilos, 1879) and reprinted later by José García Mercadal in *Viajes de extranjeros por España y Portugal* (Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, 1999 [1st ed. 1952], vol. 1, 245-85).¹¹ More reliable are the recent critical translations into French of both accounts by Denise Péricard-Méa, *De la bohème jusqu'à Compostelle. Aux sources de l'idée d'union européenne* (Biarritz: Atlantica, 2008, issued by the Foundation David Parou Saint-Jacques).

The passages dealing with pilgrimage to Compostela began their description in Braga in 1466 and confirm the fame of the Jacobean pilgrimage toward the end of the Middle Ages (p. 113). Unfortunately it does not mention any place visited between either city which might allow us to identify the route followed. Rözmitál most likely took the currently labeled the Central Portuguese Way of St James passing through Ponte de Lima and Tui. His interest in visiting Santiago, which he qualifies as a famous place of pilgrimage (p. 114), was again to reassure Catholic Europe that he was not a heretical Hussite. The expedition continued on to Fisterra as he wanted to visit what was then considered the western edge of the known world, and after which he returned to Braga to pursue his diplomatic expedition.

Information of historical heritage is light but does describe two important Jacobean sites, Santiago and Fisterra. One passage describes the cathedral which still retained its Romanesque appearance: "The church was very large, with four round towers and two square ones, but inside it was quite dark. There they showed us a lot of things of great value, and I also remember that they only let us in after taking off our shoes and boots" (p. 114).¹² Rözmitál visited the shrine with its characteristic pilgrimage layout and could see the old round defensive towers that flanked the façades of Azabachería and Platerías, apparently still in place,¹³ as well as the square towers that flank the façade of the Obradoiro today incorporated into the baroque façade.¹⁴ The darkness of the interior could be due to the addition of other buildings to the basilica that covered some of its large windows, a practice that will further reduce interior lighting in the following centuries. The mention that "they showed us a lot of things of great value" could allude to various objects linked with the life of the apostle such as his supposed staff that were routinely shown to pilgrims.¹⁵

Le voyage de Jean de Tournai. De Valenciennes à Rome, Jérusalem et Compostelle (1488-1489). Mercuès: La Louve, 2012.

This book consists of a full translation to modern French from a French manuscript copy of the account by the Frenchman Jean de Tournai, a wool merchant from Valenciennes, who went on pilgrimage to Rome, Jerusalem and Santiago de Compostela between 25 February 1488 and 7 March 1489. It presents an introductory study and notes by Denise Péricard-Méa, and a transcription by Fanny Blanchet-Broekaert. The source text bears the shelf mark 493 in the Bibliothèque Municipale of Valenciennes (ff. 2-315),

a copy from 1549 of the original written by Tournai himself. Béatrice Dansette and Marie-Adélaïde Nielen re-transcribed the original manuscript five years later in *Le récit des voyages et pèlerinages de Jean de Tournai 1488-1489* (Sources d'Historie Médiévale. Paris: CNRS, 2017).

Tournai came from Rome to Compostela accompanied by Guillaume Blondre, a priest from Gaudiempré. They had worked their way through Sienna, Bologna, Embrun, Marseille, Orange, Valence, Nîmes, and Toulouse to reach the border crossing at Saint Jean Pied-de-Port. They joined the French Way of St James as they crossed the Pyrenees on foot and completed the still canonical sequence through Roncesvalles, Pamplona, Estella, Los Arcos, Logroño, Santo Domingo de la Calzada, Burgos, Castrojeriz, Frómista, Carrión de los Condes, Sahagún and León. Opting for a well-known detour, Tournai headed north and crossed the Peaks of Europe so that he could take in the great reliquary cathedral in Oviedo. From here he picked up the Northern Way of St James and made his way through Ribadeo, Villalba and finally arrived in Compostela where he stayed only three days, 25-27 January 1489. Surprisingly, he concluded his stay expressing his personal doubts that the cathedral owned the complete relics of St James: “for me I believe that the body is in Toulouse and the head is in Santiago” (p. 340).

The account contains some information of historical value about the places mentioned along his itinerary to Santiago, especially concerning churches, altars and reliquaries such as the collegiate church of Santa María of Roncesvalles with its silver altar (p. 330), the Christ of Burgos (p. 334) and the relic chamber of the cathedral of Oviedo (p. 336). A good example is the description of the presentation of the image of St James by Maestro Mateo above the main altar and how Tournai complied with the rite of the embrace: “I climbed a wooden ladder behind the high altar, and I embraced a statue carved in wood, made in honor of Santiago. On the head of the statue is a crown that I took in my hands and put on my head. Then I went down and came before the great altar and looked at this statue holding in its hands a scroll on which is written in Roman letters, which the saint points with his finger: *Hic jacet corpus sancti Jacobi filii Zebedei*” (p. 339).¹⁶ The author had to make his way to the old *confessio* behind the main altar to be able to access the wooden staircase that allowed the pilgrims to ascend to hug the image of the Apostle as it is represented in a Flemish miniature of the *Cartulary of the Hospital of Saint James at Tournai* dated to around 1489.¹⁷ He had to embrace the statue from the back as it was placed facing the high altar as it does even today although now encased in a baroque *camarín*.¹⁸ The statue is made in stone and not wood as affirms Tournai: he were probably misled by its vivid colors at this time, very different from the current polychrome in pigments and gold, plus the gilded silver adornments added in Baroque times.¹⁹ The crown is the same mentioned by Rözmitál but Tournai carried out the rite of the coronation.

Relato del viaje por Europa del obispo armenio Mártir (1489-1496). Logroño: University of La Rioja, 2009.

This is the account of the journey by sea and on foot of Mártir, Armenian bishop of Arzendjan (currently called Erzincan in modern Turkey) between October 1489 and 1496. Mártir began in Erzincan itself alone and travelled to Constantinople, Venice, Rome, Konstanz in Germany, Basel, Strasburg, Cologne, Aachen, Besançon, Paris, Bayonne and Compostela. The reason for this lengthy expedition seems to have been diplomatic, to beg Pope Innocent VIII for help from Western Christian authorities to preserve Armenia from the threat of Ottoman and Persian Muslim incursions.

