

# Santiago Pilgrims Travelling the Portuguese Routes in the Modern Age: a Global Phenomenon

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The aim of this work is to study the pilgrims who travelled along the Portuguese Ways to Santiago de Compostela in the Modern Period, namely between XVI and XVIII centuries, regarding their origins, ages, genders, and motivations. Moreover, it attempts to perceive the social and cultural interactions and experiences of the pilgrims. The Jacobean pilgrims, who travelled along the Portuguese routes, were a heterogeneous group. There were not only Portuguese pilgrims, but also many foreigners. There were pious and zealous people, fulfilling the religious precepts of piety and penance. But there were also people, of different ages, who disguised themselves as pilgrims to live on alms or to practice deviant acts. Behind their pious costumes and forms, some of these individuals committed heretical practices. Some people also walked the Way to discover other cultures and contact with people from different regions and lands.

**Key Words:** pilgrims, Santiago, Portugal, modern period, global history

## Introduction

The pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela is an ancient phenomenon that was established in Galicia (Spain), in the 9th century, after the discovery of the tomb of the Apostle Santiago. In the Middle Ages, pilgrimage flourished, with pilgrims from various social strata making the journey towards Compostela, motivated to be near the Saint's relics which were kept there. The influx of pilgrims contributed to the affirmation of Santiago de Compostela as one of the great centres of peninsular pilgrimage since medieval times (Sigul, 1999).

Along with an increase in the number of pilgrims, pilgrimage routes also flourished. These crossed different regions of the peninsular territory and took thousands of pilgrims to the city of the Apostle. Pilgrims were motivated by religious issues associated with penance, but also by the thaumaturgical power of the saint's relics or by forms of piety and religious fervour.

As in other regions of Europe, the phenomenon of the pilgrimage to Santiago had a great impact in Portugal, due to the geographical proximity of this territory to Santiago de Compostela. In the Middle Ages, pilgrims came from different geographic origins and various social strata. The elites, as happened in Spain, were however

fundamental in the affirmation of the pilgrimage. Kings and queens presented themselves as pilgrims, thereby promoting the pilgrimage to Santiago through their example and devotion (Moreno, 1993).

Similar to what happened in other regions of the Peninsula, pilgrimage routes were established in Portugal, which passed through different parts of Portuguese territory, both in the interior and along the coast (Terrón, 1993). The existence of these routes has been known since the dawn of the Jacobean pilgrimage, that is, since at least the 12th century. In fact, in that century, the Arab geographer Al-Idrisi made reference to pilgrimage itineraries that came from Portugal (López-Orcazberro, 1997). The pilgrimage routes, in Portuguese territory, roughly follow the ancient Roman roads, as is the case in other regions of the peninsular territory (Pazos, 2012; Penteadó, 2000).

The pilgrimage of Santiago continued dynamically in the Modern Period, namely between the 16th and 18th centuries. The Catholic Church, despite criticism from humanist and Protestant sectors, legitimised it in the Council of Trent in 1563 (Chelini, 2006). As a consequence, pilgrimage to major sanctuaries, such as Compostela, remained popular. During this period, the religious feeling linked to pilgrimage embraced new

forms and experiences, especially through the action of mendicant orders (with the affirmation of poverty in the likeness of Christ). Pilgrimage also opened up to an inner journey. On the other hand, pilgrimage also came to be seen as a form of evasion and discovery. The population of pilgrims increasingly included people from lower social strata, such as poor clergy, artisans, and farmers (Chelini, 2006; Lacarra, 1966).

In the 19th century, for reasons related to contemporary economic, social and political dynamics, the pilgrimage to Santiago declined in popularity, although it gained a new dynamic in the second half of the 20th century due to forms of spirituality linked to the New Age movement (Martinho, 2023; Hanegraaff, 1996; Heelas, 1996; Lois-González & Santos, 2015)

### Problem, Sources and Methods

Who were the pilgrims along Portuguese routes in the Modern Period? Why did they undertake the pilgrimage? What experiences did they have in pilgrimage contexts? What routes did they take? In summation of these questions this work intends to study the Jacobean pilgrims in the Modern Period who circulated on the Portuguese routes, regarding their origins and motivations. Furthermore, the present work intends to focus on the experiences of the pilgrims, seeking to observe aspects that are linked to the experiences they underwent, especially connected to elements of a cultural intercourse.

