

The *Camino* Imagined: Visions and Dreams across Time and Space¹

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Abstract: The inscription by UNESCO of the pilgrimage routes in France and Spain testifies to the enduring consideration for the itineraries borrowed by countless pilgrims in the Middle Ages. A physical journey implicated the network's material composition (roads, bridges, monuments...), and brought pilgrims for their spiritual journey to the threshold of the holy at the network's many tombs and relics. The spiritual journey, however, could also entail a dematerialization of that network with an emphasis on a different kind of experience. This paper examines one expression of the routes' dematerialization, namely their role in several dreams and visions of pilgrimage. In dreams and visions, the time and space of pilgrimage provide a counterpoint to the real roads traveled.

Keywords: Santiago de Compostela, Charlemagne, pilgrimage, *Liber sancti Jacobi*, dream, vision, *Visio Thurkili*, imagined pilgrimage, miracles of St. James, Heinrich von Ahorn.

El Camino imaginado: visiones y sueños a través del tiempo y el espacio

Resumen: El reconocimiento de la UNESCO de las rutas de peregrinación en Francia y España atestigua la perdurable consideración de los itinerarios recorridos por innumerables peregrinos en la Edad Media. Un viaje físico implicaba la composición material de la red (carreteras, puentes, monumentos...) y llevaba a los peregrinos en su viaje espiritual hasta el umbral de lo sagrado gracias a las numerosas tumbas y reliquias de la red. El viaje espiritual, sin embargo, también podía conllevar una desmaterialización de esa red con énfasis en un tipo diferente de

1 This paper grew out of introductory remarks intended for the conference to be held at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, in April 2020. I am grateful to Géraldine Mallet, organizer of the conference "En route pour Compostelle, un Moyen Âge de pèlerinages", at the University of Montpellier and Saint-Guilhem-le-Désert (28-29 September 2018) for an initial opportunity to sketch out some of these ideas.

experiencia. Este artículo examina una expresión de la desmaterialización de las rutas, a saber, su papel en varios sueños y visiones de peregrinación. En los sueños y visiones, el tiempo y el espacio de la peregrinación ofrecen un contrapunto a las rutas reales recorridas.

Palabras clave: Santiago de Compostela, Carlomagno, peregrinación, Liber sancti Jacobi, sueño, visión, Visio Thirkili, peregrinación imaginada, milagros de Santiago, Heinrich von Ahorn.

O Camiño imaxinado: visións e sonhos a través do tempo e o espazo

Resumo: O recoñecemento da UNESCO das rutas de peregrinación en Francia e España testemuña a perdurable consideración dos itinerarios percorridos por innumerables peregrinos na Idade Media. Unha viaxe física implicaba a composición material da rede (estradas, pontes, monumentos...) e levaba os peregrinos na súa viaxe espiritual ata o limiar do sagrado grazas ás numerosas tumbas e reliquias da rede. A viaxe espiritual, con todo, tamén podía carrexar unha desmaterialización desa rede con énfase nun tipo diferente de experiencia. Este artigo examina unha expresión da desmaterialización das rutas, a saber, o seu papel en varios sonhos e visións de peregrinación. Nos sonhos e visións, o tempo e o espazo da peregrinación ofrecen un contrapunto ás rutas reais percorridas.

Palabras clave: Santiago de Compostela, Carlomagno, peregrinación, Liber sancti Jacobi, sonho, visión, Visio Thirkili, peregrinación imaxinada, milagres de Santiago, Heinrich von Ahorn.

In 1985 UNESCO inscribed the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela and the historic center of the Galician city on the World Heritage List. Eight years later in 1993, the organization added the routes in Spain leading to Santiago, stretching from the Pyrenean passes to the apostolic city. This second inscription reinforced the recognition of the importance of the routes themselves in the story of Compostela's rise and as the means that brought pilgrims "ad locum sanctum". If the cathedral's inscription recognized the exceptional urban and architectural contributions centered on the relics of St. James and their role in the development of European-wide religious and cultural phenomenon, it was fitting to credit the network that made the transhumance of pilgrims possible.

A further acknowledgement came five years later. When considering the possibility of extending the classification to routes in France, the UNESCO committee rightly concluded that the Spanish routes told only part of the story of Jacobean pilgrimage. The importance of the cult of St. James in Galicia could only have taken on such proportions, it was concluded, with the contributions of networks

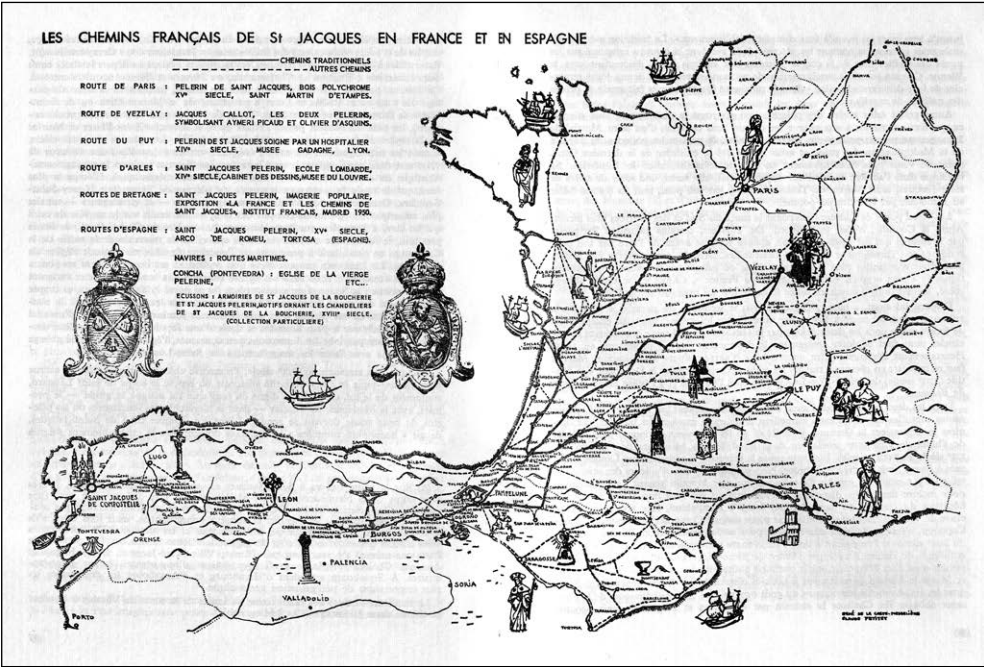


Fig. 1: Compostelan routes as imagined for a 1965 exhibition promoting the “Année Jubilaire,” organized by the partisan Société des Amis de Saint-Jacques de Compostelle and the Archives nationales in Paris (La Coste-Meslière, R. de, *Pèlerins et chemins de Saint-Jacques en France et en Espagne du Xe siècle à nos jours*, Paris, 1965, pp. 48-49).

beyond the Pyrenees². The routes are based on medieval pathways that were traced by centuries of faith and commerce, but UNESCO’s recognition further spurred their modern topographic, religious, and cultural redevelopment. For many political and institutional bodies, the stakes of these decisions run high, as the UNESCO imprimatur offers each region, indeed individual counties and towns, chest-puffing political cachet and undeniable value in a competitive tourism market³ (Fig. 1).