The text is preserved in an Armenian-language manuscript of the Bibliothèque Royale de l’Arsenal in Paris which is a copy from 1684 done in Istanbul. Antoine Jean

Saint-Martin translated it into French as *Relation d'un voyage fait en Europe et dans l'Océan Atlantique, à la fin du XV^e siècle, sous le règne de Charles VIII, par Martyr, évêque d'Azerdjan* (Paris: Librairie Orientale de Dondey-Dupré Père et fils, 1827). This French version was subsequently translated into Spanish by Emilia Gayangos de Riaño in *Relación de un viaje por Europa, con la peregrinación a Santiago de Galicia, verificada a fines del siglo XV por Mártir, obispo de Arzendján* (Madrid: Fortanet, 1898). It was re-published later by José García Mercadal in *Viajes de extranjeros por España y Portugal* (Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, 1999 [1st ed. 1952], vol. 1, 390-398). The present 2009 edition provides the same translation by Gayangos de Riaño now annotated by Ignacio Iñarrea Las Heras and the French translation by Saint-Martin with additional notes by Denise Péricard-Méa, together with a study of the Mártir's expedition.

The reasons for the visit to Compostela seem mostly out of personal devotion. He followed the *Via Turonensis* pilgrimage route from Paris to Étampes, Tours, Châtelleraut, Poitiers and finally Bayonne (pp. 71-75). In Spain he walked along the coastal Northern Way of St James from Bayonne to San Sebastián, Portugalete, Santander, Santillana del Mar, San Vicente de la Barquera, Oviedo and Betanzos. He arrived in Santiago in 1493 and remained for 84 days in the city. Also he visited Fisterra before setting out on the journey back to his homeland (pp. 74-79). Despite the notable places visited, the account only describes the cathedrals of Paris (pp. 70-73) and Compostela (pp. 76-77), but with a certain thoroughness. An exceptional example is the description of the Portico of Glory: "above the eastern²⁰ gate is the Christ seated on a throne, with the presentation of all that has happened since Adam and of what is to happen until the end of the world. All this of such exquisite beauty, which is impossible to describe" (p. 77).²¹ Here Mártir extols the Celestial Jerusalem depicted in the central arch, inhabited by resurrected souls who enjoy heavenly glory. The Armenian bishop highlights the image of the risen and triumphant Christ of the end of time, the Parousia, here enthroned, crowned and showing his sacred wounds. Martyr's allusion to the representation of what is going to happen to humanity since Adam includes scenes narrated in the lateral arches, namely in the Gospel arch where the righteous are waiting for the arrival of the Savior, among them Adam, depicted naked to the left of Jesus in the first archivolt, and in the Epistle arch where the Last Judgment appears.²²

De Nuremberg à Grenade et Compostelle. Itinéraire d'un médecin allemand (août 1494-avril 1495). Traduction du récit de voyage de Jérôme Münzer. Biarritz: Atlantica, Fondation David Parou Saint-Jacques, 2009.

This is the account of the round trip journey between 1494 and 1495 on horseback by the German doctor Hieronymus Münzer through Germany, Switzerland, France, Spain and Portugal, from Nuremberg to Granada and northward to Compostela. Anne Berthelot, Carlos Montenegro and others collaborators are the authorities behind this modern translation into French which boasts a preface by Robert Plötz and notes by Denise Péricard-Méa. There exists an earlier translation into French and analysis by Michel Tarayre, *Jérôme Munzer. Voyage en Espagne et au Portugal (1494-1495)* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2006). The original manuscript in Latin is housed in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek of Munich, and its segment concerning Spain was published in 1920 thanks to Ludwig Pfandl as "Itinerarium Hispanicum Hieronymi Monetarii (1494-1495)," *Revue hispanique*, vol. 48, 113 (1920): 1-179. There are also two subsequent Spanish translations, one by Julio Puyol, "Jerónimo Münzer. Viaje por España y Portugal en los años 1494 y 1495," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, vol. 84 (1924): 197-279, republished by José García Mercadal in *Viajes de extranjeros por España y Portugal* (Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, 1999 [1st ed. 1952], vol. 1, 305-390).²³ A second

translation by José López Toro, *Viaje por España y Portugal: 1494-1495* (Madrid: Talleres Aldus, 1951) was reissued by Ramón Alba (Madrid: Polifemo, 1991).

Münzer made his pilgrimage to Compostela along the Portuguese Way. He started in Lisbon and arrived to the city of St James after visiting Santarém, Tomar, Coimbra, Porto, Barcelos, Ponte de Lima, Valença do Minho, Tui, Redondela, Pontevedra, Caldas de Reis and Padrón. He remained in Compostela from 13 December 1494 to 21 December, time enough to thoroughly visit the shrine of the Apostle. The account contains some brief information of heritage about three Jacobean sites in Padrón: the church of St James which exhibited the ancient altar where pilgrims prayed near the famous *pedrón*; the stone known as *A Barca*, today lost, where the body of the apostle was laid on the bank of the river Sar when it was taken from the ship that brought it from Jerusalem according to the tradition; and finally the shrine of Santiaguño do Monte from whose piled stones the apostle once preached to local people during his previous missionary visit. The cathedral of Santiago is described in generous detail about the building and its chapels. A good example is the description of the layout of the basilica: “It’s a wonderful building, in the shape of a cross. The central nave measures 100 steps and its width is 32; the length of their arms is 120 steps and the width is 15; the total length of the central nave and the choir is 150 steps” (p. 171).²⁴ Münzer analyzes here its Latin cross floor plan with three naves in each arm. But what is interesting is that he gives his measurements taken from the famous *Codex Calixtinus* which he would have consult in the cathedral itself during his visit.²⁵

“Le voyage de Jehan de Zillebeke à Compostelle.” *Compostelle. Cahiers d’Études de Recherche et d’Histoire Compostellanes*, 15 (2012): 43-54.

