

The Way of St. James:

Renewing Insights

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Edited by
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Portrait:

Mappa mundi by Abraham Cresques (Majorca, 1375). B.N.F., Esp. 30

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Introduction

The Way of St. James has today the global importance it enjoyed for centuries; for, as a road to wisdom, it gathers and transforms people from all over the world. Hence, the Camino de Santiago has become the subject of many academic studies, in fields as diverse as anthropology, literature, tourism or theology.

This book, the result of multidisciplinary collaboration between several academic institutions, opens new perspectives to better understand the history and the present of the Way of Saint James. Avoiding the relapse into frequent topics, it is intended here to present contemporary lines of study and new results that shed light on lesser known aspects of the Camino.

In recent years, new technologies allowed the discovery of several paleo-Christian inscriptions in the Apostolic Tomb of Compostela. These archeological findings confirm the antiquity of the Jacobean traditions, and obliterate the present paradigm about its medieval origin. Enrique Alarcón, from the University of Navarra, presents in this book the inscriptions referred to Mary, the oldest in Europe and a testimony of the life and convictions of the Christian communities originated by the predication of the Apostle James the Greater.

Jagoda Marszałek, of the Polish Academy of Sciences, presents in her study another lesser known aspect of the history of the Camino: the pilgrimages from Poland. Franciszek Mróz, from the Pedagogical University of Krakow, explains the history and current development of the Polish Way; and Waldemar Rozynekowski, of the Copernicus University of Torun, shows the imprint of the devotion to Saint James in various manifestations of Polish religious culture. To complete this exploration of the Jacobean phenomenon in Poland, two Polish theologians, Dariusz Kotecki and Piotr Roszak, study James the Greater and the Way, respectively.

Finally, Miguel Ángel Belmonte and Marcin Kazmierczak, from the Abat Oliba-CEU University of Barcelona, present a third – and also novel – thematic area: the secularization of the Way in postmodern literature.

We thank specially Alejandro Barral, canon of the Cathedral of Santiago, and the National Institute of Science of Poland for their help.

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ENRIQUE ALARCÓN

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Paleo-Christian Inscriptions Dedicated to Mary in the Apostolic Tomb of Santiago de Compostela

Over the last seven years, using a high-resolution camera managed by remote control, I have explored several difficult to access –and therefore better preserved– spaces of the Tomb of the Apostle St. James the Greater in Compostela. Ancient Christian inscriptions were discovered, that confirm an early veneration of the Apostle James in that tomb. In former academic publications, I have reported the progresses in my research¹. In this study I will present the paleo-Christian inscriptions of the Apostolic Tomb of Compostela dedicated to Mary.

To better appreciate its meaning and dating, it is necessary to understand its historical and archaeological context. During the first half of the first century, the Roman Empire built a network of roads in the northwest of the Iberian Peninsula. Progressively, roadside motels called *mansiones viariae* were erected along these roads. This seems to have been the origin of Santiago²: a *mansio viaria* called As-

¹ See, for instance, E. Alarcón, *The Historical Basis for the Way of Saint James*, in Z. Sztylc, D. Zagórski, A. Radziminski, R. Biskup (eds.), *Fundamenty średniowiecznej Europy* (Bernardinum, Pelplin, 2013) 41-72.

² Cf. J. Suárez Otero, M. Caamaño Gesto, *Santiago antes de Santiago*, in E. Portela Silva (ed.), *Historia de la ciudad de Santiago de Compostela* (Concello de Santiago de Compostela [etc.], Santiago de Compostela, 2003) 23-48.

segonium or Asseconia³, located in the Roman Via XIX, a day's journey from the seaport of Iria Flavia⁴.

The archaeological findings indicate that the settlement was probably built around AD 50, and occupied one hectare⁵. On the other side of the road, a cemetery emerged that became particularly important, for although it belonged to a small hamlet, is now one of the largest preserved of ancient Hispania.

Among the oldest funeral inscriptions found in the place, two⁶ refer to a family called Modesta –one of the most frequent family names among Hispano-Romans⁷:

D(is) M(anibus)
ACILIA MODESTA M(odesti) F(ilia)
MODESTO PATRI PIEN(tissimo)
H(ic) S(itus) E(st) S(it) T(ibi) T(erra) L(evis)

AQUILIAE MODESTAE
ANNORUM [L]XX
SENECIO MODESTUS
MATRI PIENTISSIMAE
FECIT H(ic) S(ita) E(st) S(it) T(ibi) T(erra) L(evis)

Following the studies of Alföldi and Knapp on the historical evolution of the funeral epigraphy of Roman Hispania⁸, a probable date of these inscriptions can

³ See L. A. Curchin, *Los topónimos de la Galicia romana*, in “Cuadernos de Estudios Gallegos” 55/121 (2008) 117. A new historical testimony should be added, after the recent proofs about its authenticity: the “Tabla de Barro” II (Astorga [?], ca. 267-276 AD). See C. Fernández Ochoa, Á. Morillo Cerdán, F. Gil Sendino, *El «Itinerario de Barro». Cuestiones de autenticidad y lectura*, in “Zephyrus” 70 (2012) 151-179.

⁴ See X. M. Caamaño Gesto, *As vías romanas* (Cuadernos Museo do Pobo Galego, 3: Santiago de Compostela, 1984); M. D. N. Estefanía Álvarez, *Vías romanas de Galicia*, in “Zephyrus” 11 (1960) 5-103; F. Arias Vilas, *A romanización de Galicia* (Historia de Galicia, 4: A Nossa Terra, Vigo, 1992) 47-56.

⁵ See J. Suárez Otero, M. Caamaño Gesto, *op.cit.*

⁶ G. Pereira Menaut (ed.), *Corpus de Inscricións Romanas de Galicia*, vol. 1 (Consello de Cultura Galega, A Coruña, 1991) n. 46-47, p. 127-129.

⁷ Cf. J. M. Abascal Palazón, *Los nombres personales en las inscripciones latinas de Hispania* (Universidad de Murcia [etc.], Murcia, 1994) 429.

⁸ See G. Alföldy, *Die römischen Inschriften von Tarraco* (W. de Gruyter, Berlin, 1975); R. C. Knapp, *Latin Inscriptions from Central Spain* (University of California Press, Berkeley [etc.], 1992).

be inferred. The formula *Hic Situs Est* is more frequent between the first century and the beginning of the second century. The use of two names - such as Acilia Modesta, Aquilia Modesta or Senecio Modestus - became more common in the first half of the second century. The interpunction, the filiation, and the name of the deceased in dative are most typical of the second century. The *pietissimus*, *pietissima* superlatives, and the indication of the age of the deceased became most frequent in the second half of the second century. Finally, the DM or DMS formulas are more frequently used between the second and the third centuries. Together, these indications point to the second century, perhaps around AD 150.

Another inscription⁹ with similar formulas and dating, coming from the same cemetery, refers to members of a family whose name is abbreviated as MO. More likely, it is the same Modesta family, whose name would not require more explicitness, being well known in this small place and time:

DMS
 ATIA MO(desta) ET AT...
 TET(u)LUM P(osuerunt) S(omno) A(eternali)
 VIRIAE MO(destae)
 NEPTIS PI(entissimae) AN(n)O(rum) XVI
 ET S(ibi) F(aciendum) C(uraverunt)¹⁰

In this case, the inscription did not belong to a funeral stele, but it was carved on a rectangular plate of white marble. It was preserved, until 1077, in the only Roman mausoleum of the cemetery, in which crypt the tradition places the tomb of the Apostle St. James the Greater¹¹. Because of its history, form and content, this inscription corresponds well to the *titulum* of the mausoleum, ordinarily located on its entrance to indicate its owner and occupants (figure 1):

⁹ See S. Moralejo, *Ara de Antealtares*, in S. Moralejo, F. López Alsina (eds.), *Santiago, camino de Europa* cit., 252-253.

¹⁰ G. Pereira Menaut (ed.), *op. cit.*, n. 48, p. 131-134.

¹¹ See S. Moralejo, *op. cit.*

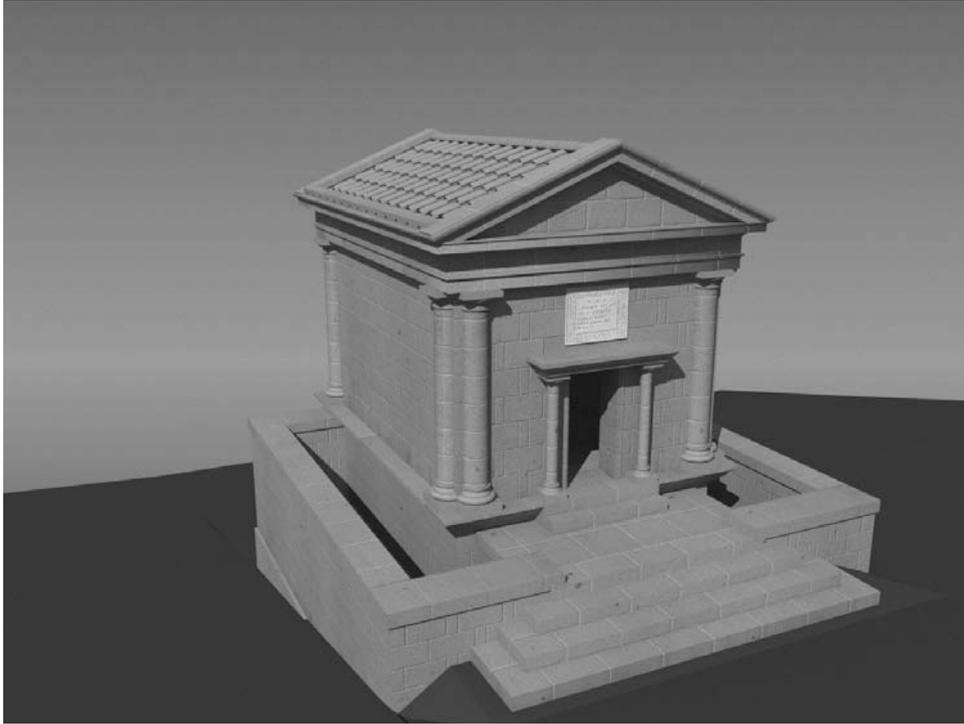


Fig. 1. Reconstruction of Atia's mausoleum¹²

The use of the formula *titulum posuerunt* may indicate that Atia Modesta did not build the mausoleum, but acquired it and merely put this new title of ownership¹³. In this case, this mausoleum could have been built even in the first century¹⁴. This could explain the early modification of its crypt, built initially to house urns of incineration, but reformed soon for the practice of inhumation, following the change of Roman funerary customs in the first and the second centuries.

In its origin, the mausoleum consisted of a small *cella* or upper room of access -demolished in the 12th century- and an underground crypt¹⁵. At an early stage, this

¹² I thank M.I. Sr. D. Alejandro Barral Iglesias for his information regarding the architectural history of the mausoleum. I am also grateful to Mr. Aleix Llull for his help in elaborating this tridimensional model.

¹³ Cf. *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* III, 633, 2: P(ublius) Hostilius P(ubli) I(ibertus) Philadelphus | petram inferior(em) excidit et titulum fecit, ubi | nomina cultor(um) scripsit et sculpit sac(erdote) Urbano s(ua) p(ecunia).

¹⁴ See J. Guerra Campos, *Exploraciones arqueológicas en torno al sepulcro del Apóstol Santiago* (Cabildo de la S.A.M. Iglesia Catedral de Santiago, Santiago de Compostela, 1982) 177-189.

¹⁵ Cf. J. Guerra Campos, op. cit., 128, 141, 284-285; J. Suárez Otero, M. Caamaño Gesto, *Santiago* cit., 32.

crypt was divided into two parts by means of a masonry wall with communication door. In the western half were built two *loculi* for the interment of corpses, attached to the walls and separated by a small central corridor¹⁶ (figure 2):



Fig. 2. Reconstruction of the crypt after its first reformation

Each *loculus* had two circular openings or *fenestellae*, allowing for the inspection of the inside¹⁷. Just in front of the *fenestella* of the north *loculus* (the left one in figure 2), on the plaster of the north wall, are the paleo Christian inscriptions of greater size. The biggest –which I will designate here as inscription 1– is on the western half (plates 1 and 2¹⁸, and figure 3).

¹⁶ Cf. *ibidem*, 128-129, 284.

¹⁷ I. Millán González-Pardo, *Autenticación arqueológico-epigráfica de la Tradición Apostólica Jacobea*, in *El Camino de Santiago, camino de Europa* (Santiago de Compostela, 1992) 58-67. Note that these *fenestellae*, in fact, are not exclusive of Christian burials.

¹⁸ All plates of this paper are courtesy of the Excmo. Cabildo de la Catedral de Santiago.

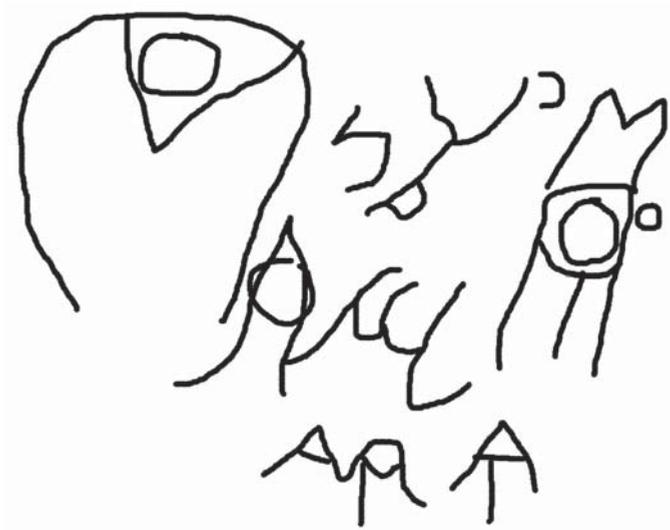


Fig. 3. Inscription 1

On its right, there is a monogram containing the letters of ATIA MO, the owner of the mausoleum as appears on the *titulum*. I will name it here inscription 1.1 (fig. 4):



Fig. 4. Inscription 1.1

On the left side, there is another large monogram (that I will designate as inscription 1.2), containing the letters MO. The M is written resembling an inverted lowercase omega. The two letters O and M are composed so that they form together a large A. Thus, also this monogram contains the initials of A(tia) MO(desta) (figure 5):



Fig. 5. Inscription 1.2

Between both monograms there are three inscriptions. The central one (inscription 1.3) forms, once more, the initials of A(tia) M(odesta), and the M is represented again as an omega minus (fig. 6):



Fig. 6. Inscription 1.3

In this way, both the center and the left monogram represent, as the same sign, the initials of Atia Modesta and the Alpha and the Omega, symbol of Christ¹⁹, written both with the Greek letter omega and with its Latin equivalent, the letter O.

A confirmation of the Christian meaning of this inscription can be found below it (inscription 1.4). There, two monograms, containing again the initials of ATIA M, form another Christian name, MARIA, in Latin characters (figure 7):



Fig. 7. Inscription 1.4

Above, over the Alpha and Omega, a third inscription (designated here 1.5) ratifies their Christian meaning (figure 8):



Figure 8. Inscription 1.5

¹⁹ R. Milburn, *Early Christian Art and Architecture* (University of California Press, Berkeley - Los Angeles, 1988) 1-2. See also Cf. B. Bagatti, *The Church from the Circumcision* (Franciscan Printing Press, Jerusalem, repr. 1984) 176-179; E. Testa, *Il simbolismo dei giudeo-cristiani* (Tipografia dei PP. Francescani, Gerusalemme, 1962) 112-114, 132-133 (n. 19), 139, 230-360, 370-377, etc.; D. Mazzoleni, *Alfa e Omega*, in F. Bisconti (ed.), *Temi di iconografia paleocristiana* (Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, Città del Vaticano, 2000) 102-103.

Its correct reading requires some historical contextualization. In 1988, Isidoro Millán claimed to have found the Greek inscription *Athanasios Martyr* on a stone in the wall of this niche²⁰ (inscription 2). On the basis of the photographs obtained, Millán made this drawing of its alleged contents (figure 9):



Fig. 9. Millán's outline of inscription 2

²⁰ I. Millán González-Pardo, *op. cit.*

In 2011, I pointed out that the last characters of this inscription correspond well to the Hebrew word *Jacob*²¹. It is precisely this part what is reproduced in the inscription 1.5 that we are analyzing. Figures 10-12 show the detail in Millan's outline, the inscription 1.5, and the word "Jacob" in Hebrew script:



Fig. 10-12. "Jacob" in inscriptions 2, 1.5, and in Hebrew script

Thus, between the monograms A MO to the left, and AT MO to the right, there are three sacred Christian names: Jacob, the Alpha and Omega, and Maria (figure 13):



Fig. 13. The three sacred names in inscription 1

²¹ E. Alarcón, *Sepulcrum Iacobi*, in P. Roszak (ed.), *Camino de Santiago - nie tylko droga. Historia i współczesność Szlaku św. Jakuba* (2 ed.: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, Toruń, 2012) 343-357.

The reiteration of the initials of Atia Mo[desta] on the inner wall of this tomb indicates that these inscriptions were made while preparing her burial. As the *titulum* of the mausoleum can be dated circa 150 AD, and Atia appears as grandmother of a girl deceased at age 16, the most probable date for Atia's burial, and consequently for these inscriptions is circa 165 AD.

As those who prepared Atia's burial and made these inscriptions were Christians, it is obvious that there was at that time a Christian community with special devotion, together with Christ, to Mary and James in Asseconia: precisely in the place that an ancient tradition indicates as the tomb of the Apostle.

It is worth remembering, in this regard, the special bond between the mother of Jesus and James the Greater. On the cross, Jesus asked John, the brother of James²², to have Mary as his own mother. The Gospel affirms that since then John received her in his house, which was also that of James²³, for John, who died circa 105 AD, was then very young. Therefore, Mary lived from that moment with both of them. It seems natural that this closeness was transmitted especially to their most direct disciples. The Maria inscription bears testimony of the devotion to the mother of Jesus and to the Apostle James among earliest Christians.

Another aspect to consider in this inscription is the early use of the monogram technique among first Christians; for, indeed, one of the first Christian symbols, the chrismon, is precisely a monogram. It is found in first century ossuaries in Jerusalem, and in second century manuscripts of the New Testament, contemporary of these Compostela inscriptions, where the chrismon is used as an abbreviation in the word σταυρον, namely *cross*²⁴.

In Greek culture, the monogram was used as an abbreviation, e. g., to write, in the small space of a coin, a name or a title²⁵. For instance, the chrismon is found on a coin minted by Herod the Great in year 35 BC, as an abbreviation of his title of tetrarch²⁶. Many of the monograms discovered in the Apostolic Tomb of St. James imitate monograms of Hellenistic coins. For instance, the MO and AT monograms discussed above are quite similar to a monogram in a silver tetradrachm minted by Antiochus I Soter of Syria (figures 14-17):

²² Mc. I, 19; Lc. V, 10.

²³ Io. XIX, 25-27.

²⁴ See L. Hurtado, *The Staurogram in Early Christian Manuscripts: The Earliest Visual Reference to the Crucified Jesus?*, in Th. Kraus, *New Testament Manuscripts* (Brill, Leiden, 2006) 207-226.

²⁵ See V. Gardthausen, *Das alte Monogram* (Karl W. Hiersemann, Leipzig, 1924).

²⁶ Y. Meshorer, *A Treasury of Jewish Coins from the Persian Period to Bar Kokhba* (Amphora Books, Jerusalem, 2001) 61-63.



Fig. 14-17. AT MO monograms in inscription 1 and in Antiochus I's silver tetradrachm

Another documented use of ancient monograms is to link in a single sign two names, to symbolize their close union. Figure 18 is an example. It shows the *fibula* or brooch of an officer of the *Legio Prima Italica*²⁷. The monogram, with a single sign, represents both the words *Prima* and *Roma* as an indication of their unity, for the same monogram can be read from right to left as AMOR:



Fig. 18. Monogram "Prima-Roma" in Roman officer's fibula

²⁷ Cf. W. Jobst, *Die römischen Fibeln aus Lauriacum* (Wimmer, Linz, 1975) n. 47; D. Bojoviae, *Rimske fibule Singidunuma* (Muzej Grada Beograda/Serija. Zbirke i Legati Katalog, 12: Beograd, 1983) XXV.3; E. Genčeva, *Les fibules romaines de Bulgarie de la fin du 1er s. av. J.-C. à la fin du VIe s. ap. J.-C.* (Veliko Trnovo, 2004) 31b.

This use invites to a similar reading of the paleo Christian monograms. By uniting in a single sign the name of Atia Mo[desta] with the Alpha and the Omega of Christ, and with the name of Mary, the author of these inscriptions has signified graphically the identification of the deceased Atia with Christ and his mother. As in the parable of the vine and the branches²⁸, Atia is united to Christ, so that the Omega, her death, becomes the beginning of eternal life, the Alpha. It is the doctrine of St. Paul, who explains that Christians form a mystical body whose head is Christ. Therefore, they live the very life of Christ, and just as he has risen, Christians will also rise to life in heaven²⁹.

The author of the inscriptions of the Apostolic Tomb has expressed likewise the union of Atia with Mary, perhaps an indication of the conviction among early Christians that Mary, like her son, already enjoys that future life which will be given to the Christians united with her.

In addition to the unity between Atia, Jesus and Mary, the use of the monogram may also be a means of concealing the Christian character of this tomb, at a time when the cult of Christ was severely forbidden. In fact, the *titulum* of this mausoleum seems pagan, with an apparent dedication to the *manes*, and the mention of an eternal sleep. However, these same formulas are found in Christian tombs in Rome³⁰, for DMS could be interpreted, for instance, as *Deo Maximo Sacrum*, and eternal sleep could be taken as an improper metaphor. In order to mislead potential pursuers, such subterfuges were not unusual.

On the other hand, it may be significant that Atia did not bury in her mausoleum other possibly pagan members of her family, whose mortuary inscriptions have been discussed above. Indeed, at least in the third century, the practice of the Christians of Hispania was to be buried with other Christians, and not among pagans³¹.

We will now turn to a further analysis of the inscription 1.1, using a more detailed picture (plate 3³² and figure 19). On the right arch of the A, there is a circle:

²⁸ Io. XV, 5.

²⁹ Cf. Rom. VI, 8-10; Gal. II, 20; Philip. III, 10-11.

³⁰ C. Carletti, *Epigrafia dei cristiani in Occidente dal III al VII secolo* (Edipuglia, Bari, 2008) 34, 193; *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae* X, n. 27034.

³¹ Cf. J. Patout Burns Jr., R. M. Jensen, *Christianity in Roman Africa: The Development of Its Practices and Beliefs* (Grand Rapids-Cambridge, Eerdmans, 2014) 122-123. See also Y. Duval, *Auprès des saints corps et âme. L'inhumation «ad sanctos» dans la chrétienté d'Orient et d'Occident du IIIe siècle au VIIe siècle* (Études Augustiniennes, Paris, 1988).

³² All plates of this paper are courtesy of the Excmo. Cabildo de la Catedral de Santiago.

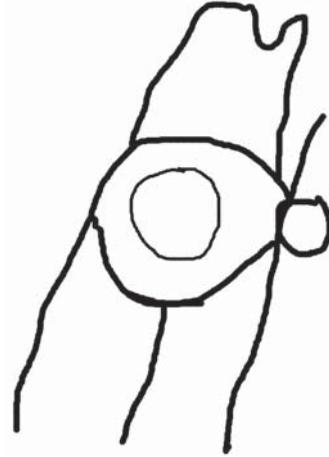


Fig. 19. Inscription 1.1, as in plate 3

In many Hellenistic coins, the same circle on the right arch represents the head of the Greek letter P (i. e., Rho). Figure 20 shows four examples: two bronze coins of Alexander the Great, and two silver tetradrachms, one minted by Antigonos Donos of Macedon and the other by Lysimachos of Thrace:



Fig. 20. Examples of the AP (Alpha Rho) monogram in ancient Greek coins

Over the letter Rho, an extension of the vertical stroke of the letter A –more evident in plate 3– clarifies the presence in this monogram of the letter Iota. Thus, this monogram of ATIA contains also all the letters of MAPIA, the name of Mary written with Greek characters: it is yet another expression of the union of Atia Mo[desta] with the mother of Jesus.

On the east side of the same wall, facing the other *fenestella* (see figure 2), there is another monogram (inscription 3) very similar to the one we just discussed (plate 4 and 5³³ and figure 21):



Fig. 21. Inscription 3

It is a large A, with a small T under it: the two first letters of AT[ia]. The upper arch draws the letter M and the letter O, probably for MO[desta]. The name Jacob in Latin script is written across the T: in a future publication, I expect to provide a reason for this.

To these strokes, some others have been added, as to form the Greek name MAPIA in almost the same way as in the monogram just discussed before. Once more, over the right arch is the head of the letter Rho. But this time is the right vertical stroke that is extended, so as to mark the letter Iota. Here, again, the initials of Atia Modesta are united to the Greek name MAPIA.

As noted before, under this great A, with a lighter stroke, the letter T has been written, to further complete the name of Atia. However, here as in the monogram

³³ All plates of this paper are courtesy of the Excmo. Cabildo de la Catedral de Santiago.

discussed above, letters A and T correspond to the first and the last letter of the Hebrew alphabet, Aleph and Tav, its equivalent to Alpha and Omega. Possibly, in drawing AT, the author of these inscriptions also represented the Alpha and Omega. If that is the case, it would be yet another expression of the union of Atia with Christ and Mary.

A similar, but more complicated monograph is to be found on the opposite wall of this *loculus*. It may provide further clues for the interpretation of the last two monograms we have just discussed. It will be the object of a future publication.

The antiquity of the Marian inscriptions in the Apostolic Tomb of Santiago is extremely noteworthy. According to Carletti's repertoire of early Christian inscriptions³⁴, the oldest Latin Christian inscriptions known yet are contemporary of these found in the Apostolic Tomb of Santiago. But, as inscription 1.5 imitates the Hebrew name Jacob of inscription 2, this must be even older. In consequence, the earliest Christian inscription in Europe is found in a location of no prominence in Antiquity, but to which a thousand-year-old tradition points as the tomb of the Apostle James; and it is an inscription precisely with this name, written in Hebrew characters.

Noteworthy, also, is that, according to Carletti's anthology, the oldest Latin Marian inscription is the dedication of the Basilica of St. Mary Major, placed by Pope Sixtus III between 432 and 440 AD³⁵. In Greek language, a Marian expression was repeated even before, beginning circa 350 AD: is the acronym XMIΓ, commonly interpreted as Χριστός ἐκ Μαρίας Γεννηθείς, "Christ the born from Mary"³⁶. Even earlier is the first image of Mary that is known: that of the catacomb of Priscilla, dated circa 335 AD³⁷. However, all these references to Mary are quite posterior to the Marian inscriptions in the Apostolic Tomb of Santiago de Compostela.

Only under the Basilica of the Annunciation, in Nazareth, a Marian inscription has been found whose date might be earlier: X[αίρ]E ΜΑΡΙΑ, written with characters that Bagatti alleged similar to those found in first century ossuaries of Jerusalem³⁸. Except for this uncertain case, the Marian inscriptions in the Apostolic Tomb of Santiago may be the oldest yet known.

³⁴ C. Carletti, *op. cit.*

³⁵ *Ibidem*, n. 157, p. 253-254.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, n. 59, p. 177-178.

³⁷ Vid. F. Bisconti, *La Madonna di Priscilla: interventi di restauro ed ipotesi sulla dinamica decorativa*, in "Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana" 72 (1996) 7-34.

³⁸ B. Bagatti, *Excavations in Nazareth*, vol. 1 (Franciscan Printing Press, Jerusalem, 1969) 155-158. Cfr. idem, *The Church from the Circumcision* (Franciscan Printing Press, Jerusalem, repr. 1984) 62-65.



Plate 1. Inscription 1

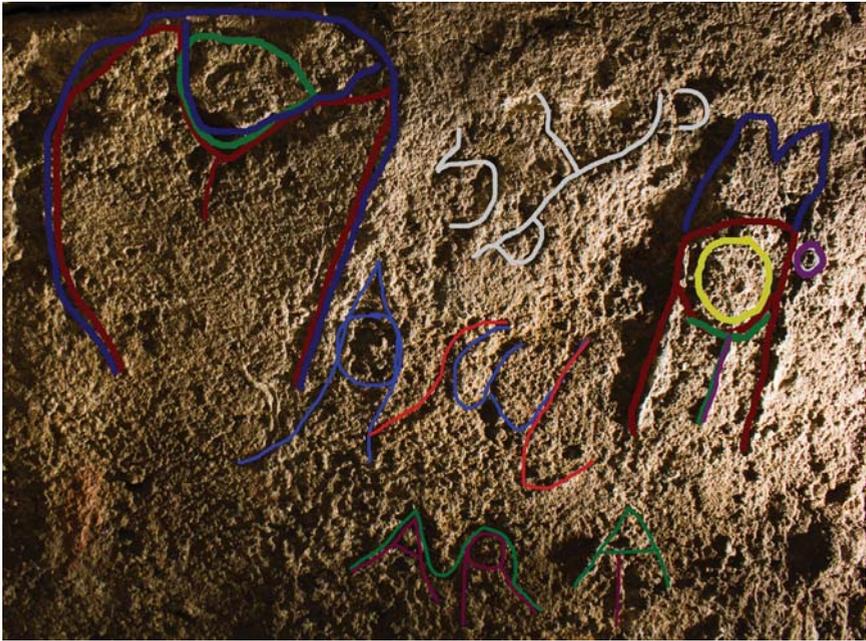


Plate 2. Outline of inscription 1



Plate 3. Inscription 1.1



Plate 4. Inscription 3

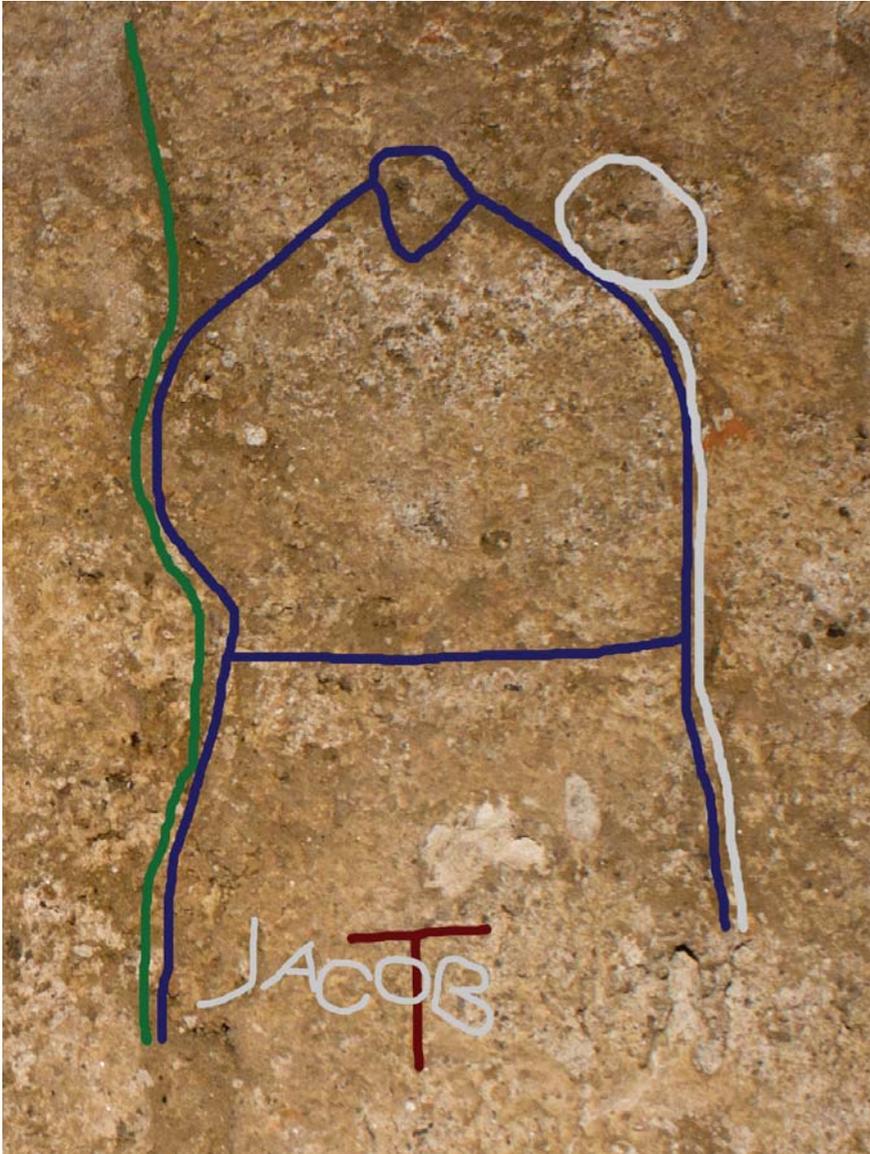


Plate 5. Outline of inscription 3

THE WAY OF ST. JAMES: RENEWING INSIGHTS

EDS. ENRIQUE ALARCÓN, PIOTR ROSZAK

PAMPLONA 2017

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Polish Pilgrimages to Santiago de Compostela in the Light of Spanish Archival Resources*

Introduction

A number of historiographical, cultural and religious studies¹ have investigated Polish participation in the tradition of pilgrimages to Santiago de Compostela. Most of them are based on the information gathered from Polish

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¹ Among the most important studies are articles in editions such as: *Pielgrzymki w kulturze średniowiecznej Europy. Materiały XIII seminarium mediewistycznego*, ed. J. Wiesiołowski, Poznań 1993; *Peregrinationes. Pielgrzymki w kulturze dawnej Europy*, ed. H. Manikowska, H. Zaremska, Warszawa 1995; *Kult św. Jakuba Większego Apostoła w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej*, ed. Ryszard Knapiński, Lublin 2002; *Camino de Santiago, nie tylko droga*, ed. P. Roszak, Toruń 2012.

literary (e.g. pilgrims' memoirs and journals²), archeological³ or onomastical⁴ sources.

A much smaller group of works illustrate the history of Polish pilgrimages in the light of the source documents; the lesser number is mainly due to the difficulty of accessing the source materials.⁵ The need to conduct archival research on a large scale has been emphasized by scientists for many years.⁶ This study represents an attempt to fulfill this demand, at least partially.

² Cf. A. Kucharski, *Las peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela a la luz de los relatos polacos (hasta finales del siglo XIX)*, "Itinerarios", 11, 2010, p. 103-20 <http://itinerarios.uw.edu.pl/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/05_Kucharski_Itin-2010-11.pdf> [acces from: 1.11.2016].

³ Cf. A. M. Wyrwa, *Święty Apostoł i ślady pielgrzymowania pątników z ziem polskich do jego "grobu" w Santiago de Compostela*, in: *Mnisi i pielgrzymki w średniowieczu. Ląd na szlakach kulturowych Europy*, ed. M. Brzostowicz and others., Łąd-Poznań, 2007, p. 61-102; id. *Święty Jakub Apostoł: malakologiczne i historyczne ślady peregrynacji z ziem polskich do Santiago de Compostela*, in: *Biblioteka Studiów Lednickich XIII, Seria C, Vol 1*, ed. A. M. Wyrwa and others., Lednica-Poznań 2009.

⁴ Cf. A. Zielińska, *Popularność imienia Jakub w parafiach rzymskokatolickich w Toruniu w XIX i początku XX wieku*, in: *Camino Polaco. Teologia – sztuka – historia – terażniejszość*. Vol 2, ed. P. Roszak, W. Rozynkowski, Toruń, 2015, p. 203-18.

⁵ The most fundamental studies on pilgrimages to Santiago, which contain the results of archival research, can be found in three volumes of, *Las peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela*, ed. L. Vázquez de Parga, J. M. Lacarra, J. Uría Riu, Madrid 1948-49, several chapters of *Historia de la Iglesia de Santiago* by A. López Ferreiro (vol. 1-11, Santiago de Compostela 1898-1909 and articles by J. Guerra Campos published in the journal "Compostellanum" from the years of 1956, 1959 and 1964 (vol. 1, 4, 9). We should also mention J. Vieliard's: *Pèlerins d'Espagne à la fin du Moyen Âge: ce que nous apprennent les sauf-conduits délivrés aux pèlerins par la chancellerie des rois d'Aragon entre 1379 et 1422*, in: *Homenatge a Antoni Rubió i Lluch*, Barcelona 1936, p. 265-300, and her (together with R. Avezou) *Lettres originales de Charles VI conservées aux Archives de la Couronne d'Aragon à Barcelone*, Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes 97, Paris 1936, p. 317-373.

⁶ Cf. J. Wiesiołowski, *Podróże Polaków do Composteli w XIV i XV wieku – stosunki dyplomatyczne i szlachecki model wykształcenia*, in: *Kult św. Jakuba Większego Apostoła w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej*, ed. R. Knapiński, Lublin 2002, p. 208; C. Taracha, *O polskich pielgrzymkach do św. Jakuba*, in: *Camino de Santiago, nie tylko droga*, ed. P. Roszak, Toruń 2012, p. 185-200; M. Wilamowski, *Polscy rycerze w Hiszpanii w latach 1379-1439*, in: *Memoria viva – Studia historyczne poświęcone pamięci Izabeli Skierskiej (1967-2014)*, ed. G. Rutkowska, A. Gąsiorowski, Warszawa-Poznań 2015, p. 548.

1. Typology of written sources for the history of Polish pilgrimages on the way to Santiago

When searching for new information about Polish pilgrimages to Santiago, two types of documentary sources were used: narrative sources (e.g. the journals from the Camino by Nicholas of Popielowo, Eric Lassota and Peter Rindfleisch, historical chronicles, etc.⁷) and documentary evidence. The latter can be divided into that produced by secular and ecclesiastical institutions. Among secular documents, the most interesting are urban registers,⁸ which may contain the testaments of townsmen going on a journey⁹ or copies of the letters of recommendation (*litterae commendatoriae*) issued by local authorities.

The documents of church institutions include copies of letters of recommendation written by priests from the pilgrims' home parishes (fulfilling the requirements for pilgrims leaving for Santiago¹⁰).

The most thoroughly examined Spanish documents are, so far, the safe conducts issued by royal chanceries to those who wanted to cross the borders of their states.¹¹ In addition, one can find information in the archives maintained by ecclesiastical institutions, especially those closely related to the movement of Compostelan pilgrims, in particular the records of persons seeking accommodation in hospitals for *peregrinos*, the most famous of which is the Hospital Real in Santiago de Compostela.¹² A lot of information can also be found in the church documents produced by

⁷ Vide A. Kucharski, *Las peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela a la luz de los relatos polacos (hasta finales del siglo XIX)*, in: "Itinerarios", 11, 2010, pp. 106 and 109, J. Wiesiołowski, *Podróże Polaków do Composteli*, p. 208; H. Manikowska, *Jerozolima – Rzym – Compostela. Wielkie pielgrzymowanie u schyłku średniowiecza*, Wrocław 2008, p. 465-469.

⁸ H. Manikowska, *Z badań nad kultem św. Jakuba na ziemiach polskich – problemy i perspektywy*, in: *Kult św. Jakuba Większego Apostoła w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej*, ed. R. Knapiński, Lublin 2002, p. 12.

⁹ K. Orzechowska-Kowalska, *Pielgrzymi polscy w Santiago de Compostela w latach 1631-1716*, in: "Folia Turistica", 27, 2012, p. 118. Cf. H. Bettin, D. Volksdorf, *Pielgrzymki w testamentach mieszczan stralsundzkich*, in: *Kult św. Jakuba Większego Apostoła w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej*, ed. R. Knapiński, Lublin 2002, p. 211-233.

¹⁰ J. Guerra Campos, *Relación de Peregrinos que vienen a Santiago y llevan Compostela (años 1830-1896)*, in: "Compostellanum", 1, 1956, p. 850.

¹¹ Vide J. Vielliard, *Pèlerins d'Espagne*, Barcelona 1936, p. 265-300, H. Polackówna, *O podróżnikach średniowiecznych z Polski i do Polski*, in: "Miesięcznik Heraldyczny" 16, 5/1937, p. 65-70, and others.

¹² Vide I. Miećka, *Polska a pielgrzymka do Santiago de Compostela na początku epoki nowożytnej*, in: *Kult św. Jakuba Większego Apostoła w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej*, ed. R. Knapiński, Lublin 2002, p. 195-200, K. Orzechowska-Kowalska, *Pielgrzymi polscy*, p. 119-131.

the sanctuaries located on the Camino. It is a well known fact that the Cathedral of Santiago did not keep a record of its visitors,¹³ but its archive contains documents that may well offer new information about the Polish tradition of pilgrimage to Santiago (such as, for example, a list of pilgrims who received a certificate confirming their visit to the tomb of St. James, information about alms given, recorded in the files of the Cathedral chapter and so on¹⁴).

2. In search of sources for Polish pilgrims to Camino – the *status quaestionis*

Following the western studies conducted¹⁵ a few years ago, the first ever attempt (to the author's knowledge) was made to find traces of pilgrimages to Santiago in Polish archives. Searching for information about Cracow's voyagers, Kazimiera Orzechowska-Kowalska has done thorough archival research in church and civil archives. She successively examined the registers of parishes dedicated to St. James, records of wills in the city of Cracow between 1427-1862 and 1660-1794, as well as those of Kazimierz, Stradom and Kleparz for the period of 1543-1785, registers of transactions, prenuptial agreements and the settlements of citizens for the years 1660-1794. In addition there were the records of conferred holy orders (diocesan and monastic) from Wawel Cathedral and the Cracow Metropolitan Curia. Nevertheless, the results of this research have failed to provide us with new information about pilgrims from Cracow.¹⁶ Other court and office records may be helpful in identifying the pilgrims, whom from other sources we know to have visited Santiago.¹⁷ These records do not comprise a single source of knowledge about pilgrims, however, because of the telegraphic way they describe the reasons for going on the journey.

¹³ J. Guerra Campos, *Relación de Peregrinos*, p. 849.

¹⁴ J. Guerra Campos, *Relación de Peregrinos*, p. 847(bis)-865(bis), A. López Ferreiro, *Peregrinos extranjeros de quienes se sabe por los Actas Capitulares que fueron socorridos por el Cabildo de Santiago durante el siglo XVII*, in his *Historia de la Iglesia de Santiago*, vol. IX, Appendix XXXIII, Santiago de Compostela 1907, p. 156-167, and his *Nota de los peregrinos, cuya mención consta en las Actas Capitulares*, in: *Historia de la Iglesia de Santiago*, vol. X, Appendix XXIX, Santiago de Compostela 1908, p. 127-137.

¹⁵ Cf., i.a., the above mentioned articles: J. Guerra Campos, *Relación de Peregrinos*, 1956 and H. Bettin, D. Volksdor, *Pielgrzymki w testamentach mieszczan stralsundzkich*, p. 211-233.

¹⁶ K. Orzechowska-Kowalska, *Pielgrzymi polscy*, p. 123-125.

¹⁷ Vide M. Wilamowski, *Polscy rycerze w Hiszpanii*, p. 512-541.

So far – contrary to the suggestions of some Spanish scholars¹⁸ – most of the information on Polish pilgrims to Santiago has come from Spanish archives. Research conducted since the third decade of the twentieth century has allowed us to identify approximately 80 Polish visitors to this country (while only 30 have been identified from other sources).¹⁹

The first scientist to draw attention to the presence of Poles in Spanish sources was Jeanne Vielliard, who researched French-Spanish contacts during the reign of Charles VI in Barcelona's Archivo de la Corona de Aragón [henceforth referred to as ACA]. She examined the registers of the royal chancellery of the Aragonese monarchs covering the period from 1379-1422. As a result of this research, she published an article in 1936 containing a list of travelers that had received a safe conduct allowing them to cross the borders of the kingdom (and in some cases letters of recommendation from neighboring monarchs).²⁰ Based on these studies, in 1917 Hanna Polackówna published an article about medieval Polish travelers, where she mentioned twelve Polish pilgrims who, in her opinion, went on the Camino.²¹ This article formed the basis for all later studies dedicated to Polish pilgrims to Spain. After the Second World War, more archival research on the same material (for the years 1378-1422) was carried out by Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros. She completed the list of travelers taken from J. Vielliard's articles, published in *Las peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela* by Luis Vázquez de Parga, José María Lacarra and Juan Uría Riu.²² The same archival material was studied by the German priest Johann Vincke, who in 1934 and 1963 published the results of his archival research into the years from 1351 to 1420.²³ In 2007 the works of Catalanian researcher Roser Salicrú i Lluch came out,²⁴ studying the pilgrims to Santiago mentioned in ACA from the period 1319-1486. The findings of these researchers have not found their

¹⁸ J. Guerra Campos, *Relación de Peregrinos*, 1956, p. 849.

¹⁹ Cf. C. Taracha, *O polskich pielgrzymkach*, p. 198-200; K. Orzechowska-Kowalska, *Pielgrzymi polscy*, p. 109; M. Wilamowski, *Polscy rycerze w Hiszpanii*, p. 541.

²⁰ J. Vielliard, *Pèlerins d'Espagne*, Barcelona 1936.

²¹ H. Polackówna, *O podróżnikach średniowiecznych*, Warszawa 1937.

²² L. Vázquez de Parga and others, *Las peregrinaciones*, vol. 3, Madrid 1949, p. 29-32.

²³ J. Vincke, *Geleitbriefe für deutsche Pilger in Spanien*, in: *Wallfahrt und Volkstum in Geschichte und Leben*, ed. G. Schreiber, Düsseldorf 1934. Idem, *Europäische Reisen um 1400 im Spiegel aragonischer Empfehlungen und Geleitbriefe*, in: "Medium Aevum Romanicum. Festschrift für Hans Rheinfelder", ed. H. Bihler, A. Noyer-Weidner, München 1963. This book, as well as the article by R. Salicrú i Lluch mentioned below, were unknown to Polish scientific literature until the publication of M. Wilamowski, *Polscy rycerze w Hiszpanii*, pp. 508 and 510-511.

²⁴ R. Salicrú i Lluch, *Caballeros cristianos en el Occidente europeo e islámico*, in: "Das kommt mir spanisch vor". *Eigenes und Fremdes in den deutsch-spanischen Beziehungen des späten Mittelalters*, ed. K. Herbers, N. Jaspert, Münster 2004, p. 217-289. Eadem, *Galicia i Granada: pelegri-natge i exercici de cavalleria en terres ibèriques i musulmanes occidentals a la Baixa Edat Mitjana*,

way into Polish scientific literature. We relied on the article by Maciej Wilamowski about Polish knights traveling through Spain²⁵ (as well as the work of Bohumil Baďura dedicated to Czech travelers²⁶) to partially verify the information provided by H. Polaczkówna. This Polish historian, basing himself on information provided by J. Vincke, R. Salicru i Lluch, his own archival research (in the archive of Aragon, in November 2014), and the results of a broad literature search, has raised the number of medieval Polish travelers to Spain (mentioned in Spanish sources) to 18.²⁷

In addition to the records of secular chanceries, I have analyzed a part of the documentation related to the activity of the institutions guiding pilgrims to Santiago. During my research, I obtained, among other information, the original list of pilgrims admitted to the Hospital of San Juan in Oviedo between the years 1795-1803, currently stored in the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid [hereinafter: AHN] (previously published in *Las peregrinaciones*²⁸). Unfortunately, it contains no information about Polish travelers. The same goes for the list of pilgrims (stored in the same archive) that were served in the Cathedral of San Salvador in Oviedo during the years 1787-88.²⁹ In 1973, the researcher María Teresa García Campello published the results of a query of the records of people admitted to the Hospital Real between 1630 and 1660, stored in the Archivo Histórico de la Universidad de Santiago de Compostela [hereinafter: AHUS]. The publication does not mention any Poles.³⁰ Georges Provost, who at the beginning of the twenty-first century examined the same sources for the period 1655-1701, found evidence of 18 Polish pilgrims who stayed in the Hospital.³¹ In 2012, the already mentioned K. Orzechowska-Kowalska published the results of a query carried out on the same material with the help of Angeles Novoa Gomez. In this case the date range was from 1631 to 1716, and the study revealed a total of 42 (or 39, due to uncertain identification) Poles who benefited from this institution.³² A similar study was carried

in: *El camí de Sant Jaume i Catalunya*, Barcelona 2007, p. 163-177 (cited after M. Wilamowski, *Polscy rycerze w Hiszpanii*, p. 511).

²⁵ M. Wilamowski, *Polscy rycerze w Hiszpanii*, p. 502-548.

²⁶ B. Baďura, *Styky mezi českým královstvím a Španělskem ve středověku*, in: "Táborský archiv" 7/1995-1996, p. 26-49 (cited after M. Wilamowski, *Polscy rycerze w Hiszpanii*, p. 509).

²⁷ M. Wilamowski, *Polscy rycerze w Hiszpanii*, p. 541.

²⁸ L. Vázquez de Parga and others., *Las peregrinaciones*, tom 3, p. 91-108.

²⁹ Cf. R. J. López, *Peregrinos Jacobeos en Oviedo a finales del siglo XVIII*, in: "Cuadernos de Estudios Gallegos", Tomo XXXIX, Fascículo 104, Santiago 1999, p. 141.

³⁰ M. T. García Campello, *Enfermos y peregrinos en el Hospital Real de Santiago durante el siglo XVII (De 1630 a 1660-Libros de ingreso de enfermos)*, in: "Compostellanum", 18, 1973, p. 5-40.

³¹ The results of his archival research was announced by I. Mieck in the above mentioned article, cf. supra.

³² K. Orzechowska-Kowalska, *Pielgrzymi polscy*, p. 120.

out in the same hospital for the years 1802-1806 and 1807-1825,³³ as well as in the Hospital del Buen Suceso in Coruña, for the years of 1696-1800³⁴ (in the registers of its patients), and in the hospital in the town of Cervera, in Catalonia, for the period of 1426-1493 (in the account registers of the institution).³⁵ There was no mention of Polish travelers in these sources, although there were quite a few pilgrims from other countries, especially France, Portugal, Italy and Germany.³⁶

Another group of documents are those related to institutions of a strictly ecclesiastical character. In his monumental work on the history of the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela, Antonio López Ferreiro published excerpts from the chapter records on the pilgrims to St. James' Cathedral who asked for alms between the years 1677-1777. A dozen Poles were listed among them.³⁷ The chapter records are stored in the Archivo Catedralicio de Santiago de Compostela [hereinafter: ACS]. In the 50s, another outstanding researcher, José Guerra Campos, found documents in the same archive related to the registration of pilgrims that wanted to acquire a certificate confirming their visit to the tomb of St. James. He discussed these documents in several articles.³⁸ There were no Poles in the list of travelers he published.

In light of the above findings, we can assume that there are no more than 70 Polish travelers recorded in Spanish sources. However, this number does not cover the corteges of knights traveling to Spain in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries

³³ O. Tavoni, *Indagine statistica e valutazione dei pellegrini accolti nell' Hospital Real di Santiago tra il 1802 e il 1806 secondo un manoscritto sconosciuto*, in: *Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi. Il Pellegrinaggio a Santiago de Compostela e la Letteratura Jacopea (Perugia, 23-25 de septiembre de 1983)*, Perugia 1985, p. 199-218, E. Martínez Rodríguez, *La peregrinación jacobea en la primera mitad del siglo XIX: Aspectos cuantitativos*, in: "Compostellanum", 36, 1991, p. 401-426.

³⁴ P. Barreiro Barreiro, *Relación de peregrinos a Santiago que recibieron asistencia en el Hospital del Buen Suceso de La Coruña desde 1696 a 1800*, in: "Compostellanum", 11, 1966, p. 725-752.

³⁵ F. X. Rivera Sentís, *Pelegrins al seu pas per l'hospital cerverí de Berenguer de Castelltort (1426-1493)*, in: *El camí de Sant Jaume i Catalunya: actes del Congrés Internacional celebrat a Barcelona, Cervera i Lleida, els dies 16, 17 i 18 d'octubre de 2003*, Barcelona 2007, p. 157-161 (cited after M. Wilamowski, *Polscy rycerze w Hiszpanii*, p. 503).

³⁶ Cf. M. T. García Campello, *Enfermos y peregrinos*, p. 25-29; E. Martínez Rodríguez, *La peregrinación jacobea*, pp. 411-417, 423-425.

³⁷ A. López Ferreiro, *Peregrinos extranjeros*, p. 156-167, and *Nota de los peregrinos*, p. 127-137.

³⁸ J. Guerra Campos, *Relación de Peregrinos*, 1956, and *Relación de Peregrinos que vienen a Santiago y llevan Compostela (años 1830-1896). Continuación*, in: "Compostellanum", 4, 1959, pp. 327-330; and *Relación de Peregrinos a quienes se dio Compostela en los años de 1833 a 1845*, in: "Compostellanum", 9, 1964, p. 281-304.

? centuries, which often go unmentioned in the documents (bearing in mind that each group might have anything from a few people up to a dozen)³⁹.