2 For Santiago de Compostela's inscription of 1985: <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/347>. The *camino francés* in 1993: <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/669>. The 1998 decision: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/868>. The 1993 inscription was broadened in 2015 to include subsidiary routes in Northern Spain: <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/669bis>. In a complementary move, the *Codex Calixtinus* and other copies of the *Liber sancti Jacobi* were included in UNESCO's registry of the Memory of the World: <https://www.unesco.org/en/memory-world/codex-calixtinus-santiago-de-compostela-cathedral-and-other-medieval-copies-liber-sancti>. For a brief review and context of these decisions, see Poisson, O., “Construction du bien ‘Chemins de Saint-Jacques de Compostelle en France’ et de sa valeur universelle exceptionnelle (VUE)”, and Miguel Riera, L. de, “Construction du bien ‘Chemins de Saint-Jacques-de-Compostelle’: ‘Camino Francés’ et chemins du Nord de l’Espagne”, both articles in Q. Cazes and S. Rayssac (eds.), *Vers Compostelle: regard contemporain sur les chemins de Saint-Jacques*, Toulouse, 2022, pp. 48-51 and 52-59, respectively.

3 The contemporary impact is the subject, for example, of Alcantara, C. and Rucquoi, A. (eds.), *Interroger les chemins de Compostelle au XIIe siècle, Colloque international ‘Les chemins de Compostelle, itinéraire culturel européen et patrimoine mondial: histoire, enjeux et perspectives’*, 4-5 April 2024, Toulouse, Toulouse, 2024; and Q. Cazes and S. Rayssac (eds.), *Vers Compostelle...*, op. cit.

It is instructive to consider the criteria that led to these inscriptions. The World Heritage Convention assesses candidates according to ten categories divided among considerations for the types of monuments, practices, or cultural traditions⁴. In the case of the 1998 decision, the committee generally praised the network for enabling the flow of pilgrims “converging [at Santiago de Compostela] from all over Europe” and specifically identified three categories that justified its inscription among the world’s great monuments⁵. The committee noted, citing its category (ii), the essential role of the routes “in religious and cultural exchanges and development...[as] illustrated by the carefully selected monuments along the routes followed by pilgrims”. The dossier assembled for the evaluation of the proposed designation had laid out the following argument: “Ce rôle des routes de pèlerinage dans les échanges interculturels entre la péninsule ibérique, la France et l’Europe occidentale ne se limite pas à l’ordre monumental. Les routes de pèlerinages ont favorisé presque simultanément la ‘remontée’ d’influences musulmanes vers le nord... et d’autre part la ‘descente’ vers l’Espagne de toute une production d’objets précieux.... Il faut enfin rappeler que, dans le domaine du patrimoine immatériel, les chemins de Saint-Jacques ont été les principaux vecteurs d’un dialogue nord-sud qu’illustre en particulier la naissance et la circulation des chansons de geste...”. The road network thus takes on the appearance of a “conduit”, as the French art historian Émile Mâle once described it in 1922⁶. The committee also considered, citing category (iv) centered on exceptional individual monuments, that “the spiritual and physical needs of pilgrims... were met by the development of a number of specialized types of edifice... developed on the French sections”. For this category, the application dossier underscored the variety of monuments that dot the routes — not just churches, but also bridges, hospices, way crosses, along with some exceptional ensembles, such as Rocamadour. Finally, the Convention recognized a third category (vi) that acknowledges that the pilgrimage route “bears exceptional witness to the power and influence of Christian faith...”⁷.

4 See “Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention”, revised 31 July 2024: <https://whc.unesco.org/en/guidelines/>.

5 Category (ii) concerns “an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area... on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning, or landscape design”. Category (iv): “an outstanding example of a type of building, architecture, or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history”. And Category (vi): “to be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance”. See “Operational Guidelines...”, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-30.

6 Mâle, É., *L’art religieux du XIIe siècle en France*, Paris, 1922, ch. 8 (e.g., p. 293, 303). Even before Mâle, the literary historian Joseph Bédier presented the routes in the *Pilgrim’s Guide* as routes that facilitated cultural transmission; *Les légendes épiques. Recherches sur la formation des chansons de geste*, vol. 3, Paris, 1912, e.g., p. 367. The American scholar Arthur Kingsley Porter took up the idea, even characterizing the roads as a “melting pot”; “The Rise of Romanesque Sculpture”, *American Journal of Archaeology*, 22, 1918, pp. 399-427 at p. 422. Two years later, it was the structuring thread to Georgiana Goddard King’s *The Way of Saint James*, 3 vols., New York, 1920 (begun almost a decade earlier), and it was subsequently the foundation for Porter’s *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, 10 vols., Boston, 1923. The French delegation’s dossier for UNESCO reflects this generalized perspective.

7 Decree no. 868 of the 1998 decision: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/868>.

These criteria thus emphasize the quality of the routes used to bring men and women together and their role in establishing a network that linked regions, monuments, and people of common faith. The monuments lining the roads are in many ways the most concrete manifestations, and indeed the inscription dossier discusses or mentions several dozen specific monuments. However, it is the roads themselves that structure the monumental landscape and are at the heart of the inscription⁸. The Convention relied uncritically, as many do still today, on the naming of certain roads in a twelfth-century text, the so-called *Pilgrim's Guide* (whose modern title contributes to this overvaluation), onto which the inscription could be concretely mapped (see remarks below)⁹. Yet pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela was not beholden to those routes, appropriating the landscape and its networks in diffuse and often more subtle ways. Additionally, pilgrimage routes operated in the medieval imaginary, as developed below, something that the World Heritage Convention only acknowledged imprecisely when it identified the roads' role in an "immaterial" patrimony, citing *chansons de geste*. Maryjane Dunn provocatively claimed recently that the material *camino* really only exists insofar as it was created from its immaterial contributions of legends, songs, stories, and religious rites¹⁰.