The Flemish knight of Jerusalem Jehan de Zillebeke carried out a round trip pilgrimage by sea to Compostela in 1512. His account was transcribed by Marie-Josèphe Antoine from the original old French manuscript preserved in the Bibliothèque Municipale of Douai. Surprisingly she doesn’t cite the valuable translation to modern French published one year prior, together with a study of the content in *Récits de pèlerins de Compostelle. Neuf pèlerins racontent leur voyage à Compostelle (1414-1531)* under the editorship of Denise Péricard-Méa (Cahors: La Louve, 2011, 193-230).

Zillebeke (or Zielbeke) began his pilgrimage from his home in Comine, currently in the district of Lille, France, on 18 March 1512 and boarded a ship full of pilgrims at Nieuwpoort, Belgium. From here he docked at Portsmouth and later at an unidentified Galician port, maybe Ribadeo. From the coast he continued by foot until arriving at Compostela 9 April presumably following the Northern Way. This is the reason why information about historical heritage sites is concentrated only on Compostela. The author only describes the recently opened Royal Hospital on the Obradoiro plaza, of which he gives many details (pp. 49-51), and the cathedral about whose main altar he says: “There is nothing beautiful to evoke except the great altar of St James made of silver, with silver images around. There is also a great St James sitting on a chair above the altar, with a painted silver garment and a gilded silver crown on his head. The pilgrims climb up with ladders and kiss him on the cheek. Then they take the crown and put it on the head... On the high altar we see a beautiful silver tabernacle, well worked in the old fashion” (p. 51).²⁶ Zillebeke still has the opportunity to see the apostolic altar inherited from the Middle Ages and before it was dismantled during the reforms of the Baroque period. He extols the silver work, a probable reference to the frontal and the *tabula retro altaris*, both decorated with images of the Savior and his apostles and both donated by Archbishop Diego Gelmírez.²⁷ Also the Gothic baldachin that solemnized it and whose pyramidal top also had the anagram of Jesus and figures in silver.²⁸ Finally, he describes the seated stone

image of the Apostle, always mentioned in the accounts already studied, although here with a polychrome more in line with the tastes of the times. I wonder if this reference to “painted garment silver” would not be a reference to the tin appliques that have recently been discovered in samples taken from its fifteenth and twenty-second layers of pigments of the twenty-nine layers it seems to have.²⁹ In addition, the author is another witness to the popularity of the Jacobean rite of coronation by pilgrims in the 16th century but that also mentions observing pilgrims kiss to the cheek of the statue, something not seen often today.

Die Reise Ottheinrichs von der Pfalz durch Spanien und Portugal 1519/20 im Spiegel des Reisetagebuchs von Johann Maria Warschitz. Heidelberg: Manutius Verlag Heidelberg in collaboration with the Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2010.

The German Johann Maria Warschitz is the author of an account of his journey through Spain and Portugal between December 1519 and 18 March 1520, accomplished in less than three months. He took this trip as a secretary in the diplomatic retinue of Friedrich II, Count Palatine of the Rhine, who had the task of personally informing king Charles I of Spain that he had been chosen as Emperor. The rendezvous took place in Molins de Rei, a small city located close to Barcelona where there had been an outbreak of the plague. Ottheinrich von der Pfalz, the young nephew of Friedrich II, traveled along, sent by his uncle on a formative journey through the rest of Spain with a smaller entourage of which Warschitz was a part. They made their way southward to Tarragona, Tortosa, Valencia, Elche, Lorca, Granada, Málaga, inland to Osuna, westward to Sevilla, back to the Atlantic coast at the Puerto de Santa María, Cádiz, deep inland again to Écija, Córdoba, Guadalupe and Mérida. They entered Portugal passing through Évora, Santarém, Lisbon, and finally heading north to Galicia where they eventually joined Friedrich II and Charles I in A Coruña where the three embarked in a ship to England. Warschitz had a good knowledge of the languages and the countries visited and was therefore entrusted with composing the travel diary preserved in a manuscript written in German, now in the Katharinenhospitals Archive of Regensburg, transcribed and studied by Karin Hellwig in 2010.

Warschitz’s party began their true pilgrimage to Santiago proper in Lisbon and followed the Portuguese Way of St James passing through Santarém, Batalha, Leiria, Coimbra, Porto, Barcelos, Ponte de Lima, Valença do Minho, Tui, Redondela, Caldas de Reis, Padrón and Pontevedra and finally arriving at Compostela on March 18, 1512. His account provides information about stopping points, road conditions, daily stages traveled and their distances as well as frequent observations on population centers and their inhabitants. By contrast, his allusions to the monuments of the Camino de Santiago are very brief and poor in detail. One example is the simple description of the old Romanesque basilica of the cathedral of Compostela: “Santiago... has a beautiful old and solid church where St James is buried. There are many graves, but especially the tomb of St James the Younger in the apse” (p. 147).³⁰

La peregrinación a Santiago de Diego de Guzmán. Diario inédito de 1610. Santiago de Compostela: Alvarellos Editora and Xunta de Galicia, 2014.

Previously unpublished manuscript account of the political and devotional journey of Diego de Guzmán, royal Chaplain and Almoner, who traveled to Compostela during the Holy Year of 1610, between 20 September to 26 October. It is kept at the Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid among Salazar collection, manuscript 9-477. The edition includes a thorough study by Julio Vázquez Castro who also analyses the

expansion of the manuscript travel notes incorporated into the more polished *Reyna Catolica: Vida y muerte de D. Margarita de Austria, Reyna de Espanna* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1617) which supplies new information.

