

Mountains and Pilgrims Along the Roads to Santiago

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Abstract: Throughout the Middle Ages, mountains have been part of the natural landscape which man has been inevitably encountered: for this reason it has become a part of the heritage of emotions that many narrators, especially pilgrim-travellers, have wanted to express in various languages. An excellent example of the problems related to the ascent or crossing of the mountains in the several countries that are encountered, together with their mental representations, can be found in the texts that make up the rich hodoeporic tradition of the journeys to Santiago de Compostela. Here, the cultural references become continuous and persistent. On certain occasions the concept of the mountain has echoes of ancient civilisations' cultures and traditions, while on others, the specific perils of the crossing –especially during the winter months– when they represent a true signal of diabolical presences, and on others, when they become accounts of a moment in history when the desperate –like wolves stalking prey– saw in the mountains their chance to escape from their miserable fate... For the pilgrims to Santiago, however, there were specific mountains, pure places, where sacredness shone; some located close to the point of departure, another –an important one– near Spanish territory, but the largest, the “joyous” one, rose before the doors to the city of Santiago. These notes want to be a short invitation to travel, if only virtually, from the encounter with the mountains, to the ascent.

Key words: Way of St. James; Mountain, fears; sacred; *Codex Calixtinus*; *The Song of Roland*; “Chronicle of Novalesa”; Bernard of Aosta; Peter the Venerable; Mystery of Saint Bernard of Mentone.

The Way, which originated and has been travelled since the 10th century to guide European pilgrims to the tomb of St. James the Apostle in Galicia is, in its innermost nature, a true itinerary from one mountain to another¹, with regards to the slow approximation to Santiago de Compostella for the heights to be conquered were many and varied².

The experience of the “*ascent*” was by no means a surprise: the classic image of the pilgrim who had chosen to undertake this adventure had as its distinctive –sign since

1 Cfr. SCUDIERT RUGGERI, J., “Il pellegrinaggio compostellano e l'Italia”, in *Cultura Neolatina*, XXX (1970), p. 185-198.

2 Cfr. PLOTZ, R., “Il cammino e i luoghi”, in *Il mondo dei pellegrinaggi. Roma, Santiago, Gerusalemme*, compiled by Caucci von Saucken P., Milan, 1999, p. 75-102.

its first appearance at the dawn of the 11th century– among others, the staff with the meaningful metal point, which is in fact a pick axe³ “*ante litteram*”, used as support during the most difficult crossings⁴.

To this purpose, the image of the mountains that appeared throughout the Lives of Saints presented in the *Pilgrim's Guide to Santiago de Compostela* (12th century)⁵, had significant and exemplary appeals, albeit with different values.

In fact, for Saint Trophimus and Saint Caprasius, the legend told that the altitudes had developed a protective and defensive role: the first, archbishop of Arles whose sacred relics are a must be visited at the very beginning of the pilgrimage to Compostela, along the Via Tolosana⁶, found shelter there from the pursuit by pagan priests. The cave which he found in the white mountain would soon become the site of the famous abbey of Montmajour⁷. The second, bishop of Agen, fused with the Passion of Saint Faith, venerated in the equally famous abbey of Conques on the Via Podense, hid with his followers in the caves in the hills near the city⁸ to escape the persecutions, and it was from one of these peaks where he must have seen, from afar, the martyrdom of the virgin maid.

In the case of saint Mary Magdalene, who in turn is venerated in the magnificent Vézelay Abbey, at the beginning of the Via Lemovicense, the Toulouse mountain had become, according to ancient tradition, the place for the tricennial penitence and prayer⁹; ultimately for Martin¹⁰, bishop and confessor, whose relics were a recommended visit to the pilgrims who journeyed along the Via Turonense¹¹. The mountain had become the supreme site for a final surprising exorcism: the saint had actually identified, on the peak of Mont Beauvray, the suitable place to eradicate, once and for all, the ancient druidic cult “*pietre folli*”¹².

In mankind's day to day reality during the journey to Santiago, the heights soon made their appearance to interrupt the plains, and to constantly demand new fatigues,

3 For the rite “*accipe baculum*”, “*accipe peram*”, cfr. CAUCCI VON SAUCKEN, P., “Culto y cultura de la peregrinación a Santiago de Compostela”, in AA.VV., *Visitandum est, Santos y Cultos en I Codex Calixtinus, Actas del VII Congreso Internacional de Estudios Jacobeos*, Santiago de Compostela, 2005, p. 91-106.

4 For its presence in the vast medieval iconographic panorama cfr. JACOMET, H., “Saint Jacques, apôtre et pèlerin: proximité et distance”, in AA.VV., *L'image du pèlerin au Moyen Age et sous l'ancien Régime*, sous la direction de P. A. Sigal, Rocamadour, 1994, p. 330-382.

5 The Guide, fundamental text to understand the essence of the journey to Santiago de Compostela, is included in the *Liber Sancti Jacobi Codex Calixtinus*, ed. K. Herbers-M. Santos Noia, Santiago de Compostela, 1999.

6 Cfr. BOTTINEAU, Y., *Les chemins de Saint-Jacques*, Paris, 1966, p. 71-96; OURSEL, R., *Les pèlerins du Moyen Age*, Paris, 1963, 138-140; CHÉLINI, J. – BRANTHOMME, H., *Les chemins du Dieu. Histoire des pèlerinages chrétiens des origines à nos jours*, Paris, 1982, p. 165-168.

7 Cfr. “*Primitus namque his qui per viam Egidianam ad Sanctum Iacobum tendunt, beati Trophimi confessoris corpus apud Arelatem visitandum est....*”, *ibidem*, p. 241.

8 Cfr. “*Quod ut vidit beatus Caprasius, antistes urbis Agenti, qui rabiem persecucionis evitans latebat in quadam spelunca...*”, *ibidem*, p. 244.

9 “*Hec vero... aliisque Dominicis discipulis usque ad Provincie patriam per mare, scilicet per portum Marsilie, pervenit, in qua scilicet patria celibem vitam per aliquot annos duxit....*”, *ibidem*, p. 244.

10 Cfr. now also CALO MARIANI, M. S., “Santos a lo largo del camino de los peregrinos: san Martín de Tours”, in AA.VV., *Visitandum est, op. cit.*, p. 39-52.

11 For the saints worshipped on the Tours route, cfr. OURSEL, R., *Le strade del Medio Evo*, Milano, 1982 (trad. it. di *Routes romanes*, 1, St. Léger Vauban, 1982), p. 177-190.