Emphasis on the tangible route is nothing new. The "iter sancti Iacobi" is mentioned already in the *Historia Silense*, a work of about 1115, for instance¹¹. The so-called *Pilgrim's Guide*, the fifth book of the *Liber sancti Jacobi* (*LSJ*) (c. 1140), develops the idea in substantial ways. The author begins his text by identifying the four routes traced across modern-day France (ch. 1) before turning to the Iberian route (ch. 2). He divvies up the latter into three segments (each a day's journey) from Somport to Puente la Reina and then thirteen segments from Cize to Santiago. This tactic of beginning with an overview is akin to offering a reader an outline of a text before developing its details. In this case it also has the effect of mapping first the broadest

8 UNESCO's inscription of a road or roads is exceptional but not unique, e.g. the pilgrimage route in Japan's Kii mountains that connects three sacred sites dating back to the ninth century, included on UNESCO's list in 2015 (<https://whc.unesco.org/en/documents/209306>).

9 The inscription, along with the dossier prepared by the French delegation, has raised questions and even significant criticism. See, for example, Péricard-Méa, D., and Mollaret, L., *Chemins de Compostelle et patrimoine mondial*, Cahors, 2009, esp. pp. 33ff.; and remarks in Poisson, O., "Construction...", *op. cit.*, p. 50. It is worth noting the *Guide* mentions only a handful of churches and monuments, while the 1998 inscription registered more than seventy. One should also keep in mind the *Guide's* own role in inventing the roads; see, Péricard-Méa, D., and Mollaret, L., *Chemins...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 19ff; and also note 15 below.

10 Dunn, M., "Proverbios, cuentos, cantos, poemas épicos, sermones, plegarias, salmodias y canciones en el Camino de Santiago", in M.T. Carballeira Rivera, M.T. Guzmán and J.R. Fuentes I Gasó (eds.), *Patrimonio cultural inmaterial. De los Castells al Camino de Santiago*, Valencia, 2021, pp. 721-743, as the article's opening salvo. Such contributions are also the subject of Corral Díaz, E. (ed.), *'In marsupii peregrinorum': circulación de textos e imágenes alrededor del Camino de Santiago en la edad media. Actas del Congreso Internacional, Santiago de Compostela, 24-28 marzo, 2008*, Florence, 2010.

11 See Santos Coco, F (ed.), *Historia silense*, Textos latinos de la Edad Media española, II, Madrid, 1921, p. 63-64: "iter Santic Iacobi quo barbarico timore per devia Alave peregrini declinabant...". Similar phrases occur in other texts shortly afterward (e.g., *Crónica Najerense*, the *Genealogías Najerenses*).

possible geography before zeroing in on the paths that define that geography. As the author points out, the succinct evocation of these “towns and stages along the way... is so that pilgrims setting out for Santiago can, having heard this, anticipate the expenses of the journey” (ch. 3)¹². Later in the text, when he devotes chapters to each of the four routes, his language further accentuates aspects of the journey, as when he writes, for example: “Along the way of St. James by the Toulouse road, having first crossed the Garonne River, one comes to the Gascon region and then, after crossing the pass of Somport, to the land of Aragon, and then to the region of the Navarrese...” (ch. 7)¹³. This again highlights the shift from one land to another, and it foreshadows a similar effect when later the text moves from one sacred site to another. For example, “... those who travel by the road of St.-Gilles to Santiago should first make a visit to the body of the blessed Trophimus, confessor, at Arles...” (ch. 8)¹⁴.

The *Guide* constructs devotion to St. James as a route-based experience that moves over distant and unfamiliar geographies. By describing the roads in narrative form — that is, plotting them in a sequence in time and deploying them in a narrative syntax — the author makes the roads conditioning elements that determine the course of the story. By its very nature, pilgrimage is a journey whose geographical vector transports an individual through time toward a goal. Yet in the *Guide*, the roads additionally assume the role of agents in that journey. They harbor good-natured or threatening people, provide riches in wine or bread, and identify welcoming or hostile lands, any of which may act upon the pilgrim and alter his or her trajectory. These aspects, including consideration for the routes’ role in an embodied, liminal, or sonal experience, has aroused great interest among scholars¹⁵.

12 Gerson, P., Shaver-Crandell, A. and Stones, A. (eds., trans.), *The Pilgrim’s Guide: A Critical Edition*, vol. II: *The Text*, London, 1998, p. 17.

13 *Ibidem*, pp. 22-23: “In Beati Iacobi viatico, uia scilicet Tolosana, primitus transito flumine Garona inuenitur tellus Gasconica, et ex inde transitus Portibus Asperi terra Aragoni, et inde Nauarorum tellus...”.

14 *Ibidem*, pp. 32-33: “Primitus namque his qui per Viam Egidianam ad Sanctum Iacobum tendunt, Beati Trophimi confessoris corpus apud Arelatem uisitandum est...”.

15 From the vast bibliography, a few representative titles: Gautier-Dalché, J., “Le chemin de saint Jacques comme facteur d’organisation de l’espace”, in *Las peregrinaciones a Santiaio de Compostela y San Salvador de Oviedo en la Edad Media: actas del Congreso internacional celebrado en Oviedo del 3 al 7 de diciembre de 1990*, Oviedo, 1993, pp. 247-256; and Passini, J., “El espacio urbano a lo largo del Camino de Santiago”, in *El Camino de Santiago y la articulación del espacio hispánico. Actas de la XX Semana de Estudios Medievales de Estella, 26-30 de julio de 1993*, Pamplona, 1999, pp. 247-269, both emphasizing economic and urban implications; for the impact of landscape, see Candy, Julie M., *The Archaeology of Pilgrimage on the Camino de Santiago de Compostela: A Landscape Perspective*, Oxford, 2009; for sacred aspects, see Herbers, K., “Pilgerfahrten und die Sakralisierung von Wegen und Orten”, in R. Dieter Bauer; K. Herbers; H. Röckelein and F. Schmieder (eds.), *Heilige, Liturgie, Raum*, Stuttgart, 2010, pp. 219-235; and on sound, Greenia, G. and Sánchez Sánchez, X. M., “The Rattle of Time and Travel: The Acoustics of Medieval Pilgrimage”, *Ad Limina*, 12 (2021), pp. 209-243. See also the contributions in Caucci von Saucken, P. and Vázquez Santos, R. (eds.), *Peregrino, ruta y meta en las ‘peregrinaciones mayores’: VIII Congreso Internacional de Estudios Jacobeos*, Santiago de Compostela, 2012. Adeline Rucquoi has recently analyzed the development of the roads and ties their promotion to a larger ideological campaign; “Le ‘chemin français’ vers Saint-Jacques: une entreprise publicitaire au Xlle siècle”, in G. Arlotta (ed.), *De peregrinatione. Studi in onore di Paolo Caucci von Saucken*,

The essay in this volume by Michele Vescovi, for instance, analyzes the material, indeed environmental qualities, of relics along the *camino* as described in the *Codex Calixtinus*¹⁶. The monuments, too, especially the churches, assume a significant role in the *Guide*'s narrative, each appearing as a kind of spiritual mileage marker until the apostolic goal was reached, as they surely were for actual pilgrims.