Guzmán went to Compostela by palanquin on behalf of the pious King Felipe III. The monarch wanted to thank the Apostle for the successful expulsion in 1609 of the remnant colonies of Moors (*moriscos*) from Spain. With his emissary he sent along impressive royal presents: a collection of wall hangings for the main chapel, some still preserved in the cathedral museum. Accompanied by a large retinue of more than twenty, Guzmán set out from Aranda de Duero in Burgos Province after saying goodbye to their majesties and continued through Lerma and Valladolid to merge with the French Way of St James in Astorga. Later they passed through Ponferrada, Villafranca del Bierzo, O Cebreiro and Sarria. He veered north to join the ancient Primitive Route in Lugo and then picked up the Northern Way in Sobrado dos Monxes before arriving at the Monte del Gozo and Compostela on the evening of 7 October 1610.

The manuscript contains little information of historical merit except for Compostela itself. Above all it incorporates value judgments such as about the main altarpiece of the cathedral of Astorga (p. 159), the church of San Francisco in Villafranca del Bierzo (p. 162), the cathedral of Lugo (p. 168) or the sacristy of the monastery of Sobrado dos Monxes (p. 172). Guzmán toured the cathedral of St James on 9 October guided by the senior sacristan. He produced a wonderful description of the Gothic dome of the cathedral of Compostela, not yet renovated, an architectural landmark that visually signals to pilgrims from the hills that surrounded the city where the tomb of the apostle was:³¹ “basking in the view of the city of Santiago de Compostela [from the hilltop of the Monte del Gozo] as the sun went down and watching the dome of the cathedral of the glorious apostle, we did what other pilgrims do, which is to pray and entreat Saint James” (p. 173).³² He includes an assessment of the giant censer, the *botafumeiro*, which he saw swung on the occasion of his visit: “and the censer that is in the middle of the transept of the main chapel, deployed as it is customary in the most solemn days, very full of live coals and clanging against the upper vaults. It’s an ancient practice of that church which makes it all the more festive on solemn holy days” (pp. 182-83).³³ This would be the great silver censer of 1499 that perfumes the interior of the naves of the basilica on the occasion of major celebrations such as the Apostle’s Feast attended by Guzmán. The described piece was apparently replaced by a new one in 1622.³⁴

***A Medici Pilgrimage: The Devotional Journey of Cosimo III to Santiago de Compostela (1669).* In *The Medici Archive Project Series* managed by Alessio Assonitis and Sheila Barker. London/Turnhout: Harvey Miller Publishers and Brepols Publishers, 2018.³⁵**

For four days beginning on the evening of 3 March 1669, Cosimo III de’ Medici, the twenty-six-year-old heir of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, visited the city of Santiago de Compostela as a reverent interlude during his private journey through Spain, Portugal, England, Holland, southwestern Germany, east Belgium and France between 1668 and 1669, some months before ascending to the dukedom of Florence. He undertook this extended circuit for his personal enlightenment, to cultivate diplomatic ties, and at certain junctures out of sincere devotion. As was customary in journeys made by young European princes throughout the continent at this time, he travelled incognito to allow greater freedom of movement, to avoid having to endure official receptions, and especially to protect him from misunderstandings about diplomatic formalities.

He set off by sea in two galleys from the port of Livorno early in the morning of 19 September 1668, sailed along the southern French coast and came ashore in Spain in

the town of Cadaqués. He continued on to Rosas and then to Palamós, which he also visited. His destination was the city of Barcelona, where he disembarked on 29 September. Riding in a carriage brought from Florence, he passed through Martorell, Montserrat, Igualada, Lleida, Zaragoza, Daroca, Guadalajara and Alcalá de Henares, finding lodging in private homes, monasteries and inns as available. Between 24 October and 25 November he lingered in Madrid, commissioning new attire in the style worn at the Spanish court. Cosimo dedicated his energies to exploring the city's churches and palaces, and interviewing ambassadors, nobles and members of the royal family, mixed with savvy networking with Italian expatriates residing in the Spanish capital. He then headed south, visiting Toledo, Mora, Consuegra, Villanueva de los Infantes, Andújar, El Carpio, Córdoba, Castro del Río, Granada, Écija, Carmona and Seville, using a litter specially built in Madrid for some of the stretches where ordinary road carriages were impractical. Later, after touring the cities of Zafra and Badajoz, he crossed over into the neighbouring kingdom of Portugal, making overnight stops in Évora, Setúbal and Lisbon where he remained between 20 January and 18 February. Finally he headed north taking in Coimbra, Oporto and Viana do Castelo, entering Galicia by litter through Tui, passing through the villages of Redondela, Pontevedra and Padrón, stopping at Santiago de Compostela his journey towards the port of A Coruña. The party eventually set sail on 19 March steering a course to England on the continuation of their grand European tour.

Cosimo travelled with an extensive entourage comprised of fellow noblemen, a priest, a doctor, an interpreter and a French chef. Five of them, the diplomat Lorenzo Magalotti (the official chronicler), nobleman Filippo Corsini, physician Giovan Battista Gornia, secretary Giacomo Ciuti and chaplain Felice Monsacchi, each produced an account which copies are currently in archives and libraries in Florence (Biblioteca Privata Corsini, Archivio di Stato, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Biblioteca Marucelliana, Kunsthistorisches Institut of Florence and Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana), London (British Library) and Austin, Texas (Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center). The monograph *A Medici Pilgrimage: The Devotional Journey of Cosimo III to Santiago de Compostela (1669)* by Miguel Taín Guzmán studies their rich descriptions of Compostela and the shrine of St James, as well as an analysis of the artistic rendering of the city crafted by the painter Pier Maria Baldi, also member of the Florentine expedition and responsible for the graphic records of the journey. Baldi's sketches are a major source for the urban landscapes that illustrate the *Relazione Ufficiale* of the trip by Magalotti, today kept in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (Mediceo Palatino collection, Codex 123). The specific composite view of Santiago measures a stately 115.5 cm x 58 cm and represents the western profile of the city with its high medieval walls, towers, cathedral, churches, palaces, and the Royal Hospital for pilgrims. A transcription of the segments of the journey in Spain and Portugal from the cited Official Report by Magalotti was previously published by Ángel Sánchez Rivero and Angela Mariutti (*Viaje de Cosme de Medicis por España y Portugal (1668-1669)*) (Madrid: Rivadeneyra, 1933)³⁶ and by Paolo Caucci von Saucken (*El Viaje del Príncipe Cosimo dei Medici por España y Portugal*, edition and transcription by Jacopo Aldighiero Caucci von Saucken. Santiago: Xunta de Galicia, 2004). The 1933 transcription was translated into Spanish by David Ferosel Jiménez and published with an introduction by José María Sánchez Molledo in *Lorenzo Magalotti. Viaje de Cosme III de Médici por España y Portugal (1668-1669)* (Madrid: Miraguano Ediciones, 2018).