3. Polish pilgrims on the Camino de Santiago – assumptions and limitations

In the Polish source literature the most frequently quoted theories are those of H. Polackówna⁴⁰ and I. Mieck (based on the archival research conducted by J. Viel-liard, G. Provost and A. Lopez Ferreiro).⁴¹ As part of a grant dedicated to research on Polish pilgrims on the Way of St. James, I was twice able to conduct research in Spanish archives.⁴² That allowed me to verify previous poorly discussed findings, mentioned above, as well as to look for new documents stored in those archives.⁴³

³⁹ Cf. H. Polackówna, *O podróżnikach średniowiecznych*, p. 70, Wilamowski, *Polscy rycerze w Hiszpanii*, p. 529.

⁴⁰ H. Polackówna, *O podróżnikach średniowiecznych*.

⁴¹ I. Mieck, *Polska a pielgrzymka do Santiago de Compostela*.

⁴² During two stages of archival research (first one conducted in May 2015, the second – in January 2016), I examined documents stored in following archives: ACA, AHN, Archivo Municipal in Oviedo, AHUS and ACS.

⁴³ During my stay in Barcelona I conducted archival research in selected ACA royal registers that cover the period from 1379 to 1415, the years of reign of Peter IV of Aragón (1336-1387), John I of Aragón (1387-1396), Martin the Humane (1396-1410), Ferdinand I of Aragón (1412-1416) and Alfonso the Magnanimous (1416-1458) (document signatures: ACA, Cancillería, Registros, núm. 1264, 1658, 1659, 2243, 2179, 2180, 2385, 2387, 2388, 2389 and ACA, Cancillería, Pergaminos extra inventarios de Fernando I).

Most of the documentation related to the ecclesiastical institutions and the movement of pilgrims in Oviedo is now stored in the AHN. During my two visits to the archive, I conducted a query in the archival section dedicated to the city of Oviedo, including a list of pilgrims admitted to the Hospital de San Juan in Oviedo, published in *Las peregrinaciones and Santiago de Compostela* (L. Vázquez de Parga *et al.*, *Las peregrinaciones*, vol 3, p. 91-108). On that occasion I came across one lost page from the register of pilgrims for September, 1803 (vide *ibid.*, p. 108). Another important source I had the opportunity to explore was the list of pilgrims who received assistance in the Cathedral of San Salvador in Oviedo, in 1788. Unfortunately, none of those documents reported the presence of Poles. Following the evidence of Polish travels to Spain in the registers of safe conducts issued by the royal chancery of the Kingdom of Aragón, I found the books of the Royal Council of Castile, containing information on passports and permits to cross the borders of the Kingdom of Castile (so called, “Libros de passo” signature: AHN, Consejos de la Cámara de Castilla, Libros núm. 635-638). In the period between 1622 and 1710, no pilgrims from Poland were registered (despite the presence of travelers from other countries). There are, however, documents concerning, among others, a Polish internuncio traveling to Spain in 1635 and the Polish king Augustus II the Strong (as a recipient of horses sent to him by the Duke of Bejar, cf. related documents, signature: AHN, Consejos, Libro núm. 639, fol. 94r).

The information obtained was subsequently subjected to historical and linguistic analysis in order to produce a reliable list of people of Polish origin or nationality visiting the tomb of St. James over the centuries.⁴⁴

In Santiago de Compostela, in the archives of AHUS and ACS, I examined the admissions to the Hospital Real of Santiago for the years 1663-1679 (signature: AHUS, HR Enfermos, Libros núm. 8-14), verifying the results of research carried out by G. Provost and K. Orzechowska. I managed to find a majority of pilgrims indicated by my predecessors; some of them, however, seem to be of non-Polish origin. Following in the footsteps of A. López Ferreira, I conducted a query in selected files of the St. James Cathedral chapter's records, looking for a document that was a source for his *Historia*. Furthermore, I gave a similar perusal to the archive material that formed the basis for the publication *Noticia de los Peregrinos que llevan Compostela* of J. Guerra Campos. This allowed me to find several previously unknown Polish pilgrims.

In each of above mentioned archives, I browsed through the documents that might be relevant to the history of the pilgrimage to the tomb of St. James – those related to the hospitals and other institutions devoted to aiding the poor and needy (e.g. providing a list of their expenses) and public institutions set up to register or supervise contacts with foreigners. Therefore, I made the following documents the subject of my examination: in Barcelona – the registers of the Royal Chancery for the so-called “Jubilee years”, 1434 and 1445 (ACA, Cancillería, Registros, núm. 2761, 2762, 2845, 3276), in Madrid – records of expenditures of the Hospital de San Juan y Santiago in Oviedo (AHN, Clero, Papeles, Legajo núm. 5224), permits to beg for alms granted by the king to the Dominican Order in Oviedo between the sixteenth and nineteenth century (AHN, Clero, Papeles, Legajo núm. 5205), a list of donations at some hospital for the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, documents related to the Cathedral of San Salvador in Oviedo (AHN, Clero, Papeles, Legajo núm. 5138), settlement applications and the index of foreigners (AHN, Consejos de Castilla 1ª Series, Legajo núm. 12871), documents of the congregation of foreigners and exiles (AHN, Consejos de Castilla 1ª Series, Legajo núm. 12621), documents related to foreigners (AHN, Consejos de Castilla 1ª Series, Legajo núm. 12856), permits to apply for alms (AHN, Consejos de Castilla 1ª Series, Legajo núm. 12640, 5-6); in Santiago – the registers of admissions to the Hospital Real in the years 1807-1825 (AHUS, H.R. Enfermos, Libro núm. 286) and 1911-1912 (AHUS, H.R. Enfermos, Libro núm. 173-176), as well as documents related to the activities of the Hospital San Roque y San Miguel in Santiago de Compostela (ACS, H 18, H 44, H 46). Some of the documents reviewed indeed contained information about foreigners coming to or staying in Spain. There were not, however, no Polish citizens recorded (despite the presence of Hungarians, for example). The open question remains the identity of people whose nationality can not be demonstrated on the basis of the information given, for example, the case of a pilgrim, whose “name could not be understood because his language was unknown” (signature: AHUS, H.R. Enfermos, Libro núm. 286, fol. 6r, with the date of 10 V 1807).

⁴⁴ In the case of ecclesiastical sources, sometimes the information about the origin of the pilgrim contained only the name of his ancestral village. The majority of those records were related to Spanish pilgrims, but some of the foreigners were also described in this way. In medieval documents one can usually find place-related nicknames. When the sources report the first and/or last name of the pilgrim, one needs to have knowledge of the paleography, orthography and anthroponymy of both the Polish and Spanish languages. On repeated occasions it was necessary to conduct additional onomastic and toponomastic research. The first reference source was *Słownik Geograficzno-Historyczny ziem polskich w Średniowieczu (Historical-Geographic Dictionary of Polish Lands in the Middle Ages)*, *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych kra-*

There are a few severe difficulties when trying to establish the identification of a pilgrim. Some of them are obvious, such as access to the medieval or (in some cases) modern documents, the state of preservation of those documents and their legibility. The other, maybe even greater obstacle, is the limited range of information contained in the source material. While the historical documents issued by royal chanceries in the Middle Ages (which can be found in the ACA and AHN) mostly record the name, nickname, origin, purpose of journey, and sometimes even the profession of the newcomer,⁴⁵ the registers of the most recently searched ecclesiastical institutions (those stored in AHUS, ACS and AHN) give only the name and nationality (or origin, e.g. the city). There are cases when the only information given about the traveler is his name,⁴⁶ and sometimes even that is missing – instead, only his nationality and/or status is indicated.⁴⁷

ów słowiańskich (*Geographical Dictionary of the Kingdom of Poland and other Slavic Countries*), a multi-volume publication of *Nazwy Miejskowe Polski. Historia. Pochodzenie. Zmiany* (*Place names of Poland. History. Origin. Changes*) and *Staropolski Słownik Nazw Osobowych* (*Dictionary of Old Polish Personal Names*).

A notable fact is the frequent appearance of names of a Polish or Slavic origin in Spanish anthroponomastics. An example is the name “Stanislaw”, in Castilian *Estanislao*, which seems to have been quite popular in eighteenth and nineteenth century Spain, as seen in the list of pilgrims that received assistance in the Cathedral of San Salvador in Oviedo, dated on October 23, 1788, with the following content: *Estanislao Clero y su muger de el Obispado de Astorga para Santhiago* (signature: AHN, Clero, Regular-Secular, Papeles, Legajo núm. 5134, fol. 5r) and a record from Hospital Real registers, dated August 11, 1911, *Estanislao Freixa natural y vecino de Os provincia de Lerida, de 23 anos (...) hijo de Jacinto y de Concepción*, (signature: AHUS, H.R. Enfermos, Libro núm. 174, fol. 65v). Another difficulty is false similarities between certain personal names with different origins. This is the case of the name *Zabala* listed in one of the documents in ACS (record from April 1, 1871: *Matias Zabala de Villoslada*, signature: ACS, IG 380, Cuaderno núm. 2, fol. 18v). Although it resembles the Polish surname “Zabała” (cf. e.g. S. Gala, *Polskie nazwy osobowe z podstawowym -l-/-ł- w części sufiksalnej*, in: *Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Folia Linguistica*, Łódź, 1985, p. 310), it is, in fact, a common Basque ancestral name, widespread even in South America (vide e.g. A. García Berro, *Sobre el apellido “Zabala” o “Zavala”*, in: “*Boletín de filología*,” vol. 7, Montevideo 1953, p. 521-527).

⁴⁵ E.g. a safe-conduct from July 15, 1409, issued in Barcelona (signature: ACA, Cancillería, Registros, núm. 2215, fol. 160r), for Jan of Grabie (vide M. Wilamowski, *Polscy rycerze w Hiszpanii*, p. 525 et seq.): *Joannes de Grauo, miles regni Polonie* (throughout this article when quoting the source documents, I use the original manuscript notation, without changing its transcription, other than the expansion of abbreviations).

⁴⁶ Cf. the registers of pilgrims admitted to the Hospital Real in Santiago de Compostela stored in AHUS, and the record from July 18, 1677 (signature: AHUS, H. R. Enfermos, Libro núm. 14, fol. 20 r): *una enferma llamada Polonia*.

⁴⁷ E.g. the documents containing a note about *un sacerdote polaco* (with date of 5 V 1716, signature: ACS, Actas Capitulares, Libro núm. 48, fol. 355r; cf. the record from 17 XII 1733, signature: ACS, Actas Capitulares, Libro núm. 51, fol. 320r), or about *un religioso polaco* (from 30 I 1776, signature: ACS, Actas Capitulares, Libro núm. 58, fol. 178v), or even about *un sacer-*

The first difficulty has to do with establishing the country of origin of the pilgrim. The geographical knowledge of Western Europeans was not always sufficient for properly locating small towns or even countries on the eastern edges of the continent. In the Middle Ages the origin of the inhabitants of Central Europe was frequently determined by referring to the place in which where they were currently on duty, as happened with Polish knights, who were counted among the Hungarians, Germans or Czechs.⁴⁸ It is also not easy to prove the Polish national identity of travelers in the modern era. One has to remember that the territorial borders of Poland changed several times between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, and during this period it was a truly multiethnic state.⁴⁹ In the source documents we also find references to travelers coming from Polish lands, which at that time were occupied by foreign countries.⁵⁰ Since a definition of “Pole” is extremely difficult to establish for these times,⁵¹ for the purposes of this study I have accepted the criterion of territorial origin, recognizing people coming from all areas of the Polish state as having Polish nationality, in the form in which that state existed during the indicated

dote peregrino (from 11 XII 1709, cf. A. López-Ferreiro, *Historia de la Iglesia de Santiago*, vol. X, Appendix XXIX, Santiago de Compostela 1908, p. 128).

⁴⁸ e.g. a safe conduct issued for Stanisław of Wrocimowice, Świętosław of Szubin from the family of Pałuka, Klemens of Morsko and Jakub Cztań (vide M. Wilamowski, *Polscy rycerze w Hiszpanii*, p. 511-514), published in Barcelona on April 15, 1379, by the royal chancery of the Kingdom of Aragón; the three were described as coming “from Germany”, *de alamanja* (signature: ACA, Cancillería, Registros, núm. 1264, fol. 94r). Another is the document issued for Jan Pilik and Paweł of Radzanów (vide M. Wilamowski, *Polscy rycerze w Hiszpanii*, p. 515-517) on May 10, 1380, in Hostalric, in which they appear under the name of *militēs vngarij* (signature: ACA, Cancillería, Registros, núm. 1659, fol. 32v), although in the safe conduct produced for them six months earlier, in Perpignan, they were described as “knights from Poland”, *militēs (...)* *palonje* (signature: ACA, Cancillería, Registros, núm. 1658, fol. 107r-107v). Cf. H. Polackówna, *O podróżnikach średniowiecznych*, p. 66.

⁴⁹ Cf. the record from the Hospital Real registers dated August 6, 1677, noting an admission for Fiodor of Łapa Nowa (or even Łapanów, Łapanowo?), probably a place located in the land of the historical White Russia: *Hyodoro (...) vecino del lugar lapa noua ... dela prouincia de rrusia blanca, rreino de palonia* (signature: AHUS, H. R. Enfermos, Libro núm. 14, fol. 31r) or the Santiago de Compostela chapter documents proving that alms were given to 2 travelers from Prussia, on September 9, 1731 (signature: ACS, Actas Capitulares, Libro núm. 51, fol. 195v), *dos peregrinos de Prucia*, as well as for 3 priests from Lithuania, on March 10, 1766 (cf. A. López-Ferreiro, *Historia de la Iglesia de Santiago*, vol. X, Appendix XXIX, Santiago de Compostela 1908, p. 134), *tres sacerdotes de Lituania*.

⁵⁰ Cf. the Santiago de Compostela cathedral chapter document from 1884 listing a certain Maciej Koziar (?) (signature: ACS, IG 380, Cuaderno núm. 2, fol. 49r), described as *Matias Koziar Austriaco*.

⁵¹ Cf. e.g. Janusz Tazbir, *Język polski a tożsamość narodowa*, in: “Nauka”, 2/2011, ed. J. Brzeziński, p. 7-16.

centuries (including the territories that were under occupation during the so-called Partitions of Poland).

The second important issue is the definition of the pilgrim himself. The problem of pilgrims and the pilgrimage has been known to science for a long time. The main criterion for being termed a *peregrinus* is generally held to be the motivation of the traveler.⁵² The documents issued by the institutions associated with the Way of St. James can themselves serve as proof of pilgrim status. For instance, to obtain permission to enter a hospital for pilgrims or to ask for alms in the churches situated on the Camino route, one had to present a document, which would confirm the traveler's intention or the fact of having made the pilgrimage to St. James's tomb (for example, a letter of recommendation from the pastor of the traveler's place of origin, or a so-called *compostella* certificate⁵³). Additionally, in the case of documents issued by the institutions located in Santiago de Compostela, we can also have confidence that the pilgrims in question actually reached the goal of their pilgrimage. On the other hand, the secular archival sources examined (mainly the safe conducts issued by royal chanceries while crossing kingdom borders) do not give insight into the motivation of the individual traveler,⁵⁴ and hence the researcher should focus on information about the pilgrim's plans to visit Santiago de Compostela⁵⁵ or declaring his return from the city.⁵⁶

⁵² Cf. A. K. Ropińska, Z. Podgórski, *Profil współczesnego turysty pielgrzymkowego*, in: "Journal of Education, Health and Sport", 5/9, 2015, p. 227-228; P. Różycki, *Kilka uwag o turystyce i pielgrzymowaniu*, in: "Folia Turistica", 27, 2012, p. 161-176; A. Wartecka-Ważyńska, J. Sikora, *Wybrane społeczne uwarunkowania uczestnictwa młodzieży w turystyce religijnej w świetle badań empirycznych*, in: "Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego. Ekonomiczne Problemy Usług", 65, 2011, p. 191-204.

⁵³ A common name on the certificate proving that the pilgrim had completed the pilgrimage to the tomb of St. James (cf. J. Guerra Campos, *Relación de Peregrinos*, 1956, p. 849-850(bis), E. Martínez Rodríguez, *La peregrinación jacobea*, p. 403).

⁵⁴ So far there has been no evidence of the existence of any diaries or itineraries written by the travelers mentioned in any of the archival sources examined (although there are a few well known relations from trips to Santiago made in the past, e.g. those of Mikołaj of Popielów, Jerzy and Stanisław Radziwił, etc., cf. A. Kucharski, *Las peregrinaciones a Santiago*, pp. 106 i 108).

⁵⁵ E.g. the safe conduct issued for the already mentioned Stanisław of Wrocimowice, Świętosław of Szubin from the family of Pałuka, Klemens of Morsko and Jakub Cztan, issued on April 15, 1379 in Barcelona by the royal chancery of the Kingdom of Aragón (signature: ACA, Cancillería, Registros, núm. 1264, fol. 94r), which reads as follows: *vehementes ad beatum jacobum*.

⁵⁶ However, the lack of such information does not necessarily prove that the visit to Santiago did not take place, cf. the safe conduct for Jan Pilik and Paweł of Radzanów (vide M. Wilamowski, *Polscy rycerze w Hiszpanii*, p. 515-517), issued on January 2, 1380 in Perpignan, (signature: ACA, Cancillería, Registros, núm. 1658, fol. 107r-107v), which notes: *ad partes Castelle (...) secuturos*, as well as the other document produced for them on April 10, 1380 in Hostalric, providing in-

4. Polish pilgrims on the Camino de Santiago – research results

As mentioned above,⁵⁷ the starting point for the verification of the results of archival queries had to be their paleographic notation. In a few cases, as it turned out, an incorrect reading of the text had led to the wrong determination of the place of origin of the pilgrims. This is the case of the knight Paweł Złodziej, with the Niesobia coat of arms.⁵⁸ H. Polaczkówna, based on the textual reading made earlier by J. Viel-liard – with the word form *Piliconis* – identified him as the knight Paweł Pilik, son of John,⁵⁹ the pilgrim who had made a trip to Compostela in 1380.⁶⁰ The nickname Pilik found in the document issued for this John was written as *Pellich* and *Pillich*, while the documents from 1404 present the reading *Pericouiz*,⁶¹ which disproves Polaczkówna's theory. The correct identification of the knight was provided by M. Wilamowski in his much-quoted article.⁶² He also drew attention to the groundlessness of the theory about the transmission of the tradition of pilgrimage to Santiago from father to son in the chivalrous context of Mazowsze, as postulated by some scholars.⁶³

A similar error occurred in identifying the place of origin of Benes of Dubé,⁶⁴ for whom on October 4, 1399 the Royal Chamber of the Kingdom of Aragon issued two safe conducts.⁶⁵ In the list of pilgrims published in *Las peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela* he was mistakenly identified as *Benessisio de Duba del regno*

formation about their return from Santiago (signature: ACA, Cancillería, Registros, núm. 1659, fol. 32v): *de Sancto Jacobo Galliciae venientes* (vide footnote nr 48).

⁵⁷ Vide footnote nr 44.

⁵⁸ Vide M. Wilamowski, *Polscy rycerze w Hiszpanii*, p. 519-521.

⁵⁹ H. Polaczkówna, *O podróżnikach średniowiecznych*, p. 68.

⁶⁰ Vide footnotes nrs 48 and 56.

⁶¹ With the first syllable abbreviated: *p(er)icouiz*. The above mentioned documents are indeed safe conducts issued by the royal chancery of the Kingdom of Aragón on September 20 and 21, 1404, in Barcelona (signatures: ACA, Cancillería, Registros, núm. 2179, fol. 104v-105r, and ACA, Cancillería, Registros, núm. 2179, fol. 105r).

⁶² Vide footnote nr 58.

⁶³ e.g. M. Wilska, *Mazowieccy pielgrzymi do Composteli*, in: *Pielgrzymki w kulturze średniowiecznej Europy. Materiały XIII seminarium mediewistycznego*, ed. J. Wiesiołowski, Poznań 1993, p. 57-61. A. Supruniuk, *Pielgrzymi i pielgrzymki z Mazowsza w średniowiecznej Europie*, in: eadem, *Szkice o rycerstwie mazowieckim XIV/XV wieku*, Toruń 2008, p. 117-142. For a detailed bibliography vide M. Wilamowski, *Polscy rycerze w Hiszpanii*, p. 520.

⁶⁴ A correct identification of this traveler was proposed by B. Baďura, *Styky mezi českým královstvím*, p. 32 (cited after: M. Wilamowski, *Polscy rycerze w Hiszpanii*, p. 509).

⁶⁵ Signature: ACA, Cancillería, Registros, núm. 2243 fol. 14v and 15r.

de Bolonia.⁶⁶ Based on this information I. Mieck proposed that this pilgrim was of Polish origin, seeing in *Bologna* the mangled name of Poland, *Polonia*.⁶⁷ The manuscript, however, presents the reading *Regno de Boemja* and *regni boemje*, which together with the Czech origin of the name of the traveler⁶⁸ means his hypothesis is unfounded.

The other kind of error was the result of the variation of proper names – e.g. the forms Paszek, Paszko and Paweł are three versions of the same name, i.e. Paweł (Paul). H. Polackówna (and almost all later scientists dealing with the theme of Polish pilgrimages⁶⁹) made a mistake in concluding that Paszek, who appears in the document ACA issued in January 1380,⁷⁰ and Paweł of Radzanów, whose name was written in the safe conduct emitted in June of the same year,⁷¹ were two different people – despite the fact that both traveled in the same band as the already mentioned Jan Pilik⁷².

⁶⁶ L. Vázquez de Parga et al., *Las peregrinaciones*, vol. 3, Madrid 1949, p. 32. The list was made on the basis of J. Vieliard's archival research, cf. *ibid*.

⁶⁷ I. Mieck, *Polska a pielgrzymka do Santiago de Compostela*, p. 189.

⁶⁸ Cf. e.g. Miroslava Knappová, *O příjmeních v českých zemích*, in: "Folia Onomastica Croatica 12-13", Zagreb 2003-2004, p. 277.

⁶⁹ Cf. e.g. J. Wiesiołowski, *Podróże Polaków do Composteli*, p. 204-205 and C. Taracha, *O polskich pielgrzymkach*, p. 198.

⁷⁰ Safe conduct issued on January 2, 1380 in Perpignan (signature: ACA, Cancillería, Registros, núm. 1658, fol. 107r-107v): *pellich et pasque milites partium palonje*.

⁷¹ Document emitted on May 10, 1380 in Hostalric (signature: ACA, Cancillería, Registros, núm. 1659, fol. 32v): *Johannes pilich et paulus de rasonof milites vngarij*.

⁷² Vide M. Wilamowski, *Polscy rycerze w Hiszpanii*, p. 515. In the same article, the author proved the foreign origin of a few other travelers, considered Poles up to now, for example Giacomo di Valvasone, an Italian, was described by H. Polackówna as Jakub of Fulsztyn and listed among Polish pilgrims (M. Wilamowski, *Polscy rycerze w Hiszpanii*, p. 522-525; cf. H. Polackówna, *O podróżnikach średniowiecznych*, p. 67-69; C. Taracha, *O polskich pielgrzymkach*, p. 198, L. Przybylska, I. Sołjan, *Polish Pilgrimages to Santiago De Compostela. Ways of St. James in Poland*, in: "GeoJournal of Tourism and Geosites", vol. 6/2, 2010, p. 213), as well as Ctibor of Libiše, of Czech origin, who in the source literature was described as Šcibor of Šciborzyce, a Pole (M. Wilamowski, *Polscy rycerze w Hiszpanii*, p. 509, cited after: B. Baďura, *Styky mezi českým královstvím*; cf. H. Polackówna, *O podróżnikach średniowiecznych*, p. 66-67, C. Taracha, *O polskich pielgrzymkach*, p. 198, where he appears under the name of Czcibor of Czcibozyce). Taking into account the research of J. Vincke and R. Salicrú i Lluç, M. Wilamowski demonstrated the presence of a few unknown Polish travelers in source material of ACA, among others, of Albert Szyszka (?) (June 23, 1401, Burjassot, signature: ACA, Cancillería, Registros, núm. 2168, 92v-93r; cf. *ibid.*, p. 517), Wincenty Świdwic of Szamotoły (February 25, 1418, Valencia, signature: ACA, Cancillería, Registros, núm. 2563, fol. 104r-104v; cf. *ibid.*, p. 528-529) or Piotr of Kurów and Krzesław Kurozwęcki (June 15, 1425, Saragossa, signature: ACA, Cancillería, Registros, núm. 2788, fol. 15r-15v, cf. *ibid.*, p. 529-531). He also questioned the false identification of a few other pilgrims, performed by H. Polackówna and approved without any verification by her followers

An example of another mistake is the case of Andrzej of Ostrołęka.⁷³ Adam Kucharski lists two men using this name among the pilgrims going to Compostela in the Middle Ages: Andrzej of Ostrołęka and Anrzej Ciołek of Kabaty,⁷⁴ even though H. Polackówna has already shown in earlier studies that Andrzej of Ostrołęka was the knight of the Ciołek coat of arms.⁷⁵ Kabaty (now forming part of the Polish capital, ie. Warsaw) belonged to the Ciołek family.

At times an additional difficulty in the identification of pilgrims occurred because of the similarity of personal names and toponyms occurring in the archival sources. In documents from the Hospital Real in Santiago de Compostela one can easily find *Polonia* or *Pelonia*, which is the Gallician version of the name Apolonia. Most entries apply to people of Spanish origin⁷⁶; in one case, however, we can prove the Polish nationality of a traveler admitted to the hospital, thanks to the place of origin of the pilgrim provided by the registration entry. This is Katarzyna Apolonia

(e.g. Jan of Grabie, who in her opinion was Jan Farurej of Garbów, vide M. Wilamowski, *Polscy rycerze w Hiszpanii*, p. 525-526, por. H. Polackówna, *O podróżnikach średniowiecznych*, p. 69; C. Taracha, *O polskich pielgrzymkach*, p. 198). The article of M. Wilamowski on Polish medieval travelers to Spain is, so far, the most extensive and worthy of consideration.

⁷³ Two safe conducts issued on September 20 and 21, 1404, in Barcelona (signatures: ACA, Cancillería, Registros, núm. 2179, fol. 104v-105r and ACA, Cancillería, Registros, núm. 2179, fol. 105r): *Andreu de ostrolanquj de Regno de polonja*. Of note is the destination of a traveler mentioned in these documents – he wishes to see the sultan of Fez, the emir of Granada and the rulers of Castile and Portugal, and they provide information about a traveler who wants to pass through their lands to “other parts of the world”, *en otras partidas del mundo* – there is no mention, however, of Santiago de Compostela or the Tomb of St. James (cf. M. Wilamowski, *Polscy rycerze w Hiszpanii*, p. 517-518 and p. 544). Despite that, the personage of Andrzej of Ostrołęka, of the Ciołek coat of arms, is generally considered to be the first Polish pilgrim to Santiago, as attested by archival resources – his Compostelan pilgrimage has even been commemorated by the dedication of a special monument, described at: <https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pomnik_pielgrzymki_rycerza_Andrzeja_Ciołka_w_Warszawie> [accessed: 22.01.2017].

⁷⁴ A. Kucharski, *Las peregrinaciones a Santiago*, p. 105, and following him, C. Taracha, *O polskich pielgrzymkach*, p. 198.

⁷⁵ H. Polackówna, *O podróżnikach średniowiecznych*, p. 66.

⁷⁶ Cf., among others, the records of the Hospital Real from August 18, 1677, July 28, 1681, August 15, 1681 and September 5, 1681, respectively, *una enferma llamada Polonia (...) desta ciudad*; *Julio douto (?), marido de Pelonia calbo, vecinos desta ciudad*; *Polonia de nerva*; *Maria R[odrigue]z, Hija de simon (...) y de Polonia R[odrigue]z, vecinos desta ciudad* (signatures: AHUS, H. R. Enfermos, Libro núm. 14, fol. 20r; AHUS, H. R. Enfermos, Libro núm. 15, fol. 277r; AHUS, H. R. Enfermos, Libro núm. 15, fol. 296r and AHUS, H. R. Enfermos, Libro núm. 15, fol. 300r).

Erma (?) who came to Santiago from Cracow⁷⁷ (or maybe from Kalwaria, a village next to it⁷⁸).

The way of writing place names can also lead to mistakes in identifying travelers. The name of the city of Cracow is recorded in the sources in many ways (eg. *Cracouia*⁷⁹, *Cracoua*⁸⁰, *Cracobia*⁸¹, *Caracobia*⁸²). In one case it even appears in the form *Craca Orbia*, although it was misinterpreted as an anthroponym.⁸³ On the other hand, we can find phonetically and visually similar forms, for example *Corcouion*, which, however, designates another city, namely Corcubión in Galicia, Spain.⁸⁴

Further analysis of the records of the Hospital Real is needed for a verification of the full AHUS query results, but I will summarize the material collected up to now.

So far, the only publication presenting a summarized list of Polish pilgrims traveling to Santiago is, so far, the article by Cezary Taracha, entitled “O polskich pielgrzymkach do świętego Jakuba” (i.e. “About the Polish pilgrims to Saint James”), published in Piotr Roszak’s book, “Camino de Santiago – nie tylko droga” (“Camino de Santiago – Not Just the Route”) in 2012.⁸⁵ The author composed this volume using the information found in the Polish source literature, taking into account data collected from archival documents as well as from different narrative sources

⁷⁷ An entry from the Hospital Real registries from August 1, 1664, that reads: *Catalina Polonia Erma (?) ... de la uilla de cracoua aluaria santa En Pelonia* (signature: AHUS, H. R. Enfermos, Libro núm. 9, fol. 68r).

⁷⁸ Cf. K. Orzechowska-Kowalska, *Pielgrzymi polscy*, p. 122.

⁷⁹ Cf. the record from December 2, 1663 about a certain “Stanisław, Polish hermit”: *ynstanislaus polaco ermitaño de polonia vecino de la ciudad de Cracouia* (signature: AHUS, H. R. Enfermos, Libro núm. 8, fol. 374v).

⁸⁰ Cf. the record from August 1, 1644, vide footnote nr 77.

⁸¹ Cf. the records from June 13, 1671, August 3, 1672 and September 17, 1677 with information about the admission of the following people to the Hospital Real: *hestanislaos Clanisque, hixo de martin Clamisque y de Cadiussa guznaossa, difuntos, vecinos dela ciudad de Lipocha, obispado de Cracobia en polonia; Nicolas Telenba (...) de la ciudad de cracobia; Ana Kochimisca ... decracobia en polonia* (signatures: AHUS, H. R. Enfermos, Libro núm. 11, fol. 198v, AHUS, H. R. Enfermos, Libro núm. 12, fol. 85r and AHUS, H. R. Enfermos, Libro núm. 14, fol. 194r).

⁸² Cf. the record from August 26, 1677 about the person described as *Cristina pollaca (...) de la ciudad de caracobia* (signature: AHUS, H. R. Enfermos, Libro núm. 14, fol. 24v).

⁸³ Cf. the record from July 23, 1679 r. proving the admission to the hospital of a certain Anna from Poland, *Ana Ciulia (...) yha de craca orbia, vecina de polonia* (signature: AHUS, H. R. Enfermos, Libro núm. 15, fol. 3r).

⁸⁴ Vide C. A. Molina, *Viaje a la Costa da Morte*, Madrid 2003, p. 229. Cf. the record from the registers of the Hospital Real from July 28, 1663, for a pilgrim called *Maria de Corcouion, hija de (...) uicinos dela uilla de Corcobien* (signature: AHUS, H. R. Enfermos, Libro núm. 8, fol. 300r).

⁸⁵ Vide C. Taracha, *O polskich pielgrzymkach*, p. 198-200.

(diaries, itineraries, etc.).⁸⁶ He lists a total of seventy Poles that likely made a pilgrimage to the tomb of St. James the Greater, with the Spanish archives providing knowledge of about forty-one of them. Unfortunately, the catalog contains a lot of mistakes, copied by the author from the source literature.⁸⁷ For obvious reasons, it does not take into account the results of the archival research conducted in 2012 by K. Orzechowska-Kowalska in AHUS, and in 2014 by M. Wilamowski in ACA. K. Orzechowska-Kowalska, based on her own queries (with the participation of A. Novoa Gomez)⁸⁸ has calculated that there were 39 Polish pilgrims registered in the Real Hospital between 1631-1717 (or forty-two, if the verification of travelers from Gdańsk and Toruń is correct⁸⁹). The catalogue mentioned above states that this source only reported eighteen people.

M. Wilamowski, basing himself on the archival research performed by him and J. R. Vincke, R. Salicrú and Lluçh, identifies the eighteen travelers to Spain mentioned in the documents of ACA,⁹⁰ while the list created by C. Taracha (after rejecting four false identifications reported by M. Wilamowski) only contains ten of them. In addition, this list should take into account at least three members of the cortege of two knights, Piotr Woda of Szczekociny and Piotr of Oporów traveling in 1431, mentioned by name.⁹¹ The ACS provides information about a group of nineteen people, of whom only nine were included in C. Taracha's catalog. The updated

⁸⁶ Among others, the results of the archival research conducted by J. Viellard (*Pèlerins d'Espagne*, cf. *supra*, published in H. Polaczkwówna, *O podróżnikach średniowiecznych*, cf. *supra*, and the publications of her followers, e.g. S. Ciesielska-Borkowska, *Mistycyzm hiszpański na gruncie polskim*, in: "Rozprawy Wydziału Filologicznego" 66/1, 1939; J. Wiesiołowski, *Podróże Polaków do Composteli*, cf. *supra*) and G. Provost (*Les pèlerins accueillis à l'Hospital Real*, cf. *supra*). The latter's conclusions were partially published by I. Mieck in his article *Polska a pielgrzymka do Santiago de Compostela*, cf. *supra*). The information about the narrative sources comes mostly from the article of A. Kucharski (*Las peregrinaciones a Santiago*, cf. *supra*).

⁸⁷ E.g. while confusing the Paweł known from the safe conducts issued by the royal chancery of the Kingdom of Aragón in 1380 (cf. footnotes nr 70 and 71) with Paweł (Paszek) Złodziej ("The Thief") of Biskupice, and, at the same time, omitting the last recipient of the safe conducts issued in 1404 (C. Taracha, *O polskich pielgrzymkach*, p. 198; cf. M. Wilamowski, *Polscy rycerze w Hiszpanii*, pp. 517 i 520), or mentioning the same person twice, i.e. Andrzej of Ostrołęka, of the Ciołek coat of arms, who made a trip in 1404 (vide C. Taracha, *O polskich pielgrzymkach*, p. 198).

⁸⁸ K. Orzechowska-Kowalska, *Pielgrzymi polscy*, p. 120.

⁸⁹ Cf. K. Orzechowska-Kowalska, *Pielgrzymi polscy*, p. 121.

⁹⁰ Cf. M. Wilamowski, *Polscy rycerze w Hiszpanii*, p. 541. The safe conducts issued for two knights in 1431 contains additionally a list of names of all eleven members of their cortege, four of them seem to have Polish origin (cf. *ibid.*, p. 535).

⁹¹ They were: Mikołaj of Twardów, Niemierza of Mikułowice, Piotr Goły (18 VIII 1431, Barcelona, signature: ACA, Cancillería, Registros, núm. 2581, fol. 164v-165v). Vide M. Wilamowski, *Polscy rycerze w Hiszpanii*, p. 535.

list of pilgrims to Santiago recorded by Spanish archival sources should therefore include either seventy-nine or eighty-two people.⁹²

During my research in the Spanish archives, I examined most of the documents mentioned in the source literature. I was able to verify information concerning more than one hundred pilgrims⁹³ and encounter evidence for forty-eight Poles traveling to Spain.⁹⁴ Seven of them explicitly express the desire to perform a pilgrimage to Santiago, or else state that they had been to the sanctuary;⁹⁵ this is in addition to the twenty-seven pilgrims we learn about from the documents issued in Compostela itself.⁹⁶ This allows us to offer a proposed total of thirty-four Polish travelers who definitely visited Santiago de Compostela. The open question remains whether the lack of a written declaration of making the pilgrimage to Santiago during a trip to Spain means that our knights did not hold such documents.⁹⁷

This group of pilgrims includes also six people who are very probably of Polish nationality, among them, one person defining himself as a Silesian⁹⁸ – perhaps com-

⁹² One has to take into consideration, however, that the list still does not include the nameless members of the medieval travelers corteges – their number could vary from few to a dozen people (cf. H. Polackówna, *O podróżnikach średniowiecznych*, p. 70; M. Wilamowski, *Polscy rycerze w Hiszpanii*, pp. 511-512, 531, 535, 543).

⁹³ Vide footnote nr 43.

⁹⁴ In the annex to this article I provide a complete list of the pilgrims, with the archival source data that provided the information about them. There is a lack of a signature for two records, however, i.e. the documents from ACS reporting almsgiving to “three priests from Lithuania” and a “Franciscan from Poland” on, respectively, March 10, 1766 (signature: ACS, Actas Capitulares, Libro núm. 57, cf. A. López Ferreiro, *Nota de los peregrinos*, p. 134) and September 27, 1767 (signature: ACS, Actas Capitulares, Libro núm. 57, cf. A. López Ferreiro, *Nota de los peregrinos*, p. 135).

⁹⁵ It was the group of four knights, who got their safe conduct on April 15, 1379: Świętosław of Szubin, Klemens of Mokrsko, Jakub Cztań, Stanisław of Wrocimowice (in the document produced there is information about the aim of their trip, *ad beatum Jacobum*, signature: ACA, Cancillería, Registros, núm. 1264, fol. 94r), as well as Mściwój, Łabędź coat of arms, with a safe conduct issued on January 2, 1414 r. (who was going to “the Cathedral of St. James”, *versus Basilicam Sancti Jacobi*, signature: ACA, Cancillería, Registros, núm. 2385, fol. 5v), Jan Pilik and Paweł of Radzanów (coming back from the Tomb of St. James, *de sancto Jacobo vehementes*, their safe conduct was given on June 10, 1380, signature: ACA, Cancillería, Registros, núm. 1659, fol. 32v).

⁹⁶ On the basis of the documents stored in AHUS and ACS, cf. the pilgrims list in the annex to this article.

⁹⁷ Cf. M. Wilamowski, *Polscy rycerze w Hiszpanii*, p. 544. Referring to the author’s remarks in the cited article, it is worth noting that over the whole period examined, there were only a few Polish pilgrims that visited Santiago during a “Jubilee year” (in the year 1677, cf. footnote nr 105). This argument should not, therefore, be decisive in discerning the motivation of Polish travelers to Spain.

⁹⁸ Stanisław Alojzy (?) from Silesia, reported in the registers of the Hospital Real on July 6, 1672 (he left the hospital on July 11, 1672, signature: AHUS, H. R. Enfermos, Libro núm. 12, fol. 75 r).

ing from the Duchy of Siewierz or Bytom, two pilgrims from Prussia⁹⁹ – possibly the district called Prusy Królewskie, one person either from Austria or the Polish lands under Austrian rule,¹⁰⁰ another from the Ruś Biała “in the Polish Kingdom”¹⁰¹ and one person from Germany, but with a surname indicating his Polish origin.¹⁰²

Conclusions

Although there is a lot of documentation that has not been properly studied yet, we can nonetheless make some important observations on the nature of Polish pilgrimages to Santiago.

In the light of the Spanish documents the worst represented period of time for this phenomenon turns out to be the sixteenth century. There are no known documents in the Spanish archives that contain a record of Polish travelers on the Way of St. James for this time period (although we have a number of preserved diaries written by Poles at this time, proving that they visited Spain¹⁰³). Spanish sources provide information about, respectively: six Polish pilgrims in the fourteenth century, fifteen in the fifteenth century, thirteen pilgrims in the seventeenth century, ten in the eighteenth century and four who visited Santiago in the nineteenth century.

What is very interesting is the fact that throughout this entire period only one Polish pilgrimage coincided with the so-called “jubilee years,”¹⁰⁴ which, presumably, were attracting more people to the tomb of St. James (it was in the year 1677¹⁰⁵).

⁹⁹ The record of September 9, 1731 from the registers of the cathedral chapter of Santiago de Compostela does not provide any personal details of these pilgrims (signature: ACS, Actas Capitulares, Libro núm. 51, fol. 195v).

¹⁰⁰ Maciej (or Mateusz) Koziar, who arrived to Santiago in 1884 (signature: ACS, Sign. IG 380, Cuaderno núm. 2, fol. 49r).

¹⁰¹ Fiodor from Łapa Nowa (Łapanów, Łapanowo?), registered in the Hospital Real on August 6, 1677 (he left the hospital on September 2, 1677; signature: AHUS, H. R. Enfermos, Libro núm. 14, fol. 31r). Cf. footnotes nrs 49 and 105.

¹⁰² Tomasz Koziel, who was admitted to the Hospital Real on August 3, 1663 (signature: AHUS, H. R. Enfermos, Libro núm. 8, fol. 302r).

¹⁰³ Cf. footnote nr 2.

¹⁰⁴ In the Jubilee Years (also known as Holy Years, or Jacobean Years – i.e. when the 25th of July, the Day of Saint James, falls on Sunday), pilgrims reaching St. James’s tomb are granted a plenary indulgence. The first Holy Year was convened by the Pope Callistus II and held on 1126. The list of Holy Years is available, i.a. in *Historia de la Iglesia de Santiago*, A. López-Ferreiro (ibid. passim).

¹⁰⁵ This year the following people traveled to Santiago: Sebastian Meski, Franciscan (February 23, 1677, signature: ACS, Actas Capitulares, Libro núm. 36, fol. 294r), Krystyna and Dorota from Cracow (August 26 and 27, 1677, signature: AHUS, H. R. Enfermos, Libro núm. 14, fol. 24v), Fiodor from Łapa Nowa (Łapanów, Łapanowo?; August 6, 1677, signature: AHUS, H. R. Enfermos,

As was mentioned above, not all medieval travelers headed directly to Santiago (some did not mention it during the official administrative procedures to allow them to pass through the border of the Spanish kingdoms – which may suggest that it was not the purpose of their journey). There is also no strict connection between their travels and the idea of the so-called Grand Tour, which was characteristic of later ages, because a significant part of the knights made their journey while over twenty years of age.¹⁰⁶ It seems that most of those trips probably had a cultural and educational character and formed an integral part of the travel habits of Europe's elite in this period.¹⁰⁷ The motivation of the travelers of the modern era should be interpreted differently – the archival sources present these people mostly in a way that suggests a low financial status (e.g. a lot of requests for alms have been recorded, with a relatively small number of items declared at entry into the Hospital Real¹⁰⁸). We can thus reject the theory that these travelers were purely interested in tourism. The fact that they benefited from the assistance of institutions closely related to the pilgrim traffic suggests that their journeys had more religious intentions.

Women constituted a minority group among the pilgrims (only five female travelers from Poland are attested), and their visits to Santiago are reflected in documents dating from only the second half of the seventeenth century.¹⁰⁹ In the Aragonese sources of ACA there is a mention of the wives of two Polish knights, Piotr of Szczekociny, and Piotr of Oporów,¹¹⁰ but they did not form part of the cortege of

Libro núm. 14, fol. 31r, cf. footnote nr 49) and Wawrzyniec (?) from Poland (September 17, 1677, signature: AHUS, H. R. Enfermos, Libro núm. 14, fol. 36r). Cf. M. Wilamowski, *Polscy rycerze w Hiszpanii*, p. 544.

¹⁰⁶ A. Kucharski, *Las peregrinaciones a Santiago*, p. 113. Cf. M. Wilamowski, *Polscy rycerze w Hiszpanii*, p. 545-546.

¹⁰⁷ M. Wilamowski, *Polscy rycerze w Hiszpanii*, p. 503.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. e.g. the entry in the records of the Hospital Real concerning Krystyna from Cracow dated on August 26, 1677, that reads: *en dicho dia entro cristina pollaca yha de busei Sorna*, (perhaps Błażej Sarna?), *Iohana pollaca, vecinos de la ciudad caracobia, traho andrahos* (signature: AHUS, H. R. Enfermos, Libro núm. 14, fol. 24v). Similarly, the entry about Anna Kocimska dated on October 28, 1678: *Ana Kochimisca yha de matias Kochimisca y de Cristina kochnisca vecina de cracobia en polonia, trajo andrajos* (signature: AHUS, H. R. Enfermos, Libro núm. 14, fol. 194r).

¹⁰⁹ They were: Katarzyna Polonia Erma (?) (entry in the registry dated on August 1, 1664, signature: AHUS, H. R. Enfermos, Libro núm. 9, fol. 68r, cf. footnote nr 77), Krystyna and Dorota from Cracow (August 26 and 27, 1677, signature: AHUS, H. R. Enfermos, Libro núm. 14, fol. 24v, cf. the footnote above and the footnote nr 105), Anna Kocimska (?) (October 28, 1678, signature: AHUS, H. R. Enfermos, Libro núm. 14, fol. 194r, cf. the footnote above), Anna Ciulia (?) (July 23, 1679, signature: AHUS, H. R. Enfermos, Libro núm. 15, fol. 3r). Cf. K. Orzechowska-Kowalska, *Pielgrzymi polscy*, p. 122.

¹¹⁰ Safe conducts issued in Barcelona on August 20, 1431 for the knights Piotr Woda of Szczekociny and Piotr Oporowski, together with their cortege of eleven persons (cf. footnote nr 90;

their husbands during this journey (the same sources note the presence of married couples of other nationalities on the Camino¹¹¹). There is also a lack of children, although Spanish sources listed some little pilgrims to the Tomb of St. James, including some of foreign origin.¹¹²

Two medieval pilgrims were certainly married (the above mentioned Piotr of Szczekociny and Piotr of Oporów),¹¹³ and from other sources we know about two more.¹¹⁴ Unfortunately, we are unable to determine the status of pilgrims during the Modern era. The registers of the Hospital Real mostly give the parents' names of foreigners, and we only have spouse names in the records on Spaniards. However, the same sources provided information on six Polish clergy.¹¹⁵

As I mentioned earlier, in the Middle Ages, long journeys to Compostela were strictly the province of well off knights, however it was common for lower-class people to be included in their corteges. In modern times, however, the pilgrims to Santiago were mostly citizens of average or lesser wealth, including clergy. We have, for example, one record from the nineteenth century of a request for alms made by a senior official (maybe a judge: *magistrado*) coming from Poland.¹¹⁶

signature: ACA, Cancillería, Registros, núm. 2581, fol. 164v-165v). Cf. M. Wilamowski, *Polscy rycerze w Hiszpanii*, p. 535-537.

¹¹¹ Vide M. Wilamowski, *Polscy rycerze w Hiszpanii*, p. 535-536.

¹¹² Cf. J. Guerra Campos, *Relación de Peregrinos. Continuación*, 1959, p. 329; L. Vázquez de Parga et al., *Las peregrinaciones*, vol. 3, pp. 91, 95 and ff.

¹¹³ Vide footnote nr 110.

¹¹⁴ Piotr of Kurów (safe conduct dated June 15, 1425, signature: ACA, Cancillería, Registros, núm. 2788, fol. 15r-15v, cf. M. Wilamowski, *Polscy rycerze w Hiszpanii*, pp. 529, 532), and most probably also Jakub of Białoleka (June 1425 r., signature: ACA, Cancillería, Registros, núm. 2577, fol. 1r, vide M. Wilamowski, *Polscy rycerze w Hiszpanii*, p. 532).

¹¹⁵ It concerns the following persons: Stanisław, a hermit from Cracow (entry to the Hospital Real dated December 2, 1663), left the hospital on December 24, 1663, signature: AHUS, H. R. Enfermos, Libro núm. 8, fol. 374v), Sebastian Meski (?), a Polish Franciscan (an entry in the records of the Cathedral chapter of Santiago dated on February 23, 1677, signature: ACS, Actas Capitulares, Libro núm. 36, fol. 294r), two priests: the first one in 1716 (entry in the records of the Santiago cathedral chapter dated on May 5, 1716, signature: ACS, Actas Capitulares, Libro núm. 48, fol. 355r) and the second in 1733 (entry in the records of the Santiago cathedral chapter dated on December 17, 1733, signature: ACS, Actas Capitulares, Libro núm. 51, fol. 320v), and also two monks: the first one, a non-ordained friar from 1767 (entry in the records of St. James Cathedral chapter dated on August 3, 1767, signature: ACS, Actas Capitulares, Libro núm. 57, fol. 149r) and the other from 1776 (entry in the records of the Santiago cathedral chapter dated on January 30, 1776, signature: ACS, Actas Capitulares, Libro núm. 58, fol. 178v).

¹¹⁶ Entry in the records of the Santiago cathedral chapter dated July 24, 1863 for Eustachy Antoni Heloński (?), *D. Eustaquio Antonio Helonio, Magistrado Polaco* (ACS, Sign. IG 380, cuaderno 2, fol. 1v).

Most people seem to have arrived at Santiago at the peak of their lives, i.e. around thirty years of age. This can be proven by the records of Polish medieval knights (for the Middle Ages)¹¹⁷ and by the fact that only a relatively small number of people declared the death of their parents in the documents of the Hospital Real (in Modern times) – indeed, there is only one known account of this occurring.¹¹⁸

The pilgrims discovered originated from all over Poland (within its historical and modern borders), and we can find among them representatives of Kujawy (Cuyavia), Pomorze (Pomerania), the cities Kielce and Łódź, Małopolska (Lesser Poland), Mazowsze (Mazovia), Wielkopolska (Greater Poland), Śląsk (Silesia), Prusy (Prussia), and even Kresy (Borderlands). Among the place names appearing in the documents, the most common is Cracow.

Further research postulates

Deeply understanding the history of Polish pilgrimages to Santiago is a goal that requires great effort from scholars. The extremely broad range of research material prevents carrying out this kind of research in a short time. During the last two years, within the time period of the grant awarded, I have investigated the archival sources of the ACA, AHN, AHUS and ACS.¹¹⁹ Future research should include other sources stored in these archives; after that, the next step should be to draw attention to other European archives, which contain documents originating from areas near the Camino.

First on the list to check should therefore be the records of the Royal Office of John II (1458-1479) and Ferdinand the Catholic (1479-1516) as well as the subsequent rulers of the Crown of Aragon (the Barcelona Archive of the Crown of Aragon holds documents from the Royal Chancery from the years 1234-1727). For some records there is digital access through the portal of the Spanish state archives, i.e. PARES.¹²⁰

¹¹⁷ Vide M. Wilamowski, *Polscy rycerze w Hiszpanii*, p. 544-545.

¹¹⁸ Entry in the records of the Hospital Real dated on June 13, 1671 for Stanisław Klaniski (?), *hestanislao Clanisque, hixo de martin Clamisque y de Cadiussa guznaossa* (?), *difuntos, vecinos de la ciudad de Lipocha, obispado de Cracobia en polonia* (signature: AHUS, H. R. Enfermos, Libro núm. 11, fol. 198v).

¹¹⁹ Vide footnotes nrs 42 i 43.

¹²⁰ Available at: <http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas/servlets/Control_servlet?accion=100> [accessed: October 30, 2016]; Cf. M. Wilamowski, *Polscy rycerze w Hiszpanii*, p. 548.

Within the AHN collection one should primarily study the last book of the “*Libros de passo*” of the Kingdom of Castile, covering the period 1710-1767.¹²¹ Afterwards, it would be worth reviewing the documents transferred from the Archivo Simancas and other documents related to the activities of hospitals and the Cathedral of San Salvador in Oviedo.¹²²

In Santiago de Compostela the remaining records of admissions to the Hospital Real should be researched (the documents stored in AHUS cover the period up until the end of 1923).¹²³ Some of those books are available in digital format on the university archive’s website.¹²⁴ Unfortunately the ArchiDoc format, on which the portal is based, does not provide easy access to the documents in question. In the Archive of the Cathedral of St. James the records of the alms given to pilgrims during the years 1465-1677 and 1776-19517 should be studied, information that is present in the registers of the capital chapter, as yet uninvestigated.¹²⁵

Subsequently, the records of other hospitals should be explored (the royal ones, those belonging to orders of chivalry, those maintained by cathedral chapters and monasteries) located on Camino routes (starting with those operating in the Santiago de Compostela, and later, visiting Burgos, León, Astorga, Roncesvalles, Irún, etc.), as well as the other institutions dedicated to the Way of St. James – in Spain, and beyond. At the same time the documentation belonging to public authorities should be studied, in particular those issuing safe conducts or travel passes in other kingdoms of Spain (unfortunately, the documentation of the kingdom of Castile is only partially preserved; the individual sections are stored in only few archives, including the AHN in Madrid, the Archivo Histórico in Pamplona and the Archivo General in Simancas). In addition, the accounting records of royal courts should be investigated (mainly Aragon and Castile) as well as those of ecclesiastical institutions located on the Camino, in search of evidence about the alms distributed to pilgrims. Furthermore, the parishes located on the Way of St. James may also store information about visitors on their voyages (e.g. in the registers of the dead, etc.) – and this kind of archive should also be carefully examined.

Similarly, another study should be carried out, i.e. in the archives of Polish state and church institutions, which may contain documents issued to pilgrims before a trip to Spain – these are mostly letters of recommendation (produced both by

¹²¹ Signature: AHN, Consejos de la Cámara de Castilla, Libro núm. 639 (available through PARES).

¹²² Starting from, e.g., documents with the signature AHN, Clero, Papeles, Legajo 5130.

¹²³ Documents with the signatures: AHUS, H. R. Enfermos, Libro núm. 15 – 90.

¹²⁴ Available at: <<http://archivo.usc.es/ahus2/pages/tiles/login.jsp>> [accessed: October 30, 2016]. The administrator of the web recommends using Internet Explorer 9.