12 Cfr. *ibidem*, p. 246.

of every kind, on whichever of the four ways –by then already well indicated– the pilgrim had chosen to take¹³.

In fact, travellers¹⁴ from Burgundy from the Rodano region, and the Germans, who choosing the Via Podiensis, decided to begin the journey at the famous sanctuary of Notre Dame Le Puy, were willing to cross the plateau of Le Velay, the gorges of Allier, the high plateaus of Margaride above the gorges of the Truyère, the high plains of the Aubrac, even before entering the Rouergue.

Those who chose the Via Lemovicensis, starting at the famous abbey church of Saint Mary Magdalene in Vézelay, passed close to the slopes of Marche, “*disseminati di pietre stregate e tagliate da orridi*”, put in the words of Raymond Oursel where “*invisibili gourg*” stagnated.

For all the others, Bretons, Normans, Picards, the inhabitants of Flanders, those from Provence, from Languedoc and Cevenne, who travelled in the direction of the Via Turonensis, considered the “*magnum iter Sancti Jacobi*” for it gathered a large number of pilgrims from northern and central Europe, the first major obstacle encountered after Oloron, was the Pyrenees chain of mountains.

For the Italians from the south and centre of the peninsula, those who had to travel the “*vero cammino dritto di san Giacopo*”¹⁵, the difficulties were even greater and unprecedented, for long before reaching the safe Via Tolosana or of Saint Giles, they had to endure the crossing of the Apennines mountain chain, preferably through the mount Bardone pass, today’s Cisa. The ancient namesake used to indicate a place and a road, the “Alpem Bardoni”, cited by Paolo Diacono¹⁶, has with time come to indicate a large part of the Tuscan-Emilian Apennines. When the Longobards became known as the French, the route that connected with Pavia at that crossing, acquired even greater importance and was given the name of “French route”, or “*stratam Francigenam*” for, according to Renato Stopani’s interpretation, it was the “*strada originata dalla Francia, termine geografico, quest’ultimo, che nella normale accezione medievale includeva, oltre all’odierna regione francese, anche l’antica ‘Lotaringia’, cioè l’asse renano sino ai Paesi Bassi*”.¹⁷

The use of the pass by pilgrims on their way to or back from Rome, is documented since the 10th century, almost at the same time as the pilgrimage to Santiago was organised by the bishop Gotescalco of Le Puy¹⁸.

13 Cfr. VÁZQUEZ DE PARGA, L., “Itinerarios y relatos de viajeros”, in VÁZQUEZ DE PARGA, L., Lacarra, J. M. and URÍA RIU, J., *Las peregrinaciones a Santiago*, I, Madrid, 1948, p. 201-245.

14 Cfr. for all the travel indications provided here OURSEL, R., *La via Lattea. I luoghi, la vita, la fede dei pellegrini di Compostella*, Milano, 1985 (Italian transl. from *Routes romanes* 2, St. Léger Vauban, 1984), p. 26 and fol., 311 and fol.

15 The expression is taken from B. Fontana, *Itinerario o vero viaggio da Venetia a Roma...seguendo poi per ordine di Roma fino a santo Iacobo in Galitia...*Venice 1550, now in A. Fucelli, L’ “Itinerario” di Bartolomeo Fontana, Perugia, 1987, p. 69-130.

16 Cfr. L. *Historia Longobardorum*, VII, 58 “*Quadragesimorum tempore per Alpem Bardonis Tusciam ingressus*”.

17 Cfr. STOPANI, R., *La Via Francigena. Una strada europea nell’Italia del Medioevo*, Florence, Florence, 1995, p. 14.

18 Cfr. VÁZQUEZ DE PARGA, L., Lacarra, J. M. and URÍA RIU, J., *Las peregrinaciones a Santiago*, op. cit., I, p. 41-42.

The “*stratam Francigeam*” was travelled, as said, also by pilgrims coming from central and southern Italy on their way, by land, to the sanctuary of St. James in Spain, all the way to the cities of Pavia or Piacenza. Meeting there, they had to decide which route to take before facing a new and harder test¹⁹: crossing the Alps.

From the Piedmont to the Valle d’Aosta, the Roman roads that led to Gaul unravelled into the Dora Baltea and the Dora Riparia²⁰.

The first rose from Pavia and across Novara, Vercelli and Ivrea, reaching Aosta: here it branched into two different passes. One crossed the Little Saint Bernard Pass and reached Tarantasia, while the other, crossing the Great Saint Bernard Pass, reached Martigny and from there continued on to Lyon.

The second road, the Dora Riparia, joined Turin and Susa and forked there. The branch that was widely used in those ancient times reached Oulx, Cesana, and after going through Monginevro descended to Briançon and reached Embrun²¹.

A second branch, which became a widely travelled road during the Carolingian age, reached the Novalesa Abbey, led to the pass of Moncenisio and from here headed towards Lanslebourg and the Maurienne Valley. The latter, which had until then been used as an alternative to the Great Saint Bernard Pass, from the 11th and 12th centuries onward became the most important western route to enter and exit Italy²².

What the pilgrims felt upon seeing the heights they would be facing was probably not that different to what is transmitted by *The Song of Roland* (11th century) in reference to emperor Charlemagne’s soldiers marching towards the Pyrenees; a mixture of dismay and fear: “*Halt sunt li pui e li val tenebrus...*”²³, which quickly turned into “*grant dulus*”.

We can find confirmation of this by reading the letters of one of the most educated and apparently impassive men of the age, Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny²⁴, who, when finding himself in similar conditions, put his impressions on paper.

The famous abbot from Cluny, in a letter written in 1136 to his brothers announcing the death of their mother, recalled the constant support Our Lady always offered, even during the most difficult of times, using an important image: “*Quando passavi in Bretagna, quando entravi in Italia, quando ti recavi a Roma, ella navigava al tuo fianco: vincevi le orribili vette, “orrenda cacumina”, delle Alpi e degli Appennini. In tutti i gravi pericoli restava instancabilmente al tuo fianco...*”

In another letter addressed to Saint Bernard (1151-1152) we find the same circumstances narrated together with an allusion for the need for heavenly protection:

19 Cfr. CAUCCI VON SAUCKEN, P., *Guida del pellegrino di Santiago. Libro quinto del Codex Calixtinus secolo XII*, Milan, 1989, p. 24 and fol.