Historiography, in the case of pilgrims who follow the Portuguese routes, has above all, valued the pilgrimage of people from elites, such as royal pilgrimages (Araújo, 1980; Moreno, 1993). Considering that the pilgrimage to Santiago was carried out by individuals from many social strata, not just elites, this work seeks above all to look at the pilgrimage of people from various social strata, not just elites.

The sources that allow us to observe aspects that contain references to pilgrims to Santiago de Compostela, especially from lower strata of the population, are not abundant. On the contrary, they are very scarce and are of different types, such as judicial sources, alms records and passports. Based on consultation of diverse

documentary references of assistance, administrative and judicial nature, it was possible to glimpse aspects linked to the existence of 14 pilgrims who travelled the Portuguese routes, between the mid-16th century and the mid-18th century. This was not a pre-determined selection. It was a pragmatic selection, considering the nature and the few documentary references to pilgrims in the sources.

Records of alms from charitable institutions, namely from the Cathedral of Viseu, made it possible to understand aspects of the lives of four pilgrims: Friar António de S. Bruno, António Lino, Manuel José Rodrigues and Emanuel Andrade<sup>1</sup>. Information relating to three pilgrims, Miguel Remolini, Marco Grimani and António Lopes, was collected from the documentation of the central administration of the kingdom – passports and ‘Corpo Cronológico’ – due to the fact that some of them required authorisation to circulate in Portugal.<sup>2</sup>

Aspects of the experience of the remaining seven pilgrims were collected in inquisitorial processes. The Portuguese Inquisition was founded in 1536. Its purpose was to monitor the ‘purity of faith’, repress heresies and discipline religious beliefs and behaviour (Paiva, 2011). Among the thousands who were the target of lawsuits are several pilgrims, such as Guilherme Boroa, Francisco Barbosa, João Imbert, João Fernandes, João Nicolas and João Garcia, as well as a pilgrim who was not identified in the records.<sup>3</sup> These individuals were convicted of practices that violated the faith, with the exception of João Nicolas and João Garcia who were acquitted because the accusations were found to be false. João Fernandes appears in the process only as a witness. The pilgrim’s file, which has not been identified, contains only the part relating to the inquiring of the witnesses. From the information contained in the records, it is possible to perceive origins, routes and, sometimes,

1 ADV - Cabido de Viseu, Avulsos.

2 ANTT – Gavetas, Gav. 16, mç. 5, n.º 30; ANTT - Corpo Cronológico, Parte I, mç. 71, n.º 64; ANTT – Corpo Cronológico, Parte I, mç. 55, n.º 55.

3 ANTT – Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 11007 [processo de João Imbert]; Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 600 [processo de Guilherme Boroa]; Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 12646 [autos de João Fernandes, João Nicolas e João Garcia]; Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 3770 [processo de um mendigo]; Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 12521 [processo de Francisco Barbosa].

underlying motivations for undertaking the pilgrimages, as well as experiences, beliefs and practices.

Some processes, such as Francisco Barbosa's, João Nicolas's and João Garcia's, contain pieces that come from other judicial instances, from the episcopal and royal courts, respectively. Underlying these accusations was the suspicion that they were pretending to be pilgrims to live on charity or to promote illicit acts or heresies. Whether they were indeed true pilgrims or not, they did actually travel the Camino, were seen or confused as such, and assumed habits and practices associated with the pilgrimage. Judicial sources must, however, be read with some forethought. The processes, namely the part of the interrogations, are narratives that occurred in a particular context of fear, pressure and threat. However, by crossing the interrogations with the references of the prosecution witnesses, it is possible to glimpse aspects of the places those travellers frequented, the way they dressed, their experiences, beliefs, attitudes and behaviours.