The entourage's passage through Galicia and Compostela according to the account by Corsini was known thanks to Otello Tavoni, "La Galizia nella relazione inedita di Filippo Corsini relativa al viaggio di Cosimo III dei Medici," in *I testi italiani del viaggio e pellegrinaggio a Santiago de Compostela e diorama sulla Galizia*, edited by Paolo

Caucci von Saucken (Perugia: Università degli Studi di Perugia, 1983, 57-78). It is also included in the account by Gornia published in Ana María Domínguez Ferro, “Análisis del viaje de Cosme III de Médicis por España de Giovan Battista Gornia (Transcripción de la parte dedicada a Galicia),” in *El viaje a Compostela de Cosme III de Médicis*, edited by Xosé Antonio Neira Cruz (Santiago: Xunta de Galicia and S.A. de Xestión do Plan Xacobeo, 2004, 251–67).

The portion of the trip dealing with the Cosimo’s pilgrimage to Compostela provides testimony to the vitality of the Jacobean pilgrimage in the late seventeenth century. He followed the Portuguese Way of St James from Lisbon on 18 February 1669, where he was visiting the regent Pedro II of Portugal, and continued through Tomar, Coimbra, Porto, Valença do Minho, Tui, Redondela, Pontevedra and Padrón, where he spent time on praying in local churches, chapels and hermitages. He only stayed in Compostela between 3 and 6 March, enough time to visit the tomb shrine of St James twice.

The five accounts analyzed in this *A Medici Pilgrimage: The Devotional Journey of Cosimo III to Santiago de Compostela (1669)* are rich in data on the monuments of Compostela. A wonderful example by Magalotti concerns the new thurible of the cathedral set up in 1622 which replaced the one described by Diego de Guzmán and which disappeared in 1809, at the time of the Napoleonic invasion:³⁷ “There is an ancient ritual of burning incense during solemn rites and processions. This is done using a spherical censer with the coals on a grate that is suspended in place. The whole thing hangs from an iron mechanism inside the cupola, and when they wish to waft the incense, it is moved using a thick rope connected to a winch with numerous smaller cords that are held by several people, together with a hook that connects to the posts in the floor. The censer then begins to swing like a pendulum, little by little, moving faster until it reaches the arms of the transept, nearly touching the cupola, while flames and sparks issue from the censer in great abundance” (p. 132).³⁸

Magalotti, Corsini, and Gornia explained the Baroque-style renovations on the main chapel that present the image of the Apostle already underway at the time of their visit and today very well preserved. The physician reported, for instance, that the medieval altar and baldachin seen by the Flemish pilgrim Zillebeke were about to be dismantled and replaced.³⁹ He also mentions the not yet executed plan to replace the statue of St James by Maestro Mateo by a new bronze image⁴⁰: “and now the cathedral makes a new throne, with a bronze statue, to remove the old (baldachin), which is wooden, ancient and in front covered with silver. Its shape is pyramidal” (p. 135).⁴¹ In addition, Corsini explained the idea of building the current double pergola with Solomonic columns in the apse and the ambulatory, raised on a new plinth made of marble and jasper from quarries of Toledo and Murcia:⁴² “at present they are building a chapel of marbles a little more honorable, which will have erected above 36 columns of gilded wood, which turn in the figure of half a circle over some pedestals made with marble of various colours” (p. 134).⁴³ The present-day structure has forty-six columns, a discrepancy which may be due to the fact that Corsini did not count the first two buttresses of the presbytery, as they were not initially planned and were added at a later stage.⁴⁴

Viaje a Santiago de Compostela de Giacomo Antonio Naia (1717-1719). In Pliegos Sueltos del Camino series directed by Paolo Caucci von Saucken. Pomigliano d’Arco: Edizioni Compostellane of the Centro Italiano de Studi Compostellani of the University of Perugia and Centro Estudios Jacobeos Castrojeriz, 2012.

The Italian Carmelite priest Giacomo Antonio Naia recorded in a diary his devotional travel on foot between 1717 and 1719 from his monastery in Jesi (Ancona,

Marche) to Jacobean sites in the West of Spain: Compostela, Fisterra, Santa María de la Barca in Muxía and Padrón. His account takes its origin from his personal travel notes and it doesn't appear to be the sort of chronicle intended to be published. It testifies to how Jacobean pilgrimage lived on in the eighteenth century. Its only readers would have been his fellow Carmelite friars. Carmen Pugliese translated the original Italian manuscript preserved in the Biblioteca Classense of Ravenna (Manuscripts collection, Mob. 3. 3 N) into Spanish; for unknown reasons the manuscript does not contain the journey from Salamanca to Jesi on the journey home. There is an earlier transcription of the text by Renato Stopani in *Il pellegrinaggio a Santiago de Compostela di fra Giacomo Antonio Naia (1717-1718)* (Firenze: Le Lettere, 1997).