20 Cfr. PICCAT, M., “I primi pellegrinaggi piemontesi a Santiago”, in *Compostellanum, Revista de la Archidiócesis de Santiago de Compostela*, XLIV, nn. 3-4 (1999), p. 417-443.

21 Cfr. STOPANI, R., *La Via Francigena, op. cit.*, p. 26.

22 Cfr. DONNA D’OLDENICO, G., “Origine e aspetti dell’assistenza ospedaliera in Piemonte”, in *Atti del primo congresso italiano di Storia Ospedaliera*, Reggio Emilia, 1956, p. 1-29.

23 Cfr. *La Chanson de Roland*, ed. I. Short, Paris, 1990, vv. 814 and fol.

24 For all references to the travel experiences of the abbots of Cluny, cfr. OURSEL, R., *La via Lattea, op. cit.*, p. 311-345.

“Ciò che appariva complicato si è trasformato in una linea retta, le asperità sono diventate pianure. Anche le Alpi e i loro ghiacciai, anche le rocce condannate alle nevi eterne ci hanno permesso di dimenticare quasi completamente il loro antico orrore”.

In yet another letter, addressed this time to Basil, prior of the Chartreuse, Peter himself confesses he feels, during his travels through Italy, like one who is taken to the scaffold, due to his great fear of the mountains...

The situation was probably not perceived any differently even by those who entrusted their journey to the aid of animals or even other men.

Hugo of Semur, high abbot of Cluny at the end of the 12th century, on his way to Rome, crossing the Monginevro pass found himself in an unpleasant situation. His mule, during a delicate pass through the Alps, made a sudden movement and began to slip, managing to keep hold only by means of its two hind legs. The animal's lucky recovery and that of its distinguished load soon became part of the *“topoi”* of the wondrous.

A similar adventure, during the previous century, was attributed to another abbot named Oddone. He was returning Cluny from Rome through the Moncenisio²⁵ pass, and experienced a similar incident. Upon reaching the pass he found that it was completely covered in snow. He hurried to ask for help from the *“Marroons”*, the citizens of Lanslebourg who, by trade, escorted travellers to their destination on sleighs. Unfortunately for the abbot, during the ride, the horse placed its foot asked and fell down the cliff. Seeing himself plunging into the abyss, Oddone raised his arms to the sky and miraculously found himself hanging from a tree that had materialised out of the blue. After saving himself, never a trace was found of the horse nor of the tree²⁶.

The climb to reach the crossings was made even harder by the presence of groups of poor wretches who attempted the feat and often died of thirst and exhaustion. An incident of this type is narrated in the accounts of the abbot Oddone's journeys, or those of his successor, Odilone; the latter, when climbing the Great Saint Bernard Pass and noticing a party of starving individuals who were trying to climb the rocks, decided to distribute his own supply of wine. On the following day he found that all his wineskins were miraculously full.

The mountains were also places where pilgrims and wayfarers²⁷ were frequently attacked by bandits, and Christian²⁸ or Arabic rogues, who often used them as their hideaways.

25 Cfr. DONNA D'OLDENICO, G., *L'Ospizio del Moncenisio alla luce di documenti inediti dell'Archivio Vescovile di Torino, breve contributo alla storia dell'organizzazione ospedaliera sull'antica strada di Francia da Torino al Moncenisio*, Ciriè, 1961.

26 Cfr. A similar device is repeatedly recorded: it can also be found in the later account by a pilgrim from Brescia: *“et de poy a sera parte calando, notarai che vilani stano conzano et menano abasso la zente per meza parpayola per homo, et alcuni per uno quarto...ben se po anchor andar a pede continuamente, ma per lo apiazer de ditto stremazar, quasi tutti se fano tirar...”*, in *Relazione di un pellegrinaggio bresciano verso S. Giacomo di Compostella nel 1523*, ed. a c. di GUERRINI, P., in *Miscellanea di studi storici in onore di Giovanni Sforza*, Lucca, 1917, p. 606-609.

27 Cfr. FERNÁNDEZ ALBOR, A., *“La delincuencia en el Camino de Santiago en la Edad Media”*, in AA.VV., *Il pellegrinaggio a Santiago de Compostela e la Letteratura Jacopea*, Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Perugia 23-25 September 1983, compiled by G. Scalia, Perugia, 1985, p. 127-134.

28 In an age much closer to our own the chronicles continue to present events of special dramatism experienced on the peaks or their surroundings, and to the detriment of wayfarers and pilgrims, such as the one when hospitality was denied at the shelter to eight of them who froze to death on the Moncenisio, in January 1679.

Well-known is the story of the same abbot Oddone, mentioned above, and his assault by forty bandits, again at the customary crossing of the Alps, and from which he escaped safe and sound²⁹.

To counter these perils and find relief for the other efforts of the journey, some religious orders took it upon themselves to set up shelters and hospices in specific places. Among them were the Benedictines and the regular clerics of Saint Augustine, east of the Pyrenees and later in Oulx, the Clunians directly on the road of Santiago to San Juan de la Peña –descendant of Peter the Venerable–, on mount Pichirano (the Sacra di San Michele, or St. Michael's Abbey) and many others.

But, going back to our discourse, these fears, probably atavic of what is unknown of the mountains, had, in medieval times, taken on the connotation of a diabolic presence, against which many righteous men had to tirelessly fight.

In this respect, there quickly spread throughout Europe the belief regarding the victorious battle by Bernardo, archdeacon of Aosta, who died in 1081, against the devils of the mountain and the associated crossing, which later came to be known as the Great Saint Bernard Pass.

The legend, which the popular iconographies helped to disseminate, linked the peak with the story of the enchainment of the devil himself to the ancient column placed on the peak of “*Mons Iovis*” and where on stormy nights it was said that a terrible scream could be heard, which would have corresponded to the eternal wailing of the lord of hell. In appreciation to the wayfarers for their many prayers, it was said that the saint archdeacon founded the hospices that were later given his name...The place also constituted, for the pilgrims going to Santiago –especially the Italians and the French– a singular attraction, as well as an almost mandatory crossing.

When *The Pilgrim's Guide to Santiago* mentions “Three great hospices in the world”, it is not by chance that it refers to the one in Mont Joux, with its counterparts in Jerusalem and Saint Christina on the crossing of Somport: “*Hec sunt hospitalia in locis necessariis posita, loca sancta, domus Dei, refectio sanctorum peregrinorum, requies egentium, consolacio infirmorum, salus mortuorum, subsidium vivorum. Hec igitur loca sacrosanta quicumque edificaverit, procul dubio regnum Dei possidebit*”³⁰.