The study is qualitative in nature. It involves a sociological analysis, used to discover the origins of pilgrims, their gender, age and social status. It also involves an approach linked to the methods of Global History, in the way that it aims to capture experiences linked to the pilgrimage, especially in terms of transnational exchanges with a focus on cultural interactions and interconnections (Conrad, 2016). In fact, although the study focuses on pilgrims who travel the Portuguese routes, the nature of the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, as a phenomenon of mobility, is markedly transnational and therefore lends itself to an approach from the perspective of Global History, especially in terms of the experiences of pilgrims (Yun Casalilla, 2014; Gouveia; Lemos, 2022).

### Pilgrims, Motivations and Experiences

Between the 16th and 18th centuries, all of the identified 14 individuals who stated they were pilgrims to Santiago, were men. Thus, it is clear that the Jacobean Route was mainly walked by the male gender. In addition, the majority of the pilgrims were clergy (eight in number, which corresponds to 57% of the total). In the Modern Period, the clerical population represented a

high percentage of the general population (Paiva, 2000). As they were ecclesiastics, one would assume that there would be a natural propensity for pilgrimage, as was the case of Father António Lopes. He was from Elvas, in the south of Portugal. He decided to pilgrim to Santiago.<sup>4</sup> In 1535, he obtained authorisation to walk the way to Santiago from Cardinal D. Afonso, Bishop of Évora:

*for being a man of good life and not being excommunicated nor suspicious of his orders, we gave him license for one year to go where he pleases, and we entrust the prelates, priors, vicars, cures and rectors to receive him charitably.*<sup>5</sup>

The vast majority of pilgrims belonged to the secular clergy. Only Fr. António de S. Bruno was a regular cleric, a hermit of S. Antão, of the order of Friars Minor of S. Francisco. The constraints placed on regulars for the exercise of pilgrimage were greater when compared to what happened to the secular clergy. Indeed, living in a community, in strict compliance with the monastic rule, with the obligations that came with it, determined that they could not be absent for long periods of time. It is important to highlight that the pilgrimage to Santiago, even from Portugal, was a long-distance route.

Despite the existence of pilgrims from the elites, the majority of this sample came from peasant families or artisans, similar to what happened in Spain (Lacarra, 1966). Francisco Barbosa, who lived as a soldier and sailor, was the son of peasants from Minho. João Fernandes was, like his father, a shoemaker from the Algarve. However, Marco Grimani, Patriarch of Aquileia, came from one of the most powerful Venetian families of the 16th century (Gullino, 2002).

The pilgrims were people of various ages. Francisco Barbosa was 47 years old, almost the same age as Marco Grimani (48 years old), whereas João Imbert was 60 years old. Although the pilgrimage to Santiago was a long journey, requiring physical availability, the elderly were not excluded from doing it.

Unlike what happened with pilgrimages to local and regional sanctuaries in Portugal, which were often made collectively (Penteado, 2000), pilgrims to