Assessing the *camino* in all its material and immaterial ramifications has been an important subject among modern scholars. In addition to its "rediscovery" by scholarship in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, a great deal of study, including exhibitions, has demonstrated its importance as a conduit and catalyst for architectural, sculptural, and other forms of artistic production¹⁷. Recently the "rediscovery" itself has also been the subject of historiographic assessment, as in this volume's essay by Henrik Karge¹⁸. Occasionally the *camino* takes on outsized proportions in the art and architectural historiography, but there can be no denying the persistence of a culture of pilgrimage that sustained it¹⁹.

The focus of the present article, however, is not the *camino* as the subject of art and architectural study, nor even its physical properties in the landscape. For although the UNESCO classification refers to geographical routes, the roads of course also existed as a powerful idea. The roads developed as a metaphor for a

Atti, Perugia, 27-29 maggio 2016, Pomigliano d'Arco, 2016, pp. 607-630, going so far as to argue that the *Guide* does not so much record an existing phenomenon of routes but rather creates one.

16 See Vescovi, Michele, "Beyond the Shrine: The Material Landscape of the *Camino* to Santiago", *infra*, pp. 131-151.

17 For the earlier scholarship, I limit myself to the representative bibliography mentioned in n. 6 above. Among titles from the end of the last century, I cite just two exhibitions: Caucchi von Saucken, P. et al. (eds.), *Santiago de Compostela. 1000 ans de Pèlerinage Européen*, Exposition Centrum voor Kunst en Cultuur, Abbaye Saint-Pierre, Gand, 26 septembre – 30 novembre 1985, Ghent, 1985; Moralejo Alvarez, S. and López Alsina, F. (eds.), *Santiago, camino de Europa: culto y cultural en la peregrinación a Compostela, Exposición Monasterio de San Martín Pinario*, Europalia 85, Santiago, 1993, 2nd rev. ed., Madrid and Santiago, 1993; and the collected volume by Lacarra Ducay, M. del Carmen (ed.), *Los caminos de Santiago. Arte, Historia, Literatura*, Zaragoza, 2005.

18 Karge, H., "Early Studies in Romanesque Architecture and the Discovery of the Pilgrimage Routes to Santiago de Compostela," *infra*, pp. 65-90. Other historiographic considerations in, for ex., Castiñeiras, M., "Tre miti storiografici sul romanico ispanico: Catalogna, il Cammino de Santiago e il fascino dell'Islam", in A. C. Quintavalle (ed.), *Medioevo: arte e storia. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi di Parma (18-22 settembre 2007)*, Milan, 2008, pp. 85-105; Brush, K. "Blazing 'The Way': Arthur Kingsley Porter's First Trip to Northern Spain", *Ad Limina*, 9 (2018), pp. 225-245; and Cazes, Q., "Les chemins de Saint-Jacques-de-Compostelle en France: entre construction historiographique et réalités artistiques médiévales", in T. Le Deschault de Monredon (ed.), *Pèlerinages: origine, succès et avenir, Colloque organisé les 7 et 8 juin à l'occasion des vingt ans du classement à l'UNESCO de chemins de Saint-Jacques en France*, Cahors, 2019, pp. 49-66.

19 Critical views of the overestimation can be found in, for example, Barral i Altet, X., *Contre l'art roman? Essai sur un passé réinventé*, Paris, 2006, pp. 115-129; *idem*, "Le rôle des historiens de l'art dans la construction du mythe de l'existence d'un art médiéval propre aux chemins de Compostelle", in Q. Cazes and S. Rayssac (eds.), *Vers Compostelle: regard contemporain sur les chemins de Saint-Jacques*, Toulouse, 2022, pp. 276-297; Bango Torviso, I., "El Camino de Santiago y el estilo románico en España", in *Aspectos didácticos de Geografía e Historia, Arte* 8, Zaragoza, 1994, pp. 35-66; *idem*, "Las llamadas iglesias de peregrinación o el arquetipo de un estilo", in I. Bango Torviso (ed.), *El camino de Santiago, camino de las estrellas*, Madrid, 1994, pp. 11-75; Péricard-Méa, D., *Compostelle et cultes de saint Jacques au Moyen Âge*, Paris, 2000; Maxwell, R. A., "Pilgrimage and the Dynamics of Urbanism Reconsidered: Faubourg Architecture in Romanesque Aquitaine", *Architectural History*, 53 (2007), pp. 41-76.



Fig. 2: Charlemagne receives St. James in a vision (as altered after restoration), *Codex Calixtinus*, c. 1140 (Santiago de Compostela, Archivo de la Catedral, CF 14, fol. 162) (photo: Fundación Catedral de Santiago).

spiritual journey. Prayers to St. James, readings on the feast of the apostle's translation, even one's own imagined displacement to Compostela and encounter with the tomb gave the *camino* a broader sense than merely the physical roads. Dematerialization of this sort nourished perceptions of the roads and their participation in the apostle's cult. While the subject is broad and embraces a gamut of spiritual proxies, this study focuses on just one aspect of the routes as imagined. Some of the most remarkable accounts of the *camino* in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries were transmitted in the form of dreams and visions.

The notion of a dreamed, dematerialized path owes its origins to Compostela's earliest accounts. Although the Asturian king, Alfonso II (d. 842), made a journey



Fig. 3: Charlemagne receives St. James in a vision, *Liber sancti Jacobi*, c. 1325, probably produced in Santiago (Vatican City, BAV, Arch. Cap. S. Pietro, C.128, fol. 133v) (photo: Vatican, BAV).