In *The Legend of Saint Bernard of Menthon*, a text preserved in a 15th century copy, there is a good account of the cultural context of reference of the evocative legend, with the experience of a group of French pilgrims who, having walked through Rome, decided to stop and take some refreshment at the “*hostel du Bourg Saint Pierre*”, the last stop before reaching the peak of the Great Saint Bernard Pass³¹.

Cfr. *Mont Cenis, janvier 1679, l'ultime voyage*, in *Chemins de Compostelle*, n. 10 (1996), p. 11-20. Following the discovery of the bodies, the Senate of Savoy carried out a full investigation.

29 Cfr. for the references to the abbots of Cluny, cfr. OURSEL, R., *La via Lattea*, op. cit., p. 311-345.

30 Cfr. *De tribus Hospitalibus Cosmi*, in *Liber Sancti Jacobi Codex Calixtinus*, op. cit., p. 237.

31 Cfr. *Le Mystère de S. Bernars de Menthon*, by A. Lecoy de la Marche, Paris, MDCCCLXXXVIII.

Here, at “*au bourg Saint- Pierre, au pied du Mont-Joux*”, after asking for “*bon vim...bon pain*”, typical foods of the good mountain regions, and the request to taste the “*muscadet*” wine rather than the red “*...de Vales*”³², the group headed onwards with the necessary precautions “*Chascum de nous se mecte (en) cure/ de chiminer legieremant*”³³.

Meanwhile, the devils, gathered around Jove’s column which stood at the mount’s peak, in the foretold scene “*Au sommet du Mont-Joux*”, decided on their strategy for the attack “*Adont doibent monter les monts, et les dyables dedans l’ydole appellent. Jupiter, au plus hault du mont, avesques les autres dyables, leur dist....*”, and threw themselves on the group of climbers.

When the trials were over, and all were together “*A Saint-Remi, derrière le Mont-Joux*”, the leader of the group asked about everyone’s condition:

“*Las! compaignons, je vous demande,
Comment.vous va, mes chiers.amis?*”³⁴

the agitated phrases in the dialogue that takes place inform us of the frightening situation they have just experienced. After the great storm that has isolated and seriously tried them, the pilgrims indeed become aware of the tragic event:

“*Le IIe pelerin.
J’ay cuidiez aragier tout vif;
Oncques ne fu sbahis...*

[...]

*Le tiers pelerin.
Hélas! Que j’ay paour aussi!
Je ne sçavoie plus mot sonner.*

*Le IIII pelerin.
Oncques n’oy ainsi tonner;
J’en suis encore perdus.*

*Le V pelerin.
Sommes tous trestous descendus?
Or contons se nous sommes dix.*

*Le VI pelerin.
Demourés est le plus hardi
De nous, car il ne cy pas.*

³² Wine from Sion in Valais.

³³ Cfr. *Le Mystère de S. Bernard*, op. cit., p.36-40.

³⁴ Cfr. *ibidem*, p. 46-50.

Le XII pelerin.

*Il a esté pris au trapas,
Car je l'ay bien senty crier.*

Le VIII pelerin.

*Encore me convient trembler
Par force de la grant paour.*

Le IX pelerin.

*Je ne sçay s'il est nuit, ou jour;
Ainsi sui je tous esperdu.
Le povre homme si fu perdu
Et pris tout au plus près de moy.*

Le premier pellerin.

*Le plus gailliant home, je croy,
Qui fust en tout nostre pais.
Riens ne doubtoit, tant fust hardi,
Veés vous que c'est la grant pité.*

Le II pelerin.

*Begni soit Dieu quant eschapé
Sont ly aultre Il n'ya remede,
Prions tous a Dieu qu'il nous aide
Et nous conduie en bon hostel..."*

Arriving in Aosta, together, they hurried to request the intervention of the bishop, briefly explaining their adventure³⁵:

*"Mon chier seigneur, en bonne foy,
Nous par ce mont passés,
ou avons eu de mal assés.
Ne savons qu'il est devenu
Ung compaignon a nous perdu.
La habitent faulx esperitz,
De nature humaine ennemis;
Et je croy qu'en este cité
Vous estes gens d'autoricté:
Mettés vous en de vocion,*

35 Cfr. *ibidem*, p. 114-116.

*A tout la crois et confacion,
Et alés ce dyable destruire”.*

Upon their return from their Roman pilgrimage, they again appeared before the bishop:

*“Mon seigneur, vous sovient’il plus
Commant nous fusme malmené
A mon Jou, ou fust estranglez
L’ung de nous gent, le plus vaillant?, ”*

requesting once again his direct intervention :

*“C’est petié de passer pour la.
Retrecté vous ung pou en la.
J’em parleray a mon chapitre”.*

A resource which proved ineffective in solving the problem. Only the intervention by Saint Bernard³⁶, placing himself at the head of the line of wayfarers on their way to the crossing, and his incisive words:

*“Comandement vous fait a tous,
De part Dieu, qui est tout puissant,
Que ne touchiés ne po ne grant
Les compaignion laissez passer.
Perdu avés vostre viertus.
Rendé vous; ne poé fuyr”.*

Managed to finally deliver the places and achieve the eternal imprisonment of the evil one to the infamous column: since then the «Mons Iovis» is also included within the group safe mountains.

Thus it is possible to understand the itineraries described in the journals of the pilgrims who travelled in the direction of Moncenisio: one can immediately capture the sense of fear, worry and tension that the sight of the great ascent up the mountains of the initial suffering must have instilled in them, and the need to find shelter in protected places, albeit foreign to the traditionally travelled routes.

In the exemplary text published by Mario Damonte, written by a pilgrim during the end of the 15th century on his way from Florence to Santiago, we again find the approach and the crossing of the valley of Susa. Here the route continues in a regular way at first, from one city to another: *“Moncholieri³⁷ un bello castello in poggio; passasi per*

³⁶ Cfr. *ibidem*, p. 130-131.

³⁷ Moncalieri.

drento ed è molto dovizioso; e nel duomo, cioè in chiesa, ècci il corpo del beato Bernardo; fa molti miracoli. Richoli³⁸, uno castello in ispiaggia; passasi per drento. Sancto Antonio della Aversa³⁹, una bella chiesa ed è in fortezza; qui si dà mangiare a chi vuole sendo pellegrino. Vigliano⁴⁰ un bello castello in poggio, passasi per drento, ècci buone hosterie. Una villa, chiamasi Sancto Antonio⁴¹; sono parecchi chiese e osterie. Bossolino⁴², un bello castello, passasi per drento; assai hosterie e buone; et allato passa el Po⁴³. Susa una terra grande, assai hosterie”.