¹²⁵ Documents with signatures: ACS, Actas Capitulares, Libro núm. 1 – 35 and 59 – 89.

the parish priests and city councils), wills (stored in the city registers) and literary sources (memoirs, diaries, epitaphs) that may contain information on journeys that had taken place or were planned.

As one can see, the matter in question requires extensive research and there is still a huge amount of material to analyze before drawing any final conclusions. Although the statistics seem to be highly unfavorable (taking the registers of Aragon as an example, M. Wilamowski has calculated that there was an average of one Polish pilgrim passing through Spain for every 210 volumes, each numbering approx. 400 pages),¹²⁶ the progressive process of digitization of archival sources makes it easier every year to find traces of Polish pilgrims on the Camino. This should provide an incentive to continue research in the field of Polish pilgrimages to Santiago de Compostela.

¹²⁶ M. Wilamowski, *Polscy rycerze w Hiszpanii*, p. 547.

Annex

Polish pilgrims to Santiago de Compostela –list of names

No.	Pilgrim	Date and place of issue of the document	Source (archive, signature)
1	Świętosław of Szubin from the family of Pałuka	Apr 15, 1379, Barcelona	ACA, Cancillería, Registros, núm. 1264, fol. 94r
2	Klemens of Mokrsko, Jelita coat of arms	Apr 15, 1379, Barcelona	ACA, Cancillería, Registros, núm. 1264, fol. 94r
3	Jakub Cztan, Grzymalita of Strzelce	Apr 15, 1379, Barcelona	ACA, Cancillería, Registros, núm. 1264, fol. 94r
4	Stanisław of Wrocimowice and Niezwojowice	Apr 15, 1379, Barcelona	ACA, Cancillería, Registros, núm. 1264, fol. 94r
5	Jan Pilik, son of Andrzej, Rogala coat of arms	Jan 2, 1380, Perpignan; Jun 10, 1380, Hostalric	ACA, Cancillería, Registros, núm. 1658, fol. 107r-107v; ACA, Cancillería, Registros, núm. 1659, fol. 32v
6	Paweł (Paszek) of Radzanów, Prawdzic coat of arms	Jan 2, 1380, Perpignan; Jun 10, 1380, Hostalric	ACA, Cancillería, Registros, núm. 1658, fol. 107r-107v; ACA, Cancillería, Registros, núm. 1659, fol. 32v
7	Albert (Wojciech) Szyszka	Jun 23, 1401, Burjassot	ACA, Cancillería, Registros, núm. 2168, 92v-93r
8	Gniewosz of Dalewice (the Younger), Strzegomia coat of arms	Sep 20, 1404, Barcelona; Sep 21, 1404, Barcelona	ACA, Cancillería, Registros, núm. 2179, fol. 104v-105r; ACA, Cancillería, Registros, núm. 2179, fol. 105r
9	Paweł (Paszek) Złodziej, Niesobia coat of arms	Sep 20, 1404, Barcelona; Sep 21, 1404, Barcelona	ACA, Cancillería, Registros, núm. 2179, fol. 104v-105r; ACA, Cancillería, Registros, núm. 2179, fol. 105r
10	Andrzej of Ostrołęka, Ciołek coat of arms	Sep 20, 1404, Barcelona; Sep 21, 1404, Barcelona	ACA, Cancillería, Registros, núm. 2179, fol. 104v-105r; ACA, Cancillería, Registros, núm. 2179, fol. 105r
11	Jan of Grabie, Pomian coat of arms	Jul 15, 1409, Barcelona; Jul 10, 1409, Barcelona; Jun 18, 1409, Paris	ACA, Cancillería, Registros, núm. 2215, fol. 160r; ACA, Cancillería, Registros, núm. 2214, fol. 175v; ACA, Pergaminos, Fernando I, Extraintventario, núm. 4201r
12	Mściwój of Skrzyńsko, Łabędź coat of arms	Jan 2, 1414, Lerida	ACA, Cancillería, Registros, núm. 2385, fol. 5v
13	Wincenty Świdwic of Szamotuły	Feb 25, 1418, Valencia	ACA, Cancillería, Registros, núm. 2563, fol. 104r-104v
14	Piotr of Kurów	Jun 15, 1425, Saragossa	ACA Cancillería, Registros, núm. 2788, fol. 15r-15v
15	Krzysztof of Grzybów	Jun 15, 1425, Saragossa	ACA Cancillería, Registros, núm. 2788, fol. 15r-15v
16	Jakub of Białoleka	Jun 1425, Barcelona	ACA Cancillería, Registros, núm. 2577, fol. 1r
17	Piotr Woda of Szczekociny	Aug 18, 1431, Barcelona Aug 20, 1431, Barcelona	ACA Cancillería, Registros, núm. 2581, fol. 164v-165v
18	Piotr of Oporów	Aug 18, 1431, Barcelona Aug 20, 1431, Barcelona	ACA Cancillería, Registros, núm. 2581, fol. 164v-165v

No.	Pilgrim	Date and place of issue of the document	Source (archive, signature)
19	Mikołaj of Twardów (Twardowo?), a member of the cortege	Aug 20, 1431, Barcelona	ACA Cancillería, Registros, núm. 2581, fol. 164v-165v
20	Niemierza of Mikułowice, a member of the cortege	Aug 20, 1431, Barcelona	ACA Cancillería, Registros, núm. 2581, fol. 164v-165v
21	Piotr Goły, a member of the cortege	Aug 20, 1431, Barcelona	ACA Cancillería, Registros, núm. 2581, fol. 164v-165v
22	Tomasz Kozieł (?) of Germany	Aug 3, 1663, Santiago de Compostela	AHUS, H. R. Enfermos, Libro núm. 8, fol. 302r
23	Stanisław, Polish eremite of Cracow	Jul 2, 1663-July 24, 1663, Santiago de Compostela	AHUS, H. R. Enfermos, Libro núm. 8, fol. 374v
24	Katarzyna Polonia Erma (?) of Cracow	Aug 1, 1664-Aug 10, 1664, Santiago de Compostela	AHUS, H. R. Enfermos, Libro núm. 9, fol. 68r
25	Stanisław Klaniski (?)	Jun 13, 1671-Jun 17, 1671, Santiago de Compostela	AHUS, H. R. Enfermos, Libro núm. 11, fol. 198v
26	Stanisław Alojzy (?) of Silesia	Jul 06, 1672-Jul 11, 1672, Santiago de Compostela	AHUS, H. R. Enfermos, Libro núm. 12, fol. 75r
27	Mikołaj Telemba of Cracow	Aug 3, 1672-Aug 10, 1672, Santiago de Compostela	AHUS, H. R. Enfermos, Libro núm. 12, fol. 85r
28	Sebastian Meski, Polish Franciscan priest	Feb 23, 1677, Santiago de Compostela	ACS, Actas Capitulares, Libro núm. 36, fol. 294r
29	Krystyna of Cracow	Aug 26, 1677-Oct 03, 1677, Santiago de Compostela	AHUS, H. R. Enfermos, Libro núm. 14, fol. 24v
30	Dorota of Cracow	Aug 27, 1677 (†), Santiago de Compostela	AHUS, H. R. Enfermos, Libro núm. 14, fol. 24v
31	Fiodor of Łapa Nowa (Łapanów, Łapanowo?), in the province "Ruś Biała" in Polish Kingdom	Aug 6, 1677-Oct 2, 1677, Santiago de Compostela	AHUS, H. R. Enfermos, Libro núm. 14, fol. 31r
32	Wawrzyniec (?), Polish citizen	Sep 17, 1677, Santiago de Compostela	AHUS, H. R. Enfermos, Libro núm. 14, fol. 36r
33	Anna Kocimska (?) of Cracow	Oct 28, 1678, Santiago de Compostela	AHUS, H. R. Enfermos, Libro núm. 14, fol. 194r
34	Anna Ciulia (?) of Cracow	Jul 23, 1679-Sep 11, 1679, Santiago de Compostela	AHUS, H. R. Enfermos, Libro núm. 15, fol. 3r
35	Kazimierz, Polish poor	Sep 7, 1712, Santiago de Compostela	ACS, Actas Capitulares, Libro núm. 48, fol. 118v
36	Polish priest	May 5, 1716, Santiago de Compostela	ACS, Actas Capitulares, Libro núm. 48, fol. 355r
37	Antoni Herneski (?)	Oct 14, 1718, Santiago de Compostela	ACS, Actas Capitulares, Libro núm. 49, fol. 130r

No.	Pilgrim	Date and place of issue of the document	Source (archive, signature)
38	Bernard Gusman	Jun 15, 1722, Santiago de Compostela	ACS, Actas Capitulares, Libro núm. 49, fol. 328v
39	two pilgrims from Prussia	Nov 9, 1731, Santiago de Compostela	ACS, Actas Capitulares, Libro núm. 51, fol. 195v
40	Polish priest	Dec 17, 1733, Santiago de Compostela	ACS, Actas Capitulares, Libro núm. 51, fol. 320v
41	Antoni Boltel (?)	Aug 31, 1764, Santiago de Compostela	ACS, Actas Capitulares, Libro núm. 57, fol. 63r
42	not ordained friar	Aug 3, 1767, Santiago de Compostela	ACS, Actas Capitulares, Libro núm. 57, fol. 149r
43	Polish friar	Jan 30, 1776, Santiago de Compostela	ACS, Actas Capitulares, Libro núm. 58, fol. 178v
44	Eustachy Antoni Heloński (?)	Jul 24, 1863, Santiago de Compostela	ACS, Sign. IG 380, Cuaderno núm. 2, fol. 1v
45	Maciej (or Mateusz) Koziar (?) from Austria	1884, Santiago de Compostela	ACS, Sign. IG 380, Cuaderno núm. 2, fol. 49r
46	Wiktor Wolański	1884, Santiago de Compostela	ACS, Sign. IG 380, Cuaderno núm. 2, fol. 49r
47	Aleksander Amiski (?)	Jul 20, 1891, Santiago de Compostela	ACS, Sign. IG 380, Cuaderno núm. 3, fol. 16r

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How Has Camino Developed? Geographical and Historical Factors behind the Creation and Development of the Way of St. James in Poland

Introduction

In 2003, the European network of the Camino de Santiago (Ecumenical Pilgrims' Path "Via Regia") reached the border between Germany and Poland in Görlitz/Zgorzelec, providing an important stimulus for the commencement of works on marking out the Way of St. James in Poland. In the following year, a group of enthusiasts of St. James's Trail and pilgrims from Poland who went on pilgrimages to Santiago de Compostela put forward an idea of marking out the first section of the Way of St. James in Poland on the Internet forum of the "Camino de Santiago Polish Club". The project involved the marking out of the Polish Way (*Camino Polaco*), going from Ogrodniki (near the border between Poland and Lithuania) through Olsztyn, Toruń, Gniezno and Poznań to the border between Poland and Germany in Słubice. However, it has taken another several years to complete this undertaking.¹ Regardless of the *Camino Polaco* project, Camino pilgrims and worshippers of

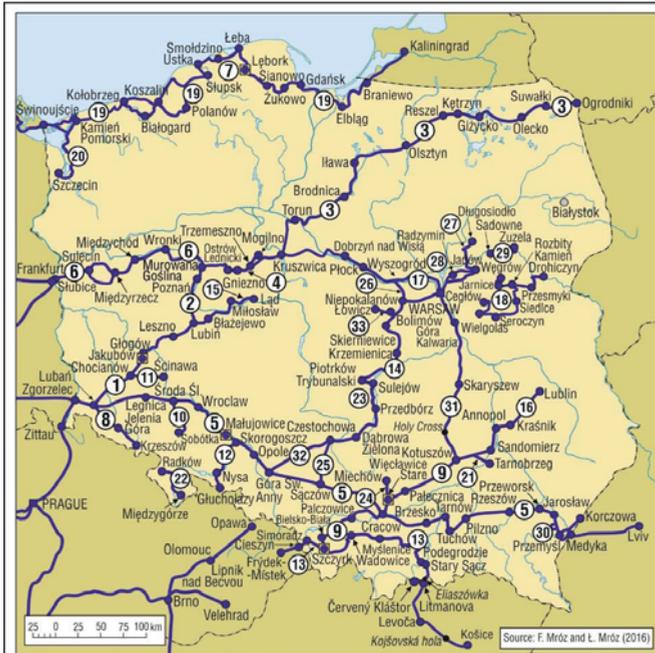
¹ F. Mróz, *The Way of St. James in Poland – Genesis and Development – On the 10th Anniversary of the Opening of the First Trail of St. James*, [in:] A. Wyrwa (ed.), *Camino de Santiago. Historical Sketches on the Peregrination and History of the Cult of St. James the Greater, Apostle* (2nd edition), Museum of the First Piasts in Lednica, Lednica 2015, pp. 65-95.

St. James in Lower Silesia and the Głogów Region came up with an idea of marking the so-called Lower Silesian Way of St. James, which runs from Głogów through Jakubów to Zgorzelec (164 km). This route was marked in the period of 2004-2005 and it was officially opened on 24 July 2005 as the first Polish section of the *Camino de Santiago*. This initiated the spectacular development of St. James's Trails in Poland, resulting (as at 1 January 2017) in 34 marked Polish sections of the Way of St. James, which together form the Camino de Santiago network of more than 6,100 km (Fig. 1).

An analysis of the concentration of Polish sections of the Camino de Santiago and the cult of St. James dynamically growing in St. James's parishes and fraternities, as well as numerous religious, cultural, tourist and sporting initiatives relating to St. James in Poland justifies the conclusion that Poland currently belongs to Camino-related leaders not only in Central Europe but in the world. Apart from Spain, only in Poland such a dynamic growth of the Way of St. James network has been observed in the last decade, supported by a living cult of James the Apostle in spatial arrangements and a series of innovative Camino projects. In no other country, except for Spain, the renaissance of the cult of St. James in parishes, fraternities and associations as well as the reception of pilgrimages and hikes on national sections of the Camino de Santiago have reached such proportions as in Poland.

The purpose of the study is to present geographical and historical factors affecting the creation and development of sections of the Way of St. James in Poland in the 21st century. The cognitive aim of the research is also to show that the spatial route of Polish sections of the Camino de Santiago is correct and to present the phenomenon of the rapid development of St. James's Trails in Poland. The study is also an attempt to create and characterize a development model of the Way of St. James common to European countries.

The paper is a result of chamber and field studies conducted within the network of the Way of St. James in Poland in the years 2007-2016. Detailed field studies were conducted on twenty-four Polish sections of the Camino de Santiago. The following methods, were used to present the research results: a dynamic and comparative method, a descriptive and analytical method and cartographic methods. To work out quantitative characteristics, an isarithmic method – isodistance (equidistance) was used, whereas to compile qualitative data symbol methods were applied.



The Way of St. James in Poland

No	Existing sectors of the Way of St. James	length km	shell pattern	No	Existing sectors of the Way of St. James	length km	shell pattern
1	Lower Silesian Way of St. James (Głogów – Jakubów – Lubiąż – Zgorzelec)	164		18	North-East Mazowsze and Podlasie Way of St. James (Drohiczyń – Przesmyki – Rozbity Kamień – Węgrów – Siedlce – Seroczyn – Ceglów)	227	
2	Greater Polish Way of St. James (Gniezno – Poznań – Głogów)	234		19	Pomeranian Way of St. James (Via Baltica) (Braniewo – Elbląg – Gdańsk – Łębork – Słupsk – Kolobrzeg – Kamień Pom. – Swinoujście)	722	
3	Polish Way (Camino Polaco) (Ogrodniki – Dzieln – Toruń – Trzemeszno)	651		20	Szczecin Way of St. James (Swinoujście – Szczecin)	97	
4	Way of St. James „Ślak Piastowski” (Mogilno – Gniezno)	47		21	Tarnobrzeg Way of St. James (Tarnobrzeg – Sulistawice)	21	
5	Way of St. James Via Regia (Medyja Korczowa – Pilzno – Cracow – Góra Św. Anny – Brzeg – Zgorzelec)	957		22	Kłodzko Way of St. James (Międzygórze – Kłodzko – Radków)	69	
6	Lubuska Way of St. James (Murowa Góra – Ślubice)	279		23	Staropolska Way of St. James (Piotrków Trybunalski – Częstochowa)	155	
7	Łębork’s Way of St. James (Sianowo – Łębork – Smoldzino)	122		24	Miechów Way of St. James (Miechów – Wępczowice Stare – Cracow)	35	
8	Sudetic Way of St. James (Krzeszów – Jelenia Góra – Lubiąż)	105		25	Jasna Góra Way of St. James (Częstochowa – Lubusza – Sączów)	56	
9	The Lesser Polish Way of St. James (Sandomierz – Cracow – Szczyrk)	317		26	The Chopin Way of St. James (Wyszogrod – Niepokalanów)	33	
10	Śląska Way of St. James (Śląza – Sobótka – Środa Śląska)	55		27	Independence Road of St. James (I. Długoosiolo – Wyszków – Jadów – Ossów)	168	
11	The Copper Way of St. James (Scinawa – Lubin – Chocianów)	45		28	Way of St. James „Miracle on the Vistula” (Radzymin – Kobylka – Ossów – Warsaw)	35	
12	Nysa Way of St. James (Gluchołazy – Nysa – Skorogoszcz)	100		29	Primate’s Way of St. James (Zuzela – Prostyl – Sadowne)	52	
13	Beskid Way of St. James (Eliaszówka – Stary Sącz – Podegrodzie – Mysienica – Wadowice – Szczyrk – Cieszyń)	316		30	Tuligłowy Way of St. James (Wola Rokietnica – Tuligłowy – Rokietnica)	13	
14	Warsaw Way of St. James (Warsaw – Skarmienia – Piłsudski Tryb.)	229		31	Holy Cross Way of St. James (Warsaw – Holy Cross – Katuszów)	283	
15	Nadwarciańska Way of St. James (Łaj – Miłosław – Lubiąż)	111		32	Częstochowa Way of St. James (Częstochowa – Lubiecko – Góra Św. Anny)	110	
16	Lublin Way of St. James (Lublin – Kraśnik – Sandomierz)	136		33	Łowicz Way of St. James (Bołków – Łowicz)	25	
17	Mazowsze Way of St. James (Warsaw – Plock – Dobrzyń nad Wisłą)			34	Dobrzyńsko-Kujawska Way of St. James (Dobrzyń nad Wisłą – Włocławek – Kruszwica)		

shrine of St. James the Apostle
 - - - - state borders
 ● Eliaszówka mountain peaks

Fig. 1. The Way of St. James in Poland (as at 1 December 2016)

Compiled by Franciszek Mróz, Łukasz Mróz (2016)

1. Geographical and historical factors behind the creation and development of the Way of St. James in Poland

A number of religious, geographical and historical, cultural, social and economic as well as political factors affected the creation of the first section of the Way of St. James in Poland. The greatest importance should be attributed to the renaissance of pilgrimages of Poles to Santiago de Compostela, the redevelopment of the cult of St. James the Apostle in parishes dedicated to this saint (including bringing relics of St. James), the foundation of the Fraternity of St. James and associations of fans of the Way of St. James as well as the development of St. James's Trails in Western European countries. Among geographical factors behind the creation of the Camino de Santiago, the following should be indicated, among other things: the topography and landscape values of regions through which the route runs, the network of parishes of St. James and small distances between churches dedicated to the Apostle, the network of pilgrimage centres, the spread or diffusion of innovations, transit location of Poland in Central and Eastern Europe, the run of ancient trade routes, attractive geographical location of Polish Trails of St. James (at a distance of more than 3,000 km from the Shrine in Santiago de Compostela) and the said pilgrimage migrations of Poles to the tomb of St. James.

The development of Polish sections of the Way of St. James is closely associated with the cult of St. James, which has developed in the territory of Poland since the 11th century. In Poland, the popularity of services dedicated to the worship of the first martyr among the apostles has increased along with the growing importance of the Shrine of St. James in Santiago de Compostela and a growing pilgrimage movement to the Apostle's tomb. Traditions and legends of St. James, popular in Spain, France and the German Empire, reached the Polish territory at the beginning of the 12th century, providing a stimulus to the foundation of temples dedicated to St. James and pilgrimages of Poles to Compostela.² A significant role in the reception of the cult of St. James in Poland should be attributed initially to religious congregations – Benedictines since the 11th century and primarily Dominicans since the

² R. Knapiński, *From the Apostle to Patron Saint of Pilgrims. Iconography of St. James in Polish Art*, [in:] R. Knapiński, *Cult of St. James the Greater, Apostle in Central and Eastern Europe*, Learned Society of the Catholic University of Lublin, Lublin 2002, pp. 241-267; J. Rajman, *Cults of saints in medieval Krakow in the light of patrocina*, [in:] E. Piwowarczyk, R.M. Zawadzki (ed.), *Cult of Saints in Medieval Poland. Materials from a Scientific Symposium. 31 May 2001*, Scientific Publishing House of the Pontifical Academy of Theology, Krakow 2003, pp. 69-80.

13th century.³ The network of parishes of St. James the Greater has been developing on Polish territories since the beginning of the 12th century. The first parishes dedicated to this Saint were established in Silesia, Lesser Poland and Greater Poland (Podegrodzie, Świąciechowa, Szczaworyż, Barcin, Miłosław, Mogilno, Murowana Goślina, Nysa, Poznań and Sobótka). It should be emphasized that in the group of 147 Roman Catholic parishes of St. James the Greater (St. James the Apostle), registered currently in Poland, as many as 107 (i.e. more than 70 per cent) were established between the 11th and the 15th centuries, that is to say during the period of the greatest development of the Shrine of St. James in Santiago de Compostela (Fig. 2). The cult of St. James in Poland was strongly affected by East Slavic influences. This cult was very lively during the Middle Ages; however, it did not gain the utmost recognition of the medieval rulers of Poland. Since the famous *Pietas Jagiellonica* manifested itself in the worship of the Holy Cross and the Eucharist as well as the cult of Mary and patron saints of the Kingdom of Poland (St. Stanislaus and St. Adalbert). The Jagiellonian dynasty lavished special attention on the Shrine of the Holy Cross Wood Relics on the Holy Cross Mountain, the Eucharistic Sanctuary in Poznań, the Shrine of the Holy Sepulchre in Miechów and the Shrine of Our Lady of Jasna Góra. The worship of relics of the Lord's Passion (the Holy Cross Wood Relics) and the Holy Sepulchre, intensified particularly during the crusades, as well as the worship of the Eucharist, popular since the beginning of the 14th century, gained greater recognition among the faithful in Poland than the cult of St. James the Apostle, which was very popular in Spain and France.

³ A. Witkowska, *Dedications to St. James the Greater, Apostle in the Krakow Diocese in the Middle Ages*, [in:] R. Knapiński, *Cult of St. James the Greater, Apostle in Central and Eastern Europe*, Learned Society of the Catholic University of Lublin, Lublin 2002, p. 110.



Fig. 2. Parishes dedicated to St. James the Greater, Apostle in dioceses of the Roman Catholic Church in Poland (as at 1 September 2016)

Compilation: amended and supplemented by Franciszek Mróz (2016). Cf. I. Hodorowicz, F. Mróz, *Geographical Range of the Cult of St. James in Poland on the example of churches and chapels dedicated to the Apostle*, [in:] A. Jackowski, F. Mróz, I. Hodorowicz (eds.), *Cult of St. James on pilgrimage routes to Santiago de Compostela*. “Czuwajmy” Publishing House, Kraków 2010, pp. 63-82.

When looking at the map with locations of parishes of St. James in Poland (Fig. 1), it is worth noting that the spread of the cult of St. James in Central Europe in the Middle Ages “stopped” on the eastern borders of Lesser Poland and Mazovia. East of the valleys of Middle Vistula (from Zawichost to the mouth of the Narew River), San and Narew, there are only six parishes of St. James, three of which were established in the Middle Ages (Lublin, Jadów and Przesmyki). The cult of St. James the Greater in the area of Red Ruthenia (Sanok Region, Przemyśl Region, Chełm Region, Halych Region and Lviv Region) was of marginal importance. This cult was replaced in eastern regions of the Commonwealth by the worship of other saints, in particular, the cult of St. Nicholas, who is considered patron saint of travellers, sailors, traders, archers, children and students. It is worth emphasizing that in the territory of present Ukraine, there are no registered parishes and temples of St. James.⁴ It is worth noting that at the end of the 15th century, the cult of the Blessed Virgin Mary started to be predominant in Polish religiousness.

In Europe, the importance of pilgrimage routes to Santiago de Compostela declined along with the development of religious and social movements initiated by Martin Luther in 1517 as well as wars and natural disasters that swept through European countries between the 16th and 18th centuries. When the Reformation movement reached Poland, it slowed down the dynamically developing cult of St. James the Apostle. This regress of the cult of St. James in the territory of Poland was further deepened by the crisis of the Catholic Church in the Commonwealth at the beginning of the 16th century, growing conflicts within the state, mainly between nobility and the king, magnates and the clergy, and the crisis of monastic life. Despite these religious, social and political disturbances, the medieval popularity trend of pilgrimages to Santiago de Compostela continued in Polish lands for several decades of the 16th and 17th centuries. This is confirmed by the words of Sebastian Fabian Klonowic (approx. 1545-1612), poet and lecturer at the Zamojski Academy, included in the rhymed treatise on law “Judas’s bag or about illegal acquisition of property” [Worek Judaszów – to jest złe nabycie majątności]: “(...) A real Pole is very intent on pilgri-maging. When he once went to Rome, he would rest neither in summer nor in winter. He will say that we will go as far as possible and travel to Compostella as fast as he can in order to visit cities, monasteries, hospitals and cells.”⁵ In accordance with re-

⁴ O. Bordun, *Programme for Marking Out the Ukrainian Section of the European Pilgrimage Trail of St. James from Lviv*, [in:] A. Jackowski, F. Mróz (ed.), *Saints and the Blessed on the Way of St. James – On the 800th Anniversary of the Pilgrimage of St. Francis of Assisi to Santiago de Compostela*, Krakow 2014, pp. 268-273.

⁵ S. F. Klonowic, *Judas’s bag or about illegal acquisition of property*, Kraków 1600 (elaborated by K. Budzyk, A. Obrębska-Jabłońska, Publishing House of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Wrocław 1960, p. 185), p. 52

search conducted by K. Orzechowska-Kowalska in the archives of one of the largest hospitals on the pilgrimage route to the tomb of St. James – Grand Royal Hospital (*Hospital Real de los Reyes Católicos*) in Santiago de Compostela, 42 surnames of Poles, including 13 from Krakow or the Krakow Bishopric, were registered in the records of pilgrims during the years 1631-1717.⁶

The ceremonial adoption of the Resolutions of the Council of Trent by King Sigismund II August during a session of Sejm (the Polish parliament) in Parczew in 1564 and a large-scale Counter-Reformation and reformatory action initiated by the Catholic Church in Poland began a period of the religious revival in Polish society. However, as early as in the 17th century, priests and the faithful in Poland began to gradually forget the patron saint of pilgrims so popular in the Middle Ages, focusing on the cult of Mary, Eucharistic and miraculous images or images famous for their graces.⁷ The peregrinations of Poles were mainly to shrines of Virgin Mary and Passion of Christ in Poland.

The development of the cult of St. James during the period of the post-Tridentine revival also lacked the support of religious congregations, which played a very important role in the religious life of Polish society of that time, but their spirituality was primarily focused on the worship of Lord's Passion and the cult of the Mother of God. However, it should be emphasized that before the first partition of Poland, the patronage of St. James the Greater belonged to a group of relatively popular dedications of monastic temples (20 male monastic temples and 1 female monastic church).⁸ Nevertheless, while sharing the view of W. Rozyrkowski, it is difficult to indicate a direct connection between a given religious community and the choice of dedication to St. James for its monastery temple.⁹ In the 16th to 18th centuries, only 11 parishes of St. James were established in Polish territories. In 1772, in the Commonwealth and Silesia, there were in total 155 parish churches, 53 chapels of ease and public chapels, 20 churches of male orders and 1 church of a female order

⁶ K. Orzechowska-Kowalska, *Preliminary Research on Polish Pilgrims in Santiago de Compostela in the Years 1631-1717*, [in:] A. Jackowski, F. Mróz, Ł. Mróz, (eds.), *1200 Years of Pilgrimages to the Tomb of St. James in Santiago de Compostela*, Kraków 2013, "Czuwajmy" Publishing House, pp. 349-359.

⁷ F. Mróz, *Genesis and Operation of the Lord's Shrines in Poland in the Period of the Post-Tridentine Revival (16th-18th Centuries)*, "Peregrinus Cracoviensis", 21 (2010), pp. 15-42.

⁸ W. Rozyrkowski, *St. James the Greater – Patron Saint of Monastic Churches in Poland around 1772*, [in:] P. Roszak, W. Rozyrkowski (ed.), *Camino Polaco. Theology – Art – History – Present*, vol. 3, Scientific Publishing House of the Nicolaus Copernicus University, Toruń 2016, p. 111.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

dedicated to St. James the Greater.¹⁰ In subsequent historical periods, 24 parishes of St. James were established in Poland: ten of them during the national captivity (1772-1918), five parishes in the interwar years (1919-1939) and nine parishes after the end of World War II.¹¹

A characteristic feature of the spatial distribution of parishes of St. James the Greater is a noticeable concentration of these facilities in Greater Poland, Kujawy, the Płock Region, the Łęczyca Region and Central Lesser Poland. Fifty parishes of St. James (including 42 parishes founded in the Middle Ages) are registered within the strip of 150 km in width and 400 km in length marked on the map, whose border localities are Osetnik, Kwiecewo, Olsztyn and Bartolty Wielkie in the area of Warmia as well as Żabno, Błażejewo, Cerekwica and Tłokinia in the south-west (Fig. 3). Another such strip of concentration of St. James's parishes can be located in Central Lesser Poland, 50 km from the upper Vistula valley (on the Palczowice – Sandomierz section), where currently there are 24 parishes of St. James the Greater, of which 20 were established in the Middle Ages). It is worth noting that according to A. Witkowska, in the 16th century, there were 28 churches of St. James in the area of the then Krakow Diocese, where 18 of them were on the left bank of Vistula.¹² A large concentration of St. James's parishes is also noticeable in the valley of the upper and middle Oder (on the stretch from the border between Poland and the Czech Republic to the mouth of the Bóbr River). At present, the largest number of parishes dedicated to St. James operate in the Archdiocese of Gniezno (11) and the dioceses of Kielce, Pelplin, Poznań, Toruń and Włocławek (9 parishes in each dioceses). It is worth noting that in seven dioceses located in the east, there are registered only six parishes of St. James – in the dioceses of Przemyśl (1), Lublin (1), Ełk (2) and Siedlce (2), whereas in the dioceses of Białystok, Drohicznym as well as Zamość and Lubaczów, there are no parishes of St. James the Greater. In western territories of Poland, especially in Western Pomerania, parishes of St. James are rarely present in the parish network – there are only two parishes in the diocese of Szczecin and Kamień Pomorski and the diocese of Koszalin and Kołobrzeg.¹³

¹⁰ S. Litak, *Latin Church in the Commonwealth around 1772. Administrative Structures*, Institute of Central and Eastern Europe, Lublin 1996, pp. 551, 568, 579 and 585.

¹¹ I. Hodorowicz, F. Mróz, *Geographical Range of the Cult of St. James in Poland on the example of churches and chapels dedicated to the Apostle*, [in:] A. Jackowski, F. Mróz, I. Hodorowicz (ed.), *Cult of St. James on Pilgrimage Routes to Santiago de Compostela*, "Czuwajmy" Publishing House, Krakow 2010, pp. 63-82.

¹² A. Witkowska, *Dedications to St. James the Greater, Apostle.*, op. cit., p. 115.

¹³ I. Hodorowicz, F. Mróz, *Geographical Range of the Cult of St. James ...*, op. cit., pp. 66-73.

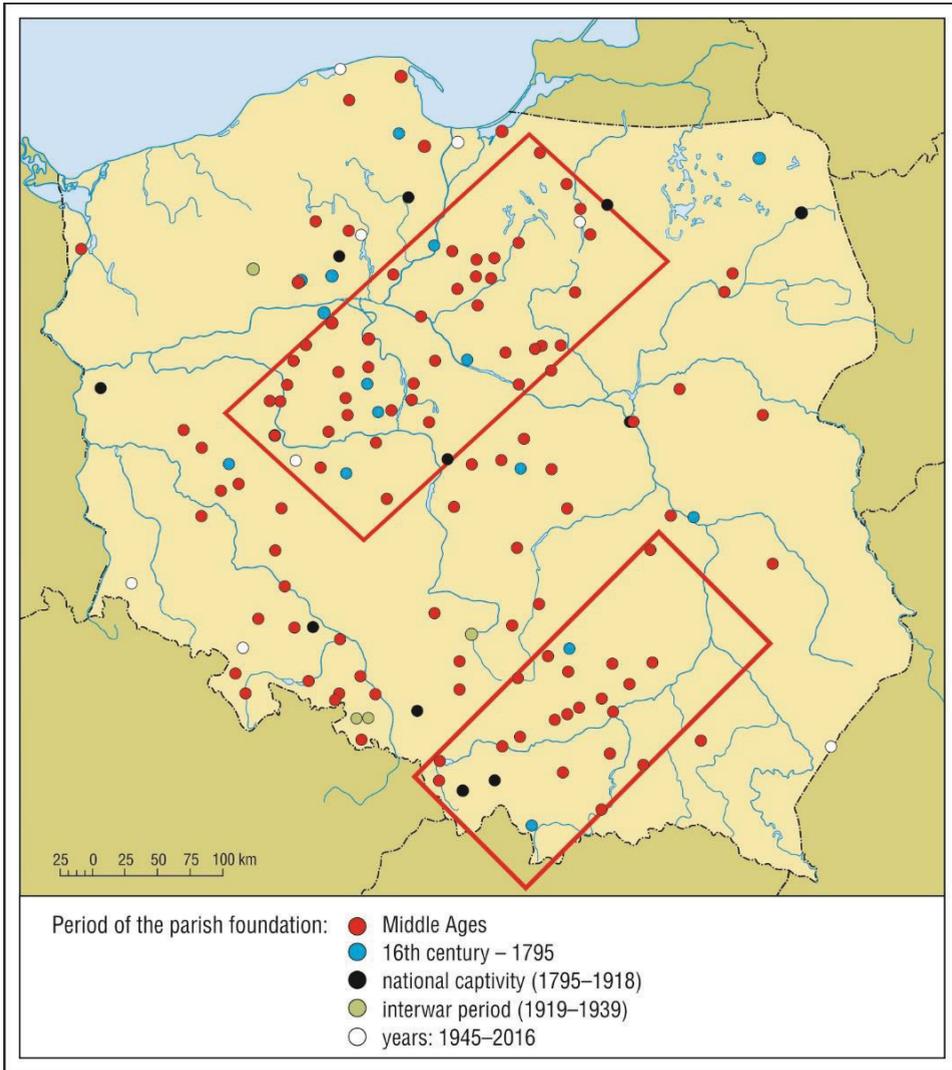


Fig. 3. Parishes dedicated to St. James the Greater (the Apostle) in dioceses of the Roman Catholic Church in Poland (as at 1 September 2016)

Compiled by Franciszek Mróz (2016)

The location of parish and rectoral churches as well as chapels of ease dedicated to St. James the Greater was one of key factors taken into account when marking out new sections of the Way of St. James in Poland. Currently, in Poland there are 149 parish churches, 3 rectoral churches, 24 filial churches or chapels of ease and 6 chapels dedicated to St. James the Greater (Fig. 4).

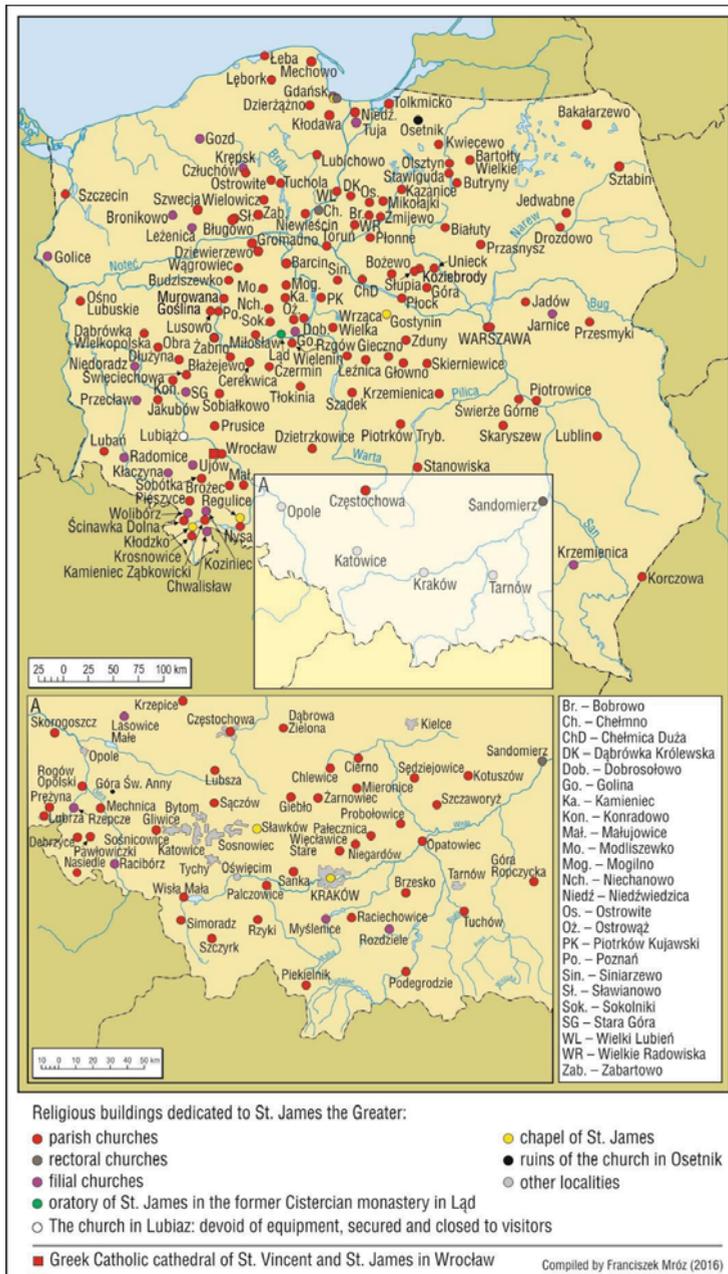


Fig. 4. Religious buildings dedicated to St. James the Greater in Poland

Compilation: amended and supplemented by Franciszek Mróz (2016). Cf. I. Hodorowicz, F. Mróz, *Geographical Range of the Cult of St. James in Poland on the example of churches and chapels dedicated to the Apostle*, [in:] A. Jackowski, F. Mróz, I. Hodorowicz (eds.), *Cult of St. James on pilgrimage routes to Santiago de Compostela*. "Czuwajmy" Publishing House, Kraków 2010, pp. 63-82.

At present, the network of Polish sections of the Camino de Santiago reaches 54 parish churches, 2 rectoral churches, 7 filial churches and 4 chapels of St. James (Fig. 5). An oratory of St. James in the former Cistercian monastery in Łąd and a chapel of St. James in the shrine of John Paul II in the District Białe Morza in

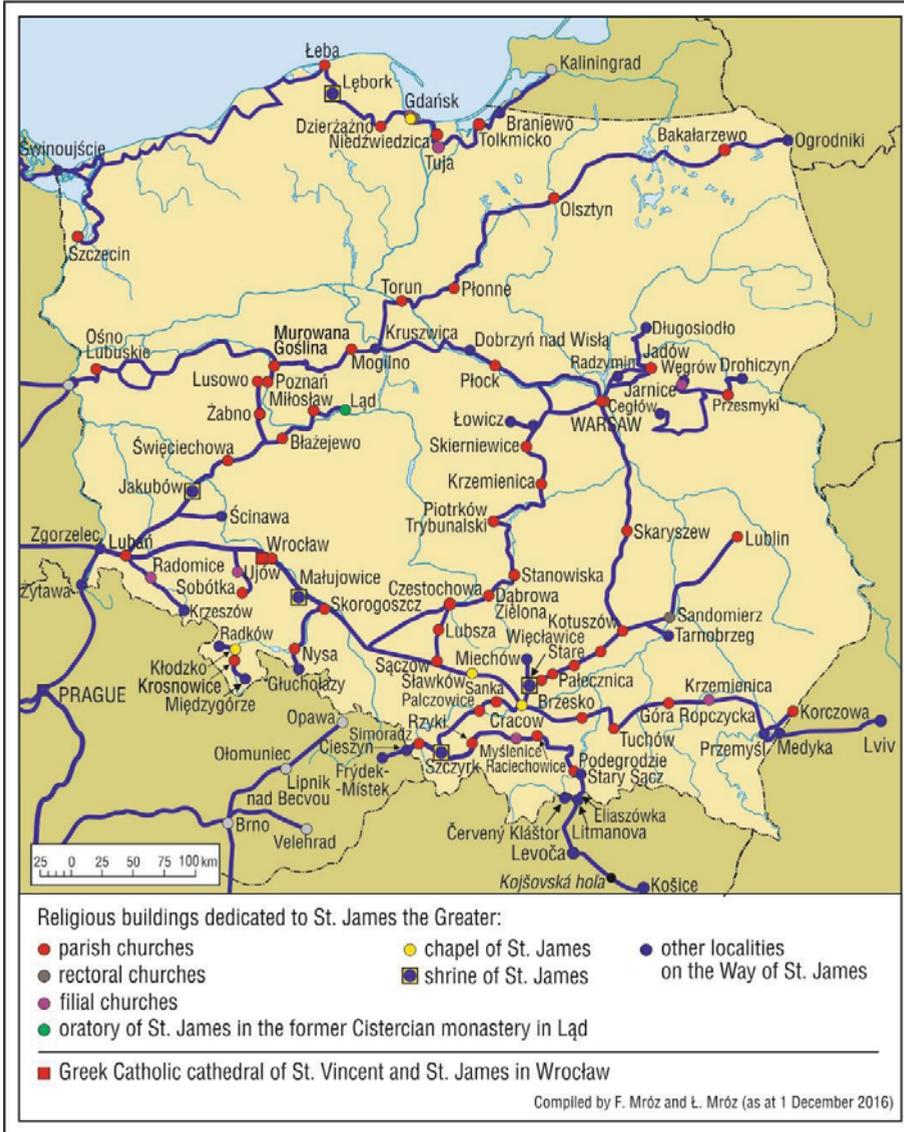


Fig. 5. Religious buildings dedicated to St. James the Greater located at the sections of the Way of St. James in Poland

Compiled by Łukasz Mróz, Franciszek Mróz (2016)

Krakow are also located on the Way of St. James. The largest number of temples dedicated to St. James can be visited by Camino pilgrims walking along the Way of St. James *Via Regia* (10 churches and 2 chapels), the Lesser Poland Way of St. James (10 churches, including two shrines of St. James – in Więclawice Stare and Szczyrk) and the Pomeranian Way of St. James (9 temples, including the shrine of St. James in Lębork).

In this regard, an isodistance (lines connecting the same distances from a given point on the map) from the seats of parishes of St. James (Fig. 5) and an isodistance from churches and chapels of St. James the Greater in Poland (Fig. 6) appear quite

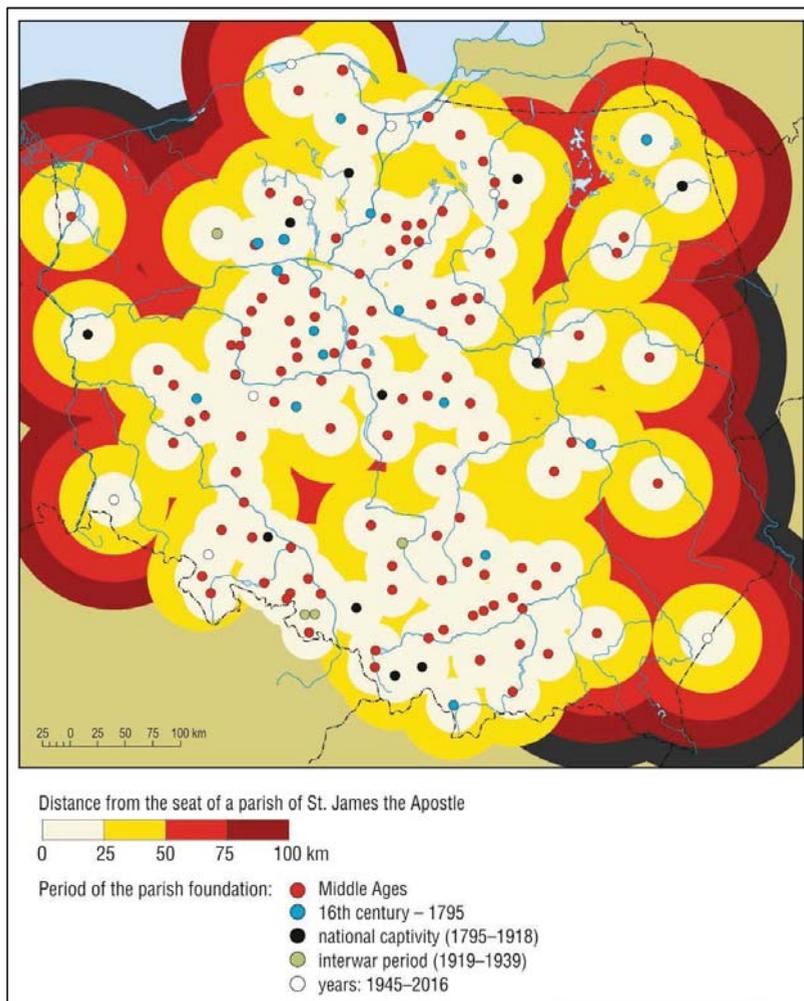


Fig. 6. Isodistance from parishes dedicated to St. James the Apostle, in Poland

Compiled by Franciszek Mróz (2016)

interesting. In regions with the greatest concentration of parishes of St. James, i.e. in Central Lesser Poland (in the upper Vistula valley), Greater Poland, Kujawy and the Łęczyca Region as well as in the upper Oder valley, the distances between churches of St. James do not normally exceed 25 km – that is to say an approximate daily hiking distance. According to historians, small distances between localities with parish churches dedicated to St. James confirm the fact that the process of creating pilgrimage routes to the tomb of St. James the Apostle in Santiago de Compostela started in selected regions of Poland as early as in the Middle Ages.¹⁴ Undoubtedly, temples of St. James located on a continuous line in the direction of Compostela could serve as station churches.¹⁵ However, due to the aforementioned historical, religious and social factors as well as the peripheral location of Poland (in relation to the Shrine of St. James in Compostela), this process had no chance to be completed until the beginning of the 21st century.

Yet another geographical aspect relating to the location of parishes of St. James in Poland is worth noting. Over 75 per cent of currently existing parishes of St. James are rural parishes. Only 11 parishes are urban parishes while 25 (17% of the total number) are urban and rural parishes.¹⁶ In the Middle Ages, parishes of St. James were only in several Polish towns – e.g. in Krakow (established in the 13th century), Toruń (1320), Nysa (1195), Brzesko, Tarchomin (13th century), Olsztyn (1452) and Psie Pole (13th century). This results from the fact that the cult of St. James was much more popular in rural areas than among town dwellers.

Today's patronage of parishes of St. James in Poland is an outcome of the already mentioned lack of support of religious congregations for the development of the cult of St. James. More than 97 per cent of this type of parishes is currently under the patronage of the diocesan clergy and only 4 parishes are in the hands of religious congregations (Błazejowo – the Congregation of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri (Oratorians); Lębork – the Conventual Franciscans, Obra – Oblates, Tolkmicko – Salesians).¹⁷

A significant part of St. James's Trails in Poland refers to the run of trade routes travelled by merchants, royal retinues, knights, scholars, officials but also pilgrims in the Middle Ages. The best examples of this include the Lublin and Lesser Poland Way of St. James, the Pomeranian Way of St. James, the Greater Poland Way of St. James, the Lower Silesian Way of St. James and the Way of St. James *Via Regia*. The Lublin and Lesser Poland Way of St. James refers to a medieval route that con-

¹⁴ A. Witkowska, *Dedications to St. James the Greater, Apostle.*, op. cit., p. 115.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ I. Hodorowicz, F. Mróz, *Geographical Range of the Cult of St. James ...*, op. cit., p. 73.

¹⁷ Ibid.

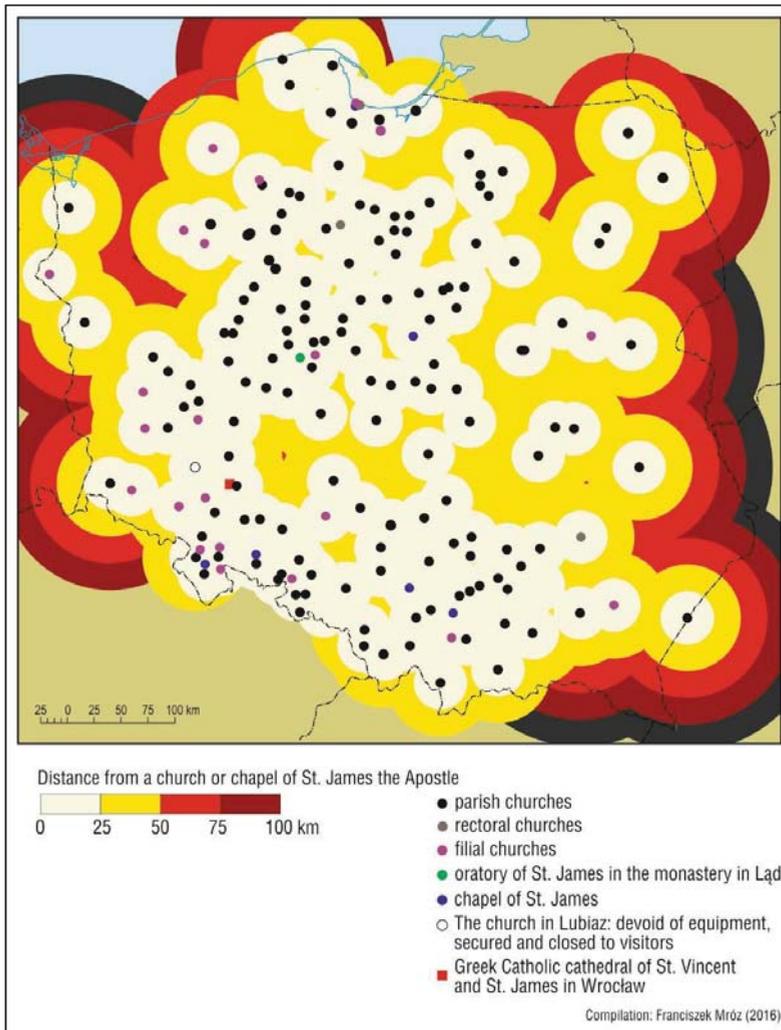


Fig. 7. Isodistance from a religious building dedicated to St. James the Apostle in Poland
Compiled by Franciszek Mróz (2016)

nected Lithuania with Poland and run from Vilnius to Lublin and then, along the valley of Vistula, from Sandomierz through Wiślica to Krakow. That route was one of the branches of the so-called Ruthenian route leading from Ruthenia and Polesie to the capital of the Crown and Silesia.¹⁸ Along that route, Władysław Jagiełło

¹⁸ F. Mróz, *The Way of St. James in Poland – Genesis, Development, New Challenges and Prospects for Development*, Scientific Treatises of the Academy of Physical Education in Wrocław, vol. 47, 2014, pp. 23-24

travelled from Vilnius to Krakow to be crowned as king of Poland in 1386. The Way of St. James *Via Regia*, which is the longest Polish section of the Camino de Santiago (its length from Medyka to Zgorzelec amounts to 957 km) runs along the former *Via Regia* (High Road). That route was a trans-regional trade route that led from Kiev through Lviv, Krakow, Wrocław, Leipzig, Cologne, Aachen to Paris. It was safely used not only by merchants and armies but also by pilgrims going to Santiago de Compostela. The routes of the *Greater Poland Way of St. James* and the *Lower Silesian Way of St. James* refer to the medieval trade route leading from Greater Poland through Łużyce to Prague. According to historians, the route was of particular significance as it connected Poznań and Gniezno with Prague and was the “gateway to Europe” for the Polish state.” The route was mentioned by Jörg Gail, a map maker of Augsburg, as one of 95 European pilgrimage routes to the tomb of St. James the Apostle in Santiago de Compostela. The Lubusz Way of St. James also runs along the former trade route known as the Frankfurt Road, which goes from Poznań to Frankfurt and Lubusz. When marking the Pomeranian Way of St. James, the course of pilgrimage routes going from today’s territory of Estonia and Latvia through Pomerania were taken into account.¹⁹

An important historical factor during the process of marking out selected sections of the Way of St. James was an archaeological discovery of shells of St. James as well as the place of origin of medieval Camino pilgrims.²⁰ According to research by A. Wyrwa, nine pilgrim shells were found in Poland – five specimens of the *Pecten maximus L.* species (Cieszyn, Elbląg, Kołobrzeg, Poznań and Racibórz) and three specimens of the *Pecten jacobaeus L.* species (Lublin, Ostrów Lednicki and Wrocław) as well as a single shell in Łowicz, whose condition does not allow for unambiguous determination of the monument’s species (Fig. 8).²¹ The findings of

¹⁹ F. Mróz, *The Way of St. James in Poland – Genesis and Development – On the 10th Anniversary of the Opening of the First Trail of St. James*, [in:] A. Wyrwa (ed.), *Camino de Santiago. Historical Sketches on the Peregrination and History of the Cult of St. James the Greater* (2nd edition), Museum of the First Piasts in Lednica, Lednica 2015, p. 69.