Fig. 4: Charlemagne receives St. James in a vision (upper register), *Liber sancti Jacobi*, c. 1325, probably produced in Santiago (Salamanca, Bibl. Univ., MS 2631, fol. 90r) (photo: author).

to venerate the tomb of St. James shortly after it was discovered in the 820s, his status as the first Jacobean pilgrim was eventually upstaged by an even more notable figure, Charlemagne. The *Historia Turpini*, included in the *Codex Calixtinus*, recounts that Charlemagne’s journey began not with an earthly route but with a celestial path, the product of a vision (Fig. 2). With his head turned skywards, Charlemagne watched the stars draw a path. This star formation began “in the Frisian Sea and extending through Germany and Italy, Gaul and Aquitaine, passing directly over Gascony, Vaconia, Navarre and Spain to Galicia...”. What Charlemagne observed was not so much a simple path but a network linking the major regions of Europe before joining together to lead “directly over Gascony”²⁰.

This vision was depicted in subsequent manuscripts of the *Liber sancti Jacobi*. Furthermore, one of those copies, now in the Vatican Library, is valuable for preserving the original look of the *Codex Calixtinus* illumination before it was damaged by inexpert restoration (Fig. 3). Another version of about 1325, now in Salamanca, shows some reorganizing of the *Calixtinus* compositions, but the starry dream to

20 Poole, K. (ed., trans.), *The Chronicle of Pseudo-Turpin. Book IV of the ‘Liber Sancti Jacobi’* (*‘Codex Calixtinus’*), New York, 2014, p. 5.

Charlemagne is maintained (Fig. 4). The dream also gained authority in Charlemagne's biography, appearing over two panels of glass in a window at Chartres Cathedral (c. 1200-1210) dedicated to the emperor's exploits, and even in a gilt repoussé panel on his large *Karlsschrein* in Aachen (1215).

The vision also has been the subject of much scholarly comment²¹. Nevertheless, it is worth pointing out that, according to the *Historia Turpini*, Charlemagne did not fully grasp what he was observing or what the celestial highway leading to Galicia represented. "Looking upon this stellar path several times every night, he began to meditate its meaning. A knight of splendid appearance...appeared to Charlemagne one evening in a vision..."²². The account underscores that Charlemagne did not understand what he was seeing — he was in a sense blind to the meaning of the initial apparition — until he received another vision, this time of St. James. In the medieval dream tradition, blindness often precedes and is sometimes a precondition for revelation. What is more, the apostle had to appear to Charlemagne three times before the ruler "trust[ed] in the apostolic promise" and understood the stars as a means for freeing Galicia and Spain from invaders. This, too, is a familiar feature of the dream tradition, as a single appearance is usually not enough to convince the dreamer; three visits is customary²³. As this feature is often found in hagiographic texts, it could even be said that the story likens Charlemagne to a saintly figure.

The *Historia's* account not only serves to give a miraculous origin to Jacobean pilgrimage; it also establishes a Jacobean tradition of dreamed pilgrimage. In fact, numerous dreams recorded throughout the Middle Ages take the pilgrimage to Santiago as either as their main subject or as an element of a broader story. The scholars Robert Plötz and Klaus Herbers, who have authored several works on this subject, have demonstrated the extent to which Jacobean visions belong to the great medieval literary tradition of dreams²⁴. However, scholarly investigation has often focused primarily on the role of St. James in these visions. The role of the roads deserves our attention too, especially when they can harken back to the model established by Charlemagne's experience²⁵.

21 For example, Plötz, R., "'De hoc quod apostolus Karolo apparuit'. Die Traumvision Karls des Großen: eine typisch mittelalterliche Vision?", in K. Herbers (ed.), *Jakobus und Karl der Grosse: von Einhard's Karlsvita zum Pseudo-Turpin*, Tübingen, 2003, pp. 39-78.

22 Poole, K., *The Chronicle...*, *op. cit.*, 5-6.

23 Fundamental discussions of dreams/visions include Kruger, S., *Dreaming in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge, 1992; Le Goff, J., "Le Christianisme et les rêves (Ile-VIII s.)", in *I Sogni nel Medioevo: seminario internazionale, Roma 2-4 ottobre, 1983*, Rome, 1985, pp. 171-218; and among several works by Carty, C., "The Role of Medieval Dream Images in Authenticating Ecclesiastical Construction", *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 63 (1999), pp. 45-90.

24 For example, Plötz, R., "'De hoc quod apostolus Karolo apparuit...'", *op. cit.*; *idem*, "Vision y realidad", *Compostellanum*, 40 (1995), pp. 339-365. A second appearance to Charlemagne concludes the *Historia*, when James intervenes for his soul at his death (ch. 22).

25 According to Plötz R., "'De hoc quod apostolus Karolo apparuit...'", *op. cit.*, p. 48, pilgrimage to Compostela even gave a boost to the dream-vision literary genre in the Middle Ages.

A few examples suffice to show how a dematerialized conception of roads could operate in dreams and visions. The path to Galicia appears in several miracles associated with St. James in Book II of the *LSJ*, for instance. On several occasions, the route taken by a pilgrim on his way to the apostolic tomb is used as the backdrop for a miraculous apparition of the saint. Miracle 17 recounts how a young man, burning with love for St. James, traveled to venerate at the tomb every year²⁶. The young bachelor was chaste, but his carnal desires got the best of him one day, and he fornicated with a maiden. The next day, as planned, he set out on his annual pilgrimage. While on the journey with companions, he was stopped by the devil in the guise of James. The visitor chastised the young man for his lustful evening and for not confessing and repenting before undertaking a pious journey. The devil told him that if he wished to complete his pilgrimage, he must cut off his genitals and pierce his throat. The young man obediently performed the task and died. His companions, fearing his death be blamed on them, fled. Others found him the next morning, and as they prepared him for burial, the dead man rose and explained that he had been deceived by the devil. He then explained how the demons cast off with his soul, and they all headed to Rome. That new destination implies a different route geographically opposed to the one that would have led him to his desired goal in Galicia. When he arrived in Rome and at Old St. Peter's, St. James, aided by the Virgin Mary, finally intervened, freeing him from the demons and restoring him to life. The man then resumed and completed his pilgrimage.

This story circulated in other versions, including one by Guibert of Nogent in about 1125 and another by Hugh of Trimberg in his selection of *exempla* called the *Solsequium* from about 1260. As told by Hugh, the man was a *conversus* at Cluny and was undertaking his first pilgrimage to St. James's tomb, after having long wished to make the journey²⁷. Hugh's version offers the same basic elements but omits the Roman excursus. It does not even indicate whether the man achieved his goal in the end.