But it then it will be altered with a new trial: “*Novalles⁴⁴, una bella villa a piè del monte*” e infine “*Cominciassi a salire la montagna del Monsanese*”⁴⁵.

In another itinerary from the late 15th century, published by Renato Delfiol, relating to the same route, but with a different style and manner, we again find the same allusions but with new details. Here there comes into play the allusion to the perils of the crossing and to the weather conditions: First the list of the places is repeated:

<i>“Da Asti a Chieri</i>	<i>m. XVII</i>
<i>Da Chieri a Moncheri⁴⁶</i>	<i>m. V</i>
<i>Da Monchieri a Rigoli⁴⁷</i>	<i>m. VII</i>
<i>(delle loro che sono miglie dieci delle nostre).</i>	

<i>Da Rigoli a due miglia discosto si truova una chiesa di santo Antonio</i>	
<i>richa et ivi si dà bere; e poi si trova Vigliano che vi è Santo Antonio</i>	<i>m. III</i>
<i>D’Avigliana a una bella villa che si chiama Sto. Antonio⁴⁸</i>	<i>m. V</i>
<i>Da decta villa di santo Antonio da Susa et in questo mezo</i>	
<i>è una buona villa</i>	<i>m. X”</i> ,

And there follows the description of the impression produced by the mountain range:

<i>“Da Susa alla Ferriera⁴⁹ ch’è cominciamento di Monsanese a Susa⁵⁰</i>	<i>m. X</i>
<i>Dalla Ferriera passamo Monsanese e andamo a una villa. che si chiama [...]</i>	
<i>e passamo più ville e andamo miglia trenta”.</i>	

38 Rivoli.

39 Santo Antonio di Ranverso.

40 Avigliana.

41 Sant’Antonino di Susa.

42 Bussoleno.

43 Dora Riparia.

44 Novalles.

45 The Moncenisio. Cfr. DAMONTE, M., “Da Firenze a Santiago di Compostella: itinerario di un anonimo pellegrino nell’anno 1477”, in *Studi Medievali*, XIII (1972), f. 2, p. 1043-1049.

46 Moncalieri.

47 Rivoli.

48 Santo Antonio di Ranverso.

49 Ferrera Cenisio.

50 O Moncenisio.

The brief note on the presence, in the mountain, of a snow-covered cemetery for wayfarers and pilgrims, contains a final recommendation: “....e in sul Monsanese si truova quello carnaio de morti che si truovano nella neve; et vuolsi guardare a passare con buon tempo...”⁵¹.

The snow that blankets the area around the great Cross on the mountain’s peak, is still cause for great preoccupation in the narration of a later pilgrimage from Brescia, published by Paolo Guerrini⁵²:

“Da poi a Novalesa qual è la prima terra ch’è dal pè del monte senese [...] et tra Novalesa et Ferrera se passa el fiume Nischa⁵³ et da poi ala gran Cruse, che dal principio del monte infino al colmo sono più de quattro milia grossi, et in cima de ditta montagna se camina circa doy ligi continuamente per neve, qual era alta et sopra ditta neve caminando qual monte se chiama lo monte senese, et in cima de ditto monte è un lago qual mai non fu pesso et è longo circa milia quatro et è al colmo dela ditta montagna la gran Cruce”.

After climbing so many mountains where suffering seems to be a predominant theme, for the pilgrims on their way to Santiago there loomed –always according to the text of *The Pilgrim’s Guide*– a different mountain, the first to introduce them directly to the one and true Way of St. James.

When on the Via Tolosana, along the route that led from Arles to the Spanish regions –the most travelled by Italian pilgrims– the first important encounter with the mountain took place in the Pyrenees, in Cize (and the passage with the same name), and it was certainly a special encounter.

The *Pilgrim’s Guide*, not often attentive enough to provide these details, makes a special exception in this case, making it possible to understand its meaning. “*In terra etiam Basclorum, via Sancti Iacobi, est excellentissimus mons quod dicitur Portus Cisere, aut quia porta Yspanie ibi habetur, aut quia per illum montem res necessarie de alia terra ad aliam transportantur*”⁵⁴.

The superlative “*excellentissimus*” from “*excellens*”, ‘superior to the others who are in themselves imposing’, shows this height as a unique and exemplary site to capture the attention of the pilgrims.

The special relevance suggested here is pointed out in the text, however, with the unusual etymological emphasis that is recorded. The name –it says– is explained by the fact that the mountain is the “*porta della Spagna*”, or “*luogo attraverso cui si trasportano le cose utili*” “*portam...trasporta(re)*”, coming to mean that for the pilgrims this elevation was the specific place through which to enter and exit the Spanish routes.

51 Cfr. *Un altro “itinerario” tardo-quattrocentesco da Firenze a Santiago di Compostella*, op. cit., p. 603.

52 Cfr., *Relazione di un pellegrinaggio bresciano*, op. cit., p. 608-609.

53 Cenischia.

54 *Liber Sancti Jacobi Codex Calixtinus*, op. cit., p. 239.

While the initial indications may in fact quite resemble others previously supplied, of the type “*Cuius ascensus octo miliaris et descensus similiter octo habetur*”, the discourse changes immediately towards unexpected celestial boundaries: “*Sublimitas nacque eius tanta est, quod visa est usque ad celum tangere, cuius ascensori visum est propria manu celum posse palpari; de cuius fastigio potest videri mare Brittanicum et occidental e et hora etiam trium regionum, scilicet Castelle, et Aragoni et Gallie.*”

With these lines the author signals, so to speak, the passage to the next moment of what has been defined as the complex “shock”⁵⁵ level of medieval travellers: the epic sublimation of majesty⁵⁶.

The moment’s supreme level is presented in the *Guide*’s text as an event that is anything but secondary, but as a way of making memory indestructible in the spirit of the individual, making him feel suddenly close to god and the holy protector of the Way, and at the same time revealing the essence of a truly illuminated mountain.