²⁰ A. Jackowski, I. Sołjan, *Pilgrimages to Santiago de Compostela in time and space*, [in:] A. Jackowski, F. Mróz, I. Hodorowicz (ed.), *Ways of St. James in Poland. State of Research and Organization*, IGI GP UJ, PPWSZ in Nowy Targ, the Fraternity of St. James the Apostle, Branch in Więclawice Stare, Krakow 2008, pp. 23-24; J. Wiesiołowski, *Travels of Poles to Compostela in the 14th and 15th Centuries – Diplomatic Relations and a Noble Education Model*, [in:] R. Knapieński, *Cult of St. James ...*, op. cit., pp. 201-209. M. Wilska, *On the Pilgrim’s Trail from Mazovia to Compostela*, [in:] H. Manikowska, H. Zaremska (ed.), *Peregrinations. Pilgrimages in Culture of Old Europe*, Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw 1995, pp. 165-169;

²¹ A. M. Wyrwa, *St. James the Apostle. Malacological and historical traces of peregrination from Poland to Santiago de Compostela*, Museum of the First Piasts in Lednica, Lednica – Poznań 2009, pp. 36-55, 57-58; Id. *A New Trace of Pilgrimages from Poland to Santiago de Compostela? The Pilgrims’ Shell of Łowicz*, [in:] P. Roszak, F. Mróz (ed.), *The Way of St. James in Poland – Past*,

the shells of St. James in the centres mentioned above are not accidental as these localities had convenient connections through a network of trade routes with Western European countries (Germany, France), from where pilgrimage routes to the tomb of St. James in Santiago de Compostela began.²²



Fig. 8. Shells of St. James found in Poland by 2016; shrines of St. James and centres with relics of St. James the Greater

Compiled by Franciszek Mróz and Łukasz Mróz (2016); shells according to research by Andrzej M. Wyrwa (2016).

Present and Future. On the 10th Anniversary of the Opening the First Polish Section of the Camino de Santiago, “Czuwajmy” Publishing House, Krakow 2015, pp. 158-159.

²² Wyrwa A. M., *The Condition and Needs of Research on Medieval Pilgrimages from Polish Lands to the Tomb of St. James the Apostle*, [in:] Jackowski A., Hodorowicz I., Mróz F. (eds.) *Ways of St. James. Research Status and Organization*, “Czuwajmy” Publishing House, Kraków 2008, pp. 38-39.

The development of the cult of St. James in parishes, which manifests itself in pilgrimages along Polish sections of the Way of St. James, was the main factor behind the establishment of five shrines of St. James in Poland (by the decree of the Ordinary of the place, pursuant to Canon 1230 of the Code of Canon Law) in Jakubowo (17 June 2007), Lębork (25 July 2010), Szczyrk (24 April 2011), Więclawice Stare (5 September 2013) and Małujowice (26 April 2016) (Fig. 6). Bringing relics of St. Apostle (relics brought to Jakubów, Lębork, Łeba, Szczyrk and Więclawice Stare from Rome) or re-exhibition of the relics of St. James “forgotten” for centuries (e.g. in Sączów) have also contributed to the revival of the cult of St. James in many centres. It is worth stressing that historical sources confirm that relics of St. James the Apostle have been stored in several temples (e.g. in Oleśnica Mała near Oława, Sączów, Sandomierz, Sanka, Strzelno, Szczaworyż, Tuchów and Wrocław).

The work on marking out sections of the Camino de Santiago was also guided by the topography of land as well as natural and cultural values of regions through which the trail runs. Many Polish sections of the Way of St. James are extremely attractive in terms of their landscape and nature, and the best indicator of this is the fact that the St. James’s Trails in Poland run through the area of two biosphere reserves (the Słowiński Biosphere Reserve and Kampinos Forest Biosphere Reserve), eight national parks, i.e. the Kampinos National Park (Chopin’s Way of St. James), the Ojców National Park (the Way of St. James *Via Regia*), the Stołowe Mountains National Park (the Kłodzko Way of St. James), the Słowiński National Park (the Pomeranian Way of St. James), the Świętokrzyski National Park (the Świętokrzyska Way of St. James), the Wielkopolski National Park (the Greater Poland Way of St. James), the Wigry National Park (the Polish Way of St. James), the Wolin National Park (the Pomeranian Way of St. James) and over forty natural landscape parks, including buffer zones of these parks (e.g. the Vistula Spit, Elbląg Upland Landscape Park, Tricity and Szczecin Landscape Parks, Iława Lake District, Brodnica Lake District, Lednica Landscape Park, Puszcza Zielonka Landscape Park, Rogalin Landscape Park, General Dezydery Chłapowski Landscape Park, Rudawy Landscape Park, Bóbr Valley Landscape Park, Ślęza Landscape Park, Bystrzyca Valley Landscape Park, Śnieżnik Landscape Park, Warta Landscape Park, Brudzeń Landscape Park, Żerków-Czeszewo Landscape Park, Upper Liswarta Forests Landscape Park, Bolimów, Bug, Masovian, Sulejów, Sieraków, Jeleniowska, Cisów-Orłowiny Landscape Park, Sieradowice Landscape Parks, Gopło Millennium Park, St. Anne’s Mountain Park, Poprad, Little Beskids, Silesian Beskids, Stobrawa, Szaniec, Nida, Kozubów, Dłubnia, Krakow Valleys, Eagles’ Nests, Bielany-Tyniec and Rudno Landscape Parks.

In the case of many sections of the Way of St. James, regional pilgrimage centres were taken into account when marking the route. It turned out to be very important because of pilgrim hostels operating within shrine complexes. At present, the network of the Way of St. James is an important link between many shrines in Poland and this further increases its rank. It is worth emphasizing that currently Polish sections of the Way of St. James lead to the most important Polish shrines, i.e. in Jasna Góra, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska, Krakow-Łagiewniki, Wadowice, Niepokalanów, Gietrzwałd, Gniezno, Piekary Śląskie, Warsaw, Wambierzyce and Krzeszów as well as on St. Anne's Mountain and the Holy Cross Mountain.

It should also be emphasized that heraldic sources and the patronage of St. James the Greater over a town/city or commune were taken into consideration when marking selected sections of the Way of St. James. The figure of St. James (dressed in a long cloak, with a hat on his head, holding a pilgrim's stick in one hand and a shell in the other) was used in the coat of arms of Jakubów (Mazowieckie Voivodeship), Olsztyn, Opatowiec, Pakość as well as Pałecznicza and Sobótki communes. The coat of arms of Morąg shows a pilgrim in a black gown, holding a pilgrim's stick and a shell of St. James. When it comes to the coats of arms of Bolimów, Czarna Commune (Podkarpackie Voivodeship) and Waganiec Commune (Kuyavian and Pomeranian Voivodeship), one of the iconographic elements is the shell of St. James (Fig. 9). St. James the Apostle is the patron saint of Brzesko, Człuchów, Lębork and Olsztyn. One of shafts in the plant of KGHM Polska Miedź S.A. in Polkowice, 14 streets, 2 roundabouts and 4 squares are named after St. James.²³

²³ Cf. Przybylska L., *Streets of St. James in Poland*, [in:] Roszak P., Mróz F. (eds.), *The Way of St. James in Poland – Past, Present and Future. On the 10th Anniversary of the Opening of the First Trail of St. James*, “Czuwajmy” Publishing House, Kraków 2015, pp. 272-274.



Fig. 9. Coats of arms of Polish cities/towns and communes with the iconography of St. James and the shell of St. James

Compiled by Franciszek Mróz (2016)

Conclusions

The conducted analysis of the contemporary Camino de Santiago network in Poland has led to the conclusion that the route has very well-established origins and development conditions in Poland. These are primarily historical, geographical and religious conditions, as well as cultural, social, economic and political ones – which have not been analysed in the presented text. In just ten years, the Polish network of the Way of St. James of more than six thousand kilometres has become the longest pilgrimage and cultural route not only in Poland but also in Central and Eastern Europe.

Together with the development of the cult of St. James in parishes, fraternities and associations of St. James as well as along with increasing lengths of new sections of the Camino de Santiago in Poland, a dynamically growing number of pilgrimages of Poles to the tomb of St. James in Santiago de Compostela can be noticed. Since the opening of the first section of the Way of St. James (2005) until 2016, the number of people from Poland who have received a Compostela document grew more than nine-fold (in 2005 – 422 people and in 2016 – 3926 people). The development of the network of the Way of St. James in Poland is also increasingly influenced by joint initiatives for marking St. James's Paths as well as Camino de Santiago pilgrimages and hikes in the borderlands between Poland and Ukraine (Lviv and Sub-Carpathian Way of St. James *Via Regia*), Poland and Slovakia (Spis and Beskid Way of St. James), Poland and the Czech Republic (Beskid and Sudety Way of James) as well as Poland and Germany (Lower Silesian and Ecumenical Way of St. James). The picture of the Way of St. James in Poland presented in the paper would not have been complete without attracting attention to the main problems relating to the functioning of this route. These continue to involve, in particular, little knowledge of the Way of St. James – history of the route, its rank and the specificity of Camino hikes – among the Polish people (unfortunately, this also applies to residents of regions through which the route runs), lack of appropriate tourist facilities on the route (except for information base) and lack of constant care (“guards of the route”) for selected sections of the route. The marking of several sections of the Way of St. James in Poland should also be critically assessed, because historical, geographical and religious factors were not taken into account when these sections were marked out. These trails neither link places associated with the worship of St. James nor refer to old trade routes, and they do not lead Camino pilgrims to the sanctuary of St. James in Santiago de Compostela. Unfortunately, names of selected sections of the Way of St. James indicate that a given route is supposed to link places connected with history or people associated with a given region rather with St. James the Greater (e.g. the Way of St. James of “the Miracle on the Vistula River” or Chopin’s Way of St. James).

The conducted analysis of the genesis and development of the Way of St. James in Poland has prompted the author to attempt to create a development model of Camino de Santiago sections common to countries of Central and Eastern Europe. This model refers to a model of a tourist area evolution cycle developed by R.W. Butler (1980), popular in geographical and tourist literature. In the developed model, Butler described changes in the evolution of a tourist region with the use of six phases, characterized by distinct dynamics – i.e. phases of exploration, introduc-

tion, growth and consolidation as well as heyday and fall or revival phases.²⁴ The ten-year period of the functioning of the Way of St. James in Poland seems to be far too short to distinguish all the phases of the cycle adopted by Butler; therefore, the proposed development model of the Camino de Santiago is somewhat different.

In the first phase of “contact”, an existing section of the Way of St. James comes into contact with a region where it is to be developed. This contact should also be considered in the context of the local community, the clergy, worshippers of St. James and representatives of the local government becoming familiar with the issue of the Way of St. James and the figure of St. James.

The phase of “exploration and marking of the route” assumes searching for traces of the cult of St. James in the specific area, discovering ancient trade routes and other threads relating to the pilgrimage route to Santiago de Compostela. On this basis, the marking of sections of the Way of St. James begins in the given region, and then they are officially opened.

In the “introduction” phase, the network of the Way of St. James in the particular region clearly starts to grow, along with a number of pilgrims – tourists on the route. New projects are created to popularize going on pilgrimages along the Way of St. James and to develop the cult of St. James in spatial units. The first elements of tourist development are created – mainly the information base and single albergue hostels.

The “development” phase assumes further development of the route – development of tourist facilities (new accommodation facilities for Camino pilgrims, sheds and shelters on the route), promotion of the route, development of the cult of St. James in sacred buildings on the route and growing tourist traffic on the route. Initiatives relating to the development of the Way of St. James are joined by more and more groups of fans of the Way of St. James as well as local communities.

In the “stagnation” phase, there is a noticeable decrease in tourist traffic on the route and a gradual decline in the importance of the route in the region. This is caused by the lack of further interest in the route among people who have contributed to its creation. The lack of support from local authorities, the clergy, fans of the Way of St. James and local residents, as well as the lack of expansion of tourist facilities on the route lead to a situation where the trail is gradually forgotten.

The sixth phase may see either a collapse or revival of the route, depending on whether actions are taken to support the functioning and promotion of the route.

²⁴ Butler R.W., *The Concept of the Tourism Area Cycle Evolution: Implications for Management of Resources*, “The Canadian Geographers”, 24 (1), 1980, pp. 5-12.

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Manifestations of the Cult of St. James the Greater in Poland – Selected Examples

Introduction

The aim of the article is to present the manifestations of the cult of one of the most popular saints in the Church, namely St. James the Greater. The cult refers to the present territory of Poland, to the north-eastern part of the country in particular, which in the Middle Ages belonged to the State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia. This article sums up several years of research devoted to various aspects of the cult and memory of St. James the Greater.¹

¹ W. Rozynkowski, "Patrocinia kościołów parafialnych w diecezji chełmińskiej w średniowieczu," *Zapiski Historyczne*, vol. 65: 2000, book 3-4, pp. 45-70; W. Rozynkowski, *Omnes Sancti et Sanctae Dei. Studium nad kultem świętych w diecezjach pruskich państwa zakonu krzyżackiego*, Malbork 2006; W. Rozynkowski, "Św. Jakub- patron obiektów sakralnych w państwie zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach," in A. Sroka ed., *Szpital i kościół św. Jakuba. 600 lat fundacji gildii szypków w Gdańsku*, Toruń 2009, pp. 28-47; W. Rozynkowski, "Św. Jakub Apostoł- patron kościoła i parafii," in K. Kluczajd ed., *Dzieje i skarby kościoła świętojakubskiego w Toruniu*, Toruń 2010, pp. 9-19; W. Rozynkowski, "Średniowieczne przejawy kultu św. Jakuba na Pomorzu- wybrane zagadnienia," in W. Rozynkowski, A. Zajączkowska eds., *Drogi św. Jakuba na obszarze krajów południowego wybrzeża Bałtyku*, Lębork 2010, pp. 19-32; W. Rozynkowski, "Kult św. Jakuba Większego w państwie zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach," in P. Roszak ed., *Camino de Santiago- nie tylko droga. Historia i współczesność Szlaku św. Jakuba*, Toruń 2011, pp. 217-250; W. Rozynkowski, "O najstarszych śladach kultu św. Jakuba Większego na Pomorzu Gdańskim i w Ziemi Chełmińskiej," in A. Jackowski, F. Mróz, I. Hodorowicz eds., *Wpływ Świętego Roku Jakubowego na rozwój kultu i Drogi św. Jakuba*, Kraków 2011, pp. 133-150; W. Rozynkowski, "Św. Jakub Apostoł- patron kościołów w diecezji toruńskiej," in A. Jackowski, F. Mróz eds., *Akt Europejski" bł.*

The subject highlighted in the article concerns the places where since the Middle Ages it has been possible to observe various manifestations of the cult of St. James the Apostle. However, the article starts with the fundamental question concerning the identity of the saint in various sources.

1. St. James – but which one?

Why is it worth asking this question, or even necessary to do so, when researching the cult of St. James the Greater? Analyzing medieval sources it is frequently difficult to distinguish between James the Greater and the Less as the texts generally refer to St. James. The church in the New Town of Toruń may serve as an example. An entry from 1424 in the council book of the New Town of Toruń says: *6 mr. czins der kirchen czu s. Jacob;*² in the book of the city treasury (*Kämmerei*) in Toruń it is written that *der rath vornuget der kirchen S. Jacobi dy 15 mr. und 19 sc.*³, whereas in the

Jana Pawła II a renesans Drogi św. Jakuba, Kraków 2012, pp. 207-225; W. Rozynekowski, "Pielgrzymki do św. Jakuba z obszaru państwa zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach- zarys problematyki," in A. Jackowski, F. Mróz, Ł. Mróz eds., *1200 lat pielgrzymek do grobu św. Jakuba w Santiago de Compostela*, Kraków 2013, pp. 257-268; W. Rozynekowski, "Św. Jakub w objawieniach bł. Doroty z Mątów," in P. Roszak, W. Rozynekowski eds., *Camino Polaco. Teologia-sztuka-historia-teraźniejszość*, vol. 1, Toruń 2014, p. 61-72; W. Rozynekowski, "Kościół św. Jakuba na Camino Polaco," in K. Mikulski, P. Oliński, W. Rozynekowski eds., *Nowe Miasto Toruń. 750 lat od lokacji*, Toruń 2014, pp. 383-397; W. Rozynekowski, "Po drodze do św. Jakuba- o szpitalach w państwie zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach," in A. Jackowski, F. Mróz, *Święci i błogosławieni na Drodze św. Jakuba- 800. Rocznice pielgrzymki św. Franciszka z Asyżu do Santiago de Compostela*, Kraków 2014, pp. 231-242; W. Rozynekowski, "Relikwie św. Jakuba Większego (?) w parafii św. Wojciecha i św. Katarzyny w Boluminku- przyczynek do badań nad relikwiami św. Jakuba," in P. Roszak, W. Rozynekowski eds., *Camino Polaco. Teologia-sztuka-historia-teraźniejszość*, vol. 2, Toruń 2015, pp. 145-160; W. Rozynekowski, "Przejawy kultu św. Jakuba Większego w państwie zakonnym w Prusach," in B. Sieka, A. Szarszewski, P. Paluchowski, eds., *Między Gdańskiem a Santiago. 600-lecie konsekracji kościoła św. Jakuba fundacji szyprow w Gdańsku*, Gdańsk 2015, pp. 43-64; W. Rozynekowski, "Relikwie św. Jakuba Apostoła w krzyżu relikwiarzowym ks. biskupa Adolfa Piotra Szelażka," in P. Roszak, F. Mróz eds., *Droga św. Jakuba w Polsce- historia, teraźniejszość i przyszłość. W 10. rocznicę otwarcia pierwszego polskiego odcinka Camino de Polaco*, Kraków 2015, pp. 163-177; W. Rozynekowski, "Jakubowe toponimia- zarys problematyki badawczej," in P. Roszak, F. Mróz eds., *Droga do Composteli- przeszłość i teraźniejszość*, Kraków 2016, pp. 67-76; W. Rozynekowski, "Św. Jakub Większy- patron kościołów zakonnych w Polsce ok. 1772 roku," in P. Roszak, W. Rozynekowski eds., *Camino Polaco. Teologia-sztuka-historia-teraźniejszość*, vol. 3, Toruń 2016, pp. 101-111.

² *Księga ławnicza Nowego Miasta Torunia (1387-1450)*, K. Ciesielska ed. Toruń 1973 (Fontes Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu, vol. 63), no. 988; see also index, p. 373.

³ *Księga kamlarii miasta Torunia 1453-1495*, K. Mikulski, K. Kopiński, J. Tandecki eds., Toruń 2007, p. 152.

council book of the Old Town of Toruń in 1470 it is recorded that *3 mr. der kirchen czu S. Jocab.*⁴ It is clear that all the sources mention St. James as the patron of the New Town church, yet it is impossible to state with certainty which one they refer to.

The fact that St. James the Less is frequently accompanied by St. Philip is a very helpful suggestion observed in historiography that can serve to distinguish these two saints.⁵ It is associated with the fact that both saints were mentioned in the liturgical calendar on the same day, namely the first of May.

In questionable situations modern sources, preserved iconographic artifacts or the tradition of cult of a given saint in a particular place help to distinguish between St. James the Greater and St. James the Less. It is assumed that the history of the cult of St. James in Poland and in the whole of Europe started in the early Middle Ages and it was mostly the cult of St. James the Greater.⁶ It appears, however, that the development of his cult contributed to the promotion of the cult of St. James the Less. Therefore, during library research it is necessary to pay attention to the fact that alongside references to St. James the Greater, St. James the Less might be mentioned. This situation happens with respect to the parish church in the New Town of Toruń.⁷

2. In the liturgy

It might be assumed that the oldest manifestations of the cult of St. James appeared in Poland thanks to the liturgy, namely the presence of St. James the Greater in the liturgical calendar. The saint was mentioned in the martyrologies, calendars, sacramentaries and other liturgical books. In the Middle Ages, his feast falls on 25th July and it is present in the liturgical calendars of various dioceses and orders.⁸

Regarding the beginnings of Christianity in Poland it might be postulated that the cult of St. James the Greater appeared on Polish territory shortly after Prince Mieszko and his court received baptism. In the north-eastern part of present-day

⁴ *Księga ławnicza Starego Miasta Torunia (1456-1479)*, K. Kopiński, J. Tandecki, eds., Toruń 2007 (Fontes Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu, vol. 99), no 885.

⁵ See J. Rajman, *Średniowieczne patrocinia krakowskie*, Kraków 2002, pp. 150-151.

⁶ W. Schenk, "Kult świętych w Polsce. Zarys historyczny," *Roczniki Teologiczno-Kanoniczne*, 1966, vol. 13, book 4, p.81.

⁷ See W. Rozyńkowski, "Św. Jakub Apostoł- patron kościoła i parafii," in K. Kluczwajd ed., *Dzieje i skarby kościoła świętojakubskiego w Toruniu*, Toruń 2010, pp. 11-13.

⁸ H. Wąsowicz, "Kult św. Jakuba Apostoła w Polsce do połowy XVI wieku w świetle ksiąg liturgicznych," in R. Knapiński ed., *Kult św. Jakuba Większego Apostoła w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej*, Lublin 2002, 25-46; H. Wąsowicz, *Chronologia średniowieczna*, Lublin 2013, pp. 142, 147.

Poland the liturgical feast of St. James the Apostle started to be celebrated when the first missionaries settled there. Hypothetically, the first celebration of the saint could have taken place when his feast was observed on 25th July in the liturgy. But when was it? For obvious reasons it is not possible to give a precise date; however, it might be posited that it happened at the end of the 10th century in the area of Gdańsk Pomerania and Chełmno Land, whereas in Prussia the celebration started in the mid-13th century.

In medieval calendars used in the State of the Teutonic Order as well as in the whole of Europe and Polish dioceses, including the diocese of Włocławek with the Archdeaconry of Pomerania, the feast of St. James the Greater was celebrated on 25th July. It is worth noting that the feast of St. Philip and St. James the Less was celebrated on 1st May there.⁹ Moreover, in the Teutonic calendar, which was used in Prussian dioceses, both feasts of St. James were celebrated in the highest liturgical rank of *duplex*.¹⁰

3. Relics

It is assumed that the relics of St. James the Greater have been present on Polish lands since the Middle Ages.¹¹ However, there is no detailed research concerning this question and historians have to rely on far-reaching generalizations and assumptions. As St. James the Greater was one of the most popular saints and was the patron of numerous parish churches, it is automatically assumed that at least in some of the churches, the faithful could venerate his relics.¹² It seems, however, that apart from special cases which are difficult to prove, this practice did not take place. This conclusion results from the fact that there is no information about holding relics of St. James in those places. Generally speaking, research so far is scarce and it is possible to conclude that in the Middle Ages there were not many relics of St. James the Greater in Poland. It is only an assumption, which demands critical academic verification.

Let us focus on two examples indicating the presence of relics of St. James the Greater in the Middle Ages. In c. 1450 his relics were held in Oleśnica Mała near

⁹ B. Włodarski ed., *Chronologia polska*, Warszawa 2007, pp. 171-172.

¹⁰ See W. Rozynekowski, *Omnes Sancti et Sanctae Dei. Studium nad kultem świętych w diecezjach pruskich państwa zakonu krzyżackiego*, Malbork 2006, pp. 53, 54, 56, 58.

¹¹ General information on the relics of St. James the Greater see J. Marecki, L. Rotter, *Relikwie. Leksykon. Historia, cuda, kult*, Kraków 2012, pp. 108-109.

¹² See K. Szczepkowska-Naliwajek, *Relikwiarze średniowiecznej Europy od IV do początku XVI wieku. Geneza, treści, styl i techniki wykonania*, Warszawa 1996, p. 36.

Oława. In the same place there were also relics of St. James the Less.¹³ It cannot be ruled out that the relics of St. James the Greater were to be found in the Norbertine church in Strzelno as early as the Middle Ages.¹⁴

It might be assumed that relics of the saint from Spain also reached Poland later on. It is difficult, however, to refer to any concrete examples. It is possible that as early as the 18th century relics of St. James the Greater were to be found in the parish church in Boluminek in the diocese of Toruń (until 1992 it was the diocese of Chełmno).¹⁵ It is also difficult to establish the origin of the relics of St. James the Apostle and when Adolf Piotr Szelażek (1865-1950), the bishop of Lutsk in Volyn, came into possession of them.¹⁶

In recent years we have been able to trace the history of some relics of the saint. For example, the relics of St. James the Greater in the parish churches in Jakubowo, Łeba or Lębork come from Rome. They were brought to Jakubowo in 2005, to Więclawice Stare in 2007, to Łeba in 2008 and to Lębork in 2010.¹⁷

Apart from the places mentioned above, relics of St. James the Apostle might be found in Brzesko, Leśna, Podegrodzie, Sączów, Szczyrk and Tuchów.¹⁸ The origin of these relics and the time when they were brought to these places require separate detailed research.

¹³ Ibid., p. 37.

¹⁴ L. Łbik, "Kolekcja relikwii z kujawskiego Strzelna", *Materiały do Dziejów Kujaw i Sztuki Bydgoszczy i Regionu*, vol. 5: 2000, p. 116; M. Starnawska, *Świętych życie po życiu. Relikwie w kulturze religijnej na ziemiach polskich w średniowieczu*, Warszawa 2008, p. 135.

¹⁵ W. Rozyrkowski, "Relikwie św. Jakuba Większego (?) w parafii św. Wojciecha i św. Katarzyny w Boluminku- przyczynek do badań nad relikwiami św. Jakuba," in P. Roszak, W. Rozyrkowski ed., *Camino Polaco. Teologia-sztuka-historia-teraźniejszość*, vol. 2, Toruń 2015, pp. 145-160.

¹⁶ W. Rozyrkowski, "Relikwie św. Jakuba Apostoła w krzyżu relikwiarzowym ks. biskupa Adolfa Piotra Szelażka," in P. Roszak, W. Rozyrkowski eds., *Droga św. Jakuba w Polsce- historia, teraźniejszość i przyszłość. W 10. rocznicę otwarcia pierwszego polskiego odcinka Camino de Polaco*, Kraków 2015, pp. 163-177.

¹⁷ W. Hass, "(...) do grobu św. Jakuba..." - czyli kilka uwag o dawnej i współczesnej czci oddawanej relikwiom oraz głównym celom pielgrzymek do Santiago de Compostela," in I. Hodorowicz, F. Mróz eds., *Pielgrzymi na Drodze św. Jakuba. Przeszłość i teraźniejszość*, Kraków 2009, p. 51; O. P. Pawlik, "Świątynia p.w. Jakuba Apostoła w Lęborku na europejskiej sieci Camino de Santiago (Dróg św. Jakuba)," in W. Rozyrkowski, A. Zajączkowska eds., *Drogi św. Jakuba na obszarze krajów południowego wybrzeża Bałtyku*, Lębork 2010, p. 73; Ks. Z. Myszk, *Santiago de Łeba- budowa parafii i kościoła pw. św. Jakuba Apostoła w Łebie*, in Ibid., pp. 80-81; W. Hass, "O kulcie relikwii w sanktuarium św. Jakuba Apostoła w Jakubowie- współczesność, tradycja, pytania," in P. Roszak, F. Mróz eds., *Droga do Composteli- przeszłość i teraźniejszość*, Kraków 2016, p. 77-85.

¹⁸ See the map of the Shrine of St. James the Greater, the centers with his relics and the information about where scallop shells of St. James were found in Poland (information from 1 September 2011), in A. Jackowski, F. Mróz, I. Hodorowicz eds., *Wpływ Świętego Roku Jakubowego na rozwój kultu i Drogi św. Jakuba*, Kraków 2011.

4. Patron saint of parish churches

Saints were mostly regarded as patrons. One of the elements of this phenomenon was their patronage of religious buildings, known as *patrocinium* or dedication.¹⁹ It is worth noting that the patronage of saints did not focus only on the church but also the congregation which gathered there so the patron saint of the church was also a patron of the parish community and the intercessor of all those who came to the place of the patronage.

In 1996 there were 140 parish churches dedicated to St. James the Greater in Poland. It is a considerable number taking into consideration the fact that at that time there were 9363 parish churches in Poland so it constituted 1.5% of all dedications.²⁰ This number has not changed significantly in recent years. In 2005 there were 144 parish churches dedicated to St. James the Greater.²¹ One of the youngest of these parish churches, founded in 1998, is the Church of St. James the Greater in Łeba.

Existing research does not include comprehensive studies concerning the popularity of St. James the Apostle as the patron saint of parishes in particular periods. It is known that the patronage appeared in Poland as early as the Middle Ages and seemed to be at its most popular at that time. It might even be postulated that the sacred buildings preserved until today and dedicated to St. James the Greater originate mostly from that period. If they came from later periods, then the original religious buildings would also have been dedicated to St. James.

This does not mean that at a later point in history there were no foundations entrusted to the care of St. James. Moreover, in some cases St. James the Greater was a co-patron or, as has already been mentioned, patron of a new (i.e. a subsequent) or restored religious building.

In the Middle Ages there were 25 parish churches dedicated to St. James the Greater in the State of the Teutonic Order.²² Unfortunately, the documents of church

¹⁹ See A. Witkowska, *Titulus ecclesiae. Wezwania współczesnych kościołów katedralnych w Polsce*, Warszawa 1999, pp. 49-58.

²⁰ A. Witkowska, "Wezwania św. Jakuba Większego Apostoła w diecezji krakowskiej w średniowieczu," in R. Knapieński eds., *Kult św. Jakuba Większego Apostoła w Europie środkowo-wschodniej*, Lublin 2002, pp. 111-112.

²¹ A.M. Wyrwa, "Patrocinia kościołów św. Jakuba Apostoła Większego w granicach historycznej Wielkopolski," in A.M. Wyrwa ed., *Camino de Santiago: szkice historyczne do peregrynacji i dziejów kultu św. Jakuba Apostoła Większego*, Lednica 2015, pp. 126-127.

²² E. Tidick, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kirchen- Patrozinien im Deutschordenslande Preussen bis 1525," *Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ermland*, 1926, vol. 22, pp. 373-374, 444-445; W. Rozynekowski, *Omnes*, passim.

foundation and consecration or other sources which would mention the *patrocinium* in its original form are unknown.

5. Town parishes

In several cases St. James the Greater is the patron saint of town parishes. In the diocese of Chełmno there is one St. James' Church in the New Town of Toruń. The town had been founded in 1264 and possibly shortly after this event the parish came into being, whereas the construction of the existing church started at the beginning of the 14th century. Information about the dedication is placed on the inscription outside and inside the church presbytery.²³ Since 2009 the church has been a part of the Polish Way of St. James (the *Camino Polaco*).²⁴

In the Bishopric of Pomesania, St. James' patronage is present in Nowy Staw. The town was founded in 1329-1343 and the parish church was created at that time. Information about the dedication of the church to St. James is included in the inspection documents from 1647.²⁵

The largest number of parish churches of St. James the Greater is located in the diocese of Warmia. St. James is the patron saint of the main church in Olsztyn, founded in 1353.²⁶ Since 2006 this church has been an important point of the Polish Way of St. James (the *Camino Polaco*). Another church dedicated to St. James was founded in Tolkmicko in 1296-1299. St. James is a co-patron, alongside the Holy Cross and the Blessed Virgin Mary.²⁷ However, St. James the Greater could be the main patron as the Christological and Mariological references encountered in the extended description of the dedication reflected the entrusting of the church to God's care and the special intercessor of all the faithful, namely the Mother of God. The third town where St. James could possibly be the patron of the parish church

²³ L. Krantz-Domasłowska, J. Domasłowski, *Kościół świętego Jakuba w Toruniu*, Toruń 2001, p. 50; K. Sulkowska-Tuszyńska, "Prezbiterium kościoła św. Jakuba po badaniach archeologiczno-architektonicznych. Nowa historia Nowego Miasta Torunia?" in K. Mikulski, P. Oliński, W. Rozyński eds., *Nowe Miasto Toruń. 750 lat od lokacji*, Toruń 2014, pp. 9-42.

²⁴ See W. Rozyński, *Kościół św. Jakuba na Camino Polaco*. in *Ibid.*, pp. 383-397.

²⁵ *Visitationes ecclesiarum Dioecesis Culmensis et Pomesaniae Andrea Leszczyński episcopo A. 1647 facta*, A. Pobłocki, Ed. Toruń 1900 (Fontes Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu, vol. 4), p. 111.

²⁶ A. Olczyk, *Sieć parafialna biskupstwa warmińskiego do roku 1525*, Lublin 1961, p. 79; See A. Witkowska, *Titulus ecclesiae*, pp. 168-170.

²⁷ *Sedes archipresbyterales diocesis Warmiensis*, in C. P. Woelky (hrsg.), *Scriptores rerum Warmiensium oder Quellenschriften zur Geschichte Ermlands*, Bd. 1, Braunsberg 1866, p. 413, p. 125.

is Welawa, founded in 1336.²⁸ It should be remembered that the references to the dedication in the last two examples are based on later information. Therefore it cannot be ruled out that medieval dedications were different in those two places.

In Gdańsk Pomerania, more precisely in the Pomeranian Archdeaconry of the Diocese of Włocławek, St. James the Greater was the patron of the parish church in Lębork, a town founded in 1341. The church of St. James which exists today was built at the beginning of the 15th century.²⁹ However, due to several centuries of St. James' cult in this place and the renewal of his cult in recent years, St. James was proclaimed the patron of Lębork in 1998 and in 2010 the Church of St. James was raised to the rank of the Diocesan Sanctuary of St. James the Apostle. The church in Lębork constitutes an important point of the Lębork Way of St. James, which is a fragment of the Pomeranian Way of St. James.

6. Village parishes

The patronage of St. James in village parish churches in the area under discussion is more common as it is encountered in perhaps 19 villages. It cannot be forgotten that village churches outnumbered town parishes so the proportions are different. In the Diocese of Chełmno, St. James the Greater is the patron saint of the following parishes (the time of the village foundation is given in parentheses): Bobrowo (the second half of the 13th century), Dąbrówka Królewska (the end of the 13th century), Kazanice (mid-14th century), Ostrowite near Łasin (the first half of the 14th century) and Wielkie Radowiska (1340).³⁰

In the Bishopric of Pomesania, St. James is present in the following parish churches: Bystrze (the first half of the 14th century), Mikołajki (probably the 14th century), Niedźwiedzica (1342) and Tuja (1318). In the Diocese of Warmia he is the patron of the parish churches in Bartoły (the second half of the 14th century), Butryny (the beginning of the 15th century), Kwiecewo (the second half of the 14th century) and Osetnik (the end of the 13th century).³¹ In the town of Kolno, founded

²⁸ Ibid., p. 427, p. 207

²⁹ A. Laddach, "Kościoły pod wezwaniem św. Jakuba w diecezji pelplińskiej," in P. Roszak, W. Rozyrkowski eds., *Camino Polaco. Teologia-sztuka-historia-teraźniejszość*, vol. 1, Toruń 2014, pp. 102, 111-112.

³⁰ W. Rozyrkowski, *Powstanie i rozwój sieci parafialnej w diecezji chełmińskiej w czasach panowania zakonu krzyżackiego*, Toruń 2000, pp. 138, 143, 150, 165.

³¹ A. Olczyk, *Sieć parafialna*, p. 66, 69, 77, 80; W. Rozyrkowski, *Omnes*, p. 108.

in 1359, in the Diocese of Warmia St. James is a co-patron of the parish church. The other patrons of the church, namely the Three Kings are rarely encountered.³²

In the area of the Pomeranian Archdeaconry of the Diocese of Włocławek there were probably 5 village churches dedicated to St. James the Greater in the Middle Ages.³³ The oldest patronage is associated with the parish church in Kłodawa Gdańska. The parish existed there in the second half of the 13th century and the first reference to the village originates from 1280.³⁴ However, information about the dedication of the church to St. James comes from the inspection documents of 1583.³⁵ The next St. James' Church is located in Oliwa. It was built next to the extended Cistercian monastery. The parish was founded by the monks, probably in the second half of the 13th century.³⁶

The next parish church is in the village of Niewieścín. The parish was founded probably at the end of the 14th century³⁷ but the first reference to the dedication originates from the inspection documents of 1583.³⁸ Interestingly, the inspection from 1584 mentions both the Holy Trinity and St. James as patrons of the church.³⁹ It seems, however, that the main patron of the church was St. James. Dedication to the Holy Trinity is very rare when it comes to parish churches and may indicate the fact mentioned earlier that every church was built for the glory of God.

The next St. James' parish church is located in Dzierżążno. The parish existed there in the 14th century but the dedication to St. James the Apostle is known from the inspection of 1583.⁴⁰ It appears, however, that it originates from the Middle Ages as there are no other references to a different *patrocinium* and St. James as a patron is encountered in other inspections.⁴¹

³² A. Olczyk, *Sieć parafialna*, p. 76.

³³ A. Laddach, *Kościół*, pp. 101-119.

³⁴ M. Grzegorz, *Osady Pomorza Gdańskiego w latach 1309-1454*, Warszawa-Łódź 1990, p. 157.

³⁵ *Visitationes Archidiaconatus Pomeraniae Hieronimo Rozrażewski Vladislaviensi et Pomeraniae episcopo factae*, ed. P. Kujot Toruń 1897-1899 (Fontes Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu, vol. 1-3), p. 41.

³⁶ See K. Dąbrowski, *Opactwo cystersów w Oliwie od XII do XVI wieku*, Gdańsk 1975, pp. 165-166.

³⁷ W. Szulist, *Przeszłość obecnych obszarów diecezji pelplińskiej do 1772 r.*, Pelplin 2000, p. 49.

³⁸ *Visitationes Archidiaconatus Pomeraniae*, p. 84.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

⁴⁰ *Visitationes Archidiaconatus Pomeraniae*, p. 76.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

It cannot be ruled out that as early as the Middle Ages St. James the Greater was also a patron of the parish church in Wielki Lubień. The parish was mentioned in a document at the end of the 14th century.⁴²

7. Patron of hospitals

There is no detailed research concerning the presence of St. James as the patron of hospitals in medieval Poland. It seems, however, that it was a marginal phenomenon. Referring to the research conducted on the dedication of hospital churches in the Middle Ages in the Diocese of Cracow, out of 67 known patrons of hospital complexes there is no mention of St. James.⁴³

In medieval Europe there existed St. James' hospitals but they were not very common.⁴⁴ For example, in the Diocese of Würzburg there are four such places, whereas in the Diocese of Bamberg there are two hospitals of St. James.⁴⁵ It appears that the greater number of St. James' hospital complexes in western Europe was associated with the more intensive pilgrimage practices including Santiago de Compostela.

In the analyzed area, St. James the Greater as the main patron of hospitals is only encountered in the case of Gdańsk. The hospital in Gdańsk was founded in 1409, when the guild of shipmasters asked Grand Master Ulrich von Jungingen to create an institution which would take care of poor, sick or injured seamen. The foundation of the hospital was accomplished in 1415 and the complete dedication of the hospital church is included in the reimbursement document of the Grand Master Paulus von Rusdorf issued in 1432. The document states that the hospital church had the following patrons: St. James the Greater, St. Christopher and St. Catherine.⁴⁶ There

⁴² *Diecezja chełmińska. Zarys historyczno-statystyczny*, Pelplin 1928, p. 471; S. Librowski, "Wizytacje diecezji wrocławskiej", part 1, "Wizytacje diecezji kujawskiej i pomorskiej", *Archiwa Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne*, 1965, vol. 10, p. 181.

⁴³ See M. Spórna, "Wezwania kościołów i kaplic szpitalnych w diecezji krakowskiej do 1539 r.," *Nasza Przeszłość*, vol. 98, 2002, pp. 549-564.

⁴⁴ See M. Santos Noya, *Zeugnisse des Kultes in Patrozinien, Hospizen und Bruderschaften*, in K. Herbers, D.R. Bauer ed., *Der Jakobuskult in Süddeutschland. Kultgeschichte in regionaler und europäischer Perspektive*, Tübingen 1995, p. 38.

⁴⁵ See M. Schneider, *Jakobus- ein Deutschordenspatron?*, in *Der Jakobuskult in Süddeutschland*, pp. 132-133; R. Plötz, *Święty Jakub Apostoł w europejskim krajobrazie patrociniów ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem Frankonii*, in *Kult św. Jakuba Większego Apostoła*, p. 84.

⁴⁶ A. Szarszewski, *Szpital i kościół św. Jakuba w Gdańsku. Zarys historyczny*, Toruń 1999, pp. 13-14, 162; P. Oliński, *Fundacje mieszczzańskie w miastach pruskich w okresie średniowiecza i na progu czasów nowożytnych (Chełmno, Toruń, Elbląg, Gdańsk, Królewiec, Braniewo)*, Toruń

is no doubt that the first and main patron of this place was St. James the Greater. Since the Middle Ages it is he who has been identified not only with the present church but also the existing hospital complex.

8. Patron of monasteries

St. James the Apostle was also the patron of monasteries.⁴⁷ First, let us refer to the table from the study of Stanisław Litak. He prepared the characteristics of the administrative structure of the Church in the Commonwealth of Poland in c. 1772.⁴⁸ Relying on the sources, especially inspections, he compared all the existing monasteries in Poland at that time and presented the dedication of monastery churches we are interested in. In the light of this research there existed 20 monastery churches of St. James in c. 1772.

The frequency of occurrence of the dedication of St. James the Greater in male religious orders

Religious Order	Number
Cistercians	5
Canons Regular of the Lateran	3
Franciscans	2
Benedictines	2
Dominicans	2
Jesuits	1
Capuchins	1
Bernardines	1
Hermits of St. Augustine	1
Apostolic Union of Secular Priests	1
Order of the Holy Sepulcher	1

2008, pp. 483-486; P. Samól, *Kościół i szpital w topografii Młodego Miasta Gdańska*, in B. Sieka, A. Szarszewski, P. Paluchowski eds., *Między Gdańskiem a Santiago. 600-lecie konsekracji kościoła św. Jakuba fundacji szyprow w Gdańsku*, Gdańsk 2015, pp. 76-83.

⁴⁷ For more detailed information see W. Rozyrkowski, "Św. Jakub Większy- patron kościołów zakonnych w Polsce ok. 1772 roku," in P. Roszak, W. Rozyrkowski, *Camino Polaco. Teologia-sztuka-historia-teraźniejszość*, vol. 3, Toruń 2016, pp. 101-111.

⁴⁸ P. Litak, *Kościół łaciński w Rzeczypospolitej około 1772 roku. Struktury administracyjne*, Lublin 1996, sp. 633.

Stanisław Litak mentions St. James the Greater only once in the case of churches of female orders.⁴⁹ This is the church in the New Town of Toruń, where in the modern period or probably as early as the Middle Ages a Benedictine convent existed.⁵⁰

The table demonstrates that in 1772 monastic churches of St. James the Apostle were encountered in the case of 11 religious orders.

In the light of Litak's research, in Poland, there existed religious houses (monasteries) of 29 religious orders. Thus in more than one-third of them there were churches of St. James the Greater.

The presented data demonstrate clearly that the largest number of dedications was in the Cistercian Order. It might be postulated that the dedication of the church to St. James occurs mostly in the case of orders whose religious houses originate from the Middle Ages.

It is difficult to indicate the direct influence of a particular order on the choice of the *patrocinium* of St. James through the type of dedication. This is a very complex question concerning the sources of inspiration when choosing this particular dedication. Generally speaking, it is impossible to discover the genesis of the presence of St. James the Greater in the places described here. Why was this saint chosen as a patron of the places mentioned? The promoters of the cult could be both the monks and the founders of the buildings who subsequently received the right of patronage over those places. There might have been other factors which are difficult to ascertain now. Perhaps more detailed research will offer certain solutions in this respect. At this point it is important to refer to several questions.

In contemporary literature it is indicated that the Benedictines from the circles of Liege and Lorraine contributed to the reception of the cult of St. James the Greater.⁵¹ This is the reason why the genesis of the presence of the dedication of churches to St. James in Poland is attributed to them. For example, the *patrocinium* of St. James the Greater of the Benedictine church in Lubiąż might be associated with the fact that the first monks who came to Poland were connected to the abbey of St. James in Liege.⁵²

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 585.

⁵⁰ W. Rozyrkowski, "Św. Jakub Apostoł- patron kościoła i parafii," in K. Kluczajd ed., *Dzieje i skarby kościoła świętojakubskiego w Toruniu*, Toruń 2010, pp. 9-19; M. Olesińska, "Benedyktynki w Toruniu: od fundacji do kasaty," in K. Mikulski, P. Oliński, W. Rozyrkowski eds., *Nowe Miasto Toruń. 750 lat od lokacji*, Toruń 2014, pp. 213-243.

⁵¹ A. Witkowska, *Wezwania św. Jakuba*, p. 110.

⁵² See M. Derwich, *Monastycyzm benedyktyński w średniowiecznej Europie i Polsce. Wybrane problemy*, Wrocław 1998, p. 186; F. Wolnik, *Liturgia śląskich cystersów w średniowieczu*, Opola 2002, p. 89; W. Rozyrkowski, "Patrocinia kościołów klasztornych fundacji władców polskich (XI-XV wiek). Wokół patronatu władcy?" in M. Derwich, A. Pobóg-Lenartowicz eds., *Klasztor w państwie średniowiecznym i nowożytnym*, Wrocław-Opole-Warszawa 2005, p. 37.

In the State of the Teutonic Order, St. James the Greater is a patron of only one monastery located in Chełmno. To be more precise, he is the co-patron of the Franciscan church together with the great saint of the Middle Ages, namely St. Nicholas.⁵³

9. Patron of chapels of ease

St. James the Greater is also the patron of chapels of ease. Let us refer to three examples from the territory of the State of the Teutonic Order. The first one concerns the church in the suburbs of the Old Town of Elbląg which belongs to St. Nicholas' parish church.⁵⁴ It probably comes from the beginning of the 14th century. In 1338 there is information about St. James' graveyard.⁵⁵ It appears that at that time there existed a building dedicated to the saint. Reference to the graveyard seems to define the function of this religious building, namely it was a graveyard church. It might also have fulfilled pastoral functions for the inhabitants of the suburbs.

The next chapel of ease is located in Opyń and belongs to the parish church in Orneta. It supposedly had an extended dedication of the Holy Cross, the Blessed Virgin Mary, St. James and All the Saints.⁵⁶ However, the medieval source mentioning this dedication is unknown.

The third chapel of ease belonged to the Pomeranian Archdeaconry. St James was entrusted with a small church next to the city walls in Starogard Gdański. In the 16th century the church was taken over by Protestants and in 1655 it was destroyed by the Swedish army.⁵⁷

⁵³ See W. Rozynekowski, *Omnes*, p. 128; M.G. Zieliński, *Chełmno civitas totius Prussiae metropolis XVI-XVIII w.*, Bydgoszcz 2007, pp. 52, 200; W. Rozynekowski, "Św. Jakub Apostoł- patron kościołów w diecezji toruńskiej," in A. Jackowski, F. Mróz eds., "Akt Europejski" bł. Jana Pawła II a renesans Drogi św. Jakuba, Kraków 2012, pp. 213-214.

⁵⁴ *Das Elbinger Stadtbuch*, Bd. 1: 1330-1360 (1393), hrsg. v. H. W. Hoppe, Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ermland, Beiheft 3, 1976, p. 269.

⁵⁵ P. Oliński, *Fundacje mieszczańskie*, pp. 241-242.

⁵⁶ *Sedes archiepiscopales diocesis Warmiensis*, p. 437, p. 244.

⁵⁷ J. Fankidejski, *Utracone kościoły i kaplice w dzisiejszej diecezji chełmińskiej*, Pelplin 1880, pp. 241-242; P. Oliński, "Starogard w dobie średniowiecza," in M. Kallas ed., *Dzieje Starogardu*, vol. 1, *Historia miasta do 1920 roku*, Starogard Gdański 1998, p. 77.

10. Patron of chapels and altars

St. James the Greater is not only the patron of individual religious buildings. A question which deserves separate attention and research is St. James' patronage inside churches or monasteries, i.e. the patronage over chapels and altars. It might be assumed that altars dedicated to St. James were in most or even all of the buildings he was the patron of. Moreover, St. James' chapels and altars should be sought throughout Poland, in other religious buildings, as he has been one of the most popular saints since the Middle Ages. The presence of his patronage amounts to hundreds so this article will mention only a few examples. There was an altar of St. James the Greater in the parish church of St. Nicholas in the Old Town of Elbląg and in St. John's Church in the Main City of Gdańsk. A chapel devoted to the saint was located in St. Mary's Church in the Main City of Gdańsk.⁵⁸ Besides, an impressive chapel of St. James was to be found in the Cistercian Abbey in Łąd.⁵⁹

11. Patron of Streets

The patronage of St. James extended beyond the walls of the churches as is illustrated by the examples of names of streets which are located in the vicinity of churches. In sources describing the area around churches there are often references to their patrons. Let us refer to the example of the parish church in the New Town of Toruń. The streets surrounding the church appear in the medieval sources as St. James' Street (*s. Jacobgasse, Jacobsstrasse, am s. Jacob Thor, bey s. Jacob Thor*); the Street next to St. James' Church (*keygen s. Jacobiskirche, bey s. Jocabskirche, bey sinte Jocab, dem S. Jacobs Kirche uber*); the Street behind St. James' Street (*hinder der kirchen sente Jocab, hinder sinte Jacob, hinter S. Jacobs Kirchhoffe, bey S. Jacob Kirche, an der Stadt Mauer hinder S. Jacobs Kirche*)⁶⁰.

⁵⁸ M. Jakubek-Raczkowska, *Rzeźba gdańska przelomu XIV i XV wieku*, Warszawa 2006, pp. 158-168; P. Oliński, *Fundacje mieszczańskie*, pp. 241, 280-281, 293.

⁵⁹ See P. Mrozowski, *Wątki polityczne i dworskie w programie malowideł ściennych w oratorium św. Jakuba Apostoła w klasztorze cysterskim w Łądzie*, in J. Nowiński in collaboration with P. Mrozowski eds., *Lenda medii aevi. Średniowieczne zabytki dawnego opactwa w Łądzie – nowe odkrycia, najnowsze badania*, Łąd-Poznań-Warszawa 2015, pp. 88-106.

⁶⁰ K. Mikulski, "Nazwy ulic Nowego Miasta Torunia w pierwszej połowie XVIII wieku," in *Polska i jej wschodni sąsiedzi (od średniowiecza po czasy współczesne)*, Toruń 1996, pp. 169-185; K. Mikulski, *Przestrzeń i społeczeństwo Torunia od końca XIV do początku XVIII w.*, Toruń 1999, pp. 372, 378, 382.

According to the research of Lucyna Przybylska, in Poland there are nineteen streets with the name St. James, of which twelve are indeed streets, one is an avenue, two are roundabouts and four are squares. It is interesting that seven names are encountered in villages.⁶¹

12. Patron of fraternities

St. James the Greater was not only the patron of religious buildings. The next manifestation of his popularity was the creation of fraternities. Let us refer to two known examples. The Fraternity of St. James was active in St. John's Church in the Main City of Gdańsk. The exact date of its creation is unknown but it is assumed that it was formed before 1492.⁶² It is possible that at the same time the Fraternity of St. James already existed in St. Catherine's Church in the Old Town of Braniewo.⁶³ The members of the fraternities gathered around the altars of their patron, which are to be found in both churches.⁶⁴

13. Patron of towns

St. James' patronage encompasses entire towns. This is how we should interpret the images of the saint on seals and coats of arms. In the territory of the present-day Poland there are references to the patronage of St. James in the following towns: Morań, Olsztyn, Opatowiec, Pakość and Sobótka.⁶⁵

⁶¹ L. Przybylska, "Ulice św. Jakuba w Polsce," in P. Roszak, F. Mróz eds., *Droga św. Jakuba w Polsce- historia, teraźniejszość, przyszłość. W 10. rocznicę otwarcia pierwszego polskiego odcinka Camino de Santiago*, Kraków 2015, p. 272-274.

⁶² I. Czarcziński, *Bractwa w wielkich miastach państwa krzyżackiego w średniowieczu*, Toruń 1993, p. 44.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 96. See A. Kopiczko, *Ustrój i organizacja diecezji warmińskiej w latach 1525-1772*, Olsztyn 1993, pp. 227, 229. Other fraternities of St. James in the Diocese of Warmia at the beginning of the modern period were in Dobre Miasto, Orneta, Pieniężno, Lidzbark.

⁶⁴ See P. Oliński, *Fundacje mieszczańskie*, pp. 293, 319.

⁶⁵ J. Chłosta, "Patroni warmińskich miast," *Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie*, 2005, no. 3(249), p. 425; J. Marecki, "Wyobrażenia hagiograficzne w polskich herbach miejskich," in J. Marecki, L. Rotter eds., *Cnoty i wady. Społeczeństwo baroku po obu stronach Karpat*, Kraków 2007, pp. 121-122; P. Gołdyn, *Symbolika religijna i kościelna w herbach miast polskich do końca XX wieku*, Warszawa 2008, pp. 59-61.