Naia left his monastic community at 2 June, taking with him Domenico Laffi's *Viaggio in Ponente a San Giacomo di Galitia e Finisterrae per Francia e Spagna* (Bologna, 1st ed. 1673) which had been republished several times and served as a travel guide for fellow Italian pilgrims. He did not follow a prescribed itinerary or the most direct path through Italy and France, probably led by the desire to see specific cities with their monuments, and relics. He walked to Rimini, Bologna, Modena, Parma, Piacenza, Milan, Pavia, Alessandria and crossed the Alps in Moncenisio. He followed the French coast through Lyon, Avignon, Marseille, Arles, Nîmes, Montpellier, Narbonne and Perpignan. He entered in Spain through La Jonquera in the Pyrenees heading south to Girona, Barcelona, Montserrat, Igualada and Zaragoza. In Logroño he joined the French Way of St James, proof of this route's validity and dynamism in the eighteenth century. From there he continued his journey westward through Nájera, Castrojeriz, Frómista, Carrión de los Condes, Sahagún, León, Astorga, Ponferrada, Villafranca del Bierzo, O Cebreiro, Sarria and Melide, reaching the tomb of St James on 2 February 1718.

The account contains extensive information of historical value about the places mentioned along his journey, especially concerning churches, altars and reliquaries such as at the cathedral of Modena (p. 135), the Charterhouse of Pavia (p. 141), the Chapel of the Holy Shroud of Turin (p. 150), the Carmelite monastery of Lyon (pp. 159-60), the port of Marseille (p. 176), the cathedral of Girona (pp. 189-90), the monastery of Montserrat (pp. 200-02) and the Seo of Zaragoza (p. 213) among others. Naia describes along the French Way shrines such as the cathedral of Santo Domingo de la Calzada (p. 221); the Christ of Burgos which was then in the monastery of St Agustín (p. 224); the chalice, paten and glass vials of O Cebreiro (p. 239), etc. He visited as well the Jacobean sites of Santa María de A Barca in Muxía (p. 245), Santa María of Fisterra (pp. 246-47) and Padrón (pp. 249-50). At Santiago he analyses thoroughly the cathedral (pp. 242-43). For example, Naia climbed the western steps ascending from the Plaza del Obradoiro because, like Mártir centuries before, he was one of the few pilgrims who gazed on the Portico of Glory: "in the main door of the Church of Santiago there is a beautiful new staircase, with beautiful balustrades of white granite, which gives one turn and then another, forming two or three landings, and when you enter the church through this main door you will find the Universal Judgment, with beautiful figures in relief, worthy of great admiration."⁴⁵ The only difference is that while the Armenian bishop used a medieval staircase, Naia did it on the current one built at the beginning of the 17th century.⁴⁶

Viaje a España 1868 János Zádori. Santiago: S.A. de Xestión do Plan Xacobeo and Xunta de Galicia, 2010.

The polyglot Catholic priest János Zádori is the protagonist of a modern intellectual journey by train and carriage through Spain. He determined his destinations in advance having read various travel accounts particularly *Mein Ausflug nach Spanien im Frühjahr 1867* by Reinhold Baumstark (Regensburg: Georg Joseph Manz, 1869). He

departed from Esztergom with stops in Austria, Italy and France before arriving at La Jonquera on the Catalan border with France. Once in Spain, he visited Girona, Barcelona, Zaragoza, Madrid, Toledo, Córdoba, Sevilla, Cádiz, Málaga, Granada, Córdoba, Aranjuez, El Escorial and eventually Santiago de Compostela. His experiences were published in *Spanyol-út* in Pest in 1869 by the Athenaeum-press, the first Hungarian book on personal travel in Spain. It reflects his eagerness to know its landscapes, cities, monuments, artwork, food, bullfights and people. It also reflects the advances of 19th century Spain and how the railway had changed transportation in Europe. Fortunately for fans of travel literature on the St James Way, José Miguel González Trevejo translated this account into Spanish, published in 2010 with a critical introduction by Antón Pombo Rodríguez, among the best specialists on the present reality of the Jacobean way.

The portion of the trip to Compostela is clearly a pilgrimage. In fact, Zádori returned home proud to have obtained his *Compostela* (p. 375). He began in Madrid travelling by train to Astorga where the Spanish railway terminated at this time (pp. 356-77). He continued by stagecoach drawn by eight mules from Astorga to A Coruña and yet again from this port city to the Plaza de Cervantes in the historical center of the capital de Galicia. His account shows a mixture of intellectual and devotional interest and specifically looks for evidence of previous Hungarian pilgrims (pp. 358, 367 and 368). He only saw the Gothic cathedrals of León (pp. 357-58) and Astorga (p. 359) in the distance from the train. In A Coruña his attention is only drawn to the height of residential buildings and their glassed-in galleries (p. 364).

Zádori felt melancholic in Compostela, then suffering a lull in international pilgrimage traffic (p. 367), but he turned enthusiastic entering the cathedral dressed in his clerical robes (p. 365). He was aware of the traditions about St James preaching in Spain, the transfer of his body from Jerusalem, the discovery of the tomb by Bishop Teodomiro, the construction of the first church dedicated to the apostle and the growth of the city (pp. 365-67). His analysis of the shrine is the best documented among all those reviewed in this essay and details his three passes through the building, at least one with a proper guide (pp. 365-70, 373 and 375), and his readings such as of the Jesuit historian Juan de Mariana (pp. 366 and 370).⁴⁷ Zádori provides the best description of the spectacular baroque scenery to display the medieval figure of the apostle to pilgrims which Cosimo III saw under construction: “The Main Chapel is overloaded with all kinds of bronze, marble and wood ornaments. I counted 24 Solomonic columns (in the shape of a snail), resting on valuable pedestals of jasper. On the altar there was a plafond supported by angels and adorned with superb richness. Certainly it would have shone with a stunning glow; they say that work on its gold inlays took 20 years (to make it shine), but now the wear and decoration produce a depressing effect on the viewer, since the ornate highlights show with much more force the poverty of a modest style. On the altar there is a wooden sculpture of the Apostle James seated, life-size. The pilgrim’s cloak is silver plated with gold and adorned with precious stones. Next to the sculpture there is a staircase that leads to the top. Here I made my prayers (*officium Exaltat. Crucis*).⁴⁸ People often kiss the statue of the saint. Under the main altar, at ground level, there is a marble tomb that hides the body of the patron saint of Spain (pp. 367-68).⁴⁹

Despite his distaste for the artistic style, the author observes with care the arrangement of the baldachin, supported by eight gigantic flying angels, and the forest of Solomonic columns that surrounds the apse, possibly built following probably a drawing by the royal artist Pedro de la Torre from 1658.⁵⁰ Also he makes note of the silver pilgrim cloak donated by Archbishop Monroy in 1705 which is now displayed in the cathedral museum meanwhile the statue wears a reproduction.⁵¹ Finally, he could gaze on the rich marble apostolic cenotaph placed under the table of the altar, built in the last decades of

the 17th century as a sarcophagus lid, currently obscured behind an altar front to avoid creating confusion among pilgrims because of the more recent construction of the crypt of the apostle in 1879-91.