In fact, at this point, the text recalls a most famous pilgrim, the emperor Charlemagne, forced –as the discoverer of a mountain trail– to open a passage in search of safer ground, and upon reaching the peak, he presently planted the cross in the earth while sending a prayer to the Creator and to Saint James: “*In sumitate vero eiusdem montis est locus quod dicitur Crux Caroli, quia super illum, securibus et dolabris et fossoriis ceterisque manubriis, Karolus...in Yspaniam pergens, olim tramitem fecit signumque Dominice crucis prius in eo oravit et tandem, flexis genibus, versus Galleciam Deo et Sancto Iacobo precem fudit*”.⁵⁷

The image created contemporaneously to the canonisation process by the entourage of Frederick I of the clergy of Aix La Chapelle in 1165⁵⁸, was a unique precedent put forward to the new pilgrims, but it was on the “*Stat crux*” that the legacy between the divine and the passage of Cize became obvious.

The prayer, a new value proposed by the place and later adopted in the Spanish regions, thus became, more strongly, the link with the saint, transforming –following Charlemagne’s example– the passage of Cize simultaneously into the first European and St. James’s sanctuary, but not the only one. In fact, the *Guide* concludes the passage presenting an additional and novel note, namely a series of gestures to accompany

⁵⁵ Cfr. for the ‘shock’ effect OURSEL, R., *La Via Lattea*, op. cit., p. 316 and fol.

⁵⁶ At the same time, the author gives faith of his debt towards Christian hodoeporic literature of origin, particularly with the *Itinerarium* (Peregrinatio) Egeriae (Etheriae), well-known account of a pilgrim in the Holy Land. Also in this text, which dates back to the beginning of the 5th century, we find the description of the ascent up a unique mountain, Mount Sinai, which seems to reduce the chain of “supreme” mountains, visible to the naked eye, into mere hills: “*Mons autem ipse per giro quidam unus esse videtur; intus autem ipse per giro quidam unus esse videtur; intus autem quod ingrederis plures unt, de totus mons Dei appellatur... Et cum hi omnes, qui per girum sunt, tam excelsi sint, quam numquam e tuto ridisse, tramn ipse illemadianus, in quodescendit maietas Dei, tanto altior est omnibus illis, ut, cum subissemus in illo, prorsus toti illi montes, quo excelsos videramus, infra nos essent, ac si colluculi permodici essent*”. Cfr. for the text preserved in a 12th century manuscript L. Spitzer, *The Epic Style of the Pilgrim Aetherie*, in *Comparative Literature*, I (1949), p. 225-258.

⁵⁷ *Liber Sancti Jacobi Codex Calixtinus*, op. cit., p. 239.

⁵⁸ Cfr. MORISSEY, R., *L'empereur à la barbe fleurie, Charlemagne dans la mythologie et l'histoire de France*, Paris, 1987, p. 102 and fol.

the traveller on his journey to the final destination: “*Quapropter peregrini, genua sua ibi curvantes versus Sancti Iacobi patriam, ex more orant et singuli singola vexilla Dominice crucis infigunt. Mille etiam crucis ibi possunt inveniri*”, e ancora “*unde primis locus orationis Sancti Iacobi ibi habetur*”⁵⁹.

With regards to the small ‘crosses’ carried by St. James’ pilgrims on their way back from Santiago de Compostela, we have further reference in the text of one of the miracles⁶⁰ attributed to the pope Calixtus and narrated in Book III of the same *Codex Calixtinus*. In 1106, “*in Apullie*”, a soldier suffering from a serious illness to his throat and desperately seeking remedy, resolved to ask St. James for help. The saint answered that “*si invire posset aliquam cruce illam quam a sancto Iacobo peregrini redientes secum deferre solent. et ex ea propriam gulam infirmam tangeret, statim remedium haberet*”⁶¹. He quickly got in touch with a pilgrim “*tetigit ad gulam et sanatur*” before renewing his journey of the desired pilgrimage, recovered: “*et inde ad beati Iacobi limina in Galleciam profiscitur*”.

But, going back to the Guide’s passage, once again the author points out how, even the supreme illuminated mountain can have dark, frightening areas “*Navarri impii et Bascli*”: “*In eodem monte, antequam Christianitas in his yspanicis ad plenum augmentaretur, Navarri impii et Bascli peregrinos ad Sanctum Iacobum pergentes non solum depredari, verum etiam ut asinos equitare et perimere solebant*”⁶².

In these circumstances the author directs his attention towards the less courageous pilgrims, presenting an alternate route, but bearing in mind the memory of the Carolingian⁶³ tradition: the suggested pass suggested is in fact called Valcarlos: “*Iuxta vero montem illum versus scilicet septentrionem, est vallis que dicitur Vallis Karoli in qua hospitatus fuit idem Karolus cum suis exercitibus quando pugnatores in Runciavalle occisi fuere; per quam etiam multi peregrini ad Sanctum Iacobum tendentes transeunt, nolentes montem ascendere*”⁶⁴.

Equally in this case the sanctification of the places is skilfully done by blending the memory of the sacrifice by Roland and his followers at Roncesavalles with the presence of the chapel and the pilgrims’ hospice: “*Postea vero in descensione eiusdem montis, invenitur hospitale et ecclesia in qua est petronus quem Rotolandus hero potentissimus, spata sua, a summo usque deorsum, per medium trino ictu scidit. Deinde invenitur Runciavallis, locus scilicet, quo belum magnum olim fuit factum in quo rex Marsirus et Rotolandus et Oliverus et alii pugnatores cum XL milibus Christianorum simul et Sarracenorum occisi fuere*”⁶⁵.

59 *Liber Sancti Jacobi Codex Calixtinus, op. cit.*, p. 239. For the first time in the text the St. James traveller becomes a pilgrim who prays and leaves specific signals: leaving behind his appearance of wayfarer, the individual finds himself behind and within the image of Charlemagne, seeker and witness to the message of the Apostle. For the first time again, the mountain, already a place for trials and tribulations, became a metaphor for light.

60 Cfr. HERBERS, K., “The Miracles of St. James”, in *The Codex Calixtinus and the Shrine of St. James*, WILLIAMS, J.-STONES, A. eds., *Jakobus Studien* 3, Tübingen, 1992, p. 11-36.

61 *Liber Sancti Jacobi Codex Calixtinus, op. cit.*, p. 169.

62 Cfr. *ibidem*, p. 239-240.

63 Cfr. LOPEZ MARTÍNEZ-MORÁS, S., *Epica y camino de Santiago, en torno al Pseudo Turpin*, A Coruña, 2002, p. 101 and fol.