14. St. James' toponyms

An interesting historical source is place names, i.e. toponyms. For the sake of this study the relation between the cult of saints in the Church and the names of places or their parts is especially important, in terms of both towns (districts) and villages (colonies, settlements, hamlets). This phenomenon has been described as hagiotoponymy. The text focuses on names of towns or their parts which refer to the cult of St. James the Greater.⁶⁶ Although it might be difficult to prove that these places were created in direct reference to the cult of the saint it is worth proposing such a hypothesis. It will be supported by underlining the relation between place names and the name "James." Names are, after all, the most fundamental vehicles of memory and manifestations of the cult of saints.

First, let us refer to the catalog from *The Geographical Dictionary of the Kingdom of Poland and other Slavic Countries*. It is an exceptional dictionary publication comprising 15 volumes published between 1880 and 1902. We can find there the records and in many cases basic historical data on almost all the towns of the First Polish Republic. In volume 3 there is a list of several towns or their parts (manor, farm, settlement, forest settlement, village) which refer to the name James (Jakub in Polish). Thus, there are names such as Jakubajcie, Jakubańce, Jakubeny, Jakubice, Jakubieńki, Jakubiki, Jakubionki, Jakubiszki, Jakubkowice, Jakubkowo, Jakubów, Jakubowce, Jakubowice, Jakubówka, Jakubowo, etc.⁶⁷ According to the dictionary the largest number of places associated with the name James (Jakub) were called Jakubowo (25)⁶⁸ and Jakubowce (16).⁶⁹ In the dictionary there are many other interesting names referring to the name James (Jakub), for example the River Jakubianka and the summit in the Tatra Mountains called Jakubina.⁷⁰

Trying to demonstrate the popularity of the place names originating from the name James (Jakub) the article will rely on *The Official Record of Place Names in Poland* from 10 July 1980 announced by Order no. 15 of the Ministry of Administration, Local Economy and Environmental Protection. The record encompasses 103,225 names, including 908 names of towns, 6708 town districts, 43,051 village

⁶⁶ For more details see W. Rozyrkowski, "Jakubowe toponimia- zarys problematyki badawczej," in P. Roszak, W. Rozyrkowski eds., *Droga do Composteli- przeszłość i terażniejszość*, Kraków 2016, pp. 67-76.

⁶⁷ *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich*, vol. 3, Warszawa 1882, pp. 380-385.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 384-385.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 382-384

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 380.

names, 36,349 names of the parts of villages and 5136 names of settlements⁷¹. Of them, 81 place names or their parts refer to the name Jakub.⁷²

Evidently, in Poland there is a considerable group of place names which refer to the name James. The number does not change significantly in subsequent official records of place names. If it does, it is mostly due to changes within the town or village, such as the disappearance of the Polish name *przysiółek* to describe a part of a village. It is worth noting that in the record from 2012, Jakubskie Przedmieście was included as a district of Toruń for the first time.⁷³

It might be assumed that the vast majority of the place names mentioned originate from the Middle Ages. It is understandable as it was at that time that the main network of settlements in Poland was created. The place names referring to the name James reflect the great popularity of the cult of St. James the Apostle which we may observe in that period. It was in the Middle Ages that thanks to the liturgy (the liturgical calendar), the cult of the saint reached Poland and developed dynamically. Evidently, the question of the beginnings of the places which refer to James requires detailed research. It may turn out that we will be able to indicate interesting relations between the development of the cult of St. James the Greater and the creation of at least some of the towns or villages.

The following is a list of some examples of place names referring to the name James in medieval sources:

- Jakubkowice: a village in *powiat sądecki*, in the oldest sources such names as *Iacubcowicz* (1325 rok), *Jacubovicz* (1345), *Jacubcowicze* (1400), *Jakupkoucicze* (1529) are used,⁷⁴
- Jakubowice: a village in *powiat proszowicki*, in the oldest sources such names as *Jacubowycze* (1341), *Jacobcovicz* (1394), *Jacuboucicze* (1401), *Jacoboucicze* (1421) are used,⁷⁵
- Jakubów: a village in *Jędrzejowice Powiat*, in the oldest sources such names as *Jacubouo* (1359 ?), *Jacubouciz* (1387), *Jacobow* (1399) are used,⁷⁶

⁷¹ *Wykaz urzędowych nazw miejscowości w Polsce*, vol. 1, Warszawa 1980, pp. 3-10.

⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 611-613.

⁷³ http://ksng.gugik.gov.pl/urzed.owe_nazwy_miejscowosci.php [accessed. 9 July 2016].

⁷⁴ *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny województwa krakowskiego w średniowieczu*, part II, book 1, edited by P. Chmielewski, K. Górka-Gołaska, J. Luciński, Wrocław 1989, p. 199.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 200.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 201.

– Jakubowo: a village in Grudziądz *Powiat* in the oldest sources such names as “*bona quondam Mathei et Jacobi*” (1298), *Jacobsdorff*, *Jacuschdorf*, *Jacobsdorff* (app. 1423-1424), *Jacubsdorff vel Jacubkowo* (1526) are used.⁷⁷

Let us focus on the last place more thoroughly. The oldest recorded origin of the name Jakubowo is very interesting as there is a direct reference to the name James. In a document from 1298, the Teutonic Land Master Meinhard von Querfurt granted on the basis of Culm law (Chełmno law) Jan de Nemore the lands which had previously belonged to the brothers Mathew and James.⁷⁸ Interestingly, the name James is mentioned in the source, which allows us to hypothesize that the reference to the name of the co-owner, an unknown James, was what influenced the village name Jakubowo.

15. Patron of people (names)

The patronage of St. James might be examined in the context of names given in the Middle Ages. It is important to remember that Christianity was one of the main sources of inspiration for choosing names throughout the centuries and it clearly enhanced the name and the moment of name giving through the sacrament of baptism. The names originated mostly from Holy Scripture and there were also names of holy martyrs and confessors from the first centuries of Christianity. The treasury of Christian names was greatly enriched in the Middle Ages.⁷⁹

One of the most popular male names in the Middle Ages was James and municipal medieval sources frequently mention it. The research of Krzysztof Mikulski based on preserved tax records from 1394 and 1455 for the Old Town of Toruń⁸⁰ reveals that the records mention 1250 male names in 1394, whereas in 1455 they include 1265. There are respectively 86 and 71 different names. The most popular male names in the Old Town of Toruń relying on the source from 1394 are Johann (284), Nicolaus (227), Peter (153), Heinrich (63), Matthias (38), Herman (35), Jacob (35) and Martin (32), whereas in 1455 the most frequent names are Johann (239), Nicolaus (190), Peter (95), Matthias (75), Martin (59), Jacob (56), Michael (56) and Georg (53).⁸¹

⁷⁷ *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny ziemi chełmińskiej w średniowieczu*, edited by K. Porębska, in collaboration with M. Grzegorz, M. Biskup Ed., Wrocław i inn. 1971, p. 47.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*,

⁷⁹ See W. Rozyrkowski, *Omnes*, p. 241ff.

⁸⁰ K. Mikulski, *Pałapka niemożności. Społeczeństwo nowożytnego miasta wobec procesów modernizacyjnych (na przykładzie Torunia w XVII i XVIII wieku)*, Toruń 2004, pp. 260-264.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 261, 263.

Evidently, the popularity of the name James in medieval Toruń is undisputed. Although it is difficult to prove, it seems that the patron of the church in the New Town of Toruń lies behind this name choice. In the Middle Ages such aspects as the liturgy, liturgical calendar and the patron of the parish church were the main sources of inspiration and, in consequence, the popularity of names in Christian culture.

According to the research of Radosław Krajniak on the names of clergymen belonging to Prussian cathedral chapters, it turns out that the name James was also one of the most popular as 22 clergymen bore it. Only Jan (177), Mikołaj (82) and Henryk (60) were more popular. James was higher in the ranking than such names as Andrzej (17), Piotr (15), Konrad (14), Wawrzyniec (11), or Bartłomiej (8).⁸²

16. Pilgrimages to Santiago de Compostela

Among many different destinations which attracted the faithful in the Middle Ages Santiago de Compostela occupies a special place.⁸³ The first direct information about pilgrims from Polish lands to the shrine originates from the second half of the 14th century. In the light of present research it is difficult to establish their exact number. In the literature there are different numbers, from over 180 pilgrims until the end of the 14th century to 120 people until the early 15th century. It is possible to identify by name only 31 pilgrims until the beginning of the 16th century.⁸⁴ The

⁸² R. Krajniak, "Imiona przedstawicieli duchowieństwa pruskich kapituł katedralnych w średniowieczu. Próba wykorzystania materiału onomastycznego do badań nad kultem świętych," *Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie*, 2011, no 1(270), pp. 87-89.

⁸³ See H. Manikowska, *Jerozolima- Rzym- Compostela. Wielkie pielgrzymowanie u schyłku średniowiecza*, Wrocław 2008, p. 365 i nn.; J.A. Fernandez, *Dlaczego tak wielu zmierzało do Santiago de Compostela? "Pielgrzymowanie i troska o podróżnych w średniowieczu,"* in P. Roszak ed., *Dysputy nawarryjskie w Toruniu*, Toruń-Pampeluna 2010, pp. 115-124.

⁸⁴ See D. Kraak, "Pielgrzymki i podróże z Zachodu na Wschód i ze Wschodu na Zachód. Ruch podróżniczy szlachty w późnym średniowieczu z perspektywy historii związków i oddziaływań," in R. Knapiński ed., *Kult św. Jakuba Większego Apostoła w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej*, Lublin 2002, p. 131; T. Dunin-Wąsowicz, *Polskie drogi do Composteli (XII-XIV wiek)*, in, *Ibid.*, pp. 154-156; A. Kucharski, *Hiszpania i Hiszpanie w relacjach Polaków. Wrażenia z podróży i pobytu od XVI do początków XIX w.*, Warszawa 2007, pp. 110-114; A.M. Wyrwa, "Stan i potrzeby badań nad średniowiecznymi podróżami z ziem polskich do grobu św. Jakuba Apostoła," in A. Jackowski, F. Mróz, I. Hodorowicz eds. *Drogi św. Jakuba w Polsce. Stan badań i organizacja*, Kraków 2008, pp. 32-34; *Ibid.*, "Święty Jakub Apostoł. Malakologiczne i historyczne ślady peregrynacji z ziem polskich do Santiago de Compostela, Lednica 2015, pp. 64-65; A. Supruniuk, *Ex oriente ad finem terrae: Polish knights on the way to Santiago de Compostela in the 14th and 15th century*, London-Toruń 2010; C. Taracha, "O polskich pielgrzymkach do św. Jakuba," in P. Roszak

numbers are certainly not exhaustive and will change in the course of research. It is known that inhabitants of various regions of Poland⁸⁵ such as Mazovia,⁸⁶ Greater Poland (Wielkopolska), Silesia,⁸⁷ Western Pomerania⁸⁸ and the territory of the State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia⁸⁹ made pilgrimages to the tomb of St. James the Greater.

It seems that Gdańsk, located at the coast played a key role in the pilgrimages to Santiago de Compostela for the area which in the Middle Ages was part of the State of the Teutonic Order. It may be postulated that it was one of the most important points in this part of Europe on the pilgrim route by sea and overland.⁹⁰ Gdańsk might have been the place where many people learnt about the tomb of St. James. Of equal importance is the fact that in the Middle Ages, Gdańsk maintained trade relations with the Iberian Peninsula. They certainly existed in the second half of the 14th century and developed in the 15th century.⁹¹

It is not surprising that information about pilgrims going to the tomb of St. James in Spain concerns mostly Gdańsk and its environs. The first piece of information refers to an unknown sailor who in 1379 was supposed to return from Spain to Gdańsk. The aim of his voyage was to worship the Apostle. Herman von Ruden,

ed., *Camino de Santiago – nie tylko droga. Historia i współczesność Szlaku św. Jakuba*, Toruń 2011, pp. 185-200.

⁸⁵ See J. Wiesiołowski, "Podróże Polaków do Composteli w XIV i XV wieku- stosunki dyplomatyczne i szlachecki model wykształcenia," in R. Knapiński ed., *Kult św. Jakuba Większego Apostoła w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej*, Lublin 2002, pp. 201-209.

⁸⁶ M. Wilska, "Pielgrzymim szlakiem z Mazowsza do Composteli," in H. Manikowska, W. Zaremska, eds., *Peregrinationes w kulturze dawnej Europy*, Warszawa 1995, pp. 165-169.

⁸⁷ A.M. Wyrwa, *Święty Jakub Apostoł*, pp. 62-63.

⁸⁸ See M. Rębkowski, "Pielgrzymki mieszkańców średniowiecznych miast południowego wybrzeża Bałtyku w świetle znalezisk znaków pątnicznych. Wstęp do badań," *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej*, vol. 52: 2004, no. 2, pp. 153-188; W. Łysiak, *Święta przestrzeń. O pielgrzymkach, pielgrzymowaniu, miejscach pielgrzymkowych i pobożności ludowej w dawnym Księstwie Pomorskim*, Poznań 2010, pp. 127-128.

⁸⁹ A. Mańkowski, "Pielgrzymki Pomorzan w wiekach średnich," *Miesięcznik Diecezji Chełmińskiej*, 1936, vol. 79, pp. 247-258; S. Kwiatkowski, *Klimat religijny w diecezji pomezajskiej u schyłku XIV i w pierwszych dziesięcioleciach XV wieku*, Toruń 1990, pp. 98-99; A. Paner, H. Paner, "Gdańszczanie na pielgrzymkowych szlakach w XIV i XV wieku," in *Gdańsk średniowieczny w świetle najnowszych badań archeologicznych i historycznych*, Gdańsk 1998, pp. 174-177; G. Nawrońska, "Dokąd pielgrzymowali elblążanie w średniowieczu? Znaki pielgrzymie świadectwem pobożnych wędrówek," in R. Czaja, G. Nawrońska, M. Rębkowski, J. Tandecki eds., *Archeologia et historia urbana*, Elbląg 2004, pp. 517-527; W. Rozynekowski, *Omnes*, p. 206; *Ibid.*, *Pielgrzymki do św. Jakuba*, pp. 257-268.

⁹⁰ A. Paner, H. Paner, *Gdańszczanie*, p. 174.

⁹¹ A. Kucharski, *Hiszpania i Hiszpanie w relacjach Polaków. Wrażenia z podróży i pobytu od XVI do początków XIX wieku*, Warszawa 2007, p. 114.

a townsman from Gdańsk, supposedly traveled to Compostela at the end of the 14th century. His pilgrimage was of a penitential nature. In the first half of the 15th century Jacob Lubbe from Lichnowy in Żuławy decided to go to Santiago in a larger group to worship his patron. Christopher Beyer, a Gdańsk chronicler was also one of the pilgrims to Compostela in 1479.⁹²

The continuator of the Prussian chronicle of Johann von Posilge, in an entry from 1418 recorded that many people from some countries made the pilgrimage to St. James in Compostela: *ouch was dys jar eyne grose vart zum senthe Jacob zcu Compostelle von vil lutin dy dar zwgen us manchin landin.*⁹³ If the Prussian chronicler includes such information, it appears that in the group of pilgrims there were inhabitants of the State of the Teutonic Order.

17. Pilgrim signs

Scallop Shells

Confirmation of the pilgrimages to Santiago de Compostela might be medieval scallop shells which have survived until today. Eight such shells were found in Cieszyn, Elbląg,⁹⁴ Kołobrzeg, Lublin, Ostrów Lednicki, Poznań, Racibórz and Wrocław.⁹⁵ More shells have been discovered recently in Gdańsk,⁹⁶ Łowicz, Kalisz⁹⁷ and Cracow.⁹⁸ These discoveries are of an accidental character and therefore it is difficult to draw far-reaching conclusions relying on them. It might be supposed that in the future there will be more places where similar finds are discovered.

⁹² A. Mańkowski, *Pielgrzymki Pomorzan*, pp. 253-254.

⁹³ *Johann von Posilge, Chronik des Landes Preussen*, in *Scriptores rerum Prusicarum*, Bd. 3, hrsg. T. Hirsch, M. Töppen, E. Strehlke, Leipzig 1866, p. 372.

⁹⁴ G. Nawrońska, "Znaki pielgrzymie świadectwem pobożnych wędrowek elblązan w średniowieczu," in E. Śledź ed., *Okręt Kościoła z gdańskiego Dworu Artusa. Materiały z sesji zorganizowanej przez Muzeum Historyczne Miasta Gdańska*, Gdańsk 2008, pp. 123, 126-127; A.M. Wyrwa, *Święty Jakub Apostoł*, pp. 35-59.

⁹⁵ A. Wyrwa, *Święty Jakub Apostoł*, pp. 36-56.

⁹⁶ H. Paner, "Pamiętki pielgrzymie z Santiago de Compostela oraz inne związane z kultem św. Jakuba w wykopaliskach gdańskich," in *Między Gdańskiem a Santiago*, p. 406.

⁹⁷ A. M. Wyrwa, "Nowy ślad pielgrzymowania z ziem polskich do Santiago de Compostela? Muszla pielgrzymia z Łowicza," in P. Roszak, F. Mróz eds., *Droga św. Jakuba w Polsce- historia, terażniejszość, przyszłość. W 10. rocznicę otwarcia pierwszego polskiego odcinka Camino de Santiago*, Kraków 2015, pp. 157-158.

⁹⁸ K. Wachowski, "Średniowieczne pielgrzymki mieszkańców Śląska," *Archeologia Polski*, vol. 50: 2005, book 1-2, p. 109; H. Paner, *Pamiętki pielgrzymie*, p. 413.

Pilgrim's badges

In the collection of the Archeological Museum in Gdańsk there are also 6 pilgrim badges made of a lead-pewter alloy in the form of a miniature shell.⁹⁹ It cannot be ruled out that these are also traces of the pilgrimage to the tomb of St. James.

Figurines of St. James

It is possible that three figurines of St. James which have survived until today might be traces of pilgrim movements to Compostela. One of them is 5 cm high, made of jet and originates from around the turn of the 15th century. It was found in Gdańsk and is part of the collection of the Westpreußisches Landesmuseum in Münster now. The other two figurines of St. James made of lead and of a lead-pewter alloy are in the Archeological Museum in Gdańsk.¹⁰⁰

Pilgrim's hat

The Ethnographic Museum in Poznań stores a richly decorated pilgrim's hat from the 17th or 18th century which might come from Spain.¹⁰¹

18. St. James in art

The next area where it is possible to encounter representations of St. James in the Middle Ages is art. There are many examples of them and in Eastern Pomerania alone there exist several dozen gothic images of St. James.¹⁰² They originate from between the second half of the 14th century and the first quarter of the 16th century.

⁹⁹ Ibid., pp. 409-412

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., pp. 407, 411, 412.

¹⁰¹ J. Minksztyń, "Trud i chwała. O kapeluszu pielgrzymim ze zbiorów Muzeum Etnograficznego w Poznaniu," in A.M. Wyrwa ed., *Camino de Santiago: szkice historyczne do peregrynacji i dziejów kultu św. Jakuba Apostoła Większego*, Lednica 2015, pp. 43-63.

¹⁰² J. Domaśłowski, "Wyobrażenia św. Jakuba w gotyckiej sztuce Pomorza Wschodniego," in A. Sroka ed., *Szpital i kościół św. Jakuba. 600 lat fundacji gildii szyprów w Gdańsku*, Toruń 2009, pp. 48-101.

St. James is frequently presented together with the other apostles, for example in the sculpture from the parish church in Chełmno from c. 1330-1340.¹⁰³

The next type of representation of the saint in group compositions is called *Sacra Conversatione*. An example of it is on one of the buttresses in the sacristy of St. John's (Johns') Church in the Old Town of Toruń originating from c. 1400, where there are busts of Christ, Our Lady of Sorrows and pairs of saints: St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist, St. Catherine and St. Barbara, St. James the Elder and St. James the Younger.¹⁰⁴

In another group of representations of St. James he is presented in evangelical and apocryphal scenes: in the scene of the Last Supper, the Agony in the Garden, the Descent of the Holy Spirit, the Dormition of the Mother of God and the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The last scene is depicted among others in the polyptych from Grudziądz from the end of the 14th century.¹⁰⁵ St. James with a scallop shell is also presented in the triptych depicting the Coronation of the Blessed Virgin Mary (1504) in the chapel in Tenkity.¹⁰⁶

Finally, the smallest group relatively speaking consists of representations of the saint as an individual figure or presented in cycles of paintings. The two oldest examples from the end of the 14th century are in the parish church of the New Town of Toruń. One of them is placed on the south wall of the presbytery, the other in the western part of the church below the tower.¹⁰⁷ Statues of St. James from c. 1500 with a characteristic hat with a badge in the shape of the shell are also found in the church of St Peter and St. Paul in Hel,¹⁰⁸ in the Artus Court in Gdańsk,¹⁰⁹ and in the chapel of the Holy Spirit hospital in Kętrzyn.¹¹⁰ Thanks to the scallop shell the figure of St. James the Greater is also easily recognizable in the figural composition from the mid-14th century, depicting the twelve apostles in the church in Nowe Miasto Lubawskie.¹¹¹

¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 54.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 71.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., pp. 81-83.

¹⁰⁶ M. Czapska ed., *Święci orędownicy. Rzeźba gotycka na zamku w Malborku. Katalog wystawy*, Malbork 2013, pp. 300-301; M. Czapska, *Retabulum Koronacji Najświętszej Maryi Panny z Tenkit*, in Ibid., pp. 121-127.

¹⁰⁷ J. Domaśłowski, *Wyobrażenia*, pp. 83-85.

¹⁰⁸ *Święci orędownicy*, pp. 236-237.

¹⁰⁹ B. Pospieszna ed., *Fundacje artystyczne na terenie państwa krzyżackiego w Prusach. Katalog wystawy w Muzeum Zamkowym w Malborku 25 czerwca-12 września 2010 roku*, vol. 1, Malbork 2010, p. 277.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., p. 278.

¹¹¹ See M. Jakubek-Raczkowska, *Tu ergo flecte genua tua. Sztuka a praktyka religijna świeckich w diecezjach pruskich państwa zakonu krzyżackiego do połowy XV wieku*, Pelplin 2014, p. 333.

19. Bells

Among places where there are references to St. James, bells deserve separate attention. These exceptional objects intrinsically linked with religious buildings are also a way of worshipping saints. The special sacred function of bells is visible in the manner in which they are introduced into the sphere of *sacrum*. Since the Middle Ages there has existed a special ritual similar to the baptism of a child or the consecration of a church. Each large bell receives a name which emphasizes its unique character among other objects which accompany man. It is worth remembering that in Christian culture a name signified a deeper understanding of the sense of human existence or in this case the existence of the object.¹¹²

It might be assumed that bells bearing the name of St. James were present in at least some of the churches of St. James mentioned here. It is obvious that bells referring to St. James the Greater may have been present in other religious buildings as well. The bells were regarded as easy spoils of war and they were frequently damaged so that not many of them survived to our times. However, we may refer to several examples. St. James is mentioned in the inscription on the fifteenth-century bell from the parish church of St. James in the New Town of Toruń. The inscription says: *hilf got maria berot vnde der liebe her sinte iokob*.¹¹³ The bell was stolen by the Swedish army in 1703 and is now in the Cathedral in Uppsala.

To honor St. James the bell in the church in Trutnowy (Żuławy Wiślane) was cast in 1517. Its inscription says: *disse glacke ist gegossen yn di ere svnte i[ac]ob m cccc xvii ior*.¹¹⁴ An interesting inscription was also engraved on a bell from the church in Bogatka, a village in Żuławy Gdańskie, near Pruszcz Gdański, which unfortunately disappeared during the Second World War. The bell originated from 1537 and the inscription said: *Jacobe lux Hispanie ab omni clade nos protage*.¹¹⁵ It is clear that there is a direct reference to St. James the Greater, who is called the light (rescue) for Spain. The community which gathered in the church in Bogatka was entrusted to his care.

¹¹² Cf. H. Fros, F. Sowa, *Twoje imię. Przewodnik onomastyczno-hagiograficzny*, Kraków 2000.

¹¹³ K. M. Kowalski, *Inskrypcje na dzwonach gotyckich w Prusach. Studium z epigrafiki kampa-nologicznej*, Gdańsk 2006, p. 368.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 333-335, 368.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 198, 353.

20. St. James the Greater in sermons and hagiographic literature

Stories about St. James are part of hagiographic works in the whole of Europe. They are present, among others, in *The Golden Legend* of Jacobus de Voragine, namely one of the most popular collections of hagiographic legends in medieval Europe.¹¹⁶ *The Golden Legend* was brought to Poland by the Dominicans at the end of the 13th century.¹¹⁷

Echoes of *The Golden Legend* are encountered in sermons. In the preserved medieval sermons from Polish territories this influence is visible, for example in the collection of sermons by the Dominican friar Peregrine of Opole (1260/1270 – after 1333). Among his sermons on saints there is also a text written for the feast of St. James the Apostle.¹¹⁸ Peregrine starts his meditation with a passage from the Book of Malachi “Yet I have loved Jacob but I have hated Esau” (1:2-3). Further in the sermon we read: *Although these words were said about Jacob and Esau, they may refer to St. James the Apostle in such a way that Jacob denotes James the Apostle whereas Esau, Herod. And as Esau persecuted Jacob, St. James was persecuted by Herod and murdered by him. Reflecting on these words we may pose two questions: firstly, why did Christ love James and secondly what were the signs of love that Christ gave James.*¹¹⁹ Further in the sermon, Peregrine answers these questions.

21. Visions of Blessed Dorothy of Mąty

In the territory of the State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia references to St. James the Greater are present in the visions of the recluse Blessed Dorothy of Mąty (1347-1394).¹²⁰ Her spiritual visions were included in a book entitled *The Book on*

¹¹⁶ *Jakub de Voragine, Złota legenda*, trans. J. Pleziowa, introduction and notes by M. Plezia, Warszawa 1983, pp. 283-288; W. Mruk, “Błogosławiony o świętym czyli bł. Jakub de Voragine o św. Jakubie Większym,” in P. Roszak, F. Mróz eds., *Droga św. Jakuba w Polsce- historia, terażniejszość i przyszłość. W 10. rocznicę otwarcia pierwszego polskiego odcinka Camino de Polaco*; J. Możdżeń, “Motyw pielgrzymki do św. Jakuba w egzemplach średniowiecznych,” in P. Roszak, W. Rozyńkowski eds., *Camino Polaco. Teologia-sztuka-historia-teraźniejszość*, vol. 3, Toruń 2016, pp. 55-86.

¹¹⁷ *Jakub de Voragine*, p. 47.

¹¹⁸ *Peregryn z Opola, Kazania de tempore i de sanctis*, J. Wolny ed., Kraków-Opole 2001, pp. 504-507.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 504.

¹²⁰ See W. Rozyńkowski, “Św. Jakub w objawieniach bł. Doroty z Mątów,” in P. Roszak, W. Rozyńkowski eds., *Camino Polaco. Teologia-sztuka-historia-teraźniejszość*, vol. 1, Toruń 2014, pp. 61-72.

Feasts,¹²¹ which was written down and edited in 1397-1400 by her confessor and Teutonic clergyman Father John from Kwidzyn. The book contains the preparations of Bl. Dorothy for celebrating liturgical feasts and visions which she received during those feasts from God.

In the analyzed source there are three direct references to St. James the Greater.¹²² The most valuable is the description from Chapter 112, which presents the vision of Bl. Dorothy during the feast day of St. James. The title of the chapter is "On the Feast Day of St. James, her Chosen Apostle."¹²³ The title itself, given by her spiritual director Father John, suggests that Bl. Dorothy had a special devotion to St. James the Greater. In the text, St. James the Greater is described three times as "her apostle." The special bond with the saint, the details of which are unfortunately unknown, is indicated by the fact that during the feast day of St. James Bl. Dorothy experienced five times the presence of the Holy Spirit.

Conclusion

The aforementioned places of cult and memory constitute a specific research questionnaire which has been applied to the studies on St. James the Greater in the territories which historically belonged or belong to the present-day Poland. These examples refer to the north-western part of the country which in the Middle Ages covered the territory of the State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia. In this text not all the problems have been exhausted but in the light of the presented material it is clearly visible that the cult of St. James the Greater was very popular.

The manifestations of the cult of St. James the Greater presented in the article can be observed mostly in the 14th and 15th centuries. It seems that this chronology reflects the intensive period of the cult of St. James the Greater not only in Poland or in the State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia but in the whole of Europe. Undoubtedly, the development of this cult was inspired by the shrine in Santiago de Compostela, the center of the cult. This place became the focal point which attracted pilgrims and the source from which the cult of the Apostle spread to the entire Christian world.

¹²¹ *Księga o świętach mistrza Jana z Kwidzyna. Objawienia błogosławionej Doroty z Mąków*, trans. J. Wojtkowski, Olsztyn 2013, sp. 247.

¹²² *Ibid.*, pp. 186-187, 207, 212.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p. 207.

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“The Way of Faith” of St. James the Greater in the Light of the New Testament

James, son of Zebedee, brother of John appears 20 times in the New Testament (Mt 3; Mk 11; Lk 4; Acts 2). Matthew the Evangelist mentions the “sons of Zebedee” three times without giving their names (20:20; 26:37; 27:57). These statistics show that James is most frequently encountered in the Gospel of Mark. My analysis will therefore focus on this Gospel, which is the oldest of all; moreover, the texts about James from Mt and Lk are parallel to those which appear in Mk (Mt 4:21; par. Mk 1:19; Mt 10:2; Lk 6:14; par. Mk 3:17; Mt 17:1; Lk 9:28; par. Mk 9:2; 27:36; Lk 8:51; par. Mk 5:37). James is presented both as one of the disciples and one of Jesus’ twelve apostles. The general information we gain from the texts of the New Testament is as follows: James is one of the first disciples called by Jesus, together with his brother John (Mk 1:19-20; Mt 4:21-22), and his father’s name is Zebedee. Matthew also mentions their mother as “mother of Zebedee’s sons” (Mt 20:20; 27:56). It is very probable that Matthew describes Salome in the same way, the woman that Mark mentions in the context of Jesus’ death (Mk 15:40). James, the brother of John is never mentioned in the New Testament without his brother John. Apart from Lk 8:51; 9:28; Acts 1:13 he almost always precedes John when the two are mentioned. In addition, John is always described as the “brother of James” except in Acts 1:13 (the list of the eleven apostles); Acts 3:1.3.11; 4:13.19; 8:14, where John is with Peter; Acts 12:2, where James’ death is mentioned. Here it is important to specify which James is being spoken of, and hence he is again defined as the “brother of John.” James is mentioned in third place after Simon (Peter) and Andrew (Mt 10:2; Lk 6:14); after Peter and John (Acts 1:13) or in second place after Simon Peter (Mk 3:17). It seems that Mark wishes to emphasize that Simon Peter, James and John form a group that is closer to Jesus than the other apostles. It is they

who are frequently chosen by Jesus to be witnesses to important events such as the Raising of Jairus' daughter (Mk 5:37; Lk 8:51); the Transfiguration of Jesus (Mk 9:2; Mt 17:1; Lk 9:28) and the Prayer of Jesus in Gethsemane (Mk 14:33). Andrew, brother of Simon, is twice mentioned in this group: on the occasion of healing Simon's mother-in-law (Mk 1:29) and in the conversation with Jesus about the fall of the temple in Jerusalem (Mk 13:3). In Acts 1:13, the order of the eleven apostles has been changed: Peter, John, James and Andrew. When James and John are included in the group of twelve apostles they are given the name of "Boanerges," just as Simon received the name Peter (Mk 3:16). Finally, James is the first of the twelve apostles to die a martyr and the only one whose martyrdom is directly mentioned in the New Testament. All these facts give a general vision of James' life. In this article, my intention is to pose the question of whether, by relying on the texts of the New Testament, it is possible to recreate James the Apostle's way of faith, starting with the moment of his call by Jesus and continuing up to his death as a martyr. Which personal features of James can we extract from those texts? What kind of relationships does he have with the other disciples or the eleven other apostles? The best way to answer these questions is to analyze the texts which refer to James, in particular in the Gospel of Mark and the Acts of the Apostles.

1. The Beginning of the Way of Faith of St. James (Mk 1:16-20)

James appears for the first time in the Gospel of St. Mark (Mk 1:19). This verse belongs to the pericope describing the call of the first disciples by Jesus, namely two pairs of brothers: Simon and his brother Andrew; James and his brother John (1:16-20). In Mk 1:16-20 there are two parallel scenes that refer to the two pairs of brothers (1:16-18; 1:19-20). Each of them includes the same elements, such as the context (verses 16 and 19); the calling by Jesus (verses 7 and 20 a) and the answer of the called (verses 18 and 20). These two stories, as S. Légasse observes, "differ from each other marking a crescendo if the reaction of the first disciples presented in quite conventional events is juxtaposed with the description including rich details in verse 20."¹²⁴

¹²⁴ S. Légasse, *Marco*, Roma 2000, 94. No detailed analysis of the entire pericope (1:16-20) will be performed in this article, although due to the significance of this scene it will be presented in more detail. On Mt 1:16-20, see the latest publications: G.P. Peron, "Seguitemi! Vi farò diventare pescatori di uomini (Mc 1,17). Gli imperativi ed esortativi di Gesù ai discepoli come elementi di un loro cammino formativo, Biblioteca di Scienze Religiose 162, Roma 200, 35-44; D. Kotecki, "Powołanie pierwszych uczniów" (Mk 1,16-20) oraz "nakaz powiedzenia Piotrowi" (Mk 16,7) jako początek i koniec formacji uczniów Jezusa w Ewangelii według św. Marka, *Theologica Thoru-*

“When he had gone a little farther, he saw James son of Zebedee and his brother John in a boat, mending their nets. Without delay he called them, and they left their father Zebedee in the boat with the hired men and followed him.”

The first thing mentioned is the context “when he had gone a little farther” (Mk 1:19a). In the narrative about the calling of Simon and Andrew it is “as Jesus walked beside the Sea of Galilee” (1:16a). Right from the beginning of his activity Jesus is on the way and it is on the way that he calls his first disciples.¹²⁵ The adverb “a little farther” (*oligon*) does not just serve to emphasize Jesus’ movement, but may also suggest a relationship between these two pairs of brothers. All four of them were fishermen and in working close by they must have known each other and might even have been friends. Luke calls James and John “partners” (*koinōnoi*) of Peter (Lk 5:10). It cannot be ruled out that due to their profession they competed with each other. St. Mark the Evangelist describes the first pair as “casting a net into the sea,” i.e. actively fishing, whereas James and John are mending their nets, probably after fishing, though it could be before. Simon and Andrew are portrayed as individual fishermen, whereas James and John are apparently members of some kind of fishing association, because apart from their father Zebedee the narrator mentions hired men. One thing is certain, namely that at the moment of calling James and John, Jesus had already called Simon and Andrew. James and John must have been aware that they were not called first, although from a purely human perspective this honor should have belonged to them. This might be the reason why they later behave as described in Mk 10:35-40, which I will analyze further.

The beginning of the story emphasizes that the call is Jesus’ initiative, and he is the most important figure in this text. He initiates a personal relationship through looking (“and he saw” – *kai eiden*) and calling (“and he said” – *kai eipen* in 1:17, “he called” – *kai ekalesen* in 1:20). Throughout the entire story it is He who sees and says, but this does not exclude an active role by the first disciples (their profession is described and they are involved in Jesus’ action; they leave “something” behind

nensia 2 (2001) 29-43; J. Flis, “Nachfolge des Lehrers. Leitmotiv des Kirchenmodells im Merku-sevangelium,” in *Die Wahrheit verpflichtet*, Fs. K. Krenn ed. J. Kreiml et al., Graz 2006, 484-501; S. Hareźga, *Jezus i Jego uczniowie. Model chrześcijańskiej formacji w Ewangelii według św. Marka*, Lublin 2006, 53-61; D. Kotecki, “Con Gesù nella barca (4,35-41; 6,45-52; 8,13-21). Contributo allo studio del discepolato nel Vangelo di Marco,” *Biblica et Patristica Thoruniensia. Serie Monographiae* 1, Toruń 2015, 42-46. 233-239.

¹²⁵ The theme of Jesus’ way in the Gospel of St. Mark is presented in the analyses and conclusions by E. Manicardi, *Il cammino di Gesù nel Vangelo di Marco. Schema narrativo e tema cristologico*, AnBib 96, Roma 1981.

and follow Jesus). The truth is that no one can make himself a disciple of Jesus (cf. 5:18).¹²⁶

Jesus' look at his first disciples is very important. The predicate *eiden* with the subject "Jesus" appears for the first time in 1:10, in the scene of his baptism in the Jordan, where Jesus sees something that is hidden to others ("and he saw heaven being torn open and the Spirit descending on him like a dove"). The context indicates that both the vision and then the voice ("You are my Son, whom I love; with you *I am well pleased*") are reserved for Jesus alone. He is seeing something that others cannot see. This way of seeing becomes paradigmatic for Jesus' entire activity (cf. 2:8). In the scene of the calling, seeing in the physical sense is not what matters most, but points to a more profound insight into Simon, Andrew, James and John, namely seeing their entire story and the truth about them. The reader does not know anything about these characters apart from the information given by the narrator: he does not know their lives, why they were chosen or why they instantly left everything to follow Jesus. Only He knows the answer to those questions.

The direct object of the predicate (saw) is the names of the disciples, which underlines that the calling to "follow Jesus" is a personal calling, while the response is "the highest act of responsibility and freedom."¹²⁷ The names of the first disciples are Jewish, which emphasizes their origin but also indicates their faith in the only God of Israel (cf. Dt 5:6). For a Jew, God is unique, one, holy, mighty and worthy of all respect, and as the holy one He is "unreachable," entirely transcendent even though he acts in history.¹²⁸ Jews were monotheist, and contrary to the views of some contemporary researchers their monotheism was "exclusive," i.e. it did not recognize any other divine beings.¹²⁹

Jesus calls James together with John in the same way as he called Simon together with Andrew. There are therefore two pairs of brothers. It is interesting that among those two pairs only James and John are always presented together in the Gospel (cf. 1:29; 3:17; 5:37; 9:2; 10:35.41; 13:3; 14:33). Simon frequently appears without his brother (cf. 3:17; 5:37; 9:2; 14:33). In this way, the Evangelist emphasizes the close relation between James and John.

¹²⁶ Jesus' initiative reverses the model of "being a disciple" present in Judaism, where in rabbinic schools, disciples chose their master. Cf. M. Hengel, *Sequela e carisma. Studio esegetico e di storia delle religioni su Mc 8,21s. e la chiamata di Gesù alla sequela*, StBi 90, Brescia 1990, 92ff.

¹²⁷ L. di Pinto, "Seguitemi, vi farò diventare pescatori di uomini" (*Mc 1,16-20*), PSV 2(1980), 98.

¹²⁸ R. Rubinkiewicz, *Judaizm*, *Communio* 15 (1995) n. 4(88), 11-12.

¹²⁹ R. Bauckham, *Jesus and the God of Israel. "God Crucified" and the Other Studies on the New Testament Christology of Divine Identity*, Grand Rapids – Cambridge 2009, 107-126 (chapter title: "The Most High God" and the Nature of Early Jewish Monotheism).

Mark, mentioning the activity of these brothers (“mending their nets”) before that of Simon and Andrew (“casting a net into the sea”), underlines not only their profession but also demonstrates that their calling takes place in the midst of everyday life.

The calling of James and John is expressed through the predicate *ekalesen* which derives from the verb *kaleō* (“to call”), whereas Jesus’ words are not evoked. It seems that the narrator has left this detail to the reader’s imagination. However, in comparison to the characters in the story, the reader knows the scene of the call of Simon and Andrew and the words used beforehand: “Come, follow me,’ Jesus said, ‘and I will send you out to fish for people.’” (1:17) The parallelism of these stories suggests that the words refer to the two pairs of brothers to the same extent. A common element of these callings is *deute opisō mou* (“Come, follow me”), which not only sets the called disciples in motion but makes them realize their place in relation to Jesus. Their place is always behind (*opisō*) Him. Out of six passages where the adverb *opisō* appears in the Gospel of Mark (NT 35; Mt 6; Lc 7; Gv 7), apart from 1:7 and 13:6, it is always used to describe the relation to Jesus, for instance as showing the “following” of Jesus (cf. Mk 1:17,20; 8:33-34). Being “behind” constitutes a decisive element in deciding whether someone is a disciple of Jesus; Jesus is the only reference point for disciples, the only guide who precedes them, showing them the finish line and the goal of their way.¹³⁰ The entire calling episode reveals the great authority of Jesus. He does not propose some plan of action to those called, does not convince them to follow him, but simply calls them like a lord and master,¹³¹ whose authority might be compared to the authority of God himself in the prophetic call narratives.¹³² The relationship between Jesus and those called is not a relation of equality.

The fact that Jesus calls four disciples indicates that they become members of a community which is not based on the quality and skills of individual members,¹³³ but on total adherence to Jesus. This community comes to be not just in a spiri-

¹³⁰ J. D. Kingsbury, *Conflict in Mark: Jesus, Authorities, Disciples*, Philadelphia 1989, 90: “The nature of discipleship is joining oneself to Jesus in total allegiance”.

¹³¹ The lack of any prior motivation to follow Jesus is a sign of his authority. Cf. W.T. Shiner, *Follow Me!: Disciples in Markan Rhetoric*, Atlanta 1995, 183ff.

¹³² M. Hengel, *Sequela e carisma*, 128s; V.K. Robbins, *Mk 1,14-20: An Interpretation at the Intersection of Jewish and Graeco-Roman Traditions*, NTS 28 (1982), 98. The expression “Follow me” emphasizes the authority of the one who is in front, not only in a prophetic but also in a military and religious context. See: L. di Pinto, “*Seguitemi*,” 103, footnote 9.

¹³³ The first disciples were fishermen who in the times of Jesus were regarded as poor. See: S. Grasso, *Gesù e i suoi fratelli. Contributo allo studio della cristologia e dell'antropologia nel Vangelo di Matteo*, SRibBib 29, Bologna 1993, 47, footnote 7).

tual sense but also in accompanying Jesus on his journey. Jesus himself outlines the structure of the community: Peter is the first, frequently representing the community (1:16; 3:16; 8:29; 16:7). In the entire Markan narrative the first and the last hero evoked in the narrative is Peter (1:16; 16:7), which may be seen as a form of inclusion.¹³⁴ The emphasis on the role of Peter might explain the later behavior of the disciples, including James and John.

In the scene of calling Peter and Andrew, another phrase is added after the summons "Follow me": namely "I will send you out to fish for people," which indicates the purpose of the call.¹³⁵ The expression "to fish for people" refers to the future function of the disciples, namely preaching the Gospel. With great authority,¹³⁶ Jesus declares his intention of transforming into fishers of people those whose occupation was once catching fish. He refers to their unlimited and universal missionary task: preaching the Good News, which indicates that this is not an esoteric group but one open to all people.

The words of Jesus are also a prediction of the process of permanent formation of His disciples. The moment at which they start "fishing for people" is not stated precisely. The context of the entire Gospel, in particular Mk 13:10; 14:9, as well as the universalistic coloring of the expression "fishing for people," indicate that it will happen after the Resurrection of Jesus, when the disciples are invited to set out on the post-paschal path of following Him.¹³⁷

The narrator underlines James and John's immediate and radical answer, even though he does not use the adverb *euthys* (immediately) in this case. There are two elements to this answer: negative ("they left their father Zebedee in the boat with the hired men") and positive ("followed Him"). Simon and Andrew give the same answer to the call: "At once they left their nets and followed Him" (1:18). The narrator's entire formulation of the first element of James and John's answer as well as

¹³⁴ C. Focant, *L'Évangile selon Marc*, Commentaire biblique: Nouveau Testament 2, Paris 2004, 83; P. Mascilongo, "Ma voi, che dite che io sia?": *Analisi narrativa dell'identità di Gesù e del cammino dei discepoli nel Vangelo secondo Marco, alla luce della "Confessione di Pietro" (Mc 8,27-30)*, AnBib 192, Roma 2011, 203.

¹³⁵ J.D. Kingsbury, *Conflict in Mark*, 91; D. Kotecki, *Con Gesù nella barca*, 236.

¹³⁶ In the Gospel of Mark, the verb *poiein* as the predicate combined with the name of Jesus as the subject of the sentence is always viewed in the context of Jesus' authority. (cf. Mk 3:8.14.16; 5:20; 6:5; 7:37; 10:35.36.51; 11:28.29.33; 15:14). Some exegetes analyze *poiēsō* in Mk 1:17 in the light of 1 Sm 12:6 (LXX), where God is presented as the one who appointed (*ho poiēsas*) Moses and Aaron. See: L. Cerfaux, *La mission de Galilée dans la tradition synoptique*, EThL 28 (1952), 646; B. Rigaux, *Die Zwölf in Geschichte und Kerygma*, in: *Der historische Jesu und der kerigmatische Christus*, H. Ristow, K. Matthiae eds., Berlin 1960, 474-475.

¹³⁷ On the process of the formation of the disciples and its stages, see: D. Kotecki, *Con Gesù nella barca*, 231-283.

the information about Salome, most probably the mother of the sons of Zebedee (cf. Mt 27:56), who together with other women “had followed Jesus from Galilee to care for His needs,” perhaps also helping in a material way (Mk 15:40-41), indicate to us that James and John grew up in a relatively affluent family. Moreover, the name of their father Zebedee, mentioned in the narrative twice, serves to emphasize that James and John might have been close to their father.¹³⁸ The predicate *apēlthon* in the expression “followed Him” may serve a similar purpose. The verb *aperchomai* is a compound verb, the prefix *apo-* suggesting a certain distance from something or someone, whereas *erchomai* combined with the expression “after Him” accentuates adherence to someone. It seems to me, however, that the narrator does not intend to compare the greatness or value of the one abandoned in relation to the two pairs of brothers. He only wishes to emphasize the radical nature of their answer, as Simon Peter later reminds Jesus: “We have left everything to follow you” (Mk 10:28). The characterization of the first disciples suggested in the narrative demonstrates that for Simon, Andrew, James and John, “following Jesus” is of the highest value and that they acknowledge Him as their master and Lord.

It should be noted that the detailed account of the words of the call as well as the answer of the disciples in the Gospel of Mark belong to the strategy of the text (cf. 1:14-15; 1:22; 3:14-15). The content is barely marked, which is why these descriptions awaken the reader’s interest, which can be only satisfied over the course of the narrative.¹³⁹

From this moment on the disciples accompany Jesus constantly, which the narrator marks in 1:21 when he states “They went to Capernaum.” The presence of the disciples is mentioned in all the Gospels, but most frequently in the Gospel of Mark, due to its length. They are mentioned directly through the term *mathētēs* in the plural (Mk 42; Mt 66; Lk 29); or the use of the plural in the predicate, which shows that Jesus is accompanied by the disciples (cf. Mk 1:21 and 29; 5:1; 6:53; 8:22; etc.) In the entire narrative Jesus is rarely alone. There are, however, moments when He goes to pray (cf. Mk 1:35; 6:46; 14:35-41) and there is the moment of his suffering and death (cf. Mk 15). The way of the disciples is parallel to the way of Jesus. Walking together with Him, they are in constant communion with Him, which distinguishes them from other groups present in the Gospel. The communion of life is the fundamental core of being a disciple and his formation. They accompany Jesus in His entire activity and are under His influence, thus receiving permanent formation. This aspect of Jesus’ activity is evident when the Gospel describes Him in pri-

¹³⁸ S. Légasse, *Marco*, 100.

¹³⁹ A. Malina, *Ewangelia według świętego Marka, rozdziały 1,1-8,26. Wstęp, przekład z oryginału, komentarz*, NKB NT II/1, Częstochowa 2013, 133.

vate situations (cf. Mk 4:10-25 and 34; 4:35-41; 6:45-52; 7:17-23; 8:13-21, 27-30 and 31-33; 9:2-8, 28-29 and 31-50; 10:10-12, 13-16, 23-31 and 32b-45; 11:20-25; 12:43-44; 13:5-37; 14:17-42).¹⁴⁰

Finally, an obligatory question concerns the faith of James, which in the context of Mk 1:16-20 refers to all four disciples. The answer comes from the context of the story. The position in the text of the calling of the first disciples, placed immediately after the narrative of the initial proclamation of Jesus (Mk 1:14-15), indicates that the call “to follow Jesus” is not only a consequence of the fact that “the kingdom of God has come near” (i.e. God’s stewardship),¹⁴¹ but also a condition for Jesus to begin proclaiming and carrying out His mission. After the description of the call of the first disciples the narrative of the public activity of Jesus begins (cf. 1:21), which, in turn, indicates that when Jesus starts His mission His disciples accompany Him.¹⁴² On the narrative level, the first disciples are the first heroes, after John the Baptist and Jesus, who appear in the core of the story in the second Gospel and they play the important role of witnesses to Jesus’ entire activity.¹⁴³ The answer of the first disciples should be viewed through the perspective of Jesus’ call: “Repent and believe the good news!” (1:15b), which is the result of receiving the message that “the time has come” and that “the kingdom of God has come near” (1:15a). Leaving behind their trade, as do all four disciples, and even their family in the case of James and John, is an experience of conversion. That all four follow Jesus must be seen as an example of faith. Both faith and conversion have their roots in the Gospel (*en tō euangeliō*).¹⁴⁴ Thus Mark views the first disciples as converted believers and presents them to the reader in this manner so that the reader will come to the same conclusion.¹⁴⁵ In this context, the question concerns the faith of the first disciples, especially the faith of James. “To believe” denotes “to follow Jesus,” and to be “behind” him (*opisō autou*). The narrator gives the whole event a paradigmatic character.¹⁴⁶ From this moment

¹⁴⁰ On the formation of the disciples, see: D. Kotecki, *Con Gesù nella barca (Mk 4:35-41; 6:45-52; 8:13-21)*. *Contributo allo studio del discepolato nel Vangelo di Marco*, Biblica et Patristica Thoruniensia. Series Monographiae 1, Toruń 2015.

¹⁴¹ The term “the kingdom of God” expresses the personal reality of God himself, who as the Lord and ruler is near.

¹⁴² D. Kotecki, *Con Gesù nella barca*, 234.

¹⁴³ P. Mascilongo, “*Ma voi, chi dite che io sia?*” 200.

¹⁴⁴ The expression *en tō euangeliō* does not indicate the subject of faith but the foundation of conversion and faith, see: K. Stock, *La metanoia in Marco*, PSV 22 (1990), 113-121.

¹⁴⁵ The organization of the narrative material also answers the question that concerns not only historical characters of the story but also the reader of the Gospel; “to repent and believe the good news” signifies receiving Jesus’ invitation to follow him, an answer that inaugurates the proclaimed kingdom of God (cf. P. Mascilongo, “*Ma voi, che dite che io sia?*” 201).

¹⁴⁶ Cf. P. Mascilongo, “*Ma voi, che dite che io sia?*” 202.

on, the answer to the question of whether the first disciples believe or not depends on whether they are behind Jesus or not.¹⁴⁷ Obviously, the story of the call of Simon, Andrew, James and John does not give a direct answer to the question of faith and does not assess their attitude; instead, the reader is invited to judge their behavior for himself. The entire characterization of the first disciples provided by the narrator portrays them as people who, summoned by Jesus, respond with conversion and faith. The act of conversion and faith, as S. Legassé observes, “possesses a supernatural quality as according to the Gospel there has not been any previous encounter of Jesus with those people.”¹⁴⁸ In this context faith is a complete and unconditional adherence to Jesus, which does not mean, however, that conversion and faith are permanent. It is no accident that Jesus’ call to repent and believe in Mk 1:15 is expressed in the present tense imperative (*metanoete, pisteuete*), underlining that conversion and faith are a constant process. The continuity of this process also concerns Simon, Andrew, James and John. In this context, Mk 1:16-20 is an open event for the first disciples, whereas for the reader, it is an open story that allows him to view the rest of the narrative of the first disciples of Jesus, including James, as well as his own life.

Faith as unconditional adherence to Jesus possesses a Christological character which, however, does not eliminate its theological nature. The theological faith of the first disciples is quite complex. The text of the pericope demonstrates that the approach of God as master and Lord (“the kingdom of God”) is realized in Jesus. Moreover, the first disciples are Jews whose faith, as follows from *Shema Israel*, implies complete adherence to the only God of Israel. The narrator indirectly specifies the nature of the first disciples’ faith, in which Christology and theology intersect. Is it possible that the first disciples possessed this faith before the call? This question is never posed by the narrator, presenting as he does a paradigmatic image of Christian faith.

2. James during the first day of Jesus’ public activity (Mk 1:29)

The first disciples accompany Jesus from the very beginning (1:21). James appears again in Mk 1:29 in the following passage: “As soon as they left the synagogue, they went with James and John to the home of Simon and Andrew.” The question of the stylistic clumsiness of the sentence will not be discussed here; however, it would

¹⁴⁷ This is the question which engages the reader of the Gospel not only as an external witness to the events described, which concern the direct characters in the first place, but also the person who finds the story of his life and faith in the stories.