In contrast, the version in the *LSJ* emphasizes the route. It is on the route that the man is deceived and mutilates himself, and it is again on the route that he resumes his journey once revived: "he set out on his journey along with his beggar friend who had joined him on the road". When he got close to Santiago de Compostela, he also came across the companions who had abandoned him and who

26 Coffey, T. F.; Davidson, L. K. and Dunn, M. (eds., trans.), *The Miracles of Saint James: Translations from the 'Liber sancti Jacobi'*, New York, 1996, pp. 84-89.

27 Seemann, E. (ed.), *Hugo von Trimbergs Lateinische Werke, I. Das Solsequium*, Münchener Texte, 9, Munich, 1914, p. 73: "volens limima [sic] beati Jacobi peregre visitare". The *Liber sancti Jacobi* incorrectly names St. Anselm as the author of this tale; see Soder von Güldenstübbe, E., "Jakobus in der fränkischen Literatur," in K. Herbers and R. Plötz, *Der Jakobuskult in 'Kunst' und 'Literatur': Zeugnisse in Bild, Monument, Schrift und Ton*, Tübingen, 1998, pp. 239-258 at p. 253; and Coffey, T. F. et al. (eds., trans.), *The Miracles of Saint James...*, *op. cit.*, p. 145 (n. 642).

were now coming back from their pilgrimage. At this moment the route appears first as a form of alienation, as both groups spied each other but could not be sure of the identities because the distance was too great, before the route becomes the medium of their reunion. As they got closer and closed the distance, they could finally recognize one another. The troubling aspect of distance recalls how the devil also distanced the pilgrim from his goal by leading him off to Rome. This miracle therefore deploys the route in myriad ways: as a vehicle of annual devotion, a mortal danger frequented by the devil, an axis of spiritual and bodily restoration, a path of fraternal reconciliation, and finally as a means for fulfilling a pious vow.

In a compilation of miracles such as that of the *LSJ*, the figure of James is obviously paramount. The road provides a backdrop for James's might against the devil and, additionally, his ability to draw upon the powers of St. Peter and the Virgin as far away as Rome. The envisioned road stands as a conduit of faith stretching from the Church's historical epicenter to its farthest reaches in Galicia.

On the other hand, when a version of the miracle appears in a work that is not promoting the interests of a particular saint, as in Hugh of Trimberg's text, other concerns emerge. Even in Hugh's much-abbreviated version, the route is still symptomatic of the cult around James but as an *exemplum*, the story serves to warn of what happens when the route is desecrated by the lust of a young, unrepentant soul. In Hugh's telling, the road presents Christians with a baldly Manichean decision: it can be a path to salvation or damnation, and the outcome depends on one's faith. The road's role may also reveal what the *camino* had become in the thirteenth century, more a symbolic idea in Hugh's Upper Franconia, far from Spain and probably less concerned by an actual route.

Other dream stories project related ideas, whereby the destination recedes into the background while the path itself occupies a leading role. Such is the case of a story from around 1130, in which a broken promise to undertake a pilgrimage triggers a series of miraculous events. The text recounts how a certain Heinrich von Ahorn from Tyrol experienced a vision that took him on a journey in the company of the apostle²⁸. Heinrich, who had neglected his vow to honor the memory of St. James (presumably by pilgrimage), fell gravely ill. After the long illness, still without honoring his vow, he fell ill even more seriously than before, paralyzed for three more days²⁹. His relatives expected him to die quickly. According to the tale, his

28 For the text, see Dünninger, E., *Politische und geschichtliche Elemente in mittelalterlichen Jenseitsvisionen bis zum Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts*, Ph. D. thesis, Julius-Maximilians-Universität, Würzburg, 1962, pp. 80-83; and commentary in Hofmann, M., "Heinrich von Ahorn im Fegfeuer (um 1130): ein fränkischer Nachtrag zum Dante-Gedenkjahr 1965", *Jahrbuch für fränkische Landesforschung*, 26 (1966), pp. 199-215; Plötz, R., "Vision y realidad...", *op. cit.*, pp. 354ff; and Plötz, R., and Röckelein, H., "Die Vision des Heinrich von Ahorn und das Kloster St. Georgenberg", in K. Herbers (ed.), *Stadt und Pilger: soziale Gemeinschaften und Heiligenkult*, Tübingen, 1999, pp. 29-68.

29 With allusions to Hebr. 12:6 and Ps. 40:4.

body remained motionless, while two young people (*iuvenes*), undoubtedly angels, seized his soul. They were joined by an old man (*senior*), when finally the devil – a foul man “with savage countenance” (*vir quidam truci vultu, teterrimus*) – rushed in and whisked his soul off on a journey to the afterlife.

While on the journey he met several people he knew on earth. Each asked him to explain to their living loved ones that they could be saved from purgatory if they prayed for the souls of their dearly departed and made amends for their misdeeds. Continuing his way, Heinrich finally arrived in Paradise. The old man explained to him that he could not stay there, as he has not yet earned his place. He must return to earth and fulfill his promise. At this point, the man identifies himself as St. James and tells Heinrich to explain to his family and friends everything he has seen on his journey. However, Heinrich, once revived, did not share his experiences and consequently fell again into a deep sleep. James appeared to him once more, chastising him and repeating his command. Heinrich subsequently related to everyone all that he had seen, and soon afterward he began his long-delayed pilgrimage to Compostela and recounted his experience all along his journey.

Heinrich's is a triple journey in time and space. It consists of a journey to Compostela that was desired and imagined but not made; another journey that takes place through a dream, initiated by St. James, that led to purgatory and paradise; and finally, it concludes with a third journey to Compostela. Though distinct, the three forms of pilgrimage are mutually constructive. The first (imagined) is based on an idea of pilgrimage, no doubt nourished by accounts from other pilgrims or even pilgrimages to other sites. The second (dreamed) is based on pilgrimage as revelation of the mysteries of faith. Those imagined and dreamed elements find their confirmation, or become in some way concretized, through the third (real) pilgrimage.

The dreamed journey is notable for its elaborate, complex and arduous route, dotted with lost souls in search of salvation – in other words, pilgrims. It mirrors an actual pilgrimage in that regard. It has a duration, too, like physical pilgrimage, lasting three days that place the pilgrim in difficult conditions. Once he has reached his goal, paradise (i.e., *ad limina sancti*), Heinrich turns back to his native land and his loved ones. Pilgrimage, as noted above, was a common metaphor for life – life in this world and in the next – and this story presents Heinrich as a typical *homo viator*. The literary device of a guide introducing a pilgrim to Hell or Purgatory for the duration of a dream or vision was common in the Middle Ages, as in works from Bede to Dante to Guillaume de Deguileville, among others³⁰.