64 *Liber Sancti Jacobi Codex Calixtinus, op. cit.*, p. 240.

65 Cfr. *ibidem*, p. 240.

On the other hand, the Guide also bases its routes on the possible visits⁶⁶ to the relics of the saints whose moral life lessons or teachings were still considered to awaken the public's interest and participation⁶⁷. Thus, in memory of the ancient sacrifice at Roncesvalles, all who sought shelter in the hospice or desired to participate, in the chapel, with prayers for all their likely travel companions, could easily fulfil their wish.

Thus initiating the slow journey along Spanish territory, the author of the Guide goes back, with a brief hint, to portraying the mountain atmosphere, when the pilgrim finally enters Galicia, and with an important reference illustrated with the passage of Cize: "*Inde est Orbeaga, inde urbs Osturga, inde Raphanellus, qui captivus cognominatus est, inde hortus montis Yraci, inde Siccamolina, inde Pons Ferratus, inde Carcavellus, inde Villafranca de bucca vallis Carceria, inde castrum Sarracenicum, inde villa Us, inde hortus montis Februarii, inde hospitale in cacumine eiusdem montis*"⁶⁸.

The location of the Cebreiro⁶⁹ shelter, the "*montis Februarii*", another exemplary site in the memory of the pilgrims, and which will later become rooted to the Eucharistic miracle of 1300, is referred to with the important reference to the presence of the hospice, proof of a new consecration of the place, which is further sustained by a another reference: "*Inde Triacastella, in pede scilicet eiusdem montis in Gallecia, ubi peregrini accipiunt petram et secum deferunt usque ad Castaniollam ad faciendam calcem ad hopus basilice apostolice*".⁷⁰

From Castañeda came the lime used in the construction and layout of the great cathedral of Santiago. The pilgrims carried, in fulfilment of their devotion, lime rocks which they picked up in Triacastela, almost as a final propaedeutic rite at the journey's end.

66 Cfr. DIAZ Y DIAZ, M. C., "Santos en los Caminos", in *Visitandum est, op. cit.*, p. 117-128; COSTANTINI, D., *Los Santos Militares del Codex Calixtinus*, V, VIII: *Legenda y Tradición*, *ibidem*, p. 107-116.

67 In this sphere the hero's death is narrated in a manner equal to that of the mentioned martyr saints and, in the same way his are presented as relics that deserve to be visited: "*Hic tanta fortitudine repletus fuit, quo petronum quemdam, ut fertur, in Runciavalle a summo usque deorsum sua framea per medium, trino ictu scilicet, scidit, et tubam sonando, oris sui vento similiter per medium divisit.. Tuba vero eburnea scilicet scissa apud Burdegalium urbem, in basilica beati Severini habetur, et super petronum in Runciavalle quidam ecclesia fabricatur*". The burial place of the "holy" Roland is marked so that the pilgrims can dutifully carry out that stage in the journey: "*Deinde apud Blavium in marittima, beati Romani presidia pretenda sunt, in cuius basilica requiescit corpus beati Rotolandi martiris, qui, cum esset genere nobilis, comes scilicet Karoli magni regis, de numero XIIIim pugnatorum ad expugnandas gentes perfidas zelo fidei septus, Yspaniam ingressus est*". *Liber Sancti Jacobi Codex Calixtinus*, *op. cit.*, p. 250. The same cultural sphere is also mentioned by the author of the Guide for Roland's friends, previously mentioned, who died with him in Roncesvalles. Specifically: "*Item in landis Burdegalensibus, villa que dicitur Belinus, visitando sunt corpora sanctorum martirum Oliveri, Gandelbodi regis Frisie, Otgerii regis Dacie, Arastagni regiset aliorum plurimorum scilicet Karoli magni pugnatorum qui, devictis exercitibus paganorum, in Yspania trucidati pro Christi fide fuere. Quorum preciosa corpora usque ad Belinum socii illorum detulerunt, et ibi studiosissime sepelierunt. Iacent enim omnes una in uno tumulo, ex quo suavissimus odor flagrat, unde coliniti sanantur*" one of the most obvious public manifestations of acquired sanctity. Cfr. *ibidem*, p. 250.

68 *Liber Sancti Jacobi Codex Calixtinus, op. cit.*, p. 236.

69 Cfr. URÍA RIU, J., "Del Cebreiro a Portomarin", in VÁZQUEZ DE PARGA, L., Lacarra, J. M. and URÍA RIU, J., *Las peregrinaciones a Santiago, op. cit.*, II, p. 310 and fol.

70 *Liber Sancti Jacobi Codex Calixtinus, op. cit.*, p. 236.

Toward the end of his effort, the pilgrim, strengthened by the trials of the journey, felt part of the new “*societas*” membership and showed, by carrying the rocks, his will to enter straight into the house of his new Lord, who by now had become his close companion. The journey itself was not a smooth one, and reaching the destination was not always achieved by all. In spite of this, the saint’s support, along the starlit roads, was constant.

One example of this would be the reference to the well-known miracle attributed to Hugh of Besançon⁷¹ in the *Codex Calixtinus*. Towards 1080, a group of about thirty Germans started the journey to Santiago, having each, but one, promised to mutually aid one another in case of need. When one of them fell ill, all the others, after waiting for a fortnight together near the passage of Cize, decided to continue the journey without the one who had not made the promise. And the two of them, the ill one and his caregiver, spent the night alone together “*ad pedem prefati montis*” and awaited the morrow. By daybreak, the sick pilgrim expressed his will to attempt the ascent “*temptaret montem ascenderet*” making the utmost effort. Together at the “*ad montis fastigium*” and not long before dusk, the pilgrim died in the arms of his friend, who was left to keep watch over the body, alone and afraid, “*tum loci solitudine, tum noctis caligine*”.

It was then that the beloved Apostle appeared “*quasi miles insidens equo*”, taking both pilgrims, the dead one and the survivor, with him on horseback. Making the ten day journey in just one night, St. James stopped to deposit the body of the dead pilgrim “*in monte Gaudii, uno milliaro citra monasterium predicti apostoli*” and asked the other pilgrim to inform the clerics of what had happened.

This miracle, which spread widely with the others also because of the easy and reassuring iconography, takes us, by the apostle’s direct intervention, to the peak of the last mountain along the itinerary, the most awaited and desired, that of “*monte Gaudii*”.