¹⁴⁸ S. Légasse, *Marco*, 98.

sound better if instead of “they” the narrator had used the pronoun “He.”¹⁴⁹ The narrator emphasizes the presence of James and John and their relationship with Jesus: they are with Him, as indicated by the preposition *meta*. It is possible that the narrator is indicating a certain distance between the two pairs of brothers. Simon and Andrew might have gone home earlier than James and John and somehow got separated from Jesus, James and John. However, all these deliberations are strictly hypothetical.

In the passage 1:29-31, James, similarly to John, is portrayed as a companion of Jesus who, together with the other three, is present when Jesus heals Simon's mother-in-law. This miracle is placed in the context of the whole day of Jesus' public activity in Capernaum: from the moment Jesus enters the synagogue in Capernaum and begins to teach as one who has authority, the consequence of which is the driving out of an impure spirit from a possessed man (1:21-28), up through healing Simon's mother-in-law (1:29-31), until the evening when crowds come to Jesus (1:34). The first disciples are witnesses to those events. It cannot be ruled out that they also belong to the crowd who marvels at Jesus' teaching and exorcisms in 1:22 or 1:27.¹⁵⁰ The day in Capernaum closes in the evening at Simon's house, where the whole town gathers (*holē polis*). This information (1:33) is preceded by the description of bringing all the sick and demon-possessed to Jesus. After that there is a kind of *summarium*, which concludes Jesus' activity with the following words: “and Jesus healed many who had various diseases. He also drove out many demons, but He would not let the demons speak because they knew who He was” (1:34). The first disciples were witnesses to all these activities of Jesus. In the *summarium* there is a confirmation of what the reader already knows from previous narratives. Jesus has the power to drive out impure spirits (the first exorcism) and to cure illnesses (the curing of Simon's mother-in-law). He does it using his own power, saying no prayers. The foundation of this fact is Jesus' identity, which is revealed by the first demon-possessed man in Capernaum, who says: “What do you want with us, Jesus of Nazareth? Have you come to destroy us? I know who you are—the Holy One of God!” (1:24). Not all the people who gather in front of Simon Peter's house are beneficiaries of Jesus' activity. The narrator clearly contrasts the sentence: “the people brought to Jesus all [*pantas*] the sick and demon-possessed” (1:32) and “Jesus healed many [*pollous*] who had various diseases. He also drove out many [*polla*] demons.” The term “many” does not mean “all” and this observation is essential for understanding the next pericope (1: 35-39), in which the narrator emphasizes for the first time a certain crisis in the relationship between the disciples and Jesus,

¹⁴⁹ See A. Malina, *Ewangelia według świętego Marka*, 139-140.

¹⁵⁰ P. Mascilongo takes the opposite view, “*Ma voi dite che io sia?*” 204.

which can also be viewed from the perspective of their faith. James is not mentioned in this passage. However, the expression “Simon and his companions” (*Simōn kai oi met’autou*), clearly indicates that the passage refers to the first disciples, including James:

Very early in the morning, while it was still dark, Jesus got up, left the house and went off to a solitary place, where he prayed. Simon and his companions went to look for him, and when they found him, they exclaimed: “Everyone is looking for you!”

Jesus replied, “Let us go somewhere else—to the nearby villages—so I can preach there also. That is why I have come.” So he traveled throughout Galilee, preaching in their synagogues and driving out demons. (Mk 1:35-39)

After a day of spectacular activity, Jesus goes to pray outside Capernaum. In 1:36 it is said that Simon and his companions searched for Jesus or pursued him (*katediōksen*).¹⁵¹ By mentioning Simon and the predicate *katediōksen* in the singular form, the narrator underlines the special role of Simon. His companions are simply “with him” (*meta’autuo*). It does not seem to me that this is an accidental or insignificant expression. In 1:29, James and John are presented as Jesus’ companions (they are with him [*meta*]). In this passage they are Simon’s companions. The next part of the story will develop the concept of what it means that Andrew, James and John are with Simon. In the next verse, there is a change of predicate from singular (*katediōksen*) to plural: “they found him” (*heuron auton*), “they exclaimed” (*legousin autō*). Even though the role of Simon is emphasized earlier, undoubtedly at this moment all four disciples are participating in this event. The sentence “Everyone is looking for you!” is their assessment of the reality of the situation. In this context the expression *meta’autuo* does not signify just accompanying Simon physically, but also being on his side, accepting his manner of thinking, his judgment of reality and his reactions. He is the true leader that Andrew, James and John follow. In comparison with the situation described in Mk 1:16-20, there is a group, which, as R. Vignolo observes, “is characterized by a certain family, professional or compatriot solidarity but not a Christological one...”¹⁵² Their relationship to Jesus is not based on “following him” but on a fruitless pursuit of him. The reason for this pursuit of Jesus is explained by the words: “Everyone is looking for you!” (*pantes dzētousin se*). In analyzing this sentence it is necessary to answer the question hidden behind the subject “everyone” and why everyone is looking for Him. It is very probable that “ev-

¹⁵¹ The verb *katadiōkein* denotes “pursuing, following someone having unfriendly intentions,” see: A. Malina, *Ewangelia według świętego Marka*, 149.

¹⁵² R. Vignolo, *Cercare Gesù. Tema e forma del Vangelo di Marco*, in *Marco e il suo vangelo. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi “Il vangelo di Marco” Venezia 30-31 maggio 1995*, L. Cilia, Cinisello Balsamo ed. 1997, 82.

everyone” signifies the inhabitants of Capernaum and the disciples themselves. In this exclamation we can detect an echo of Jesus’ popularity provoked by His activity (cf. 1:28). The reason why they looked for Jesus is that He had cured or exorcised “many” but not “all” who needed it. Simon and his companions become both messengers and mediators for the inhabitants of Capernaum as well as the spokesmen for their vision of Jesus. Their main purpose is to bring Jesus back to Capernaum so that he would finish his work. Their words addressed to Jesus might have sounded like this: “What are you doing here if you should be among the people who need you?” or “You have succeeded and now you want to escape?” or “Go back to Capernaum because everyone (including us) is waiting for you to finish the healing you have initiated.”¹⁵³

The question of the disciples unmasks their true relationship to Jesus. For the first time the narrator directly marks the contrast between Jesus and His disciples. Their intentions are completely different, and they look at Him just as the inhabitants of Capernaum do. They want to decide what His mission will be, thus adopting a position which is inappropriate for disciples, who should be “behind” Jesus. The narrator presents them here more as “Simon and those who were with him” than as Jesus’ disciples. Their logic differs completely from Jesus’ logic, who decides to “go somewhere else – to the nearby villages.” However, His disciples are supposed to accompany Him on this journey, thus the use of *agōmen* (“let us go”). Jesus does not reject His disciples, and His words are an invitation to return to the community with Him, to belong to Him and to learn what it means to “be behind Him,” as well as to share a common way based on preaching and driving out evil spirits as the consequence of the fact that “the kingdom of God has come near.” Although in the next two episodes (1:40-45 and 2:11-12) the narrator does not directly mention the disciples (he does not use either the noun *matheitai* or predicates in the plural) that does not mean that the history of the disciples is not present there, since the call of Jesus from 1:38 “Let us go” is still present in the background.¹⁵⁴

Here we may ask about James’ faith. Similarly to that of Simon, Andrew and John, it is not complete. If faith is based on complete and unconditional adherence to Jesus, on “imitating” him, it is clear that James and the others do not possess such faith and are only on the way to achieving its fullness. The narrator, mentioning Simon in 1:37 for the third time since the scene of his calling (1:16 and 29), emphasizes his exceptional role. He is the spokesman of the disciples. James and the

¹⁵³ Cf. W.L. Lane, *The Gospel according to Mark. The English Text with Introduction, Exposition and Notes*, New International Commentary of the New Testament 2, Grand Rapids 1974, 82. R. Vignolo, *Cercare Gesù*, 85.

¹⁵⁴ See P. Mascilongo, “*Ma voi, che dite che io sia?*,” 208-209.

others are to some extent subordinated to him. James and John’s way of faith seems to be united with that of Peter. We do not know why Andrew is excluded because apart from 13:3 he is absent from the next episodes in which Peter, James and John appear.

3. James in the Scene of Appointing the Twelve (3:13-19)

James is mentioned by name for the third time in the Gospel of Mark in 3:17 when the Twelve are listed (3:16-19). The list is preceded by the description of appointing the Twelve (3:13-16a), which is very important for St. Mark but is not related by Matthew and Luke.¹⁵⁵

The entire narrative is focused on Jesus, and He is also the subject of almost all the activities. The core of the story is the expression “He appointed twelve” (*epoiēsen dōdeka*) repeated twice. The context of the story (cf. 3:7-12) indicates that Jesus summons some of His disciples and entrusts them with a special task. It might seem that this task makes the called ones constitute a later group than the disciples; however, the first called are the first disciples on the list of the Twelve (1:16-20). The aim is to narrow down the group of disciples (cf. 2:15) and assign them to a specific mission. The narrator uses the predicate *proskaleitai* (called), emphasizing the personal character of the call and at the same time the relation of superiority which the verb *proskalein* in the New Testament indicates (only a person of a higher rank can summon someone). The verb *proskalein* also includes the idea of being chosen, which is underlined by the expression “those He wanted” (*hous ēthelen autos*). In this expression the emphasis is on the pronoun *autos*, which refers to Jesus while emphasizing that only the will of the one who summons decides who is chosen. In the context of Mt 27:34 where Ps 22:9 (LXX) is cited, the verb *thelein* translates the Hebrew word *chāpēts*, which signifies “to love, to develop liking for someone.” This might suggest that the narrator is presenting Jesus as someone who summons those He loves and bears in His heart. It is not, however, a one-time impulse but a feeling which accompanies Jesus over a longer period, which explains the imperfect tense *ēthelen*.

¹⁵⁵ A parallel text from Mt 10:1-4 assumes the existence of the group of the Twelve and is more the equivalent of Mk 6:7-12. The text in Lk 9:1-6 mentions the appointment of the Twelve but does not specify its purpose. The most detailed analysis of the pericope about the appointing of the Twelve Apostles in Mk 3:13-19 is the monograph by K. Stock. See K. Stock, *Boten aus dem Mit - Ihm - Sein. Das Verhältnis zwischen Jesus und den Zwölf nach Markus*, AnBib 70, Roma 1975.

The manner of presenting the answers of those called says much about them: “and they came to Him” (*kai apēlthon pros auton*). On the one hand, the separation of the called from the crowd is underlined, as the context makes clear, but on the other hand their proximity to Jesus (*pros auton*) is also emphasized. The verb *aperchoami* is used here, the same one which is applied in the description of James and John’s response to the call in 1:20. In that context the verb is linked with the prepositional phrase *opisō autō* (behind Him), while here it is linked with *pros auton* (to Him). It appears that the initial call to discipleship from 1:16-20 acquires a new quality. Jesus is not merely a point of reference but the goal. The scene where the Twelve are appointed throws new light on the whole situation because the aim of the appointing is also noted (only Mark speaks of it), and it gives the reader a detailed characterization of each of the Twelve: “that they might be with Him and that He might send them out to preach and to have authority to drive out demons” (3:14-15).

The entire aim of appointing the Twelve is associated with Jesus’ mission. They will be sent to realize the same mission, namely preaching, *kēryssein*, and driving out demons, *ekballein ta daimonia* (cf. Mk 1:39).¹⁵⁶ This mission, however, has a specific foundation: “that they might be with Him” (*hina ōsin met’autou*).¹⁵⁷ Preaching and driving out demons are mentioned when Jesus sends the Twelve on their mission (6:12). The important part of the description is the statement: “that they might be with Him.” The entire sentence introduced by *hina*, with its sense of a definite result, may be functioning as an indirect command.¹⁵⁸ This approach underlines the fact that Jesus wants to share His life with the Twelve. The entire expression stresses the communion with Jesus even more. However, the emphasis does not appear to be on physical communion (the Twelve are only Jesus’ companions on his journey). The entire expression seems to have a deeper meaning, possibly derived from the use of the verb *einai*, “to be” (the narrator could have used the verb *akoloutheō* here), which primarily expresses the fact of being or existing. “To be with someone” denotes participating in their existence, their way of life and the logic of their life, but also sharing this existence and logic. To be with someone does not primarily signify an outer relationship. It is possible to be with someone in a physical sense but not accept his lifestyle, worldview, manner of assessing life or his logic of life. Being with

¹⁵⁶ On the theme of Jesus’ mission in the Gospel of Mark see: D. Kotecki, *Misja Jezusa w świetle Ewangelii według św. Marka*, Theologica Thorunensia 5 (2004), 31-52.

¹⁵⁷ The expression “that they might be with him” is the foundation of the entire mission of the Twelve. This is the main thesis of the monograph by K. Stock. See: K. Stock, *Boten aus dem Mit-Ihm – Sein*, 53.

¹⁵⁸ G.P. Peron, “*Seguitemi!*” 63.

Jesus means sharing in His existence, accepting His style of thinking, reacting, assessment and mentality.¹⁵⁹

The text describing the purpose of appointing the Twelve is one of the main objectives of the Second Gospel (1:14-15; 1:16-17; 1:22). From here on, the reader is invited to view the story of the Twelve, including James, in the context of the clearly delineated aim of their appointment. Being with Jesus is the result of complete adherence to Him, i.e. faith. “Being behind Jesus” (1:16-20) and “being with Jesus” (3:14) become reflections of faith. From now on, the story of the first disciples, who belong to the group of the Twelve, should be assessed from the perspective of being “behind” Jesus and being “with” Him.

Simon receives the name Peter at the time of appointing the Twelve (from that moment the name Simon never appears again in the narrative), once more being privileged in the text.¹⁶⁰ For the first time James and John are placed directly after Simon in the narrative. They are given the name Boanerges, which, however, never appears in the narrative again. Andrew features as the fourth disciple, which reverses the chronology of the calling. From that point on, James and John, together with Peter, belong to the most privileged and trusted group of Jesus’ disciples.

4. James in the scene of raising of Jairus’ daughter (Mk 5:35-43)

James appears once again in Mk 5:37 and together with Simon and John is called to take part in the raising of Jairus’ daughter (5:35-43). For the first time in the narrative, Jesus is portrayed as the one who chooses this privileged group, with Peter mentioned as the first disciple (cf. 9:2; 13:3; 14:43). No reason is given for this choice and the gospel does not specify why Jesus wishes only three disciples to accompany him at this moment. They are silent witnesses to a very important manifestation of Jesus’ power, different from other events. He is presented as able to restore a little girl to life. Before that event Peter, James and John had witnessed the revelation of Jesus’ power when He drove out impure spirits (1:21-28.38; 3:11; 5:1-20), cured illnesses (1:32-34; 2:1-12; 3:1-6.7-12; 5:25-34) and tamed nature (4:35-31). In these manifestations of might Jesus does not pray to God but uses His divine power.

¹⁵⁹ See Z. Kiernikowski, *Bycie z Jezusem (Mk 3,14) jako jeden z istotnych warunków formacji do kapłaństwa*, in: *Evangelizare pauperibus*, Fs. B. Wojtuś, M. Olczyk, P. Podeszwa eds., Gniezno 2007, 319-336; D. Kotecki, *Kapłan jako głosiciel Ewangelii. Przyczynek synoptyków do teologii kapłaństwa*, in *Od Melchizedeka do Jezusa – Arcykapłana. Biblia o kapłaństwie*, Analecta Biblica Lublinensia V, D. Dziadosz ed., 160-173.

¹⁶⁰ The reader is not informed of why Simon’s name has been changed to Peter. A similar narrative tactic is visible when granting the name “Boanerges” to James and John.

In presenting Jesus in this way His identity is directly revealed and His disciples participate directly or indirectly in all these events.

The raising of Jairus' daughter is part of a larger section where one can observe a "sandwich" structure (5:21-43): the appearance of Jairus and his request that Jesus cure his dying daughter (5:21-24); the healing of a woman suffering from bleeding (5:25-34) and the raising of the little girl (5:35-43). In this double story the most essential aspect is the motif of faith. The entire narrative on healing the woman with the hemorrhage culminates with the words of Jesus: "Daughter, your faith has healed you. Go in peace and be freed from your suffering" (5:34). Before that, the narrator had said nothing about the woman's faith. He only presents her hopeless condition (5:21-26), her touching of Jesus' cloak and a description of her motivation (5:27-28), her condition after her healing (5:29), her stepping out of the crowd accompanied by fear and trembling (*phobēthēsa kai tremousa*) and her awareness of what has happened (*eidyia ho gegonen autē*). This information is known to the reader of the text but not to the witnesses to the event, including the disciples, Jairus and the crowd. What has happened becomes clear when Jesus realizes that power has gone out from Him and asks His disciples: "Who touched my clothes?" His disciples do not answer directly, but only respond implying that His question is absurd: "You see the people crowding against you, ... and yet you can ask, 'Who touched me?'" (5:31). Then the woman comes, falls at Jesus' feet and reveals "the whole truth," *pasan tēn alētheian* (5:33). The narrator does not cite the woman's words because what has happened is clear to the reader. In the context of the entire narrative her faith is her conviction of Jesus' power. That faith is, however, also expressed through her reaction to what has happened. The woman comes to Jesus fearful and trembling (*phobēthēsa kai tremousa*), which might mean that she experiences the whole event as a form of divine revelation.¹⁶¹ Her declaration of faith has one more addressee. This is Jairus, the leader of the synagogue, who takes Jesus to his home. For Jairus the entire event is a testimony to the faith of the woman and an impulse for his faith, especially when he learns that his daughter has died: "Your daughter is dead. Why bother the teacher anymore?" (5:33). In this context he hears the words of Jesus: "Don't be afraid; just believe" (5:36). Jairus receives a clear message: faith is more important than the request itself.¹⁶² His situation cannot thwart his request. In the call to faith, the trust which drove Jairus to Jesus is not the most important thing: true faith in Jesus is, i.e. complete adherence to the One whose power is limitless. Jairus is asked to attain the same level of faith as the woman because only such faith can change the fate of

¹⁶¹ See G. Bonifacio, *Personaggi minori e discepoli in Marco 4-8. la funzione degli episodi dei personaggi minori nell'interazione con la storia dei protagonisti*, AnBib 173, Roma 2008, 144.

¹⁶² A. Malina, *Ewangelia według świętego Marka*, 354-355.

his daughter. Jairus' daughter is raised from the dead, which is a clear sign that her father did not lack faith.

In the context of this miracle it is important to ask about the role of Simon, James and John in the story. Are they merely silent witnesses to the events or passive participants in Jesus' activity? For his call to faith also seems to be addressed to them. The narrator directly mentions them to show that the events they take part in are intended for them as well. Their presence alongside Jesus, however, should be viewed in a broader context. The fact that Jesus brings Peter, James and John testifies to their being his disciples, mentioned directly or indirectly in previous narratives (the plural form of the predicates in 4:35, 36, 38 and 41;5:1; the term *mathētai* in 4:34; 5:31). The description of Jesus' double miracle is preceded by two others that the disciples participate in, namely calming the storm at sea (4: 35-41) and healing a demon-possessed man from the Gerasenes (5:1-20); these are combined in turn with the entire section of Jesus' teaching through the use of parables in 4:1-34. Apart from the scene described in 4:35-41, the disciples do not play an important role in the remaining narratives. The narrator presents them merely as witnesses to Jesus' activity. In 4:35-41 the disciples are overtaken on the sea by a furious squall that endangers their lives (4:38). After Jesus calms the storm he accuses them of cowardliness and lack of faith (“Why are you so afraid? Do you still have no faith?” 4:40).¹⁶³ The entire event, together with his statement about lack of faith, make the disciples realize that they are taking part in divine revelation, as indicated by the expression *kai ephobēthesan phobon megan*, which provokes the question: “Who is this? Even the wind and the waves obey Him!” (4:41). This is the first openly Christological question of the Second Gospel (cf. 1:28). It demands an answer from the disciples and, at the same time, the dynamics of the narrative provokes strong anticipation in every reader. An analysis of Mk 4:34-41 leads to the conclusion that the narrator is presenting faith as the intersection of trust and an identification of who Jesus is. The recognition of Jesus' identity is the foundation of faith – trust.¹⁶⁴ The motif of recognition is also present in the event from 5:1-20, which strongly resembles the first miracle at the synagogue in Capernaum, which the disciples, including James, participated in (1:21-28). The demon-possessed man from the Gerasenes recognizes Jesus as “Son of the Most High God” (5:7). Moreover, after he is cured and his request to stay with Jesus is rejected the latter gives him an order: “Go home to your

¹⁶³ In Mk 4:40 Jesus neither accuses his disciples of having little faith (cf. Mt 8:26) nor asks them where their faith is (Lk 8:25).

¹⁶⁴ D. Kotecki, *Con Gesù nella barca*, 60-72. The concept of combining faithful trust with recognizing Jesus' identity was studied by T. Söding in *Glaube bei Markus. Glaube an das Evangelium, Gebetsglaube und Wunderglaube im Kontext der markinischen Basileiatheologie und Christologie*, SBB 12, Stuttgart ²1987, 305-313.

own people and tell them how much the Lord has done for you, and how He has had mercy on you” (5:19). These words can be treated as Jesus’ self-presentation, identifying his activity with divine mercy¹⁶⁵ and this is how the healed man interprets it, traveling throughout the Decapolis to announce how much Jesus had done for him (5:20), transgressing Jesus’ order. The motif of trust and, indirectly, recognition is also combined in the concept of faith in 5:21-43, a passage that contains the only stories where the faith of particular characters is presented directly. Through the attitude of the healed woman Jairus is also invited to such a faith by Jesus’ call: “Don’t be afraid; just believe.” The healing of the woman who suffered from bleeding and the raising of Jairus’ daughter from the dead have a formative function for Jesus’ disciples, especially for Peter, James and John. Jesus’ disciples accompany Him to His hometown (6:1). They are presented as witnesses to the reaction of the inhabitants of Nazareth when they see Jesus, which is filled with lack of faith and contrasts sharply with the faith of the woman suffering from bleeding and Jairus. The episode from Nazareth strongly combines this lack of faith (*apistia*) with a failure to recognize Jesus’ true identity on the part of His compatriots. For them, Jesus is merely a carpenter, Mary’s son and the brother of James, Joseph, Judas and Simon and some unnamed sisters (6:2-3). The way Jesus invites His disciples to embark on, including James, is the way of faith, which should intersect with the way of recognizing His true identity, which is precisely discovering “the secret of the kingdom of God” (4:11).¹⁶⁶

The turning point in the journey of faith by the disciples is Jesus’ question asked around Caesarea Philippi: “But what about you? ... Who do you say I am?” (Mk 8:29) and the answer on behalf of all the disciples comes from Peter: “You are the Messiah” (8:29).¹⁶⁷ Peter’s response is the result of the disciples’ experiences, the most important of which are sea voyages with Jesus (4:35-41; 6:45-52; 8:13-21) and other events associated with them (mostly described in 6:34-44; 8:1-9).¹⁶⁸ “The aim

¹⁶⁵ Cf. G. Bonifacio, *Personaggi minori*, 152.

¹⁶⁶ In Mk 4:11 the aim of the first stage of the disciples’ formation is outlined: “The secret of the kingdom of God has been given to you,” which equates with the recognition of Jesus’ identity. The sentence “The secret of the kingdom of God has been given to you,” in which the pronoun “you” is in the emphatic position *hymīn to mysterion dedotai tēs basileias tou theou* together with Jesus’ question from 8:29: “But what about you? ... Who do you say I am?” (*hymeis de tina me legete einai*), where the pronoun “you” is stressed, constitutes an inclusion. See D. Kotecki, *Con Gesù nella barca*, 81-87.

¹⁶⁷ The relation between the question concerning Jesus’ identity and the way of the disciples is presented in P. Mascilongo, “*Ma voi, chi dite che io sia?*” D. Kotecki focused on this earlier in *Con Gesù nella barca*. This publication is a doctoral dissertation from 1999 which was supplemented and published in 2015.

¹⁶⁸ On this theme see D. Kotecki, *Con Gesù nella barca*.

of all the experiences of the disciples associated with Jesus’ identity (Mk 4:37 and 39; 6:48-50; 6:34-44; 8:1-9), all the strong impulses of Jesus encouraging the disciples to reflection (Mk 4:40; 8:17-20), was to lead the disciples to recognize Jesus’ identity, which is the foundation of faith.”¹⁶⁹ Peter’s response is the preliminary closure of the first stage of the disciples’ formation in the Second Gospel, whose aim is to answer the question of who Jesus is. Peter’s response is correct¹⁷⁰ but incomplete. The entire context following his answer (cf. 8:31-33) clearly demonstrates that it requires further clarification. Immediately after Peter’s response Jesus prohibits the disciples from spreading information about His identity, which not only confirms the truth of Peter’s answer but also provokes the reader to think that something is missing in this confession.¹⁷¹ The narrative that follows solves this problem: Jesus is the Messiah, but also the Son of Man, who must undergo great suffering, be killed and rise again (cf. 8:31); He is the Son of Man who will come in glory (cf. 8:38; 14:62) and finally He is the Son of God (cf. 9:7; 14:62; 15:39). This last title is the most important in Markan Christology.¹⁷² For him, three titles – the Messiah, the Son of Man and the Son of God – completely describe Jesus’ identity. Against this background it is clearer than ever that the title of Messiah does not reflect the whole truth about Jesus’ identity, without this belittling the role of Jesus Himself.

James, together with the other disciples, is on the way of faith, which intersects with the question of Jesus’ identity. Peter, near Caesarea Philippi, answers for all the disciples in response to Jesus’ order not to tell anyone: “Jesus warned them” (8:30). Both Peter’s answer and his faith are incomplete, and similarly the way of faith of Peter and the other disciples, including James, is not finished.

¹⁶⁹ D. Kotecki, *Con Gesù nella barca*, 241.

¹⁷⁰ Peter’s answer presents the true identity of Jesus, which might also be deduced from the following premises: immediately after Peter’s answer Jesus warns them not to tell anyone (8:30), an expression used in the narrative to command demons that recognize Jesus’ identity (1:24; 3:11; 5:5) or when referring to the disciples in the scene of his Transfiguration (9:9); the complete disappearance of the question about Jesus’ identity; his unwillingness to reproach the disciples for their obstinacy in not recognizing his identity (8:13-21); the lack of the expression “not yet” (*oupō*: 4:40; 8:17 and 21); the inclusion of 1:1 in 8:29 through the use of the term *christos*; finally, the title *christos* is one of the titles that Mark applies to Jesus (Mk 1:1; 14:61).

¹⁷¹ Cf. P. Mascilongo, “*Ma voi, chi dite che io sia?*”, 303.

¹⁷² This is a common belief among exegetes.

5. James in the scene of the Transfiguration (Mk 9:2-13)

James is directly mentioned by name in the scene of the Transfiguration, where he is present in the same group with Peter and John (9:2) as they witness the raising of Jairus' daughter. This time Jesus takes them to a high mountain. The entire scene could be studied from the perspective of the way of faith of Jesus' disciples, which should intersect with their recognition of Jesus' identity, although the narrator in 9:2-13 does not directly speak of faith. After Peter's confession in 8:39 this way required new impulses. These include Jesus' first prediction of his suffering, death and resurrection (8:31), which he addresses directly to the disciples, who are the only witnesses to the story, in an entirely open manner (*parrēsia*). And while the episode which occurs afterwards mostly engages Peter and Jesus, the ensuing teaching is addressed to all the disciples. Peter, who does not accept the divine plan for Jesus, is rebuked by Him: "Get behind me, Satan! You do not have in mind the concerns of God, but merely human concerns" (8:33b). Here Peter is reminded of his position as a disciple who should always be "behind" (*opisō*) Jesus (*hypage opisō mou*). And even though Peter is presented in a negative manner, Jesus does not reject him, only reminding him of the correct order. If the pronoun *opisō* is used in 1:16-20 as an element of Christological faith, the words of Jesus can be regarded as a call to faith, which should be based on his true identity. Peter's proclamation of Jesus' identity near Caesarea Philippi requires further clarification, which appears in Mk 8:31-33. The teaching which Peter directly receives is also intended for all the disciples. It is no accident that the narrator introduces the disciples directly: "But when Jesus turned and looked at His disciples, He rebuked Peter ..." (8:33a). Peter is supposed to be a sign of the community of disciples, reminding each of them of the disciple's rightful place.

After this Jesus begins His teaching, which is presented in two sections (8:34b-38 and 9:1). The theme of the first section is the question of what it means to be a disciple of Jesus, while the next concentrates on "the coming of the kingdom of God with power." The listeners have become a crowd which, however, does not belittle the role of the disciples, who are once again mentioned by name. The first words of Jesus are an invitation to follow Him:¹⁷³ "Whoever wants to be my disciple must deny themselves and take up their cross and follow me" (8:34b); they also outline the conditions of being disciples of Jesus: "must deny themselves" (*aparnēsasthō*), namely say "no" to everything that is part of normal human existence, such as plans,

¹⁷³ The reality of following Jesus is expressed in 8:34b and 1:16-20 using the preposition *opisō* and the verb *akolouthēin*.

ideas, aspirations, behavior, life plans, wishes and “take up their cross” instead.¹⁷⁴ The second call indicates the extent to which one must deny oneself, and is also an invitation to enter on the way of Jesus, who goes to Jerusalem to be crucified.¹⁷⁵ Jesus’ subsequent speeches in 8:35-38 demonstrate that “following Him” is the most significant value for every disciple.¹⁷⁶ The narrative does not directly mention the theme of faith, but this is still the background to Jesus’ words. If in the Gospel of Mark faith means adherence to Jesus as expressed by following Him, then his entire teaching in 8:34 concerns faith. The theme of Jesus’ identity, which is the foundation of faith – trust, is present implicitly in the entire discourse. The words of Jesus quoted here provoke the reader to ask questions, and must have raised the same questions among the disciples and the crowd: who is this man that demands one deny oneself, take up one’s cross and even lose one’s life (cf. 8:34b-38)? These are open questions. Jesus’ statement in 9:1 about when the kingdom of God will come with power must have provoked questions among the disciples, the crowd and the reader. It is again an open question which, in the dynamics of the narrative, finds its first answer in the scene of the Transfiguration (9:2-13); it further concerns the whole paschal mystery, in which Jesus reveals Himself as the Son of God. The theme of the kingdom of God evokes both the initial proclamation (1:15) and Jesus’ teaching in parables (4:26.30), but most of all the words he directs to His disciples: “The secret of the kingdom of God has been given to you” (4:11). The term mystery (*to mysterion*) denotes something that is hidden but which should be revealed, as the context of the sentence suggests (4:11). The mystery of the kingdom concerns Jesus’ identity, as has already been mentioned. If in 9:1 Jesus solemnly declares: “Truly I tell you” that some who are standing next to Him (disciples/crowd) will not die before “they see that the kingdom of God has come with power;” He is telling them (disciples, crowd and the reader) that through a yet-to-be-identified event He will reveal both the power of God and His own identity. The narrator does not mention James or any other disciples by name, but they are all in the group of people to whom Jesus is directing His teaching.

The episode of the Transfiguration begins in this context,¹⁷⁷ with the main characters, namely Jesus and the three disciples: Peter, James and John, who are taken by Jesus (*paralambanei*) and become a privileged group. They are mentioned by

¹⁷⁴ D. Kotecki, *Con Gesù nella barca*, 245.

¹⁷⁵ Idem., 245-246.

¹⁷⁶ Idem., 244-248.

¹⁷⁷ I will not enter into a detailed analysis of the Transfiguration scene. The following publications offer such analyses: J.P. Heil, *The Transfiguration of Jesus: Narrative Meaning and Function of Mark 9:2-8; Matt 17:1-8 and Luke 9:28-36*, AnBib 144, Roma 2000, 151-199; A. Malina, *Przemienienie Jezusa. Studium narracji i teologii tekstów Nowego Testamentu*, Tarnów 2016, 23-156.

name and led by Jesus, which suggests that they were among the disciples and the crowd in previous scenes, now becoming addressees of Jesus' words. The event of the Transfiguration bears the signs of a private episode reserved only to them. In the context of 9:1 they are the first ones who will experience the coming of "the kingdom of God with power." Others will have to wait for this event. James and John are again in the background, while Peter is mentioned as the first disciple, the one who speaks to Jesus in 9:5. However, this does not mean that the event is not important to the others. The Transfiguration is a revelation that bears a strong resemblance to the scene of Jesus' baptism in the Jordan (1:9-11), which is also of a revelatory nature. However, in the baptism scene the revelation is reserved for Jesus Himself, while in the Transfiguration God addresses the three disciples on an equal basis, despite the earlier privileged role of Peter. The revelation is thus a public event. The voice from the cloud saying "This is my Son, whom I love. Listen to Him!" (9:7) is directed primarily to them. The first part: "This is my Son, whom I love" (*houtos estin o hyios mou ho agapētos*) is an echo of the voice from the cloud during the baptism in the Jordan (1:11), but also recalls what the demons said about Jesus (cf. 3:11; 5:6) and what the disciples witnessed. Between verses 8:29 and 9:7 the reader hears again what was given at the very beginning, in the title of the Second Gospel: "Jesus is the Messiah, the Son of God" (1:1).¹⁷⁸ What is important in the event is the fact that what Peter, James and John witness is a divine revelation. It is on a different level from that of Peter's confession at Caesarea Philippi.¹⁷⁹ It is a revelation of the true identity of Jesus, the foundation of faith. The second part of the statement: "Listen to Him!" (*akouete autou*) clearly indicates that the voice from the cloud is addressing all three disciples (and the reader as well). Obedience to Jesus is emphasized here, expressed in other scenes by the use of the syntagma *opisō autou* (behind Him). The call "Listen to Him!" is an invitation to trust Jesus completely, since the foundation of faith is His identity as the Son of God. It is a Christological faith that combines trust and the recognition of Jesus' identity. This call is a task for Peter, James and John. It is also important from the narrative point of view, functioning as a program statement and awakening the reader's expectation of its fulfillment in the lifetime of the disciples. From now on Peter, James and John will be judged on the basis of this call. In the meantime, the narrator says nothing about the faith of these three disciples, which remains unknown to the reader.

¹⁷⁸ See P. Mascilongo, "Ma voi, chi dite che io sia?". 299-300. The author emphasizes the similarities and differences between the scene of Transfiguration and the scene of Peter's confession at Caesarea Philippi.

¹⁷⁹ See P. Mascilongo, "Ma voi, chi dite che io sia?", 301.

6. James in the dialogue with Jesus (Mk 10:35-40)

James is mentioned in the narration again in 10:35: “Then James and John, the sons of Zebedee, came to Him. ‘Teacher,’ they said, ‘we want you to do for us whatever we ask.’” The request the sons of Zebedee make initiates a dialogue between them and Jesus (10:36-40). The entire scene happens after Jesus predicts his suffering, death and resurrection for the third time (10:33) and constitutes a part of the entire narrative passage, which, similarly to the other two predictions, consists of a prediction of suffering (8:31-32a; 9:30-33; 10:32-34); the disciples’ lack of understanding (8:32b-33; 9:32-34; 10:33-40); and Jesus’ teaching (8:34-38; 9:35-49; 10:41-45).

Jesus is on the way to Jerusalem with his disciples. Out of a group of unspecified size, Jesus takes the Twelve aside to tell them about His suffering, death and resurrection (10:32). For the first time in the entire Gospel, He specifies the purpose of His journey and the direct involvement of the Twelve: “We are going up to Jerusalem” (10:33). After this announcement, there is a dialogue between Jesus, James and John that demonstrates the lack of understanding on the side of James and John. However, their attitude provokes a reaction among the remaining ten disciples (10:41), which, in turn, is the occasion for Jesus’ further teaching (10:42-45).

The sons of Zebedee cautiously start their discourse by confirming whether Jesus is well-disposed towards them, instead of presenting their request directly (“Teacher,” they said, “we want you to do for us whatever we ask” 10:35). In this general request they focus on themselves. Their request is very significant, since they are seeking places close to Jesus in His glory, specifically the most important positions (“let one of us sit at your right and the other at your left” 10:37). One can assume that James as the older brother wants to receive the place on the right, which is more honorable. The fact that their request makes the remaining ten disciples indignant suggests that they wanted the same thing. From a human point of view, there are many reasons for James and John to receive those places: their wealth, the fact that they are among the first disciples and their privileged position in that group, as suggested by the fact that Jesus takes them together with Peter to participate in the most spectacular events of his activity.

Their wish is utterly contrary to what Jesus had taught in His previous instructions (cf. 8:34; 9:35) and emphasizes their lack of acceptance of what they heard in the third prediction of His passion. Jesus has told them about His suffering, death and resurrection, while they only think about His glory, ignoring the whole way of Jesus. They do not understand that the way to be united with Jesus in His glory is to participate in the entire paschal mystery. In response, Jesus directs their attention

to His death through the double image of the cup and baptism (10:38),¹⁸⁰ only later revealing their participation in his fate to them (10:39).

A question thus arises concerning the image of James and John presented in this narrative. In the context of His previous prediction of suffering, when Jesus speaks of the communion of the Twelve in His fate (“We are going up to Jerusalem,” *idou anabainomen*), Mark presents them as inwardly separated from the way of Jesus, although they will accompany Him physically. James and John separate themselves from the group of the Twelve and address Jesus as one person, emphasizing the bond between them. In this scene, the narrator is emphasizing that they identify more as brothers than as part of the Twelve. Furthermore, this is the only place, apart from the scene when they are called, that John and James are without Peter. This may be due to rivalry with Peter. We cannot rule out the possibility that James made this request in order to take the most important place, which up to then had been reserved for Peter. It is also possible that James wanted to surpass Peter. The reader, however, can judge their attitude with the data from previous narratives. As disciples, they have been called to be behind (*opisō*) Jesus (cf. 1:17), choosing Him as their guide and the Lord of their lives. Their response to Jesus’ call was presented as an example of conversion and faith. As the chosen ones they were supposed to “be with Jesus,” adopting His way of life as their own. As witnesses to the Transfiguration they have received the revelation: “This is my Son, whom I love. Listen to Him!” In the scene analyzed neither James nor John listens to Jesus. They have their own concepts of reality and the future, which strongly contrast with Jesus’ call from 8:34. All these elements indicate that James and John’s faith is not mature enough, or even that they still simply have no faith – to use the language of the author of the Second Gospel (cf. 4:40). This lack of faith might result from the fact that they have not fully recognized the true identity of Jesus.

7. James in the Passion narrative

In the Second Gospel, James appears for the last time in 14:33. Once again He is presented in the company of Peter and John, in the sentence: “He [Jesus] took Peter, James and John along with Him” (the same expression is used in 9:2 in the scene of the Transfiguration).¹⁸¹ Jesus separates them from the group of disciples (14:32)

¹⁸⁰ Both the “cup” (cf. 14:36) and the “baptism” (cf. Lk 12:50; Rom 6:3ff.) are metaphors of the Passion and death of Jesus

¹⁸¹ The role of Peter is underlined in the narrative. It is not only stressed by placing him as the first one on the list of disciples but also he is mentioned as the direct interlocutor of Jesus’ words in 14:37.

and they become witnesses to an event which is the reverse of the Transfiguration scene. Jesus “began to be deeply distressed and troubled” *ērksato ekthambeisthai kai adēmonei* (14:33). The verb *ekthambeisthai* indicates amazement “combined with fear and trembling caused by something unpredictable. This state is additionally described by the other verb [*adēmonei*], which expresses the feeling of fear and acute anguish.”¹⁸² The description of Jesus’ state is supplemented with His own words: “My soul is overwhelmed with sorrow to the point of death” (14:34). The narrator uses “sorrow” (*perilypos*) emphatically to underline the depth of this sadness, whereas the expression “to the point of death” (*heōs thanatu*) has a qualitative dimension and describes His state of distress in words similar to those of the Psalms (Ps 6:4; 12:3; 40:5; 41:2, 5 and 12; 102:1; 103:1).¹⁸³ Jesus is thus presented as experiencing nothing less than deadly anguish. It is difficult to find, in previous narratives of the Second Gospel, descriptions that present Jesus’ humanity so forcefully. In this context, the reader who wonders why He takes only three disciples with Him is able to understand His decision, i.e. that He wants to be with His closest disciples. Jesus turns to them and says: “Stay here and keep watch” (10:4) and goes a little further to pray. The request (*meinate hōde kai grēgoreite*) that Jesus addresses to Peter, James and John is an invitation to not go away but to be watchful,¹⁸⁴ awaiting His return. Since Jesus goes only a little further (*mikron*), it might be said that the three disciples’ keeping watch while He experiences deadly anguish (known only to Peter, James and John, since the other disciples are elsewhere) should be understood as keeping watch with Jesus. The reader does not know if the disciples are aware of what Jesus is asking for during His prayer, but the narrator and reader certainly know its content. We know that the disciples see Jesus falling to His knees and praying (cf. imperfectum *epipten* and *prosēychete*). In this attitude of prayer “Jesus is the best example for his disciples how to behave when facing the cross, suffering and death.”¹⁸⁵ The disciples fail to understand the call to be watchful, either now or when repeated (10:38), instead simply falling asleep (14:37, 40 and 41). Jesus’ words sound especially forceful when he returns to his disciples for the third time: “Are you still sleeping and resting? (*katheudete to loipon kai anapauesthe*: 10:41). This shows that the three disciples are treating the time for prayer and being watchful as a time for rest.”¹⁸⁶ The narrator

¹⁸² S. Haręzga, *Jezus i Jego uczniowie. Model chrześcijańskiej formacji w Ewangelii według św. Marka*, Lublin 2006, 334. On the fear Jesus experienced in the scene from the Garden of Gethsemane see : E. Manicardi, *La paura di Gesù al Getsemani nel racconto secondo Marco*, PSV 33 (1996), 109-128.

¹⁸³ G.P. Peron, “*Seguitemi!*”, 236.

¹⁸⁴ The imperative form of the present tense of *grēgoreite* has a durative sense.

¹⁸⁵ S. Haręzga, *Jezus i Jego uczniowie*, 335.

¹⁸⁶ G.P. Peron, “*Seguitemi!*” 239.

uses the verb “to sleep” (*katheudein*) to describe their inner state. Over the course of the entire narrative the contrast between Jesus’ call to be watchful and the attitude of the three disciples is emphasized. It should also be noted that there is a strong contrast between the behavior of Jesus Himself, who is presented as praying and being watchful (14:35-37 and 39-40), and the attitude of the disciples. The narrative presents two ways, namely those of Jesus and of His disciples, which utterly diverge.

The final intervention Jesus directs to his three chosen disciples: “Are you still sleeping and resting? Enough! The hour has come. Look, the Son of Man is delivered into the hands of sinners. Rise! Let us go! Here comes my betrayer!” (10:41-42) is a direct transition to the scene of Jesus’ arrest (10:43-50). The prediction of betrayal is gradually fulfilled (cf. 9:31; 10:33; 14:18 and 21). The words “Rise! Let us go!” (*egeiresthe agōmen*) make up Jesus’ last call in the Gospel of St. Mark, and serve both as an incitement to free themselves from sleep and as an invitation to accompany Him on the journey. Even though Jesus knows that His way does not overlap with that of His disciples, He invites them to communion with Him. In the call “Let us go!” there is an echo of Jesus’ journey with the disciples (cf. 1:38; 4:35; 10:33), with Jerusalem as their final destination (10:33). This is an invitation, addressed primarily to his three disciples, to enter the way of suffering and the cross which, according to Jesus’ predictions, nonetheless leads to victory.¹⁸⁷ From the perspective of the narrative, which the real story of the disciples lies behind, this is both a call and a task to fulfill. Will the story of Peter, James and John unfold according to its content?

In the narrative, it is not necessary to wait long for an answer. In the scene of Jesus’ arrest (14:43-50) the disciples are not mentioned directly. In the context of Mk 14:41-42 it is clear that Peter, James and John are with Jesus. The presence of other disciples cannot be ruled out but their reaction to Jesus’ arrest is the following: *kai aphentes auton ephygon pantes* (Then everyone deserted Him and fled). Jesus is left alone and with these words the narrator emphasizes something more profound: it is not the desertion of the disciples that matters but their desertion in the context of their answer to the initial call of Jesus. Simon and Andrew “at once left their nets and followed Him” (*kai euthys aphentes ta diktya ēkolouthēsan autō*: 1:18); James and John “left their father Zebedee in the boat with the hired men and followed Him” (*kai aphentes ton patera autō Zebedaiōn en tō ploiō meta tōn mishōtōn apēthon opisō autou*: 1:20). Now Jesus is left alone, and instead of following Him his disciples have fled. The narrator presents the entire story as the disciples’ true abandonment of the way (*sequela*), breaking their bonds with Jesus and giving up their

¹⁸⁷ G.P. Peron, “*Seguitemi!*” 241.

community of life with Him.¹⁸⁸ If in the Second Gospel following Jesus is an image of faith, the words from 14:50 are a signal to the reader that the disciples have lost that faith. This loss primarily concerns Peter, James and John, but in the text the narrator intentionally uses the subject “everyone” (*pantes*), which in the narrative clearly refers to Mk 14:27 and 31, where the same subject appears in the sentence. These two verses belong to the narrative where Jesus predicts His betrayal by Peter and the other disciples (14:26-31). In 14:27, after the Last Supper with the Twelve, Jesus says: “You will all fall away, ... for it is written: ‘I will strike the shepherd and the sheep will be scattered.’” Again, this is a program statement that allows the reader to judge the disciples’ attitude. Their desertion is treated as the fulfillment of Zech 13:7, cited in Jesus’ statement. However, this prediction refers to something more. The narrator, in citing Jesus’ words “You will all fall away,” uses the verb *skandalizomai*, which denotes confusion in faith, loss of faith, and in consequence, depriving oneself of eternal life.¹⁸⁹ In Mk 14:27, this verb acquires its significance in the light of Zech 13:7, which is fulfilled in 14:50. The disciples lose their relationship with Jesus, which is what their lack of faith in Jesus implies. Their attitude also contrasts with their assurance in 14:31: “And all the others said the same.” Here the narrator uses the predicate in *imperfectum* (*elegon*), indicating that it was not a one-time assurance. The expression “the same” (*hōsautos*) refers to Peter’s previous statements. His reaction to Jesus’ prediction of the disciples’ denial is forceful: “Even if all fall away, I will not” (14:29), and when he hears his Lord’s prediction of his denial he declares: “Even if I have to die with you, I will never disown you.” (14:31).

The way of the disciples and the way of Jesus utterly diverge. After they have left everything to follow Jesus (cf. 1:18 and 20; 10:28), shared their lives with Him, participated in His mission (cf. 1:38-39; 3:14; 6:7-13), they do not accept His hour (cf. 14:41) and His way, despite repeatedly assuring Him of their faithfulness (cf. 10:38; 14:29 and 31). At the decisive moment they fail completely and their desertion and breaking of bonds with Jesus is the culmination of their crisis of discipleship and faith.¹⁹⁰ In the light of the entire narrative the reader has no doubts that this crisis, combined with the severing of their relation with Jesus, is the end of their faith in Him. All these conclusions also refer to James.

The reader might well wonder whether the announcement of the disciples’ desertion signifies the end of their story. In Mk 14:28, after the prediction of the disciples’ failure there is one more piece of information: “But after I have risen, I will

¹⁸⁸ See L. di Pinto, “*Seguitemi!*” 87; D. Senior, *La passione di Gesù nel Vangelo di Marco*, Milano 1988, 86-87; K. Stock, *Boten aus dem Mit-Ihm-Sein*, 168; D. Kotecki, *Con Gesù nella barca*, 272; S. Haręzga, *Jezus i Jego uczniowie*, 343.

¹⁸⁹ See G. Stählin, *skandalon ktl*, TWNT VII, 351.

¹⁹⁰ See K. Stock, *La metanoia*, 120.

go ahead of you into Galilee,” which means that after His resurrection, despite their having broken all relations with Him, Jesus will precede the disciples on the way to Galilee. This is a prediction of unconditional forgiveness by Jesus. Later, these words are also referred to by a young man dressed in a white robe, the messenger of Jesus’ resurrection, who gives a message to the women coming to the tomb of Jesus: “But go, tell His disciples and Peter, ‘He is going ahead of you into Galilee. There you will see Him, just as He told you’” (16:7). The activity of “going ahead” is expressed with the verb *proagein*, which in the Second Gospel denotes the relation between Jesus and the one who walks behind Him (6:45; 10:32a; 11:9; 14:28, 16:7). If Jesus goes ahead of someone, those who are invited to go to Galilee must simply follow Him. In 16:7, there is an invitation to a post-paschal following of Jesus, which is a sign of His preemptive forgiveness.¹⁹¹ However, Jesus does not force them, but only arranges to meet in Galilee. The words of the young man are the next task for the disciples. The reader might wonder whether this happened and whether the women informed the disciples. The original version of the Gospel of Mark does not mention it. It astonishes the reader because “trembling and bewildered, the women went out and fled from the tomb. They said nothing to anyone, because they were afraid” (16:8).

Jesus appoints Galilee as the meeting place for the disciples and in this way their history makes a circle, returning to the place where Jesus made his initial proclamation (1:14-15), where the first disciples (Peter, Andrew, James and John) were called (1:16-20). They are supposed to return to the place where they met Jesus for the first time and adhered to and followed Him.

In 14:27, Jesus speaks only about going ahead of them to Galilee, while the young man says: “There you will see Him” (16:7). The disciples are to see the Resurrected Jesus in Galilee. In at least some passages of his Gospel, Mark views the verb “to see” (*horaō*) as an element of the process of understanding and faith (cf. 4:12; 8:13-21; 15:31-32 and 39).¹⁹² Thus the words “There you will see Him” are not just a prediction of Jesus’ post-Paschal appearance, but include the truth that after their return to the way of discipleship in the light of the resurrection the disciples will recognize who Jesus really is.¹⁹³ The encounter with the resurrected Jesus will lead them to an authentic faith, which consists in complete trust in Jesus based on the full recognition of His identity.

¹⁹¹ J. Donaldson, “Called to Follow.” *A Twofold Experience of Discipleship in Mark*, BTB 5 (1975), 76; S. Légasse, *Marco*, 854; D. Kotecki, *Con Gesù nella barca*, 274; S. Haręzga, *Jezus i Jego uczniowie*, 366-370;

¹⁹² See E. Manicardi, *Il cammino di Gesù*, 177-189; D. Senior, *La passione*, 156-157; B.M.F. van Iersel, “To Galilee” or “in Galilee” in *Mark 14,28 and 16,7?*, *EthL* 58 (1982), 365-370.

¹⁹³ See E. Manicardi, *Il cammino di Gesù*, 181; J.D. Kingsbury, *Conflict in Mark*, 117.

The narrator does not mention James directly but he is implied in the narrative, as are the other disciples. Together with the other disciples, James achieves the fullness of faith.

8. Death of St. James the Elder (Acts 12:2)

St. James is mentioned only twice in Acts. The first time he is listed alongside the other apostles awaiting the descent of the Holy Spirit (Acts 1:13). Here the apostles are mentioned in a different order than in the Gospel of Mark: “Peter, John, James and Andrew ...” However, this does not tell us anything about James not found in the Gospel of Mark, because Luke the Evangelist and the Book of Acts, which is part of Luke’s work, change the order of the disciples: Peter, James and John (8:51; cf. 5:10; 6:14), or Peter, John, James (9:28). James is mentioned for the second time in 12:2: “He [Herod] had James, the brother of John, put to death with the sword.” This sentence is placed in the broader context of the persecution of Church members (12:1). Among them are James and Peter, who is imprisoned (12:3). James is thus the first martyr among the apostles, and his way of life is finished. In the canonical reading of the Bible, this text functions as the fulfillment of Jesus’ prediction in Mk 10:39 (cf. Mt 20:23) about the participation of James and John in the baptism which Jesus was to receive and the cup which Jesus was to drink (His suffering and death on the cross). The reason why James was killed and Peter merely imprisoned is not given directly. In the narrative the important point is that it happened on the Feast of Unleavened Bread, also known as Pesach (Passover). In the Third Gospel these holy days are mentioned twice: in Lk 22:1: “Now the Festival of Unleavened Bread, called the Passover, was approaching,” and in 22:7: “Then came the day of Unleavened Bread on which the Passover lamb had to be sacrificed.” Luke treats Passover and the Days of Unleavened Bread interchangeably. It is not important at this point whether this is in accordance with historical data.¹⁹⁴ It is significant, however, that Luke describes the first day of the Festival of Unleavened Bread as the beginning of Jesus’ way on the cross (cf. other Synoptics Mt 26:17; Mk 14:12). Moreover, he uses the same verb *anaireō*, which refers to the killing of Jesus (Lk 22:2), to describe the killing of James, whereas the verb *syllambanō* is applied to describe Jesus’ imprisonment in Lk 22:54, later being used in the context of Peter’s as well. In this context there is no doubt that the death of James is presented as his share in the suffering

¹⁹⁴ See J. Nolland, *Luke 18:35-24:53*, WBC 35c, Nashville – Dallas – Mexico – City Rio de Janeiro 1993, 1027.

and death of Jesus Himself. This is the highest level of James' faith. This time James surpasses Peter, dying as the first martyr among the disciples.