30 For a recent contribution: Le Briz-Orgeur, S., “L'homo viator' et les Pèlerinages de Guillaume de Digulleville”, in T. Le Deschault de Monredon (ed.), *Pèlerinages: origine, succès et avenir, Colloque organisé les 7 et 8 juin à l'occasion des vingt ans du classement à l'UNESCO de chemins de Saint-Jacques en France*, Cahors, 2019, pp. 67-89.

Nevertheless, the association of an imagined or dreamed pilgrimage with the actual pilgrimage to Compostela lends greater force than could be achieved by the literary type alone. A particular detail reinforces this association: like the Milky Way observed by Charlemagne, Heinrich sees a path covered in clouds. However, these clouds are not celestial but made of noxious sulfurous gases. Further, instead of stars pointing the way, Heinrich's sulfurous path is strewn with needles and nails³¹. Not a "via stellae" observed by Charlemagne, but a "via clavorum" experienced by the man who broke his promise to St. James. The dream thus transforms the pilgrimage he did not undertake into a journey that appears familiar but nonetheless is disfigured, uncanny, and alienating.

Similar effects occur in the *Visio Thurkili*³². In 1206 a certain Ralph, abbot of Goggeshall in Essex, recorded a vision of a local peasant named Thurkill. This peasant was renowned for his generosity towards strangers in need, including travelers. One evening while in a deep sleep, he was surprised by a vision of the saintly patron of travelers, Julian the Hospitaller, who invited him to follow him on a journey to the afterlife. The tale's inclusion of St. Julian is not unimportant. Escaping a prophecy that said that Julian would kill his parents, Julian had left home and, seeking to distance himself as much as possible, journeyed to Galicia. His parents later made a pilgrimage to James's tomb at Compostela, and there, mistakenly but fatefully, Julian killed his parents. As atonement, he continued his life as a pilgrim to Rome assisting and caring for other pilgrims in his hospice. Thus, the proposition to Thurkill to undertake a pilgrimage comes from one who was himself a penitent exemplar. Thurkill agreed to join him, and once his soul left his body, he appeared lifeless in his bed. His wife and friends would have believed him dead had it not been for the faint sound of breathing. As in Heinrich's case, the absence of his soul was measured in time, namely two days.

Thurkill's visit to the afterlife paints an extraordinary picture. It is described as a vast church dedicated to the Virgin built on several levels and with a multitude of rooms and nooks where the good and the damned await their fate. Thurkill encounters saints James and Dominic, along with Peter and Paul, the Archangel Michael and, of course, the Devil. At one point in his journey, he follows a path of fire, crosses a lake of very salty water, and climbs over a bridge of thorns — Purgatory — before reaching the "mons gaudii," the Mount of Joy. From its heights he can

31 "Trahitur, angustiat et ad penarum loca perducitur ibique via deorsum vergens lata fumanti sulphure et acutis clavibus asperrima ad trahendum animas infidelium ad penas ignis eterni preparata ei monstrata est". (Dünninger, "Politische und geschichtliche Elemente...", *op. cit.*, p. 80).

32 For the text: Schmidt, P. G. (ed.), *Visio Thurkilli relatore, ut videtur, Radulpho de Coggeshall*, Leipzig, B. G. Teubner, 1978; and commentary in Schmidt, P. G., "The Vision of Thurkill", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 41 (1978), pp. 50-64; and Ward, H. L. D., "The Vision of Thurkill, probably by Ralph of Coggeshall, printed from a MS. in the British Museum", *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 31 (1875), pp. 420-459.

observe a space dedicated to the damned, a place described as a theater or arena, where souls wait on the bleachers as if in expectation of their own morbid spectacle.

Finally, Thurkill's soul returns to his body, and his pilgrimage is complete. Once revived, he is reluctant to tell his story to those around him, and he remains silent. However, Julian appears to him in a second vision and threatens Thurkill if he does not tell all that he has seen, which would be for the benefit of instructing others. Awakened a second time, he divulges everything to those around him, down to the smallest detail.

Scholars have long recognized the story's associations to Santiago de Compostela. It describes Thurkill, for instance, as a devotee of James who aspires to undertake a pilgrimage to the apostolic tomb. His guide, St. Julian, with his own connections to Compostela and Galicia, promises to take him to the saint for whom he has already made a pilgrimage ("ut te ad dominum tuum sanctum Iacobum deducam, quem devote iam requisisti")³³. Together, they discovered James in the large basilica dedicated to the Virgin. It is here that James welcomes him as his pilgrim and later entrusts him to the care of Julian and Dominic to continue his journey to the afterlife ("Intransibilibus illis basilicam occurrit eis sanctus Iacobus quasi infulatus, qui videns peregrinum suum, pro quo miserat, ait sancto Iuliano et sancto Domnino, qui custos eiusdem erat loci, quatinus ostenderent peregrino suo loca penalia reorum necnon et mansiones iustorum")³⁴.

These Jacobean markers encouraged Georgiana Goddard King, in a precocious study that is now already a hundred years old, to compare certain details with the *camino* described in the *Pilgrim's Guide*. She furthermore compared what Thurkill saw to the appearance of the Romanesque cathedral and its portals, a proposal supported more recently by Paul Gerhard Schmidt and Manuel Castiñeiras³⁵ (Fig. 5). Some scholars assume that Thurkill never made a trip to Galicia himself and have suggested sites of veneration closer to home in England may have inspired the vision; the dreamed journey to the afterlife would therefore represent a proxy for the physical journey to Compostela that he would have wished to undertake³⁶. The description of the cathedral, too, as King pointed out, is likely simply an evocation of

33 Schmidt P. G. (ed.), *Visio Thurkilli...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6.

34 *Ibidem*, pp. 10-11.

35 King, G. G., "The Vision of Thurkill and Saint James of Compostella", *Romanic Review*, 10 (1919), pp. 38-47; King, G. G., *The Way...*, *op. cit.*, 3: 543-552. The text "preserves fragments of current pilgrim's lore, affording some odd bits of evidence about the state of the Apostle's church...", adding that "a large part of this sort of literature [dream visions] can only be understood by knowing what people said, and further, what people saw". (King, G. G., "The Vision...", *op. cit.*, p. 38 and p. 46, respectively.) See also Schmidt, P. G. "The Vision...", *op. cit.*; and Castiñeiras, M., "'Periegesis' et 'Ekphrasis', les descriptions de la cathédrale de Saint-Jacques-de-Compostelle: entre la cité réelle et la cité idéale", *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, 44 (2013), pp. 1-15.