+ + +

All of these eleven pilgrims did the Way of St James for religious motives to venerate the remains of the apostle. Wey, Mártir, Guzmán and Naia were men of the Church, priest or friars, eager to visit the shrine itself. Others were diplomats who excused themselves from the Portuguese or Spanish courts to visit the Sanctuary out of zeal, such as the Catholic Czech baron Jaroslav Lev of Rözmitál, the Armenian bishop of Arzendjan Mártir, Johann Maria Warschitz, a member of the official retinue of Ottheinrich von der Pfalz and nephew of Elector Palatine Friedrich II, and Cosimo de' Medici, heir of the Grand Duchy of Florence. Only in recent times is there a more modern academic reason for such travel as shown the diary by Zádori. The majority followed the French Way of St James such as Jean de Tournai until León, Guzmán until Astorga or Naia from Logroño. Others took the Portuguese Way, like Rözmitál from Braga and Münzer, Warschitz, Cosimo de' Medici and Robersart from Lisbon. Still others opted for the Northern Way, like bishop Mártir, Jean de Tournai from Oviedo, maybe Zillebeke from Ribadeo and Guzmán from Sobrado dos Monxes. The English Way was the choice of Wey who arrived by ship from Plymouth and continued from A Coruña.

Together with journeys to the Holy Land, the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela has the most abundant and detailed travel literature in the world. These accounts report interesting information about historical heritage and works of art enhance our appreciation for the monuments along the sacred pathways and, above all, for the cathedral of Santiago. I am convinced that the interest in Jacobean travel literature and the discovery of new accounts, most of them still in manuscript form, will not cease in coming years. It will continue to grow with new treasures yet to appear. Their publication seemed destined to be scattered among diverse publishers from diverse countries because, unfortunately, there is no international research collection dedicated to their study and dissemination. This will be the main challenge for the future.

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¹ Rey Castelao, “Las ciudades sin historia,” 53-72.

² I wrote this paper throughout 2020.

³ Yzquierdo Peiró, *Los tesoros de la Catedral*, 339-40.

⁴ Also mentioned in the famous *Breviario de Miranda*; Archivo de la Catedral de Santiago, CF 28, f. 124v. See also Buide del Real, “Breviario de Miranda,” 64.

⁵ The oldest surviving ornaments date from the 16th century; cf. Aguilar Díaz, “Vestiduras ricas de la colección catedralicia,” 64-80.

⁶ Rodríguez, “Cronología de los años santos,” vol. 1, 182.

⁷ The administrative body which supervises improvements and changes in the physical property of a cathedral.

⁸ Plötz, “Santiago de Compostela,” 69-71, and Plötz, “Volviendo al tema: la Coronatio,” 101-122.

⁹ Taín Guzmán, “Il ritratto dell’altare,” 47-54.

¹⁰ Known thanks to a manuscript dated at the end of the 15th century preserved in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek of Munich and also published before in the nineteenth century.

¹¹ The section on northwest Spain was translated into Galician by Leandro García Bugarín in Garrido, *Aventureiros e curiosos*, 27-45.

¹² “La iglesia era muy grande, con cuatro torres redondas y dos cuadradas, pero dentro había bastante oscuridad. Allí nos enseñaron muchas cosas de gran valor, y también me acuerdo qué solo nos dejaron entrar en ella después de quitarnos los zapatos y las botas.”

¹³ Of the four, only remains of the southwest tower of the south transept are preserved.

¹⁴ Conant, *Arquitectura románica*, 40-47.

¹⁵ Yzquierdo Peiró, *Los tesoros de la catedral*, 356-58.

¹⁶ “Je montai à une échelle de bois derrière le grand autel et là j’embrassai une statue taillée dans du bois, faite à l’honneur de saint Jacques. Sur le chef de la statue est une couronne que je pris dans mes mains et mis sur ma tête. Après je redescendis et vins devant le grand autel et regardai cette statue tenant en ses mains un rouleau sur lequel est écrit en lettres romanes, que le saint montre de son doigt: Hic jacet corpus sancti Jacobi filii Zebedei.”

¹⁷ Taín Guzmán, “L’altare dell’Apostolo,” 15-17.

¹⁸ Castiñeiras González, “La iglesia del Paraíso,” 55-56.

¹⁹ The image has currently twenty-nine layers of polychrome, the result of different repaints throughout its history; cf. Sánchez Ledesma, *Estudio de los materiales*.

²⁰ Actually, this is a mistake. The text should say the western gate.

²¹ “Encima de la puerta oriental se ve el Cristo sentado en un trono, con la presentación de todo lo que ha acontecido desde Adam y de lo que ha de suceder hasta el fin del mundo. Todo ello de una belleza tan exquisita, que es imposible de describir.”

²² Castiñeiras González, “La iglesia del Paraíso,” 63.

²³ The section on his travels in Galicia was translated into Galician in Garrido, *Aventureiros e curiosos*, 47-58.

²⁴ “C’est une merveilleuse construction en forme de croix. La nef centrale mesure 100 pas et sa largeur est de 32; la longueur de ses bras est de 120 pas et la largeur de 15; la longueur de toute la nef centrale avec le chœur est de 150 pas.”

²⁵ Herbers, “Jerónimo Múnzer,” 210-11.