In conclusion, it is not easy to recreate James the Elder's way of faith by relying on the texts of the New Testament. In fact, James and his brother John play a leading role in only one text (Mk 10:35-40). In other passages the two remain in the shadow of Peter. A detailed analysis of all the texts available presents a man who, following the historical Jesus, chooses Him as his guide. Despite his desertion at the moment of crisis he later returns to the way of discipleship and in martyrdom gives the highest testimony to his faith. A pious Jew is transformed into a confessor of faith in Jesus, the Son of God, and remains faithful to Him until his death.

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Pilgrimage as *sacramentum peregrinationis*? Discovering the Ecclesiological Background of the Camino de Santiago

In recent years, pilgrimages to Compostela have surged in popularity and become an ambiguous phenomenon prone to transformation. Sociological research emphasizes the disappearance of the religious component of the pilgrimage and the emergence of eclectic changes in religious experiences and their forms of expression.¹ Many observers of the phenomenon of the Camino de Santiago have noticed the impact of a postmodern New Age mentality and the weakening of religious motivations.² Nevertheless, the questionnaires completed by pilgrims at the beginning and at the end of the pilgrimage, despite their general character, include the adjective “religious” to describe their experiences of pilgrimage.

The article does not offer any sociological research concerning pilgrims to Compostela or a study of spiritual theology. It is instead a theological reflection on recently published accounts of Santiago pilgrimages and their anthropological implications. At the same time, it systematizes many questions discussed in various

¹ See L. Sweet, *Postmodern pilgrims: first-century passion for the 21st-century world*, Broadman & Holman, Nashville 2000.

² I wrote on this topic in “Dialektyka widzialności. Eklezjalny wymiar Camino de Santiago,” in: *Camino Polaco*, vol. 3, P. Roszak, W. Rozyrkowski eds., Wydawnictwo Naukowe UMK, Toruń 2016, 157-175 and in “Camino de Santiago i devotio post-moderna. W poszukiwaniu tożsamości pielgrzymy w dobie ponowoczesnej bezdomności,” in P. Roszak, W. Rozyrkowski eds., *Camino Polaco*, vol. 2, WN UMK, Toruń 2015, 219-238. In this article I have made use of the information collected for the NCN grant and the publications which appeared as a result, especially the three volumes of *Camino Polaco* (2014-2016) published at the University of Nicolaus Copernicus in Toruń (Faculty of Theology).

publications about the Compostelan pilgrimage movement. One such query is how the Church is present on the Camino de Santiago and what her role is on this well-known route for pilgrims. The Camino is, above all, a chance to discover the Church as a community that is itself making the pilgrimage, a community that helps others during the journey by being a field hospital – to use a well-known metaphor of Pope Francis. For throughout centuries, *hospitales* have been frequently mentioned in the context of the Way of St. James.³

The presence of the Church on the modern Camino is discrete, in the rich meaning of the Latin expression *discretio*, which indicates the ability to distinguish between what is essential and what is of secondary importance. This chapter provides an insight into various manifestations of the Church on the Camino, through which the pilgrim has a chance to discover the essence of the Church and her mission. It is not a vision of an institution “cemented” along the way, but of a community which is developing the “art of accompanying” and a profound mystagogy. Within this framework one’s pilgrimage is not isolated from a broader semantic range and is not limited to one-dimensionality, but becomes a sacramental experience. The questions posed in the text refer to how pilgrimages have been made and the ideal of the pilgrim presented by preachers who captured a certain vision of the pilgrimage to Compostela and other shrines of medieval Europe.

1. A medieval ideal of the pilgrim and its topicality

The ideal of the pilgrim presented in numerous medieval homilies derived its inspiration from Christ himself, who epitomized the typology of the pilgrim’s way of life. Medieval preachers took into consideration His *magna peregrinatio*, which was seen as the mystery of the Incarnation of the Son of God who becomes a man and descends from heaven to redeem mankind. Nevertheless, the main focus of interest was on perceiving in Jesus the signs and symbols of pilgrimage, since “Christ wished to make a pilgrimage in order to teach us how to be pilgrims” (*ut doceret nos peregrinari, voluit peregrinari*), as Philippe le Chancelier observes in one of his sermons.⁴ He interprets a pilgrim’s staff (*baculus*) as an example of an enduring pilgrimage, a bag (*pera*) is seen as the sacrament of passion, while a pilgrim’s cloak (*chlamisi*)

³ J.A. Fernández, *¿Por qué tantos iban a Santiago de Compostela? Peregrinación y hospitalidad en la Edad Media*, in P. Roszak (ed.), *Debates Navarros en Toruń*, KPTKO, Toruń-Pamplona 2010, 253-262.

⁴ D. Vorreux, *Un sermon de Philippe le Chancelier en faveur des Freres Mineurs de Vauvert (Paris), 1 er septembre 1228*, “Archivum Franciscanum Historicum” 68(1975), 3-22.

is the body received from the Virgin Mary. Thus, it is not surprising that the rites to bless the pilgrims who set off for various shrines (*ad loca sancta*) included prayers that familiarized them with the symbolic significance of certain attributes of the pilgrim.⁵

Medieval preachers, sensitive to word choice, also paid attention to the characteristic answer of the disciples on the way to Emmaus as they responded to the question of the stranger who became their fellow-traveler and finally revealed himself as Christ. One of the travelers states that Jesus is probably the only one visiting Jerusalem who does not know the things that have happened there (Lk 24:18) and describes him with the word “pilgrim”: *Tu solus peregrinus es in Ierusalem....* (according to the *Vulgate*). As the study of medieval sermons illustrates, Christ’s condition as a pilgrim is not limited to the Way to Emmaus but encompasses His entire life, the mystery of His Incarnation, the reception of a body by the Eternal Word. This Christological sensitivity is one of the main characteristics of medieval *sermones*. These sermons were directed to already formed groups, frequently on the day of starting their journey. Sometimes, various situations from the life of pilgrims served as *exempla*, such as in the case of a storm at sea where the pilgrim confesses his sins and the storm passes, or when the pilgrim predicts important future events and grace flows to his relatives.⁶ There were also signs of unfriendliness towards pilgrims that did not bring blessings, but those hosts who showed mercy to travelers seeing Christ in them received grace.

It is impossible to understand the medieval concept of pilgrimage without reference to the philosophical and theological thought which created the anthropological framework for a deeper reflection on journeys undertaken. For St. Thomas Aquinas (+1274) the term *peregrinus* illustrates the freedom of a man who will not

⁵ As an illustration it is worth recalling numerous prayers in the Visigothic liturgy which concerned travelers, such as the *oratio super eum qui in itinere progreditur* from *Liber Ordinum* (LO 163-164, J. Janini ed., Silos 1991). This prayer enumerates the main adversities the pilgrims may encounter, as for example dangerous rivers, thieves or wild animals, all of which make the journey uncertain. The mass euchology *de iterantibus* mentions such dangers as breaking the bonds of family with those who stay, asking that they maintain the chain of love, kindle the fire of love and strengthen it thanks to a holy desire to meet again (LO 802). The main wish is to not leave the right path (*via recta nullomodo declinare*), whereas in *Das Rheinauer Rituale* (Zürich Rh 114, Anfang 12. Jh.) we read *Benedictio super fustes id est super baculos iter agentium vel super capsellas eorum*.

⁶ Jacques de Vitry, *The Exempla: Or Illustrative Stories from the Sermones Vulgares*, Aeterna Press, London 2014. Compare also: Aldobrandinus de Cavalcantibus, *Sermones* 1, n. 19: Circa secundum sciendum, quod exempla sanctorum tria docent nos circa hospitalitatem. Primo ut hospites quasi ad nos cogamus intrare; secundo ut eos ab injuriis defendamus; tertio ut cum hilaritate et festinatione et abundanter eis necessaria ministremus.

be stopped on his way or diverted from his chosen goal by anything. This characteristic attitude is described by the Latin expression *tendens alibi* or *tendens ad alia loca*, namely “aiming for another place.”⁷ According to Aquinas, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, the three great patriarchs of the Old Testament who went to *alium locum*, were pilgrims.⁸ The otherness of the place they went to was not a question of cognitive curiosity but required asking for God’s grace and having a certain existential inclination. In his anthropological description Thomas firmly emphasizes the experience of tension and longing; he also stresses that the virtue of hope in the main characteristic of the *peregrinus*. This hope should take advantage of the remedy offered by one of the Beatitudes from the Sermon on the Mount, which perfectly expresses poverty in spirit, the true spirit of a pilgrim. One must not be defeated by worldliness or undergo a simplification of the horizon of life, which closes the door of eternity to man (Cf. Mt 5:3). The message of Jesus’s blessing is not just solidarity with the poor, but also a growth in hope.⁹ This message inspired medieval sermons, which present Christ, who was poor in spirit, as the model of the pilgrim and encourage the faithful to make a pilgrimage.¹⁰

In contrast to the medieval ideal, a modern pilgrim is not entirely “intrigued,” to use the literary term that has entered theology through Gesche. He experiences the attraction of reaching the goal but frequently passes by and scores points without experiencing any amazement at what he sees. He does not pose basic existential questions concerning reality. After all, pilgrimage is a way inspired by God, where you experience an urge to journey that someone else makes understandable. It is something more than Nordic walking, and reminds us of the broader meaning of the term “sacrament,” which in the case of the Camino perfectly expresses both the force of attraction it has for modern man and the role of the Church along it.

⁷ Thomas Aquinas, *In Psalmum* 38, n. 8.

⁸ St. Thomas gives such a definition of the pilgrim in *In Hebr.*, cap. XI, lect. 4: “Dicitur autem peregrinus, qui est in via tendendi ad alium locum”.

⁹ Cf. D. Elliot, “The Christian as Homo Viator: A Resource in Aquinas for Overcoming ‘Worldly Sin and Sorrow,’” *Journal of the Society of Christian Ethics* 2(2014), 101-121.

¹⁰ Cf. N. Bériou, “Le pèlerinage de Saint Jacques vu par les prédicateurs du XIIIe siècle,” in A. Rucquoi, *Saint Jacques et le France*, Cerf, Paris 2001, 349-368.

2. *Sacramentum peregrinationis* – discovering the theological significance of the Camino

The religious significance of pilgrimage to Compostela amidst the realities of the domination of a naturalistic philosophy that reduces the vision of the world to one dimension, repeatedly awakens interest. It is clear that the religious longings of modern men have not disappeared, although they have changed their means of expression. However, the question concerns the significance of the Camino de Santiago for the Church, which on the way to the tomb of St. James receives not only the faithful but also pilgrims representing other denominations. What is the vision and awareness of the Church that those who go to Compostela have, and what kind of Church do they discover during their pilgrimage? It appears that they have a different vision from the institutionalized perception of the Church in their hometown parish. This fact is also mentioned in the testimonies of pilgrims, written after they finish their pilgrimage in the books and blogs that constitute a new *genus* of travel literature, one which has replaced its medieval and modern predecessors.

In trying to answer the question of the presence of the Church on the Camino de Santiago it is important to first ask about the theological meaning of the pilgrimage. I believe that understanding pilgrimage through a “sacramental” lens offers a very promising perspective, one which also aids in a complete assessment from a Christian point of view. In the first centuries the meaning of the term *sacramentum* was very broad, and mostly expressed a certain experience of the world which was permeated by “something more.” What is more, the seven sacraments were associated with a Christian’s “way” to salvation. Sacramentality is one of the characteristic features of Christian teaching, but at the same time can be a sensitive point – a wound, as K.-H. Menke observes, as is frequently recognized.¹¹

In what sense can we today view the pilgrimage as a “sacrament”? It is worth recalling that in Christian Antiquity, as J. Ratzinger observes in one of his texts,¹² sacramentality was based on a proper interpretation of the relations between God, man and the world. It refers to some basic order of relations. This primary sacramentality originates from a fundamental conviction that things are not just things but also refer to something else: they enjoy a certain “transparency.” Thus the aim

¹¹ K.-H. Menke, *Sakramentalität: Wesen und Wunde des Katholizismus*, Friedrich Pustet, Regensburg 2012: Catholicism for him is understood as “a sacramental manner of thinking and Christian life.”

¹² J. Ratzinger, “La fundamentación sacramental de la existencia cristiana,” (“The Sacramental Foundation of Christian Existence”) in J. Ratzinger *Obras completas* XI, BAC, Madrid 2012, 146-147. My reflection is mostly based on this essay of J. Ratzinger.

was a symbolic understanding of reality in which a certain hidden dimension was captured: the presence and visibility of the eternal through the temporal.

For modern man this “sacramentality” denotes a certain way to reality, which in turn ceases to be “mute” and carries meaning. Ratzinger distinguishes “creation sacraments,” which as man’s primary experiences, such as birth, death, meals or sexual relations, put him in contact with the uncontrollable. Reaching the limits of his existence man encounters a “greater” or “other” reality which absorbs him; here man discovers fissures through which the stream of eternal light shines upon him. But he experiences something more, namely:

an experience of being overwhelmed by a power that he can neither summon nor control, that already embraces and carries him along even before his decisions. This already suggests a further point. What is biological in man, as an entity that exists spiritually, acquires a new meaning and a new depth.¹³

This “uncontrollability” is the key experience on the pilgrimage to the Camino de Santiago. We see it in the existential inability to plan the next overnight stay, so typical of the *albergue* on the Camino, determined by meetings with others. Furthermore, the sense of time, which is measured differently, creates an area of uncontrollability which makes man aware of the fact that he is an entity unable to create the foundations that justify his existence, instead having to receive them as a gift.

The category of “gift” in its numerous forms becomes the quintessence of pilgrimage, whose definition contains an element of uncertainty, risk and movement through strange territories (*per – argos*).¹⁴ The pilgrim is far from his homeland, encountering dangers and discovering the gift. He builds an anthropological framework that prepares for the working of grace through an effective sign, a sacrament in the exact meaning of the term. The “original” sacraments direct man from the very beginning towards the communal dimension of human fate, which is always existence “with” the other. At the same time, the sense of sacramentality originating from the fact of coexistence of body and spirit leads directly to the answer to who man is. Man performs biological activities in a spiritual manner, and he is thus able to discover the foundations of his existence together with the fact that things give more than they themselves are.

For Christians, sacramentality understood in this way is an indication that God meets man in a human way (in relationships, corporality and historicity) in the sign

¹³ J. Ratzinger, *ibid.*

¹⁴ P. Roszak, “*Homo peregrinus*. Kim jest prawdziwy pielgrzym?” in P. Roszak (ed.), *Camino de Santiago – nie tylko droga. Historia i współczesność Szlaku św. Jakuba*, WN UMK, Toruń 2011, 21-41.

of community and change, in the revelation of the meaning of the temporal realities of this world. But Ratzinger also mentions a second type of sacramentality, which is based on the discovery of what is characteristic in man, on history, in which it is possible to experience eternity, but this does not entirely exist outside Christianity.¹⁵ This sacramental experience is present on the Camino de Santiago in the second theological stage of the pilgrimage, although it is not always properly interpreted. The accounts from pilgrimages to Santiago encourage reflection on the nature of time and its transcendence.

For a proper understanding of the Christian concept of sacrament it is necessary to supplement the Greek *mysterion* through the term *typos*.¹⁶ In understanding sacrament it is insufficient to concentrate on any particular sign; instead one must focus on the signs which bear relation to Jesus Christ and allow us to notice a certain “surplus quality” in things. Therefore, for the Fathers of the Church, events such as the Flood and the story of Noah are sacramental because they bear elements of the mystery of the new beginning, initiated later by the work of Jesus Christ.¹⁷ It does not mean that the reality of this world is questioned but encourages us to see “something” from the perspective of the transcendental reality present in the world. It is not, however, the divine mystery of the universe, so characteristic of the New Age movement, but an attempt to reach and understand Jesus Christ as the One who is essential in human history.

For pilgrims along the Camino the journey is not over with the first discovery of “uncontrollability”: it requires a second step, namely a meeting with the Word who calls them. However, this encounter is also sacramental. It is an inclusion in the story of Jesus, who saves mankind even as he leads man to his authentic identity and union with God, the foundation of his eternal existence. It is also an encounter with the Word of God, who is present on the Camino and constitutes an essential element of the pastoral care of the Church.

This brief presentation of a broad understanding of sacramentality, characteristic of the Fathers of the Church and ancient liturgies—which mention, for example the sacrament of salt—leads to a different perception of the pilgrim’s everyday reality. It does not concentrate on itself but deepens the inner experience of searching for what is essential. As in the case of sacraments, the weakness of the sign and the

¹⁵ J. Ratzinger, *O pojęciu sakramentu*, in J. Ratzinger, *Opera omnia XI*, 210. St. Paul mentions three types of sacrament: words, events and creatures.

¹⁶ B. Testa, *Sakramenty Kościoła*, Poznań 1998, 25.

¹⁷ In the Biblical exegesis of the medieval school of St. Victor this type of sacramental exegesis is present, which is visible in the work *De archa Noe*. For more information see: P. Roszak, “Exegesis and Contemplation. The Literal and Spiritual Sense of Scripture in Aquinas’ Biblical Commentaries,” *Espiritu* 152(2016), 481-504.

power of grace are visible and the call for a new perception of what we learn with the eyes is hidden in this paradoxical juxtaposition. It is a challenge not to be overcome by the temptation of literalism: instead we must search, like medieval masters, for a deeper sense hidden under layers of literalism and salience. It requires the practice of ecclesial scrutiny, and this ability to “see” more deeply, in a sacramental way, plays a vital role in the pastoral care of the Church, which helps people to see the mystery of Christ in its anthropological and cosmological dimension.

It is gradual, not sudden, and is visible when the experienced complexity of reality creates resistance to human reason, which wants to go further but is stopped at a superficial understanding. The essential aspect of pilgrimage is the replacement of superficial life with an existence based on values, on perceiving more of a thing in a thing with every step of our journey thanks to the depth of symbolic reason, which does not exhaust itself in “using” and controlling but is polyphonic and open. Ortega y Gasset speaks of the specific “sins” of modern man, derived from belittling the world, closing off entire spheres of experience, an attitude originating in a lack of love. The Camino is an antidote to this attitude to the nakedness of things, to their salience, as illustrated by the parable of the barren fig tree, where it is necessary to be patient (Lk 13: 6-9) or even wait sympathetically for the tree to produce fruit. We can compare this attitude to the situation of a pilgrim who, in the midst of his routine, learns to be patient, sensing that there is more behind his mundane activities. Faith is an invitation to admire the richness and complexity of reality without cutting off any dimensions of it.

Therefore, from the perspective of the Church, it is necessary to work on the “clarity of the sign” which can attract the pilgrim with exceptional force. Thanks to sacramental gestures, such as the breaking of the bread, the disciples on the way to Emmaus discover Christ when their eyes are opened, as the Evangelist relates it. After all, the sacrament reveals that I give more than I can. Medieval Franciscan theology emphasized the fact that God acts in the world by creating signs, which become an encouragement to go further and higher: *ultreia et suseia*, attaining to their theological depth. This is the call to not stop along the way of discovering the mystery of God, which is the foundation of everything that exists. Thus it might be said that the logic of sacramentality teaches us a new way of reading everyday life and the world. It provides new instructions on how to read, on the spiritual level.

2.1. Sacrament as revelation

It is worth restoring the broader patristic and medieval understanding of sacramentality of pilgrimage as a sign which is an opportunity to deepen the life of grace. It also reminds us of the sources of the Paschal way of Jesus and predicts participation in the glory of the heavenly Jerusalem, our homeland. This sacramentality was highlighted in the documents of the Second Vatican Council, which reminded us that the Church is in Christ *veluti* sacrament, i.e. a tool of the inner unity of the people with God. What does it signify in the context of the pilgrimage and the role of the Church in it? My intention is to indicate three concrete forms of expression of this type of sacramentality as encountered on the modern Camino de Santiago. They contribute to the discovery of the presence of the Church on the Way of St. James, a presence which might be defined as sacramental.

On the one hand, there is the dimension of revelation, so characteristic of sacrament, where a power disproportionate to the sign is revealed in its celebration. This is the experience of power which is made perfect in weakness. In Christian theology, Revelation is not understood in an esoteric or gnostic manner as the revelation of wisdom which is limited to the chosen ones, but is a revelation granted personally that reveals the truth about man.¹⁸ Therefore it is important to understand the “sacrament of pilgrimage” as an event which includes man and reveals his fullness. This is the reflection of something great in something small.

Revelation occurs through the mediation of a sign which is close to everyday life, so the point is not nostalgic recollection but becoming rooted in the past and directed towards the future, happening in the present.¹⁹ All these dimensions constitute the core of the experience of the pilgrim who encounters past testimonies of the faith of many generations, so beautifully expressed in the Portal of Glory (*Pórtico da Gloria*) in Santiago, but at the same time understands his future-oriented present. The imperative for a pilgrimage is not change or alternation but rooting.²⁰ Thus a feature of the Church is facing an uncertain future with the bravery of be-

¹⁸ R. Woźniak, *Różnica i tajemnica. Objawienie jako teologiczne źródło ludzkiej sobości*, W drodze, Poznań 2012.

¹⁹ S. Th., III, q. 60, a. 5. Thomas understands sacraments in three different ways as *signum rememorativum* (the Passion of Christ), *signum demonstrativum* (the grace received through the Passion of Christ) and *signum prognosticum* (future glory). Thus Thomas views grace in a “three-dimensional” manner.

²⁰ T. Huzarek, “Zakorzenie – źródło fenomenu Camino de Santiago,” in P. Roszak, W. Roczynkowski (eds.), *Camino Polaco: Teologia – Sztuka – Historia – Teraźniejszość*, vol. 1, WN UMK, Toruń 2014, 275-292.

ing rooted in Christ. It is bonding people with the source of their existence, namely God, making manifest the new order of grace.

2.2 Sacrament as exceeding

As some authors have seen, the perception of the world is currently dominated by functionality and the loss of the sense of the symbolic, which makes the experience and understanding of the Christian liturgy *per se* difficult.²¹ A widespread phenomenon in modern culture is a specific “here only worldliness,” a conviction that there are no ultimate references and closes the way. In a sense, as has been observed before by Hans Urs von Balthasar, it is the closing of the world in the ancient immanence, the symbol of which was Mount Olympus, the world of Greek gods present at the highest levels of the earth. Christian teaching about creation *ex nihilo* freed the world from this conviction.²² It might be translated as “exceeding,” the experience of discovering the primal sacramentality which transcends the potential of empiricism. This is the second aspect of pilgrimage which is worth attending to.

The experience of “otherness” which is included in the basic definition of a pilgrim does not denote alienation, but a certain salvific distance from the world and a refusal to absolutize the “here and now.”²³ The experience of changing landscapes does not clash with spiritual memory about the homeland of values the pilgrim carries with him. After all, he is sometimes unconsciously a witness to searching for what is constant in the landscape of fluctuation, he is looking for stable ground amidst the postmodern quicksand.

In trying to describe this dimension of ecclesiality *implicite* it is worth referring to certain cultural phenomena characteristic of the modern era. Carlos Dias in his essay devoted to the defeat of *razón fría* (cold reason), as he describes the Enlightenment project, provides a diagnosis of mankind’s situation today.²⁴ He emphasizes that it is necessary to change the direction of the march after eating more than one forbidden fruit (among them he lists omniscience, individualism, lack of trust and areligiosity), which are false promises or delusions, as in the story from the first

²¹ A. Diriar, “La sacramentalitá, chiave dell’esperienza cristiana,” *Anthropotes* 31(2015), 33-58.

²² H. Urs von Balthasar, “Evangelium und Philosophie,” *Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie* 23(1976), 3-12.

²³ J. Życiński, *Odyseusz czy playboy? Kulturowa odyseja człowieka*, Wydawnictwo Literackie, Kraków 2005, 114.

²⁴ C. Díaz, “El fracaso de la razón fría ilustrada,” in *Las raíces del humanismo europeo y el Camino de Santiago*, 81-107.

pages of the Genesis. *Razón calida* (warm reason) must be restored in order to heat intelligence, deprived of love and hope, so it can put itself back together after past attempts at dispossessing it from its place beyond the here and now, opening up to all the spheres of human experience. It is not difficult to see that this kind of opening takes place through the effort of pilgrimage, which breaks through the perspective of immanence, especially if the spiritual journey is accompanied by a Christian pilgrim's vision.

The awareness of broadening this sphere is undoubtedly present on the Camino de Santiago today. The experience of "exceeding," as the quintessence of transcendence, may become that fruit of the pilgrimage which will open a postmodern pilgrim to the community of the Church, which is the witness to the grace that transgresses all human measures. Archbishop Julian Barrio from Santiago de Compostela has frequently alluded to this transcendental dimension.²⁵

2.3 Sacrament as an instrument of uniting (*instrumentum/organon*)

As almost all medieval and modern accounts of the pilgrimage to the tomb of St. James demonstrate, the Camino has always united pilgrims and communities. The sources emphasize that after leaving larger towns pilgrims would walk together, frequently in groups by nationality, with an open attitude towards those they encountered during the pilgrimage. Modern diaries by pilgrims consider it a groundbreaking experience when they accidentally meet with people who give a special character to each stage of the Camino. Frequently, pilgrims travel together at certain stages or walk side by side to the destination. Many pilgrims pass each other during the pilgrimage, which is also an experience of community-building among those who go to Compostela. This is the image of a Church present "among" those experiences, becoming a place of meeting and of uniting different people with each other and God. The Church's role is to search for "connections," to introduce peace, *concordia*, not as consensus but as a common orientation of the will to authentic goodness. It is not based on emotional *unisono*, but on that unity of people that consists in communicating goodness between friends. This unity is built by love, the result of which is unity among people.

The truth about unity for pilgrims makes it worth reflecting on the concept of *communicatio*, so typical of Christianity, which leads to an understanding of love and the way in which the Church and her awareness is built on the Camino de San-

²⁵ J. Barrio, "Transcendentny sens Szlaku św. Jakuba – Camino de Santiago," *Teologia i Człowiek* 4(2013), 111-126.

tiago. Every friendship is based on “communication,” the sharing of goodness and the constant transferring of that goodness between friends. In one of the rites of the sacrament of matrimony in the Mozarabic tradition the newlyweds pass around a handful of *arras* (coins), demonstrating that in love and friendship one must not keep anything for oneself, but must communicate. This rich concept of *communicatio* is repeatedly realized on the Camino. It consists in developing the art of coexistence with the travelers encountered during the pilgrimage, through which a community of the Way is born.²⁶ The communal character built by the Church on the experience of community with God, and which she offers to people, is a sacrament. It originates from the truth about the nature of goodness itself, which pours itself out, in the spirit of the adage *bonum est diffusivum sui*.

It is important to emphasize the community-building role of the Church in the context of the Camino. After all, grace forms a community and overcomes loneliness. The Church (*Ekklesia*) is a community (*koinonia*). But it cannot be otherwise if the Church lives the love of the Father, the truth of the Son and—through possessing a Trinitarian form—becomes a community in the Holy Spirit. If in our reflection on the different forms of unity that develop among pilgrims of the Camino we perceive the Church as *ex communione Trinitatis*, we can discover another key to understanding the nature of ecclesial unity. This is a unity that resounds in *perichoresis*, a classical term of Trinitarian theology, which denotes the mutual containing of one Person in the other, offering and receiving. The Trinitarian model cannot be applied mechanically to human relations, but reveals the dynamism of community and the most profound ideal of the Church’s life.²⁷

3. The Church discovered on the Camino

Living in a secular age, in times when many important cultural factors have lost their efficacy, it is essential to restore their power: they have not been fully elimi-

²⁶ J. Bobik, “Aquinas on *communicatio*. The foundation of friendship and caritas,” *The Modern Schoolman* 64(1986-87), 8.

²⁷ These Trinitarian models might initially surprise us, but man too was created in the image of God as Trinity, and the Church is said to be derived *ex Trinitate*. The mystery of the Holy Trinity is not a theoretical dogma of faith but the presentation of the perspective of participation in the life of God, on which the essence of eternal life is based. Thus the Fathers of the Church noticed the signs of the Holy Trinity everywhere, because God as the Great Artist leaves His traces on everything He creates. However, it should be remembered that every comparison to God is inaccurate and reminds us of the analogical character of our thinking about the Creator.

nated but only temporarily removed so as not to influence social life.²⁸ Releasing great quantities of goodness is part of the Church's mission in the world; it is not a question of restoring memory about the glorious past in order to take pride in it, but to build an identity upon the foundation of a truly human life. According to B. Welte, modern theology has forgotten about key aspects of its subjects and has concentrated on "distortions" instead. Frequently, religious celebrations do not focus on the essence of the faith but follow transient cultural manifestations and customs instead. All these questions are visible in the context of pilgrimage to Compostela. It is possible, however, to discover the essence and mission of the Church instead of concentrating on secondary elements. The reflections of Aquinas may be helpful here, since his metaphors are clear for modern readers, revealing the deep identity of the Church as a community on the way (*in statu viae*). For Aquinas, thinking about the Church is, in fact, the "theology of the way."

In his commentary on the Letter of St. Paul to the Ephesians, St. Thomas observes that sometimes a community is called a "house" or a "city" – the Church is the holy city and the house of God. The first term refers to the relations between the faithful based on official acts, whereas "house" reminds us of the relationship with superiors since each house as a community is managed by the head of the family.

In describing the Church through the perspective of two communities, Aquinas tries to indicate the tension and richness of relations in the Church.²⁹ The Church as a house reminds us that we are not a handful of randomly called people (so common nowadays in the context of social media, such as Facebook or Twitter) but are called by the One who is the Father, gathering His children in His house. Another experience originates from the Church as the pilgrims on the Camino feel at home because they discover the links connecting them with other faithful. They realize that the house of God, the synonym of the Church, has no visible walls but only the experience of subordination to the Father. In reference to this, in *Novo millennio ineunte* (no 43), John Paul II appealed to make the Church "the home and the school of communion," explaining that he is referring to the specific type of spirituality of communion which builds a house understood as a network of relations.

In the Pope's description there are clear references to many experiences of pilgrims on the Camino de Santiago, who undergo a metamorphosis in their percep-

²⁸ Ch. Taylor, *A Secular Age*, Harvard University Press, 2007.

²⁹ Thomas Aquinas, *In Eph.*, cap. II, lect. 6. St. Augustine is the author of a well-known comparison of the work of two different loves which build two different cities: Jerusalem, a symbol of community born out of God's love, which is so great that it leads to the hatred of oneself, and Babylon, an image of the results of self-love which leads to the hatred of God.

tion of the Church, previously associated only with a building. Passing numerous parishes on the Camino, they realize that the Church as a house “means an ability to think of our brothers and sisters in faith within the profound unity of the Mystical Body, and therefore as ‘those who are a part of me.’ This makes us able to share their joys and sufferings, to sense their desires and attend to their needs, to offer them deep and genuine friendship. (...) A spirituality of communion means, finally, to know how to ‘make room’ for our brothers and sisters, bearing ‘each other’s burdens’ (*Gal 6:2*) and resisting the selfish temptations...” (NMI 43).

3.1. Unifying center – taking care of the “long-term” project

One of the fruits of looking at the Church through the perspective of the sacraments is a focus on the mission of unification which characterizes the Church in the context of the Camino de Santiago as well. In the climate of modern individualism and the culture of “disconnecting” which were signaled by Pope Francis in Bolivia, the mentality of the Camino offers something different, namely an identity-forming transformation from “tourist into pilgrim.” It implies something which does not end with the Camino. It indicates the routes of the Way of St. James trodden by others, confirming that life can be lived as a long-term project. The Camino combines the broken puzzles of human life, bonds them and makes people aware of the unity built around “important matter.” The pilgrim needs to sacrifice a great deal of time to define it, even requiring a “holy excess” of time in order to achieve it.

The Camino is not a matter of wandering through a beautiful landscape abounding in Romanesque architecture, but distinguishes itself by an awareness of its aim, even if this might not be fully formulated at the beginning of the journey. This lack of a teleological sharpness of vision may result from the postmodern mentality that the pilgrim leaves behind, but it is clear that the logic of the Camino is based on defining one’s aim and delineating the way. Each blessing received by pilgrims on the Camino indicates the right direction, like sailors navigating at sea, who have to correct their routes every day. Undoubtedly this view of pilgrimage on the Camino is contrary to postmodern claims of a life in the desert (J. Derrida) without a temple, roads or clear aim.³⁰ The identity of the pilgrim on the Way of St. James becomes the leaven of a new beginning and reconfiguration of life, so important in the evangelical logic.

³⁰ Cf. U. Idziak-Smoczyńska, “The theological turn of postmodernity. To be alive again,” *Approaching Religion* 1(2013), 40.

3.2. Ecclesial Virtues – hospitality, kindness, longanimity

The way to discover the essence of the Church frequently leads the pilgrim from the phenomenon to the foundation. Observing the behavior and testimony of the people of faith he encounters during the pilgrimage, he asks about its source and deepest motivations. If sacramentality means that God reaches out to man in a human way then the Church, which is somehow a “sacrament” in Christ, can reach man in a similar manner. In such a phenomenological description of the Church on the Camino virtues play an important role. In ethics they are defined as *habitus* (disposition), a stable attitude directed towards the realization of goodness, the order of right reason in the moral activity of man. Virtues are directed to the full realization of human potential and are inscribed in the person’s natural desire for happiness.

If we were to point out virtues that are clearly rooted in the awareness of the Church and were praised in medieval sermons, then hospitality would be one of them. It is a virtue that makes us treat the other (*hospite*) out of concern for his personal good. It is translated into practical language, but similarly to sacramentality it is not limited to the system of concrete acts of helping the other, by offering accommodation or meals. It is an attitude of spiritual openness, thus the symbol of open doors and the ability to receive the other, accepting him as someone important. It is an opening of our own world, an attitude of generosity and receptiveness. Hospitality may also imply protection of the one who is travelling and including him in the communion. Ecclesial hospitality, where there is time to listen to the other and his life stories, may lead to me discovering the key to understanding my own life from the perspective of the Gospel.³¹ Receiving the other means understanding the specifics of his way and refraining from any judgment based on a short-term perspective. To fully cultivate hospitality it is necessary to possess longanimity (*longanimitas*), an important virtue in Thomas Aquinas’s aretology.

Holy Scripture praises hospitality, for example Abraham’s treatment of the three strangers. It is an epiphany of love (*caritas*) that is transformed into kindness in concrete everyday situations, and for Christians, it is a way of realizing the commandments of love that breaks the simple formula of responding to the received good with good.³² In concrete situations of life on the Camino hospitality is translated

³¹ The perspective of maturing in faith during the Camino is presented in A.P. Boers, *The Way Is Made by Walking: A Pilgrimage Along the Camino de Santiago*, InterVarsity Press, Downers Grove 2007.

³² St. Thomas Aquinas writes about love and the acts of mercy in *In Heb.* [rep. vulgata], cap. XIII, lect. 1: debemus ostendere charitatem peregrinis per hospitalitatem, vincitis per com-

into the art of being a host, *amphitryon*, who organizes the stay of pilgrims relying on valuable experience to provide “everything that is needed” for both spirit and body.³³ It is important how the action of giving is performed and pilgrims sense it very quickly.

This is manifested in the fact that the Camino does not reject or exclude anybody but receives and invites everyone to the encounter with Jesus through the intercession of St. James, which is important in the Church. In the past, monasteries and religious orders, especially the Benedictines, carried out acts of hospitality towards homeless pilgrims on their way to Compostela, who had no one to care for them. *Hospitales* or fraternities, founded in the Middle Ages for serving pilgrims, were the signs of the Christian consciousness of the value of human life and the expression of concern for other people making the pilgrimage *ad loca santa*.

The Church sees herself in the perspective of the gift, being endowed with the primacy of grace and gratuity. She thinks of herself as a community that creates the ability to receive the call of God. As a result, the Church does not build herself but allows herself to be built. Throughout the centuries the Church has “traveled light,” far from the temptation of self-sufficiency, as Gozalo Tejerina observes. The Church makes its pilgrimage listening to the “calling” to spread it further until the eschatological realization of the gift.³⁴ It is the never-ending exodus towards dialogue.

This march is not like walking blindfold towards God, as St. Paul describes in his Areopagus speech (Acts 17:19-32). It is not a purely human search where someone gropes ahead in darkness so as to not stumble over something. It is the experience of being “caught,” taken hold of and led. Catching someone’s hand in darkness is not accidental, even though it may seem so for someone who, when the Other Hand catches him, is submerged in obscurity. The attitude of “receiving others” is born from this experience and becomes a synonym for the Camino de Santiago in our times. The project *acogida cristiana en el camino*,³⁵ whose aim is to teach what it means to receive a pilgrim in local Christian communities, in parish *albergues*, trying to provide an example of imitating God, who receives and stretches out His

passionem, pauperibus per subventionem (...)t specialiter facit mentionem de hospitalitate, quia qui peregrinos recipit, tria opera misericordiae simul implet, quia et recipit, et cibatur, et potatur.

³³ Thomas Aquinas *In Rom.*, cap. XII, lect. 2: Nam hospes non solum domum exhibet ad manendum sed etiam alia necessaria subministrat.

³⁴ G. Tejerina, *La gracia y la comunión. Ensayo de eclesiología fundamental*, Secretariado Trinitario, Salamanca 2015, 166.

³⁵ The result of this initiative has been congresses devoted to the Christian model of receiving (*acogida*) on the Camino and the website which has been created. See <http://www.acogidacristianaenelcamino.es>

hand. The Church on the way and making the way in the way learns how to receive as Christ did, who never excluded anyone.

Making a pilgrimage also means coming to understand Holy Scripture, somehow materializing Christian doctrine. Today, it is also an opportunity to present a Church that “cares,” so that pilgrims will experience the mercy of God and a brotherly hand instead of passing by and missing their “Emmaus.” Receiving is associated with the availability and warmth of *hospitaleros*, the ability to listen, offer words of peace and consolation as well as providing spiritual strength. Receiving a pilgrim on the Camino means taking an interest in all spheres of his life, especially at the moment when he loses his sense of security, experiencing weakness, helping him to understand the need for the presence of the One who supports and offers closeness. It is then that access to the mystery of life and God is opened and the sharing of the Christian message becomes a ministry of mercy³⁶ where the suffering (*miseria*) of the other person is experienced as acutely as one’s own.

Receiving in a Christian manner does not just imply overcoming simple human insensitivity but also maintaining an attitude of “open doors,” i.e. the ability to see the sign of grace in the next pilgrim passing by, accompanying him spiritually and growing.

3.3. The Church as the “call” to restore mystagogy

The Church defines herself as a pilgrim people growing into the fullness of Christ in time and history, which is translated into a missionary and evangelizing self-awareness directed to those on the way (*in statu viae*, as the Scholastics used to say). As a community “called” by the Lord we are on the way. Thus, to understand the identity of the Church it is worth referring to the Biblical experience of fellowship of faith (*kahal Jahve*). *Ecclesia*, the Greek term for the Church, referring to this Hebrew expression, combines the sense of permanence and the dynamism of progress. In the context of our reflection the calling experienced on the threshold of a journey seems to be important for the ecclesial sense of the term. The Church is organized around the experience of “being called” to realize God’s plans and to discover new and deeper dimensions of the world.³⁷ She does not create a church “ghetto,” a hermetic counterproposal to the world but acts in the world as a “leaven”

³⁶ E. Romero Pose, *Raíces cristianas de Europa. Del Camino de Santiago a Benedicto XVI*, Madrid 2006, 200.

³⁷ Cf. S.L. Perez, “La peregrinación como reto pastoral en el nuevo milenio,” *Compostellanum* 3-4(2013), 452.

and “sacrament,” an obedient tool for the sake of the Kingdom of God. The calling that is the foundation of the Church testifies to her dependence on the voice of the Lord. The Church does not summon herself in order to count her members, convince herself that she is great or gain a strategic position in the world, but to fulfill her entrusted mission.

4. *Sensus Ecclesiae*: the presence of the Church on the Camino as the “apologetics of broadening”

Finding in the Camino de Santiago the “apologetics of the beaten track,”³⁸ namely a way to convince the world of the truth of the Christian message, the Church perceives herself not as a goal but as modern man’s means of discovering Christianity. It is a process that occurs in a certain order, starting with restoring to man an openness to other spheres of life, providing a “sense of transcendence.” Conversion, which constitutes the core of the Christian vision of pilgrimage, is not a dramatic one-time event but an experience of a gradual rising of the temperature to the boiling point. As with any metaphor this is an imperfect image open to numerous exceptions, but the religious experience described by pilgrims includes this important stage of opening to transcendence and the breaking down of reservations. Pilgrims experiencing “ontological and axiological unity” find a friendly environment for conversion where the decision to receive faith acquires vigor.

A return to the world of values, which frequently remains unnoticed, is a characteristic mark of the Way. Along with the discovery of the value of community, where we see each other not as an indistinguishable group but as individuals with a past and a vocation, the truth about history, culture and the other man is a clear spiritual gift of the Camino. Rescuing a one-dimensional (materialistic, naturalistic) world requires the coordination of many aspects, however, and here the role of the Church, which reminds us of and takes care of memory, is indispensable. It is not surprising that one of the essential expressions of the ecclesial mentality, visible in the liturgy, is its anamnesis, the act of restoring memory about the great works of God in history (*magnalia Dei*). It signifies that the mission of the Church is to broaden the pilgrim’s world, revealing the richness of the reality and basic principles of human life, which has its destiny in God. It is not an intrusive presence but hidden, as true power is revealed in the humble nature of measures. The thought of the Scholastics mentioned earlier in the text, and Aquinas in particular, is suggestive,

³⁸ A. Jaworska, “Camino de Santiago – apologia wydeptana stopami,” in M. Skierkowski (ed.), *Powracanie apologii*, Płock 2013, 219-222.

since the point is to discover the meaning of events and refer them to the Creator. Aquinas reflected on the nature of faith *implicite* professed by the figures of the Old Testament, who believed in the Intercessor in salvation although they did not know him directly.³⁹ It is an “ecclesial sense” (*sensus Ecclesiae*), lying behind the Church’s everyday services, acts of mercy, hospitality, receiving and inviting us to the liturgy, and allows us to discern the outline of the inner way that the pilgrim enters upon.

The ecclesial “pulse” of the Camino de Santiago, although not always as strong as heartbeats, is felt in the discrete presence of the Church along the Camino. After rediscovering values pilgrims frequently go back to walk the Way of St. James again with the conviction that the presence of the Church is natural and structural. The Church, which plays the role of a companion for the pilgrim, like Jesus, “explains the scriptures” and opens his eyes to see the true purpose of the human journey. This Church is not comfortably placed alongside the way to control the flow of grace in the world but opens the channels of God’s action in the world. The instrumental causality of sacraments, mentioned above, is an educational theological question. The presence of the Church on the Camino and her pastoral mission cannot be judged from the perspective of institutional visibility but only as evangelical “leaven.” From the ecclesiological point of view this opens a new chapter in the mission of the Church, which as an institution of hope has to cope with a surplus of grace and learn a sacramental attitude, namely sensitivity, which works further and deeper.

It is the *service of meaning* which does not intend to argue for Christianity but realizes that Christianity has much to say on human life, corporeality and vocation. It gives access to a reality inaccessible to others, overcomes weak discourses and in telling the truth about man reveals itself as authentic.⁴⁰(najlepiej cytat z oryginału) In this apologetics it is important to start asking questions, to point out the gushing springs of tradition, to recover the meaning of religious language, as P. Ricoeur emphasized, in its individual and communal dimensions. This restores the meaning of “great words” (C.K. Norwid), for without them the script is only a meaningless system of blots of ink and life becomes a loose conglomerate of facts and events. The value of the Camino is that it is a “spiritual shortcut” that does not mislead, helping pilgrims to discover the essence of faith in a short time.⁴¹ (oryginał angielski)

³⁹ Thomas Aquinas, *In Eph.*, cap. III, lect. 5.

⁴⁰ This is one of the important contributions of M. Henry to modern apologetics. Cf. Ch. Gschwandtner, *Postmodern apologetics? Arguments for God in Contemporary Philosophy*, Fordham University Press, New York 2013, 142.

⁴¹ On the spiritual value of the Camino, cf. J. Leach, “Camino de Santiago: the value and significance of pilgrimage in the twenty-first century,” *Epworth Review*, 1(2006), 31-39; M.E. Giles, “A spirituality of pilgrimage: the Camino de Santiago and Spanish mysticism,” *Studia Mystica* 22 (2001), 54-82.

The Church present on the Way of St. James offers man the possibility of leaving behind the rigid framework of postmodern culture that limits the world to individuals and their emotions (the microworld) so that they can be reborn as disciples of Christ at the micro-scale. The Camino assists in this event of rebirth, which takes place in a different way each time. The point is to overcome the postmodern convictions of the virtual world, where objective truth and values do not exist. The realism of the Camino, which is the way to interpret the world of values in the concrete realities of pilgrimage, is undoubtedly a step towards the world in which reality does not focus on itself.

Conclusions: ecclesial art of accompanying

As numerous testimonies of the pilgrimage illustrate, for many the Camino has been an experience that gives new order to their lives, similar to the process of defragmentation in a computer. However, as this reflection demonstrates, the Camino is also an opportunity to discover the identity of the Church, which, as the people on the way, acts for pilgrims to Compostela as a “sacrament” that unites people with God. It translates into a dynamism of the apostolate that is something more than a roadside stall or a history-wrapped product. (In Cracow Pope Francis spoke to his young audience about the dangers of accepting the sofa-happiness style of Christianity.) Genuine Christianity is based on the effort of accompanying other people on the way and supporting them in discerning the presence in their lives of a God who comes to man in a human and sacramental manner. The Camino reveals the face of a Church that understands mission to be indispensable and provides a presence that leads to overcoming the tyranny of immediacy. Contrary to Nietzsche’s claim that the realization of symbolic human abilities is the sign of a “sick animal” because the healthy one follows its instincts and does not ask about the meaning of things, the Camino restores for man this aspect of life which is frequently lost in everyday routine.

In *Evangelii Gaudium*, Pope Francis reminds us, in the context of ecumenical dialogue, of the pilgrim’s awareness, which is fundamental for the Church:

We must never forget that we are pilgrims journeying alongside one another. This means that we must have sincere trust in our fellow pilgrims, putting aside all suspicion or mistrust, and turn our gaze to what we are all seeking: the radiant peace of God’s face. Trusting others is an art and peace is an art.⁴²

⁴² Pope Francis, Apostolic Exhortation *Evangelii Gaudium*, no 244.

The experience of the Camino de Santiago shows that the presence of the Church is not visible directly but influences the spheres mentioned in the text, especially if on the trail we do not judge other people and are able to accompany them on the journey. This is emphasized in many pilgrim accounts that present the Camino as a Way that does not exclude or judge, because it is based on the conviction that our perception is not sufficient or sharp enough. It signifies the important task of the ecclesial “art of accompanying,” which should be translated into concrete behavior towards pilgrims, enabling them to travel the inner way to meet Christ through the figure of St. James, which is clearly symbolized by the embrace of the Apostle at the finish of the journey and resembles the embrace of the merciful Father from the Gospel parable. From a pastoral point of view, it is worth making an effort to enable pilgrims to return from the Camino with this vision of the Church deepened by the pilgrimage. For many, it might be the beginning of a new life.

The ecclesial dimension is revealed on the modern Camino in numerous ways. It is not only forced by the visible signs but is experienced by a specific atmosphere which forms the ethos of Christian life. If we regain the sense of belonging to the Mystical Body of Christ, we will understand, following Aquinas’s intuition regarding the spiritual senses of a Christian, that the essence of this bond and its expression is founded on perceiving the world through the eyes of Christ. It is the “head” that thinks and perceives and “Christ is the head of the church” (Eph 5:23) and the members of the body participate. The core of the ecclesial dimension of pilgrimage is expressed in this observation if we attempt to examine it from a theological perspective. We cannot stop only at direct references to the Church as an institution, which sociological research on the modern Camino may lack. In this way, it is easier to answer the question about the ecclesial pulse of the modern Camino de Santiago.

The Camino restores the vertical dimension of human existence, making man realize that the full meaning comes with an openness to God’s calling. At the same time, the horizontal dimension regained on the Camino through engagement in history introduces man into a relationship with Christ and reaches divine eternity with Him. History becomes the carrier of meaning and the power of salvation as well as a pledge of glory. The theology of the Way is another name for the Church.

THE WAY OF ST. JAMES: RENEWING INSIGHTS

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Faith and Narrative: The Secularization of the Way of St. James through Literature

The Way of Saint James is inextricably bound up with the tales recounted by those who have travelled along it. From the oral testimonies of the pilgrims who returned renewed and strengthened in their faith, to written accounts that combine the travel journal with the adventure novel, it is not difficult to image how these narratives could have a considerable impact on the minds of future pilgrims. That is why it should not surprise us that the Way of Saint James has become, from different perspectives, linked to literature: “Among the most significant consequences pertaining to the return from the pilgrimage, we should take into account the birth of a rich, extensive body of travel and pilgrimage literature that stretches around the major European nations” (CAUCCI VON SAUCKEN, 1993:111). From the first half of the twelfth century to the beginning of the seventeenth, Book V of the *Codex Calixtinus*, the earliest of the Compostelan ‘pilgrim’s guides’, exercised the greatest and most singular influence. However, as far back as the fourteenth century, a large body of European literature linked to the pilgrimage began to appear. A particularly notable example is: “*Die Walfart und Strass zu San Jacob*, written by the Servite monk Hermann Künig von Vach, whose four editions, published between 1495 and 1521, demonstrate the popularity that the pilgrimage to Santiago still enjoyed in the German world, despite being by now on the threshold of the Reformation” (CAUCCI VON SAUCKEN, 1993:112). In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, continuing even up to 1790, many pilgrims’ guides were written in French. The French language also made a significant contribution to the literature linked to the Way in the field of song: “the many bookish expressions of pilgrim songs conserved are basically from the French-speaking area and, to lesser extent, the Flemish” (VILLANUEVA, 1993:157). There also exists an abundance of works in Italian that, from the late-six-

teenth century, helped to increase interest in the Way through such quality literary productions as the two travel diaries *Viaggio in Ponente* (1681) by Domenico Laffi and *Viaggio da Napoli a San Giacomo di Galizia* by Nicola Albani (1745), works that contribute to an understanding of the workings of the pilgrim's mind and his or her aspirations (BIELLA, 2003:50). In all these works we find a blend of elements that we could describe as "worldly" along with a more fundamental content of a religious nature. The background is always supernatural, although when the adventures and feelings experienced are described with realism, the human and natural elements always come to the fore to one extent or another. To quote Caucci von Saucken once more:

all this literature constitutes an exceptional source enabling us to gain close-up knowledge of the pilgrim mentality, as in it we find reflected his or her motivations, aspirations, worries, crises and weaknesses, and the joy of having reached such a distant place. (CAUCCI VON SAUCKEN, 1993:112)

In recent decades, however, we witness a paradoxical phenomenon. More and more literary works are appearing that take the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela as the backdrop, both in fictional literature and in travel diaries, yet the predominant perspective in this production oscillates between insubstantial spiritualism and more or less cynical anti-clerical scepticism.

Contemporary esoteric literature based on the Way inevitably finds its point of reference in the Brazilian author Paulo Coelho, who published *The Pilgrimage*, based on his experience of travelling the Way, in 1987. The international popularity of his later novels, such as *The Alchemist*, then, make Coelho an ineluctable point of reference with regard to all esoteric literature related to the Way. Moreover, Coelho has been a powerful agent in popularising the Way in America, especially Brazil, exercising an influence that should not be underestimated¹:

¹ "The Way has another meaning and a plurality of messages that go beyond the limitations of the traditions of the Order of Santiago in today's world. Perhaps for this reason and due to the Brazilian people's intense spiritual (more than religious) feeling, they discovered the Way of Saint James in the nineteen-eighties, to such an extent that in the following decade it became a cult journey for them. Leaving aside better informed Brazilians, the main reason for this boom in interest in the Way in the South American country has a name: the writer Paulo Coelho. In 1986, still unknown, and driven by the need for a change in his life and for a spiritual quest, he walked the French Way of Saint James from Saint-Jean-Pied-de-Port in the south of France. The result of that experience, one that really did change his life, according to Coelho, was the book *The Pilgrimage (Diary of a Mage)*, which became an instant bestseller following its publication in 1987. In Brazil, the book generated a legion of unconditional followers driven by the urgent need to travel the Way. Such was its effect that the boom in pilgrims was not limited to those with sufficient means to travel to Europe; others also made enormous sacrifices in order to make their dream come true. When the book was translated into other languages,

Per la profondità delle sue descrizioni e per la sua nota abilità ad esprimere concetti e sensazioni apparentemente indefinibili, Coelho è ritenuto essere la causa inconsapevole di un fenomeno molto recente: siamo agli inizi degli anni Novanta quando migliaia di persone, soprattutto latinoamericane, si lanciano entusiaste a compiere il pellegrinaggio, inaugurando una nuova tendenza che supera la tradizione di considerare il Camino de Santiago una peculiarità europea, per ovvie ragioni di vicinanza e storia. (BIELLA, 2003:52)

In Spain, in 1998, the author Juan García Atienza, a specialist in Hispanic esotericism, published *Leyendas del camino de Santiago. La ruta jacobea a través de sus ritos, mitos y leyendas* [Legends of the Way to Santiago. The Way of Saint James Through its Rites, Myths and Legends], in which he compiles around one hundred legends, grouped according to the different stages in the history of the Way. For his part, in 1999, the author and journalist Sánchez Dragó published *Historia mágica del camino de Santiago* [Magical History of the Way of Saint James], mixing historical information and mythological beings. In the world of children's literature, moreover, we include in this article a study of *Peregrinatio*, published by the Spanish writer Matilde Asensi in 2004, a work that exemplifies, within the framework of the genre, the same post-modern approach.