36 Both King G. G., ("The Vision...", *op. cit.*) and Ward, H. L. D., ("The Vision...", *op. cit.*) maintain that the story is inspired by a pilgrimage to an English site dedicated to James, where Ralph/Thurkill would have learned about the appearance of the cathedral in Spain. Schmidt, P. G. ("The Vision...", *op. cit.*) does not exclude the possibility of an actual pilgrimage to the Continent or Spain informing the work, while Castiñeiras, M., ("Periegesis' et 'Ekphrasi'...", *op. cit.*) posits the vision as the testimony of a lived experience before the cathedral in Compostela.



Fig. 5: Pórtico de la Gloria, cathedral of Santiago de Compostela, c. 1188 (photo: Fundación Catedral de Santiago).

common features familiar to a wide audience, although P. Schmidt and M. Castiñeiras see specificity in the description and a journey actually made³⁷. As was often customary with the dream genre, the story's opening lines explain the importance of dreams, preparing the audience to recognize the value of what will be told. It reminds its audience that dreams can transform mere men, like the peasant Thurkill, into prophets – it offers several examples – and they can be instrumental in revealing to mankind the journey that awaits in the afterlife and purgatory.

The *Visio*'s complex narrative begs more analysis than can be given here, but it is worth underscoring its emphasis on roads traveled, and how they structure the dream journey. First, the story offers a wealth of details about the *camino*, which as King notes would have circulated in the period and been common knowledge for a cleric such as Ralph. The text contains also references to other pilgrimage sites, notably Rome and Jerusalem, which is consistent with the mention that Julian initially led Thurkill eastward (“perrexerunt ergo contra orientem usque ad mundi medium”)³⁸. In this way, the story is not exclusively about Santiago de Compostela but is also about the experience of the routes that transport the faithful to their spiritual goal.

37 Castiñeiras, M., “‘Periegesis’ et ‘Ekphrasis’...”, *op. cit.*; also Castiñeiras, M., “La iglesia del Paraíso: el Pórtico de la Gloria como Puerta del Cielo,” in R. Yzquierdo Peiró (ed.), *Maestro Mateo en el Museo del Prado*, Madrid, 2016, pp. 53-86, at 70-71.

38 Schmidt, P. G. (ed.), *Visio Thurkilli...*, *op. cit.*, p. 10.



Fig. 6: Elders of the Apocalypse as Musicians and Holding Vials, outermost archivolt, Pórtico de la Gloria (during restoration, 2018), cathedral of Santiago de Compostela, c. 1188 (photo: author).

A further detail grounds the story in routes: the apostle entrusted Thurkill to a certain St. Dominic who was to show the peasant the various stages of the saved and the damned. This saint's identity is uncertain. Ward associated him with Dominic that founded a church along the *camino*, known now as San Domingo de la Calzada³⁹. This saint was renowned for his tireless work in restoring the roadways and bridges along the *camino frances*. Schmidt countered this opinion with a plausible identification as the Italian saint Donnino, whose Borgo San Donnino was a significant stop on the route for pilgrims to Rome, Bari, and Monte Gargano. Each of those cities' major saints — Peter, Nicholas, and Michael — all feature in the *Visio*⁴⁰. Whichever the precise identity, the inclusion of such a known pilgrimage saint reinforces the meaning of the route traveled — whether the *camino* or a major itinerary in Italy — and furthers the dream's dematerialization of paths that are plausibly grounded in actual ones.

Additionally, on several occasions the story identifies Galicia (and by extension, the cathedral in Santiago) as the land where souls wait until the time of the Last Judgment. In this way, as King points out, the *camino* “is the path of multitudes of

39 Ward, H. L. D., “The Vision...”, *op. cit.*, p. 430.

40 Schmidt, P. G. “The Vision...”, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-58. Schmidt's query of whether St. Dominus was part of the dream or added by Roger has little bearing on the *propos* here.

souls through heaven”⁴¹. The imagistic phrase resonates with Charlemagne’s path of stars. The suggestion of Galicia — or better still, the cathedral of Santiago — as a storehouse of souls also resonates with the Pórtico de la Gloria, begun in 1188. The Pórtico includes many common images of torment and suffering alongside Christ enthroned as Judge, so first-hand knowledge cannot be assumed. Some of those draw from visions, particularly its themes from the Apocalypse of John where the Elders are announced (Rev. 5:8) and Isaiah’s prophecy of a “rod of Jesse” (Isa. 11:1), both of which, like Thurkill’s dream, unfold in a dreamlike temporality that fuses past and present (Figs. 6, 7).

And finally, the notion of the journey is accentuated by its two-fold aspect. Thurkill in his dream toils through a journey to arrive at his destination, the church, before beginning a second one that he undertakes in the heart of the church. Once inside he enters a transept and then a choir before traversing the lake and arriving at the “mons gaudii”. The idea of a summit from which a pilgrim can at last behold his destination is shared among several major destinations, beginning with Jerusalem but then extending to Rome, Santiago de Compostela, and elsewhere. Thurkill’s pilgrimage is that of the soul to the afterlife, but once in the afterlife, his guide takes him on an even more difficult journey to the recesses of the imagined church. His is a spatialized journey through the depths of his faith.

This modest review of several well-known dreams recalls that paths traced through real landscapes engender also ideas that grow well beyond geographic or physical realities. In the case of the *camino* and Santiago de Compostela, the routes formed an essential framework for mapping pilgrimage. But it was only a framework, and it gave way to a much less rigid geography once dematerialized through the medium of a dream. What Charlemagne saw, after all, was putatively directional, leading to Galicia, but what was described was a more amorphous, rhizomic web of routes whose directionality had to be chartered. Dreamed paths of pilgrimage resist, furthermore, a single temporality. The dreamer’s own sense of time (a night’s journey) defies his witnesses’ account (a motionless state lasting two or three days), and that measure of time also confounds the appearance of eternal death that the dreamer’s apparently lifeless body conveys. This temporal fluidity projects a pilgrim forward in time and also backward, just as dreamed paths take him geographically forward and backward at the same time, toward Rome but also spiritually toward Compostela.

We understandably celebrate the routes so evocatively traced in the *Pilgrim’s Guide* and garnished with spectacular monuments. Yet their fullness was not limited to their physical presence but to the considerably more complicated, far less linear, forms of route traced by pilgrimage when it came in a vision.

41 King, G. G., “The Vision...”, *op. cit.*, p. 42.



Fig. 7: Tree of Jesse (lowest register, Jesse asleep), column of trumeau, Pórtico de la Gloria (during restoration, 2018), cathedral of Santiago de Compostela, c. 1188 (photo: author).

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