²⁶ “Il n’y a riens de bieu a parler que le grant autel Saint-Jaquez qui est d’argent et ymages d’argent autour et ung grant saint Jaquez haut, assiz en une chayerre deseurre l’autel, atout ung habillement d’argent paint et une grande couronne d’argent doré sur son chief. Les pellerins montent atout des eschellez et vont baisier en la joe et prendent ladite couronne -et le mettent sur leur teste- laquelle est plus large que nullez testez d’homme. Dessus ledit autel hault est ung biau tabernacle tout d’argent bien ouvret de la viese mode.”

²⁷ Taín Guzmán, “The Survival,” 166-81.

²⁸ Rosende Valdés, “A mayor gloria,” 493-95.

²⁹ Sánchez Ledesma, *Estudio de los materiales*, 5-6.

³⁰ “Sant Jachob ist ain stot, nit sonders gross. Hot ain schone, alte und veste kirchen, do der Hailig Sant Jachob rast. Do send vil habern, doch in sonderait des habt von dem kleine Sant Jochob.”

³¹ Yzquierdo Perrín, “El cimborio,” 237-83.

³² “Llegamos a la vista de Santiago quando se ponía el sol y viendo el crucero del glorioso Apóstol hicimos lo que los peregrinos, que es rezar y azer oración al señor Santiago.”

³³ “Y el incensario que está en medio del crucero de la capilla mayor anduvo, como los días más solemnes que se acostumbra, muy lleno de brasa y dando golpes en las bóvedas altas. Es antigualla de aquella iglesia que la alegra mucho los días solemnes.”

³⁴ Díaz Fernández and Sánchez Sánchez, “O botafumeiro,” 31-34.

³⁵ This 2018 book is a revised and extended edition of *La ciudad de Santiago de Compostela en 1669. La peregrinación del Gran Príncipe de la Toscana Cosimo III de Medici*. Santiago: Consorcio de Santiago and Teófilo Ediciones, 2012.

³⁶ His travels in Galicia and stay in Santiago was translated into Galician in Garrido, *Aventureiros e curiosos*, 94-102.

³⁷ Díaz Fernández and Sánchez Sánchez, “O botafumeiro,” 34-35.

³⁸ “Vi è un rito antichissimo d'incensare nelle funzioni e processioni solenni. Ciò si fa con un incensiere di figura sferica dove la padelletta del fuoco sta messa in bilico. Tutto questo è appeso a un ordigno di ferro, che sta dentro alla cupola, e volendosi incensare, se gli da il moto per via d'una fune, che si avvolge a un rochetto, alla quale, essendo diversi i capi, si attaccano più persone come al martino, con cui si ficcano i pali in terra. Ora, cominciando in tal modo l'incensiere a muoversi a guisa di pendolo a poco a poco, se gli va crescendo talmente il moto che arriva, nei bracci della croce, poco meno che a toccar la volta, onde, per la furia del moto, il fuoco si leva in fiamma e sfavilla in grandissima copia fuori dell'incensiere.”

³⁹ On the construction of the new baroque scenery on view today see Rosende Valdés, “A mayor gloria,” 485-534; Taín Guzmán, *Domingo de Andrade*, vol. 1, 353-400; Vicente López, *Vega y Verdugo*, 285-370.

⁴⁰ On this project see Vicente López, *Vega y Verdugo*, 258-60.

⁴¹ “Et ora si fabbrica una trona nuova, con una statua di bronzo, per levare la vecchia, che è di legno, antica et in fronte coperta di plata. La forma sua è piramidale.”

⁴² On this renovation, see Vicente López, *Vega y Verdugo*, pp. 298-99 and 357-58.

⁴³ “Al presente li vanno fabbricando una cappella di marmi un poco più onorevole, la quale sarà retta sopra 36 colonne di legno dorato, che rigirano in figura di mezzo cerchio sopra alcuni piedistalli andanti di marmi di vari colori.”

⁴⁴ Vicente López, *Vega y Verdugo*, 299, n. 1337.

⁴⁵ “En la puerta principal de la Iglesia de Santiago hay una bellissima escalera nueva, con bellisimas balaustrada de granitos blancos, que da una vuelta y luego otra, formando dos o tres descansillos, y cuando se entra en la iglesia por esta puerta mayor se encuentra de frente el Juicio universal, con bellisimas figuras en relieve, digno de gran admiración.”

⁴⁶ Bonet Correa, *La arquitectura en Galicia*, 122-24.

⁴⁷ Maybe his *De adventu Jacobi Apostoli in Hispaniam* (Köln: Antonii Hierati, 1609) or *Historia general de España* (Toledo: Pedro Rodríguez, 1601).

⁴⁸ *The Divine Office for The Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross*, Sept. 14 (p. 363.)

⁴⁹ “La Capilla Mayor está sobrecargada con todo tipo de adornos de bronce, mármol y madera, conté 24 columnas salomónicas (en forma de caracol), que descansaban en valiosos pedestales de jaspe; sobre el altar había un techo sostenido por ángeles y adornado con soberbia riqueza. Seguro que antaño habría brillado con una luz aturdidora; dicen que trabajaron 20 años en las incrustaciones de oro (para hacerlo brillar), pero ahora el desgaste y la decoración producen un efecto deprimente en el espectador, ya que el adorno recargado resalta con mucha más fuerza la desolación de un estilo modesto. En el altar hay una escultura de madera, del apóstol Santiago sedente, de tamaño natural; la esclavina del peregrino es de plata bañada en oro y está adornada de piedras preciosas. Junto a la escultura hay una escalera que lleva a lo alto, aquí hice mis rezos (*officium Exaltat. Crucis*); la gente suele besar la escultura del santo. Bajo el altar mayor, al nivel del suelo, hay un sepulcro de mármol que esconde el cadáver del santo patrono de España.”

⁵⁰ López Ferreiro, *Historia*, vol. 9, 191.

⁵¹ Taín Guzmán, *Monroy y la orfebrería*, 275-280.