Due to its international media impact, a book by the celebrated American actress Shirley MacLaine played a decisive role in the popularity of this whole body of esoteric literature. The well-known film star walked the Way of Saint James in the summer of 1994 and in 2000 published *The Camino. A Journey of the Spirit*. This was a blend of personal experience, products of the imagination (brought very much to the fore), fiction, and vague spiritual ideas.²

moreover, it continued to attract more and more followers. Coelho has mentioned that, when he dies, he would like his ashes to be scattered at O Cebreiro in Galicia, a mythical site on the French Way" (RODRÍGUEZ, M. F. voz *America*, in Various authors, *Xacopedia*. Ediciones Bolanda. Ebook of the *Gran Enciclopedia del Camino de Santiago*).

² "Looking down at the landscape below, I imagined that I could see Charlemagne and his armies, the Moors and their conflicts, the individual stories of our lives and events. I was the Moorish lassie, dark hair flying in the wind as I rode my horse and sputtering obscenities in a cold stream after having been baptized. And over all of it hovered John the Scot, the cleric-teacher, somehow still narrating in my head: 'Remember who you are and what you have been' (...) Yes, I had walked towards those unknown worlds, looking for who I was and who I had been then (...) I thought about our known world today (...) We didn't seem to understand our fundamental soul connection to the Great God-Goddess Spirit, the first word, the origin of ALL." (MACLAINE, 2000: 277). It seems pretty clear that, if she had not been a film star, she would not have caused much impact with this book. However, there is no doubting the work's influence in spreading knowledge of the Way in the US, as it led many of MacLaine's compatriots, including other celebrities, to under the journey along the Way of Saint James. Cf. RODRÍGUEZ, M. F. loc.cit.

1. Recovering the historic value of pilgrims' journals

Beyond this line of insubstantial spiritualism, in recent decades we have also witnessed a flourishing of travel journals linked to The Way. In this field, the most original and innovative work in its genre was *Prier pour nous à Compostelle*, published in 1978 by the French journalists Pierre Barret and Jean-Noël Gurgand after they had made the pilgrimage from Vézelay. Most of the book consists of a popular scientific summary of the history of the Way. The originality in their journal lies in its constant use of direct citations from a few accounts personally written by pilgrims, thereby forming a highly original sort of “history of medieval and modern Europe”. Chronologically, the dozen or so ancient accounts used range from the inevitable twelfth-century *Liber Sancti Jacobi* to Jean Bonnecaze in 1748. The final section contains a more personal story, entitled ‘Un tombeau en Espagne’, describing the authors’ impressions from their fifty-day pilgrimage from Vézelay to Santiago. Due to the success of *Prier pour nous à Compostelle* in France, the book was translated in the 1980s into Spanish and Galician, as well as into other languages, such as German and Dutch. In it, Barret and Gurgand turn pilgrims’ anecdotes into a chance to enable readers, and themselves, to discover the circumstances experienced by those that preceded them along that same Way over the centuries. In this manner, going from the accidental to the essential, they succeed in painting a credible image of the person and motivations of the pilgrim in ancient times:

Histoires de chapeaux, de chaussures, de saignements de nez: la chronique du chemin, c’est la face cachée de l’aventure, la part vulgaire et douloureuse de l’épopée. Cela tient sans doute à la nature de l’entreprise. L’ambition du pèlerin est transcendente, mais sa méthode est la plus prosaïque qui soit: mettre un pied devant l’autre et recommencer. Livré au hasard des horizons inconnus où le temps finit par s’abolir, chahuté par la nature, menacé par tous les prédateurs, aussi désarmé qu’un hanneton sur une pierre lisse, notre arpenteur d’éternité trace son chemin à force d’infimes progrès. C’est en cela qu’il dépasse ce qui lui arrive. (BARRET-GURGAND, 1978: 110)

In their journal of the pilgrimage, they return once more to the subject of the inevitably religious motivations of the pilgrims of ancient days, mixed with other types of motivations that are easier for the post-modern, secular twentieth-century observer to understand. For these pilgrims were also motivated by curiosity, the desire to see the world, encouragements that existed alongside other, more transcendent reasons for making the journey. Moreover, it is logical to believe that those pilgrims who, on their return, translated their experiences and memories into written

form would have been those most deeply interested in the stories, legends, personal testimonies, rumours and so on that were shared by travellers during their evening respites before taking to the road once more the next day:

Il n'y a pas si longtemps, la représentation qu'on avait du monde se formait aux vieilles. Là, dans les légendes et les récits de voyage, ceux qui savaient transmettaient ce qu'ils avaient eux-mêmes entendu ou observé. Un pèlerinage à Santiago, traversant tant de régions, est une occasion privilégiée de confronter des images et des réalités. La curiosité d'avant les média est avide, abrupte, critique, volontiers méprisante pour ce qui est différent, accueillante aux ragots et aux médisances... (BARRET-GURGAND, 1978: 199-200)

However, Barret and Gurgand are fully aware, as they make clear, of the great difference between those pilgrims and us. This is not only a difference in the material aspects of the journey, but also, and above all, a crucial difference between the religious and secular worldviews:

En somme, la foi est ce qui nous manque le plus pour nous retrouver en pèlerins. Eux vivaient sur le chemin une grande aventure, entretenue par des prières et des chants de route qui donnaient du coeur aux jambes et maintenaient le contact avec l'au-delà, ponctuée de miracles, de reliques, de légendes. Ils suivaient l'étoile. (BARRET-GURGAND, 1978: 290)

The authors find their most convincing evidence that the ancient pilgrims' motivation was supernatural in the extreme insecurity of the Way, the extreme uncertainty regarding the likelihood of emerging safe and sound from the experience:

...chaque étape les rapprochait du pardon et du salut. Les risques de la route, de plus, exaltaient leur espérance. Les faux passeurs, les faux guides, les vrais bandits et les vrais loups, le froid, le mal pouvaient toujours interrompre le voyage. Combien d'entre eux ont dû connaître (...) les nuits atroces de la peur. Et combien, tout simplement, sont morts sur leur plus longue route (...) Nous, nous savons toujours où nous en sommes à un kilomètre près; nous pourrions, s'il le fallait, regagner Paris en moins de vingt-quatre heures; nous n'avons à craindre ni les passeurs ni les loups. (BARRET-GURGAND, 1978: 290-291)

In ancient times, it was only with their gaze set on something more precious than life itself that pilgrims could travel the Way. That is why, in their travel diary, Barret and Gurgand describe their thoughts, doubts and conclusions regarding their own reasons for becoming twentieth-century pilgrims. They even discuss their feelings when, on several occasions, they consider deliberately omitting the entry into Santiago. Nonetheless, in the end they complete the pilgrimage in a mixture of

joy and sadness. On the one hand, they arrive with conviction of having understood the pilgrims of the past better. On the other, they have the feeling that they had not been able to see themselves as pilgrims exactly, since they proved themselves unable to adopt a vision free from the secularism that has taken root in modern men and women: «Il est inquiétant d'avoir perdu le sens du salut quand on a gardé celui du péché» (BARRET-GURGAND, 1978: 302).

2. The interpretation of the Way of Saint James as a key to understanding Spain

In the nineteen-eighties, the Dutch Hispanic scholar Cees Nooteboom made notes on his car journeys around Spain before writing the book *De omweg naar Santiago*, published in 1992. Based on these notes, he reconstructs a kind of history of Spain from a deeply anti-religious standpoint. Santiago de Compostela and the Way become an excuse to describe a selection of places, monuments, festivities and customs, a meditation on the Spanish people from Cádiz to Girona. Indeed, it is only at the end of the book that the significance of the title becomes clear, when the author mentions driving past Santiago de Compostela without stopping time and again, as if boasting of his rejection of Hispanic orthodoxy:

...a *tour* being synonymous with a detour in my experience, the eternal, self-contrived labyrinth of the traveller who cannot resist the temptation of side roads and country lanes, of a branch road off a main road, of the sign pointing to a village with a name you have never heard before, of the silhouette of a castle in the distance with only a track leading to it... (NOOTEBOOM, 1997: 309).

In Nooteboom's view, all that needs to be said about the Way of Saint James can be summarised in a few comments of a cultural and economic nature.³ There is no place for mystery. The Way is nothing more than a social, political and religious

³ "The pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela is one of the arias of madness of European opera, a gigantic migratory flow, a movement of millions of extras, an unceasing stream of scallop-bearing pilgrims from all the corners of Christendom, who found shelter and sustenance at Mont Saint-Michel, Tours, Vézelay, Le Puy and Arles on their way to the Pyrenees and beyond, until they reached the *camino* to Santiago. What that massive adventure signified in terms of religious zeal, political, social, economic and artistic influence is almost impossible to imagine. For centuries a whole army was permanently on the move across Europe, where the foot was the unit of measurement. Everyone who joined, whether voluntarily or as imposed penitence, abandoned hearth and home to the vagaries of circumstance, the dream of every romantic soul, not in those uncertain times, but in later ones. Thus the pilgrimage became a myth in its own right, and as the links between northwestern Spain and the

phenomenon, though one with enormous historic importance and significance – this he does not deny.⁴ Like Barret and Gurgand, Nootboom stresses the religious and social elements that surrounded the ancient pilgrims, but at no point seems to become interested in the real, personal experience. He examines everything with the cold gaze of the erudite scholar who, from his ivory tower, permits himself the luxury of enjoying the contemplation of a field of corn or a capital. At the end of the book, the Dutch author does attempt to take the step towards a personal experience: “And suddenly it gets to you, you want to be rid of your car, you want to walk, you’ve been doing everything wrong, you are no match for the others, the true pilgrims, those who have made the entire journey on foot, the only ones who really know what it’s like” (NOOTEBOOM, 1997: 330). But the gap is too wide, the difference too big. On Monte de Gozo, the Hill of Joy, he imitates the gaze of the true pilgrim: “I stand and look, but the eyes that see are not mine, they belong to the others, to those of the past. (...) They were different people, with the same brains thinking different thoughts” (NOOTEBOOM, 1997: 333).

3. The pilgrimage in a sceptical, anticlerical key

Shortly after the publication of Nootboom’s book we find the same reluctance to enter Santiago de Compostela in a Spanish author and journalist, Gregorio Morán. In the summer of 1993, Morán walked the route from Roncesvalles to León in the company of the illustrator Antonio Meseguer. In León, they decided to give up and go straight to Finisterre, passing Santiago by without entering the city. However, like Nootboom, they finally visited Santiago on their way back from Finisterre. Their experiences on this three-week walk finally became the book *Nunca llegaré*

European north continued to strengthen, the desire for reunification with the Arab-occupied parts of Spain deepened.” (NOOTEBOOM, 1997: 200-201)

⁴ “To understand the essence of the pilgrimage to Santiago it is necessary to separate medieval man from the comfortable romantic image we have formed of him (if we have one at all). He was a truly different human being, with different preoccupations. His society was spiritual unity; the importance that he attached to the relics of the saints and martyrs is beyond modern comprehension. Seeking out and venerating those sacred reliquaries, devout Christians tramped from country to country, from shrine to shrine, an inspired multitude of prayerful, lifelong travellers. In the petty jargon of our present century, we call such things ‘social, political or religious phenomena.’ *Political* because this movement drew non-Islamic Spain closer to Christian Europe in a prelude to that other development which consolidated European Christendom, the Crusades; *social* because of the international contact and what the pilgrims brought with them and in their wake, in the spheres of trade as well as art; *religious* because for those who joined the movement the importance of spirituality surpassed that of material existence.” (NOOTEBOOM, 1997: 50-51)

a Santiago. From the start of this volume, Morán makes the absence of any kind of personal religious motivation quite clear. For this Spanish writer, starting out on the road to Santiago is merely a way of trying a different, stimulating experience, one that will enable him to create new memories. He openly declares himself an atheist, and the book is liberally sprinkled with sarcasm and mockery of all things religious. In each chapter, Morán recounts his experiences over the course of a day along the Way. In doing so, he emphasises two aspects, basically. These are, firstly, the physical inconveniences entailed in making the pilgrimage and, secondly, the attitude of the people he meets along the Way. In his description of the physical inconveniences, Morán alternates complaints about aches and pains, tiredness, cold and so on with the delights caused by certain lunches and dinners. This he does to such an extent as to turn food and drink, and smoking, into a mental refuge, to the point of reinterpreting the entire Way of Saint James in a purely gastronomic and cultural key. As for the people whose attitudes the journalist describes in his book, these include, in particular, those of his travelling companion and other pilgrims with whom they share parts of the Way. Morán also takes the chance to complain about the lack of hospitality displayed by landlords at hostels along the way, the rudeness of some staff at this or that accommodation and the alleged hypocrisy of certain priests.⁵ However, his main lament concerns the fact that he is denied certain foodstuffs due to the fact that he and his companion are treated as pilgrims and, therefore, penitents and, as such, not permitted certain gastronomic delights.⁶

Gregorio Morán is a potent example of the postmodern pilgrim. His apparent inconsistency in walking the Way of Saint James whilst lacking religious motivation of any kind is nothing more than a practical demonstration of the postmodern impossibility of achieving anything like an authentic lifestyle. It is precisely the issue of authenticity that dogs all the journalist's thoughts as he travels the Way: "Thought about this Way of Saint James and even the very act of walking revolves

⁵ "We enter the Bishop's Palace in Pamplona very tired, and the fact that the two priests and a woman employee all express their admiration for our decision to travel the Way of Saint James does not console us at all. I even have to swallow my anger when one of the priests waxes nostalgic about our freedom to do so. He is not free, he says, due to the commitments that tie him to his bureaucratic labour. I regret not telling him what I thought, and perhaps I did the right thing. He would have understood nothing and would have been shocked if anyone told him he was fooling himself, or was a cynic, or both" (MORÁN, 1996: 45)

⁶ "...I note for the first time that we are treated as penitents; people, rich or poor, but to whom one must speak distantly or disdainfully, because they are not in a situation of normality. Anomalous people that must be given treatment exempt from human respect; praise their will, but fear their intentions. In religious words: deep sinners who must be kept in their place. And to think that here, near the cathedral, there was once a famous kitchen for pilgrims, typical of the Navarre people" (MORÁN, 1996: 45)

around authenticity. We generally start from the idea that we live in an artificial world. From childhood to retirement, human beings seek –or claim to seek– the authentic”. However, this authenticity is seen to be impossible, unattainable. Nonetheless, the writer continues to eagerly seek just that. Hence his passion to “search for situations, journeys and meals with pretensions of authenticity”, even though this quest is nothing more than “a nostalgia or melancholia, a trace of anxiety before a world that does not satisfy” (MORÁN, 1996: 184). The pilgrim’s hope of finding *authenticity* in some aspect of the Way of Saint James is illusory: “Nowadays, the Way of Saint James is as authentic as a summer in San Sebastián or a walk along the coast of Brittany” (MORÁN, 1996: 187).

The fusion of this nihilistic posture and the supremacy of food and drink reaches a paroxysm in Morán’s overriding interest in consuming products made from pork, such as chorizo:

Along the walk, skirting around churches that remind us of the final goal of the pilgrim, there is a red thread loaded with connotations that may be another permanent link with the past. The humble chorizo. Did they eat chorizos in the Middle Ages? Apparently they did. As long as the pig existed as an animal from which nothing is wasted, it is no surprise that this red thread, made from paprika, blood, meat, should run along the Way towards the legendary Moor-slayer, bone-breaker of the servants of Allah, firm in their disdain for the absolute impurity represented by swine, animals detested by Mohammed (...) Chorizo acts as a second Credential for the Way of Saint James. (MORÁN, 1996: 186)

All this explains Morán’s absolute contempt for those who attempt to continue to make the pilgrimage to Santiago today in the spirit of pilgrims from the past. Just like Barret and Gurgand, and like Nooteboom, too, Morán is fully aware of the fact that the ancient pilgrims possessed an individual and collective worldview that is completely unattainable, practically incomprehensible to us, and in any case absolutely impossible to share:

Artificial is the route taken by the Way –which has little to do with that of bygone days– artificial are the hostels and refuges, the people and, above all, the goals of the walkers themselves. The alleged continuing existence of medieval spirituality –what does that have to do with anything? Suffice to say that the credulity of so many gentlemen from the past, and vagabonds and poor people and cripples, was linked to the spiritual period in which it was their lot to live. They didn’t even think about it. They believed with absolute faith. Santiago de Compostela was the place of the Apostle’s tomb. Yet anyone who believes, today, that under that basilica in Santiago de Compostela lie the mortal remains of Saint James can only be naïve or cynical. In by-gone times, history and legend were inseparable, today anyone who joins

them chooses to be a fool, afraid to question their miserable condition. (MORÁN, 1996: 185)

However, despite the manner in which Morán distances himself so greatly from other aspects of the pilgrimage, his account also reveals certain points of agreement with the universal experience of travelling the Way. Firstly, the need to alternate absolute solitude with the company of a trusted companion. Morán and Meseguer manage to make their journey in unison without this meaning that they always stick together. They usually walk about a hundred metres apart, each at his own pace. Nevertheless, each considers the other to be his indispensable companion. In their dealings with hostel landlords, pilgrims and local people along the way, they find support and ready understanding in each other. Along with their solitude comes, also, the very appearance of the pilgrim, the poor, tired look, like castaways, defenceless and needy, which also provides Morán and Meseguer with a kind of protection from the curiosity of strangers. Both work for a leading newspaper, but they never reveal this to anyone. It is their secret. This enables them to live the experience of the pilgrim as ordinary people, as no one in particular, like the millions of pilgrims who have passed along the same route, heading for the same destination. Social, economic, cultural and other differences become blurred along the Way of Saint James.

4. Fame, sentimentalism and vague spirituality

That same experience of passing unnoticed, although in this case with the hope of discovering some hidden spiritual treasure for himself, is what Hape Kerkeling, a comedian and famous television presenter in Germany, also sought. In the summer of 2001, after years of success in playing different roles in the show business world, Kerkeling decided to devote a month and a half to walking the French Way of Saint James. In 2006, he published *Ich bin dann mal weg. Meine Reise auf dem Jakobsweg*, which quickly became a bestseller. The effect that this book had on the German public is similar to that produced by Coelho and MacLaine on their American readers. For several years following the publication of Kerkeling's book, there was a considerable increase in the number of pilgrims to Santiago from Germany.⁷ Kerkeling titles each chapter with the name of the most relevant town on each day. Nonetheless, he partially abandons the style of the typical travelogue style by in-

⁷ Between 2007 and 2013, there were more German pilgrims than Italian along the Way of Saint James. Source: Annual statistical reports by the Pilgrim's Office.

cluding flashbacks that give the reader insight into his personal and professional life. In this way, by inserting episodes like a kind of memoir into his account, Kerkeling attempts to explain how his life led him to the decision to walk the Way of Saint James. Although, unlike in the case of Morán, religious motivations are not ruled out completely, Kerkeling's account quickly gives us to understand that his is not the position of the conventional pilgrim. In fact, the author takes the opportunity provided by different situations to level a series of more or less clichéd criticisms at the Catholic church, backed up by arguments that do not appear to be particularly firmly-grounded.⁸ Kerkeling's sensibilities are wounded particularly in two areas, those of homosexuality⁹ and the abuse of animals.¹⁰ Since the link between these two concerns and the Way of Saint James is by no means obvious, Kerkeling finds himself obliged to enter into a series of long asides in which the book veers away from what is normally found in a travel journal. None of this, however, prevents the author from giving a reasonably clear explanation of his understanding of the spiritual, as well as his view of the Church and what God means to him. The mere fact of wondering what God is, and admitting that he has done so, differentiates Kerkeling from most of the people around him, his friends and, in short, recent postmodern generations:

I lie in bed with the window wide open and wonder what God actually represents for me. Many of my friends have been estranged from the Church for quite some

⁸ "I think that any pronouncement supported or established by dictators is inhuman and culminates in disaster. And any authority that claims to represent humanity and peace in this world must roundly condemn every one of these pronouncements" (KERKELING, 2009: 99).

⁹ "And the way the Catholic Church avoids questions pertaining to homosexuality and many other important issues is inhuman and rife with disgraceful double standards. I know that my natural proclivity puts me in complete harmony with the world and myself, so why should I be forced by anyone to disharmony? Because a Catholic God aims to make me, and countless other millions, desperately unhappy and unnatural? Do they seriously believe that God is just as small-minded and ideological as they? Old men in flowing silk robes with expensive red and purple velvet appliqués want me to become what they themselves are not: a cowboy! That is flat-out absurd. When will a pope finally realize that the Gospel is not an adhesion contract!" (KERKELING, 2009: 98) Kerkeling dedicates the book "to Angelo, the love of my life" (KERKELING, 2009: 334) from whom he separated in 2011.

¹⁰ "A young hippie couple inside gives us a friendly greeting, which includes a devout wish that our inner Jesus awakens along the path. Maybe they ought to tone down their phony piety, I think to myself, when I see behind the hut, in the blazing sun, a German shepherd puppy on a three-foot leash. (...) These hippies are hypocrites, pure and simple. How can people listen to the constant howling of an abused creature while wishing for pilgrims to find the Christ within them? These people have most certainly not discovered Him for themselves. Everywhere on their sanctimonious wooden hut are crosses and pictures of Mary. These people make me sick!" (KERKELING, 2009: 248-249). And, later on, after saving a mistreated dog, he notes: "I've heard the most awful stories about the way animals are treated in Spain..." (KERKELING, 2009: 272).

time. They find it far-fetched, antiquated, frayed, rigid, and downright inhuman. Consequently they are also estranged from God. If his ground crew is in such bad shape, how must He be himself... if He exists at all! Unfortunately, most people say, "Don't talk to me about God!" I view the matter differently. I think there is a God—be He a person, an entity, a principle, an idea, a light, a plan, or whatever else. (KERKELING, 2009: 170-171)

Although, obviously, this is not a book of Theology, the author does provide an imaginative metaphor for God and the Church, described, as is habitual in his style, with a dose of humour:

I view God the way I do outstanding films like *Gandhi*: award-winning and superb! And the Church hierarchy is merely the local movie theater showing the masterpiece: God's projection screen. The screen may be crooked and crinkly, frayed and full of holes (...) A rotten showing does nothing to alter the significance of the film (...) God is the movie and the church is the theater that's showing it. I hope that some day we can see the film in 3-D and stereo quality, uncut and unadulterated. Perhaps we'll even be in it! (KERKELING, 2009: 171)

Like Morán in his book, Kerkeling oscillates between idyllic portraits of a small number of meetings with kind and friendly people, on the one hand, and furious criticism, expressed from an unconfessed sense of superiority, aimed at a certain predominant type of pilgrim. Rather than admitting the inconsistency of undertaking a pilgrimage in which God might as well be a person or an idea or a plan, Kerkeling pours scorn on pilgrims who firmly avow their faith in the Church. Around the beginning of his journey, the author notes: "Still, I have no desire whatsoever to join up with other pilgrims. Most of them appear to be ultra-Catholic, and so sure of themselves that I wonder why they're on a pilgrimage in the first place. They will be the same people when they complete their journey as they are now—assuming they make it all the way to Santiago" (KERKELING, 2009: 32). Nonetheless, soon after this he will meet an English pilgrim, Anne, with whom he will share much of the Way. However, Anne is, according to Kerkeling's account, even more sceptical than he is.¹¹ A few days into their journey together, the author learns that Anne is only taking the Way in order to raise funds through a local newspaper for research into

¹¹ "Anne is a lot of fun (...) Her comments about ultra-Catholic pilgrims are sidesplittingly funny. She really ought to host her own comedy show. Anne is a doubting Thomas herself, and she doesn't think much of the Camino and her fellow pilgrims. Her attitude is similar to mine, but harsher: 'It's all just rubbish!' She doesn't reveal to us why she is on the pilgrimage in the first place" (KERKELING, 2009: 200).

an illness that her sister suffers from.¹² Kerkeling does not seem concerned about Morán's idea of *authenticity* or anything like it. Anne is friendly and they help each other on their walk every day, so he is little affected by her rude comments about the Catholic pilgrims and their rites.¹³

For Kerkeling, taking the Way of Saint James is a way of facing up to oneself. It is a way of forcing oneself to think about the life one leads and the goals that drive one. The author claims to have found a kind of inner spiritual renewal as he travelled the Way, but particularly along the section from León to Astorga, a little over the halfway mark in his pilgrimage. Accordingly, for Kerkeling the Way of Saint James becomes a kind of "rite of passage", an initiation whose absence from the postmodern world he deeply laments: "In our Western world, which is practically devoid of spirituality, we suffer from a lack of ritual" (KERKELING, 2009: 330). That is what Kerkeling considers useful about the Way. The inevitable incommodities of the route place us, accustomed as we are to all the comforts and security of the richest, most highly developed part of the western world, in an extraordinary position, forcing us to endure a kind of *experience of poverty*: "The Camino is a ritual that offers a genuine opportunity to take up a challenge. Every one of us needs something to hold on to, but the only stability comes from letting go" (KERKELING, 2009: 330). Unlike Morán, Kerkeling seems to accept, probably due to his appreciation of a certain incorporeal spirituality, that the Way is not a gastronomic route.¹⁴ This is a vague, eclectic spirituality that does not change Kerkeling's previous mindset, but confirms him in it even more. That is why he does not hide his interest in eastern religious like Buddhism: "The theory of reincarnation also has to be given serious consideration. It is certainly conceivable that each of us has lived a thousand times, even though we have no memory of having done so" (KERKELING, 2009: 296). His

¹² "Her sister suffers from Crohn's disease, a serious chronic gastrointestinal illness for which there is no effective treatment because it has yet to be thoroughly researched. To collect money to fund research, a newspaper in Birmingham is publishing a weekly update on Anne's pilgrimage and putting out a call for donations" (KERKELING, 2009: 235)

¹³ "The international pilgrims' mass that follows is wonderfully un-Catholic and freewheeling: it's geared toward skeptical pilgrims like Anne. The young priest from Lugo wants to establish contact with the people, so he finds out where all of us are from, then suggests that we might like to recite a short prayer in our native languages. No one feels like going first, and most stare down at their loamy hiking shoes (...) when the priest points to her (...) she scrunches her face into a pillow again, and turns beet red (...) I'm unable to oblige, since I'm laughing so hard I can barely stay seated on the hard wooden bench. I always seem to be laughing in churches here. Good thing this institution has not figured out a way of driving me away altogether" (KERKELING, 2009: 293)

¹⁴ "Today's breakfast was the culinary high point of this journey. Apart from that, the cuisine is almost universally bad, not bad in the nutritional sense. It's good, nourishing food, just not creative or well prepared. After all, I suppose this is a pilgrimage, not a gourmet tour. You do learn to appreciate a simple ham sandwich" (KERKELING, 2009: 162).

final thoughts fail to particularly elevate the pseudotheological tone that went before, though they serve the author to close his book with a show of spirituality:

Tomorrow I fly home. Sitting in the train to Porto, I try to collect my thoughts about God and sum them up. The way I see it, “God” is a unique liberating spark that fans out infinitely to foster and embrace self-realization. By contrast, those who get swept up in any group aimed at robbing us of our individuality and dousing the liberating spark wind up crushing themselves in the process. (KERKELING, 2009: 331-332).

5. The pilgrimage as universal ritual experience

Previous to Kerkeling’s journey, Nicholas Shrady, an American journalist living in Barcelona, seems to have had a similar experience to the German author. For Shrady, too, walking the Way was a kind of rite of passage.¹⁵ The journalist also saw the Christian origins of the pilgrimage as something malleable, something that can be adapted to a vague spiritual feeling supposedly shared by other religious practices in which the pilgrimage also has a place. To this end, Shrady also sought out “other pilgrimage routes, not only in the Christian world, but in the Buddhist, Hindu, Jewish, and Islamic traditions as well” (SHRADY, 1999: xv). The result of a decade of pilgrimages was the book *Sacred Roads*, published in 1999. Although Shrady notes that he received a Catholic upbringing, throughout the book he makes it quite clear that he lives in constant, deep doubt and in a religious eclecticism that is always mediated by the cold, rational worldview of a postmodern, liberal journalist. Lightly, he presents several religious options with varying degrees of popularity as demonstrations of dispensable superstition. From this standpoint, we can easily understand why, for someone like him, it is completely unimportant “whether or not St James’s bones actually lie in the Cathedral crypt at Santiago” (SHRADY, 1999: 125). The reason for his interest in the Way resides in its historic and cultural importance, which he does not place in doubt. Like Morán and Nooteboom, Shrady recognises “the historical and spiritual reality of the Way itself” for which reason “...untold millions made the journey south from every corner of the Continent (...) were exposed to disease, highway robbery (...) seeking penance, invoking prayers, paying homage, and gaining questionable indulgences at the tomb of St James” (SHRADY, 1999: 125). However, unlike his two fellow authors, Shrady makes no bones about culminating

¹⁵ “Although I was born and reared a Catholic, my faith was, and remains, full of profound doubts, but the pilgrimage did help to satiate an ever-increasing, if ill-defined, sense of spiritual longing” (SHRADY, 1999: xiv)

his pilgrimage with the usual rites in Santiago Cathedral, praying for a series of people he had met along the Way and who had given him providential assistance, even though forced to join long queues and wait patiently alongside the faithful and sightseers alike: “When I placed my hand on the column, my fingers found the smooth, time-worn hollows where an incalculable stream of pilgrims had placed their hands before me. I bowed my head and gave thanks” (SHRADY, 1999: 155).

6. The secular intellectual on the Way of Saint James

The most recent account by a postmodern pilgrim among those discussed here is the book *Immortelle randonnée. Compostelle malgré moi* (2013) by Jean-Christophe Rufin, a leading contemporary French intellectual. A doctor and a writer, Rufin was also French ambassador to Senegal and is a member of the French Academy. Unlike the previous cases considered, Rufin chose the Northern Way rather than the French Way of Saint James. That fact that he had previous experience as a mountaineer and his desire to stay away from the more beaten tracks might explain his choice, although Rufin presents it as very much a random decision, the result, rather, of a chance conversation with a Parisian volunteer from the Association of Friends of the Way.

Rufin’s account is the one that most emphasises our ineluctable nature as children of our time. In other words, we are postmodern, like it or not. And this implies a particular interpretation of the Way of Saint James: “Le Chemin est seulement un des produits offerts à la consommation dans le grand bazar postmoderne” (RUFIN, 2013: 69). However, at the same time, the writer shows no particular interest in undermining the prestige of either religion in general or the Church in particular. From his status as a socially-engaged, prestigious French lay intellectual who has received honorary doctorates from several universities, he has no need to attack a world that has long since disappeared. In fact, Rufin sees himself and his generation as the authors of that disappearance:

Des individus dans mon genre, également éloignés de la ferveur monastique et des appétits brutaux, sont des créatures nées de l’effondrement de l’ordre chrétien. Pire, ils en sont en même temps la cause. En luttant contre la suprématie religieuse, ces consciences libres ont fait émerger un nouvel homme plein d’orgueil qui prétend s’affranchir de la foi, de ses mystères et de ses règles, d’une part, et, de l’autre, des instincts primitifs, des appétits brutaux et du règne de la force. Cet homme moderne a proliféré à tel point qu’il a substitué à l’empire de l’Église celui de ses propres instruments: la science, les médias, la finance. Il a fait disparaître l’ordre ancien. (RUFIN, 2013: 152-153)

Rufin is led to this meditation by an anecdotic incident at a roadside restaurant in Asturias. Having just attended vespers sung in solemnity and austere beauty at a nearby monastery, the author finds himself berating some customers at the restaurant for their rude, aggressive attitude to the female staff. However, the waitresses themselves reject Rufin's gentlemanly intervention. This combination of monastic and savage life is what Rufin calls the "old order". Given that he is one of those that destroyed that order, no wonder he does not feel comfortable among its dying embers.

Rufin also recounts the moment that led him finally to extinguish any spark of Christian faith that he may have brought with him to travel the Way. As a habitual part of his pilgrimage, the author attends religious services at the churches that he encounters during his day's walk. It is as if the exercise of walking to Santiago de Compostela were not complete without such observances. And it is precisely his attendance at Mass in a village in Cantabria that leaves such a bad taste in his mouth that he pauses to describe the incident in full detail. In his account, he portrays both priest and congregation as the pathetic shadow of what popular faith was once, in the past:

La messe du monastère commençait tard et je lui préférerais celle, plus matinale, de l'église du diocèse, située un peu au-dessus (...) À ma grande surprise, il en ressortit [le prêtre] presque aussitôt, un surplis jeté de travers sur son costume. S'avancant vers le micro, il s'adressa sans tarder à l'assistance. Seul le signe de croix, exécuté à la hâte avant d'ouvrir la bouche, distinguait cette harangue de la prise de parole d'un homme politique pendant un meeting. Point d'homélie, aucun élément d'une liturgie reconnaissable, nulle référence évangélique; ce que le prêtre nous administra pendant d'interminables minutes n'était qu'une dissertation sans plan ni objectif sur l'actualité, la crise financière, la guerre en Lybie, le gouvernement Zapatero, la concurrence économique chinoise, le trafic d'animaux sauvages, l'avenir de la voiture hybride, la solidité de l'euro, la prévision des tsunamis, la raison d'être des parcs naturels, etc. (RUFIN, 2013: 157-159)

After this entertaining description of the charismatic priest, it is the congregation's turn. Rufin describes the faithful as an ignorant, brainwashed social group incapable of seeing what is going on:

Les paroissiennes, bien calées sur leur chaise, écoutaient en secouant par moments une tête par-dessus laquelle passaient pourtant la plupart des propos que l'artillerie verbal leur lançait. (...) la messe de ce prêtre extraverti ne ressemblait pas à une messe. Mais celle était assez proche des talk-shows qui occupaient les écrans de leurs télévisions et elles n'étaient pas dépaysées. (RUFIN, 2013: 160)

Rufin's reasoning is not without its internal logic. If when I go to church I find the same things that I can read in the newspaper or see on television debate programmes, then I do not need to go to church at all.

Moreover, Rufin also describes the process by which the pilgrim gradually reaches a state when he or she can feel something like a religious conversion. Firstly, the pilgrim may begin the Way, at least over the first few days' travel, with the intention of dedicating part of his or her endless time of walking in solitude to thinking about personal plans and aspirations or, as in the author's case, his ideas for his next novel. However, the physical effort that the Way requires and the many details that he must attend to during the journey finally make it impossible to bring these intentions to fruition. This is the first reverse, a kind of early defeat in which the pilgrim's will is bent before the personality of the Way.¹⁶ To this psychological situation is added the more or less conscious certainty that physical discomfort, even bodily pain, has taken hold on us and will not loosen its grip in the days to come. In those circumstances, "il devient le plus tentant de se raccrocher à la dimension religieuse du pèlerinage", which gives "le grand avantage" over any secular thought "d'être soutenue par les multiples références religieuses qu'offre le paysage" to the point where Rufin observes that "le pèlerinage recèle des ruses inattendues pour nous conduire jusqu'à la foi" (RUFIN, 2013: 138). The pilgrim, tired and lonely, with no hope in his body or in his companions, with all profane thoughts rejected, abandons himself to the memory of the countless pilgrims who preceded him, burning with faith "comme si les âmes de ceux qui sont passés là venaient le soutenir, le gonfler, lui donner courage et force" (RUFIN, 2013: 140).

Rufin himself confesses to have gone through all these stages. He even leaves the reader with a sense of uncertainty by ending this meditation, and the chapter, with the following promising words: "Pour moi, cette transformation s'est produite à la

¹⁶ "Le pèlerin obéit au Chemin, comme il l'a fait sans s'en rendre compte depuis le début, mais cette fois il s'exécute sans murmurer. Il a trouvé son maître. Chaque matin, il chausse ses souliers comme on enfile un bleu de chauffe. Ses pieds se sont adaptés à ses semelles, ses muscles se sont déliés, la fatigue lui obéit et s'efface au bout d'un nombre connu de kilomètres. Le pèlerin pèlerine comme le maçon maçonne, comme le marin part en mer, comme le boulanger cuit ses baguettes. Mais, à la différence de ces métiers que récompense un salaire, le pèlerin n'a aucune rétribution à espérer. Il est un forçat qui casse ses cailloux, une mule qui tourne en rond autour de son puits. Cependant, l'être humain est décidément fait de paradoxes et la solitude permet de bien les observer: le Jacquet s'extasie de trouver au fond de cette servitude une liberté inédite. (...) Je me souviens d'avoir décidé un matin que je consacrerai une journée de marche quoi qu'il arrive à parachever le plan du roman dont je projetais la rédaction. (...) Et je découvris avec stupeur que je n'avais plus aucun souvenir des pensées que j'avais laborieusement suivies pour répondre à mon programme du matin. Pire encore, je n'avais plus aucune envie de les retrouver. (...) Cette défaite de la pensée produit rapidement une véritable dépression." (RUFIN, 2013: 129-138).

fin du parcours cantabrique, tandis que, quittant la côte et piquant vers l'intérieur des terres, je m'approchai d'Oviedo" (RUFIN, 2013: 140).

However, the personal conversion of this postmodern author will be consistent with the loss of faith consummated by the diocesan "pseudo-Mass" and the initial description of the Way as a product of spiritual consumption that can be freely interpreted and used. What is it that was revealed to Rufin on the path to Oviedo, after he had left the Cantabrian coast behind? Let us see:

Et là, dans ces splendeurs, le Chemin m'a confié son secret. Il m'a glissé sa vérité qui est tout aussitôt devenue la mienne. Compostelle n'est pas un pèlerinage chrétien mais bien plus, ou bien moins selon la manière dont on accueille cette révélation. Il n'appartient en propre à aucun culte et, à vrai dire, on peut y mettre tout ce que l'on souhaite. S'il devait être proche d'une religion, ce serait à la moins religieuse d'entre elles, celle qui ne dit rien de Dieu mais permet à l'être humain d'en approcher l'existence: Compostelle est un pèlerinage bouddhiste. (RUFIN, 2013: 168-169)

In a manner that is more sophisticated than Kerkeling, more exaggerated than Shradý and, at heart, not so far from the cynicism of Morán and Nooteboom, Rufin is satisfied by this tremendous identification of the religious experience linked to Saint James and Buddhism. For Rufin, being postmodern is no obstacle to making the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela; rather, it turns the twenty-first-century pilgrimage into a radically different event, one that can no longer be Christian nor have anything to do with the motivations that inspired millions of pilgrims in ancient times. The secularisation of the pilgrimage is complete. A sociology of the contemporary pilgrimage quickly leads to the following conclusion:

Le pèlerinage est en accord avec une spiritualité contemporaine plus syncrétique, plus flottante et beaucoup moins encadrée par l'Église. Nombre de ceux qui s'élancent sur les chemins de Compostelle sont attirés par des valeurs de dépouillement, d'union avec la nature et d'épanouissement de soi qui faisaient sans doute complètement défaut aux premiers temps du pèlerinage. Leur démarche est moins chrétienne que postmoderne. (RUFIN, 2013: 169)

In this selection of cases, then, we have seen how a number of postmodern writers link their personal experience of the Way of Saint James to a secularised and secularising vision, not only of the Way itself, but of contemporary society in general. In this vision of things, religion is reduced, at most, to vague forms of spirituality that are always subordinated to typically postmodern values. Among these postmodern values we have noted three in particular. Firstly, a certain sentimentalism: personal experience becomes something irrational, inexplicable, irreducible to a verbal formulation. Secondly, mistrust of society: reliable social relationships are

reduced to a minimum circle of friends. And, thirdly, a certain moral superiority complex: the intellectual, secular, well-educated pilgrim stands out above the rest, particularly pilgrims imbued with simple, solid faith.

These postmodern values are, precisely, notably present in works categorised as so-called children's literature that take the pilgrimage to Santiago as their theme. Let us now see how fiction aimed at younger readers attempts to transmit the same values that we have discussed above in our selection of postmodern travel journals.

7. Matilde Asensi's Peregrinatio as a prototype of the motivation behind travelling on the Way of Saint James in contemporary children's literature

Since the turn of the Third Millennium, we have observed a notable increase in the production of novels whose plots are linked to the Way of Saint James. Generally speaking, these are books designed to entertain and, basically, aimed at younger readers.¹⁷ Among the most interesting of these is Matilde Asensi's novel *Peregrinatio* (Ed. Planeta, 2004), described by the authors of the "Ranking of The Way of Saint James in Literature" as "a guide to the Way of Saint James in novel form".¹⁸ We shall devote the next few paragraphs to a discussion of Asensi's book. We have chosen this novel as it seems to us the most outstanding example from the point of view of literary construction and the most representative in terms of ideological background. Finally, we should note that the book has achieved excellent sales,

¹⁷ Among the different titles worth mentioning, we shall name a few by way of example: Toti Martínez de Lezea, *El verdugo de Dios*, Ed. Maeva (Embolsillo) 2008, classified as a historical novel on the website of the "Ranking of the Way of Saint James in Literature" (See <http://listas.20minutos.es/lista/el-camino-de-santiago-en-la-literatura-334900/>. Site visited on 25 July 2016. Many of the novels mentioned here are listed on this site. Similarly, the brief descriptions of the type of novel that we have attributed to the works in each case, in brackets, following the publication date and publisher, are from the same source); Pere Tobaruela i Martínez, *La cripta del Apóstol*, Ediciones B, 2013, (Novel. Adventure and thriller. Children's and young people's literature); Paloma Sánchez Garnica, *El alma de las piedras*, Ed. Planeta, 2011, (Historical novel); Peter Harris, *El secreto del peregrino* [The Pilgrim Secret], Ed. Debolsillo, 2010, (Historical novel, adventure, thriller); Ulrike Schweikert, *La maldición del Camino de Santiago*, Ed. Viamagna Ediciones, 2009, (Historical novel); José Luis Corral, *El código del peregrino*, Ed. Planeta, 2012, (Detective novel. Crime. Thriller.); Tracy Saunders, *Peregrinos de la Herejía* [Pilgrimage to Heresy], Ed. Boveda, 2009, (Historical novel); Concha López Narváez, *Endrina y el secreto del peregrino*, Ed. Espasa-Calpe, 2000, (Historical novel. Book for young readers from the age of 14.); Alicia Jarrin, *El falso peregrino*, Ed. Akron, 2009, (Historical novel); Matilde Asensi, *Iacobus*, Ed. Planeta, 2000, (Historical novel), and, by the same author: *Peregrinatio*, Ed. Planeta, 2004, to which the following pages are devoted, etc.

¹⁸ See the previous note.

which would appear to indicate that it appeals to wide audiences and, consequently, exercises considerable influence over the view that young readers take of the Way, having become an important cultural phenomenon within the field of study that interests us here.

8. The author

Matilde Asensi is a journalist and writer from Barcelona and, without a doubt, one of the most successful authors of literature for children and young people, both in Spain and, increasingly, internationally, in recent years. According to her website,¹⁹ the twelve books she has published to date (2016) have been translated into fifteen languages and have sold more than twenty million copies. Most of her novels are in the adventure or thriller genres and are set in different historical periods, from the first century and the Middle Ages to the present, and in different countries and regions of the world, such as Spain, Palestine, Italy, etc. Two of Asensi's novels make direct reference to the Way of Saint James. The first of these, *Iacobus*, was a bestseller and really launched the author to fame. The Way plays a background role in the plot of this novel, since it serves as the setting for a detective or crime story, somewhat in the style of Umberto Eco's novel *The Name of the Rose*. That is why the second of the two books by Asensi that we mention, *Peregrinatio*, is of more interest to us here, since, in it, the Way itself is the main theme and even, metaphorically speaking, the protagonist of the story.

9. The main narrative categories

The time in which the novel is set corresponds to the period during the Middle Ages when the importance of the Way was rising. More specifically, the action takes place in the year 1324. The physical setting is provided by different stages along the French Way to Santiago de Compostela. However, the main character in the book does not end his journey in Santiago, but continues to Finisterre and, later, Lisbon. Jonas, the protagonist of the story, is a young nobleman, the son of the Knight Templar Galceran de Born (himself the protagonist of the previous novel, *Iacobus*). Concerned about his son's inappropriate behaviour during his stay at the court of Barcelona, Galceran decides to take over the young man's education himself, and orders Jonas to set out on the Way of Saint James. This will take Jonas away from

¹⁹ See <http://www.matildeasensi.net/>. Site visited on 27 September 2016.

the wicked influences of the port city to embark on a rite of passage aimed at enabling him to attain a new status, “not that of a knight, which you already are, but of a gentle man and a champion of an ancient knowledge” (ASENSI, 2004: 127).²⁰

The construction of the novel is interesting, as it is written in the second person singular and in the future, a clearly unusual narrative form within the realist genre in which the book should otherwise be classified. The author achieves an original, innovative effect by writing her story in the form of a letter written by the aforementioned knight, Galceran, to his son Jonas, in which, besides instructions as to how to proceed along the Way, she also includes detailed descriptions of all the stages that form the journey, along with explanations of the different symbols, rituals, traditions, etc., actually creating a kind of cultural and spiritual guide to the Way²¹.

10. The new paradigm of the pilgrimage

Despite exalting the phenomenon of the Way and the reason for making the pilgrimage, its purpose and its key moment, the arrival at the tomb of the Apostle, *Peregrinatio*, like most of the travelogues and reports discussed in the first part of this article, shows little or no concern for the paradigm of the medieval pilgrimage, which is discussed in other studies included in this publication. In short, the book displaces the purpose of walking as a symbol of human life in constant movement towards Transcendence (“with Saint James towards the good God”, as an old song sung by Polish pilgrims goes) with a quest for subjective, self-referential, vague, undefined spirituality, which is summarised in the final phrase of the book, quoted previously, in terms of “Ancient Wisdom and Knowledge”. However, these concepts are never actually defined. A “philological” reading of the book, that is to say, one that focuses particularly on the lexicon used in the narrative, reveals that the word “God”, the key, central concept in the theocentric vision of the medieval pilgrimage, does not appear even once. Likewise, the word “Christ”, which represents the central figure in the Christcentric worldview that motivates all pious actions in medieval Christianity, appears only as an adjectival expression, for example, as a synonym

²⁰ All the quotations proceeding from the Assensi’s novel are translated from the Spanish original by the authors of this paper.

²¹ The fact that the *narrataire* (we use the term according to Genette’s narratology in which the receiver of the narrative as a narratological figure is denominated this way; see Genette, G. (1972), *Figures III*, Paris, Seuil) is that of a young man who has somewhat “gone off the rails”, spiritually speaking, giving himself up to the delights of the big city, logically implies that it will be easy for the contemporary young reader to identify with the protagonist who, in this way, becomes, in reality, an implicit interlocutor.

for the Knights Templar, now abolished and replaced by the “Militia Christi”, or “Knights of Christ”, by the Portuguese King Denis. Similarly, at the end of the novel, this same king of Portugal, who proclaims our protagonist, Jonas, to be a “standard-bearer of ancient Wisdom”, is called “king and knight of Christ” (ASENSI, 2004: 127). However, Christ does not appear at any point as a religious or even historical point of reference.

The very absence of these words and the concepts they designate is hugely significant and, as mentioned, symbolises the displacement of the paradigm of the pilgrimage, its reasons, goals and meaning. However, the reader will find an even more significant and paradoxical absence in the text we are discussing.

11. A Way of Saint James without Saint James

At several points in the story, the narrator transmits a series of affirmations to the narrative voice that help to demystify or deconstruct various Christian motifs.²² However, we encounter our greatest surprise in the chapter in which the protagonist finally reaches Santiago, the city of Saint James, and the time comes to visit the tomb of the Apostle. Here are the instructions that Jonas receives from his father in advance of this sublime moment:

“The supposed relics of the Apostle Saint James (...) remain in the presbytery, below the main altar, inside a marble ark. I know that a religious fervor and piety which will accompany this moment will encourage you to accept the absurd idea that in front of you there really are the mortal remains of Saint James, but do not let the naïve devotion of the people influence you, as neither Saint James has ever been in this land, as it is demonstrated in the Gospels, nor his beheaded body has ever been brought back in a stone ship pushed by the wind, as it stands in a legend sustained by the Church” (ASENSI, 2004: 117-118)

In this way, then, young Jonas and, through him, the young reader of our day both learn that the entire original notion surrounding the Way of Saint James is founded on a false myth, an “absurd idea”, a ridiculous lie. We may well observe that this “truth” is proposed, moreover, not as a hypothesis, an opinion or one of

²² There are many examples of what we might call a *retro-pagan syncretism*: for instance, the explanation of the meaning of the image of Our Lady, or the Black Madonna, in the church at Villanua. According to the narrator, “the black images of Our Lady are signs which appoint to the places where this energy is present with a particular strength”. He refers to “the internal energy” of “The Earth, the Magna Mater, [which] pours out its own energy through some underground grooves” (ASENSI, 2004: 22).

the possible positions in the debate – a debate that has actually taken place among expert historians, archaeologists, palaeographers, etc., and continues even today²³ – but as something so self-evident that it becomes practically dogmatic. Strangely enough, the author finds support for this argument in the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, though without specifying this alleged reference at any time. And, if Jonas – or, by extension, the young twenty-first-century reader – should entertain a shadow of a doubt about this foundational dogma for the new paradigm of the “Way of Saint James without Saint James”, he is quickly given the following advice:

“Use your mind, Jonás. The evidence is strong enough, so there is no need for further inquiry. However, the truth does not diminish the value of the simple religiosity of the people. Accept with benevolence the faith of those who surround you and respect other people’s beliefs, no matter how absurd they may seem to you” (ASENSI, 2004: 118)

There is no doubt that, in this extract, there is a parallogism or perhaps a sophism, depending on the author’s intention and degree of knowledge, which is unknown to us. In the first sentence, the narrator advises the narrative voice to turn to reason (“use your mind, Jonas”), yet, in the next sentence, we find the affirmation that contradicts the premise: “The evidence is strong enough, so there is no need for further inquiry”. However, the narrator does not provide details as to what evidence this might be, nor even allude to it. Nor are we informed as to the arguments put forward by those who believe the contrary. In short, the text encourages dogmatism rather than the use of reason, which would inevitably lead to a questioning of all positions, an evaluation of differences and the autonomous process of gradually plumping for one or other of them or, in some cases, creating yet another different interpretation from those that already exist. Jonas, however, is instructed, in the same breath, to use his brain and not to investigate.

12. Conclusions: from the Way of Saint James to the Way of Priscillian. A covert homage to scepticism

Continuing, in order to fill the void that faces Jonas or, by extension, the young reader, who perhaps cherished dreams of making the pilgrimage to the tomb of

²³ As we can see in several works presented in this volume. Particular attention should be paid to Professor Enrique Alarcón’s recent archaeological and palaeographic research into the funerary inscriptions on the tomb of Saint James using latest-generation technology, which would appear to support the idea of the authenticity of the Tomb of the Apostle James.

a true Apostle, the narrator refers to the story of Priscillian. Not only that, but he does so in such a way that the original account is not only not diminished, but it is actually elevated, since the doctrine of Priscillian is a “beautiful heresy (...) based on equality, freedom and respect” (ASENSI, 2004: 118). In a clearly apologetic tone, the narrator defends Priscillian and cannot but implicitly criticise the Church, which was responsible for Priscillian’s execution. Next, the young pilgrim learns about the only coincidence between the “legend” of Saint James and the “story” of Priscillian: the fact that the decapitated bodies of both were recovered by their followers. In this way, the deconstruction of the false foundational myth of the Way is completed.

In conclusion, this novel by Matilde Asensi provides an interesting and representative example of contemporary literary production in which the treatment given to the Way of Saint James works an authentic transformation of the paradigm of the pilgrimage to the tomb of the Apostle and, by extension, the phenomenon of medieval Christian pilgrimage in general. Despite formal appearances (conditions that are at times austere, tiredness brought on by walking, getting in touch with nature, the countryside and so on, as well as the proximity of religious sites and objects), the goal and, consequently, the paradigm of a “postmodern pilgrimage”, as we have made clear in the preceding paragraphs, is very different. It is no longer a question of coming out of oneself to encounter the Other (both the Apostle, as an exemplary follower of Christ, and Christ Himself, as “God made flesh”), but of finding oneself in some kind of religiousness or spirituality of an esoteric, pantheist, initiatory, pseudognostic sort that turns out, in short, to be immanentist and self-referential. The goal is no longer the Apostle -who is authoritatively “thrown out of the tomb” and replaced by a *heretic hero*- nor God, in whose service the Apostle gave his life as a martyr. All this becomes a false, absurd myth, once dangerous but now harmless. In this way, then, the message that seems to be concealed in stories of this type is the implicit advice to adopt a sceptical attitude to the authentically transcendent dimension of the pilgrimage.

Both in fiction and in the autobiographical journals of postmodern pilgrims, then, we encounter the presence of the secularisation of the religious phenomenon, which is reduced to a vague spirituality. In this postmodern outlook, in which literature plays a particularly important role in transmitting, the pilgrimage is reduced to an aesthetic experience: “amid the often imbalanced, chaotic movement of everyday life and co-existence, one feels, if only for a fleeting moment, eternity in time, the hereafter, through images, often ambiguous and disconcerting, of the here and now” (DUCH, 2010: 34).

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