The place name, as we know, indicates, not only within the Spanish tradition, the place where it is possible to see for the first time the end of the pilgrimage, which in this case is the great cathedral of Santiago de Compostela⁷².

For the St. James’ pilgrims this vision is still, as mentioned earlier, the last rite stated in the Guide, that of the transportation of the rocks. The pilgrim, who has just entered into his new adoptive family, can peremptorily participate in the ascent to his own “*Sinai*”; that is to say, the mount from where he will have an exclusive preview of the great cathedral which awaits him, almost like a reflection of the evangelical ‘Transfiguration’ which he will see illustrated on the great doorway: “*Porta occidentalis habens duos introitus, pulcritudine, magnitudine et operatione alias transcendit portas. Ipsa*

⁷¹ *Liber Sancti Jacobi Codex Calixtinus*, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

⁷² Cfr. URIA RIU, J., “De Portomarin a Santiago”, in VÁZQUEZ DE PARGA, L., Lacarra, J. M. and URIA RIU, J., *Las peregrinaciones a Santiago*, *op. cit.*, II, p. 351 and fol.

*maior et pulcrrior aliis habetur et mirabilius operatur, multisque gradibus deforis, columnisque diversis marmoreis...Cuius opera tanta sunt quia a nobis narrationibus comprehendere nequeunt. Sursus tamen Domenica transfiguratio qualiter in monte Thabor fuit facta, mirabiliter sculptitur. Est enim Dominus ibi in nube candida, facie splendens ut sol, veste refulgens ut nix, et Pater desper loquens ad ipsum; et Moyses et Elias qui cum illo apparuerunt loquentes ei excessum quem completurus erat in Iherusalem. Ibi vero beatus Iacobus est et Petrus et Iohannes quibus transfigurationem suam pre omnibus Dominus revelavit*⁷³.

The text in the Guide presents it simply as the “*mons Gaudii*”, awarding nothing to the description of the place, which is actually close enough to the city for the author to give it some special attention, captivated as he was by the description of the Apostle’s city. Notwithstanding, the *Codex Calixtinus* itself, through the text just mentioned, distils how the place was privileged above all others thanks to the appearance of St. James, master who is always ready to defend his devotees and to lead them to a safe port, or even to their tomb.

Similarly to what happened, according to the Gospels, to the Apostle St. James, who exhausted but unable to sleep, for he had earlier experienced –at the moment of Christ’s Transfiguration on mount Tabor–, first, wondrous joy: “*Maestro, quanto è bello per noi stare qui*” in the words of Peter; then great fear –upon witnessing the appearance of the great divine cloud which enveloped the place–, and finally, serenity –when recognising the voice and face of his awaiting Master– so the pilgrim’s mood on the mount at the end of his journey, must have combined contrasting moments and feelings⁷⁴.

There is obviously no mention in the Guide of the emotion that must have overtaken the traveller upon seeing the house of the Apostle. Instead, it is dealt with in the later Italian travel journals, taking as an example that of Domenico Laffi (Bologna 1681): “*Partiti da questa fonte salimmo per spatio di mezza lega, giungendo in cima d’una montagnola che si chiama monte del Gaudio.ove scoprimmo il sospirato e bramato san Giacomo, distante mezza lega circa;subito scopertolo, mettendoci in ginocchio e per grande allegrezza ci caddero dagl’occhi le lagrime e cominciammo a cantare il Te Deum, ma detti due o tre versetti e non più, che non potevamo pronuncia parole per la copia delle lagrime,che abbondanti ci scaturivanci dagl’occhi, con una tale compassione che il cuore legatoci, e li continui singhiozzi. ci fecero trattenere dal canto, fintanto che, sfogati.dal pianto, che poscia cessato, ritornassimo alla pronuncia del cominciato Te Deum e così, cantando, continuammo a discendere fintanto che, sfogati dal pianto, che poscia cessato, ritornassimo alla pronuncia del cominciato Te Deum e così, cantando, continuammo a discendere finché arrivammo nel borgo....*”⁷⁵ to that from the

⁷³ *Liber Sancti Jacobi Codex Calixtinus*, op. cit., p. 254.

⁷⁴ Cfr. Matteo, XII, 1-13; Marco IX, 2-13.

⁷⁵ Cfr. LAFFI, D., *Viaggio in Ponente à San Giacomo di Galizia e Finisterrae*, Bologna, 1681, ed. a. c. di A. S. Capponi, Perugia, 1989.

following century, written by Nicola Albani, pilgrim in 1743: “*Prima d’arrivar alla città circa miglia due, cominciai a scoprire campanili, subito mi genuflessi in terra, e per mille volte ne baciai la terra, scalzandomi a piedi nudi, cantando a Santa Litania, frettoloso avanzavo*” even in this case the moment is marked by profound emotion and joy⁷⁶.

A well-known saying reminds the “*caminantes*” that “*no hay caminos, el camino se hace a l’ andar*”; so, in same way we wish to conclude, prompting that the saying is valid under each circumstance, not only in the mountains; the “*caminantes*” know full well that “*hay montes*” that cannot be removed, and that they make one sweat during “*l’ andar*”; but what is extraordinary about the way to Santiago is the fact that even the mountains “*se hacen a l’ andar*”, alternating moments and moods, the everyday and the sublime ones, the common and the individual ones, while strengthening the certainty that, beyond the disquieting peak, sooner or later, the sky is bound to shine.

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76 Cfr. P. Caucci von Saucken, *Una nuova acquisizione per la letteratura di pellegrinaggio italiano: il “Viaggio da Napoli a san Giacomo di Galizia” di Nicola Albani*, in *Il Pellegrinaggio a Santiago di Compostela*, op. cit., p. 327-427. Instead, from the account by a French pilgrim from the early 700, Guillaume Marnier, we also learn a curious profane rite, with ancient origins, which was still carried out on the Monte do Gozo; the so-called election of the “king”. This denomination was meant to honor the first group of travellers to clearly see, from the peak of the mount, the cathedral’s outline: “*avendola vista, lanciai il mio cappello in aria, facendo sapere ai miei compagni che venivano dietro, che avevo visto la torre*”.. The final note is of emotion and pride. “*Tutti, quando giunsero, ammisero che ero io re*” in a demonstration of a burst of personal joy in the great community feast of the arrival. J. Uria Riu, *De Portomarin a Santiago*, in L. Vázquez de Parga, J. M. Lacarra, J. Uria Riu, *Las peregrinaciones a Santiago*, op. cit., II, p. 353 and fol.