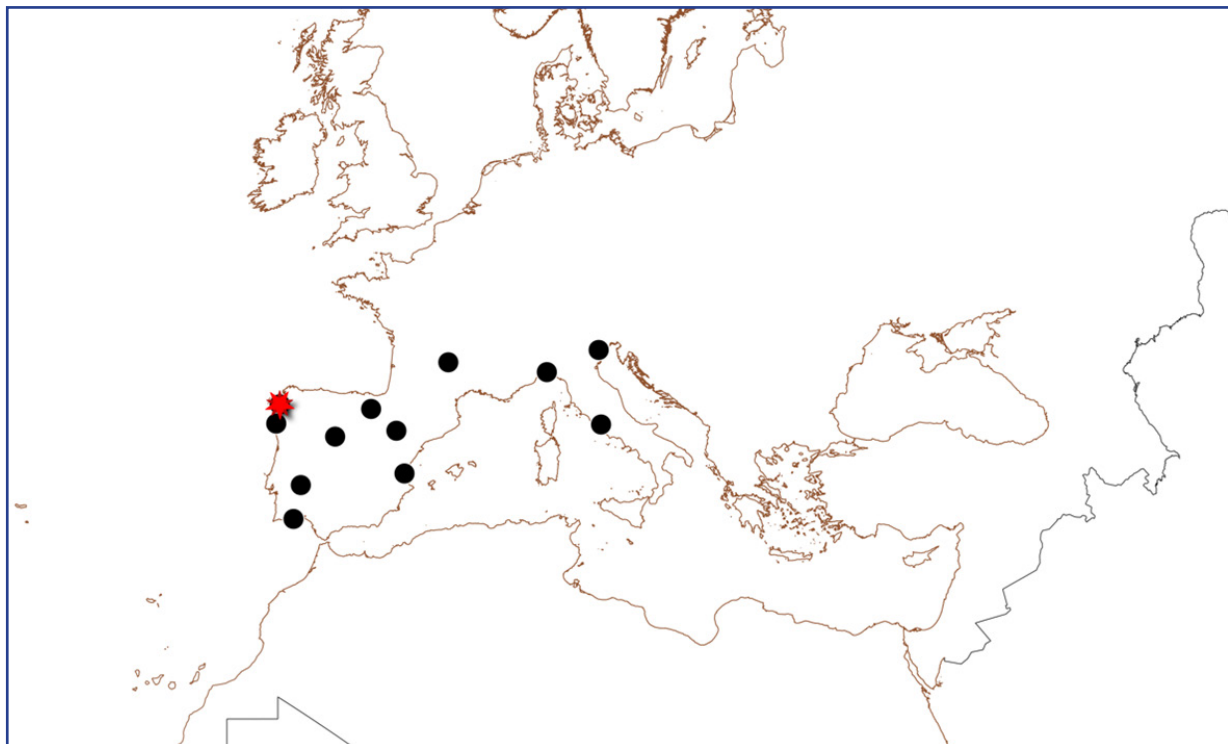
<sup>4</sup> ANTT – Corpo Cronológico, Parte I, mç. 55, n.º 55.

<sup>5</sup> ANTT – Corpo Cronológico, Parte I, mç. 55, n.º 55.

Table 1: Pilgrims (XVI -XVIII)

Name	Origin	Place/Region	Age	Job	Year of Pilgrimage
Guilherme Boroa	France	Rodès - Languedoc	45	Cleric	1547
António Lopes	Portugal	Elvas	?	Cleric	1535
Marco Grimani	Italy	Veneza	48	Cleric	1542
João Nicolas	Spain	Valença	?	?	1566
João Garcia	Spain	Medina Del Campo	?	Cleric	1566
João Fernandes	Portugal	Tavira	?	Shoemaker	1566
Francisco Barbosa	Spain	Goyan - Galicia	47	Sailor; Soldier	1602
João Imbert	France	Imbert-Lamarin	60	Cleric	1630
Fr. António de S. Bruno	Portugal	?	?	Cleric	1720
António Lino	Italy	Roma	?	?	1722
Manuel José Rodrigues	Spain	Aragão	?	Cleric	1731
Emanuel Andrade	Portugal	?	?	Cleric	1735
?	Portugal	?	?	?	1760
Miguel Remolini	Italy	Génova	?	?	1766

Figure 1: Origin of Pilgrims



Santiago usually opted to do it on their own or in small groups. João Nicolas and João Garcia started the Way individually. Having crossed paths in Gandia (Spain), they became ‘companheiros’ and set out on the road to Santiago in Pilgrimage together.<sup>6</sup> In the long pilgrimages,

<sup>6</sup> ANTT - Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 12646, fl. 4v.

accommodation and assistance was easier to obtain if they were requested on an individual basis. Moreover, authorities did not allow bigger groups of pilgrims to walk together because they feared that a big group could cause potential safety hazards. Hence, pilgrims chose to walk the Way alone or in small groups. A considerable

Figure 2: Lisbon (Pier Maria Baldi, 1668-1669)



number of pilgrims travelled with little or no resources. In other words, they lived on alms and assistance in inns and hospitals, as was the case of Fr. Antonio de S. Bruno.<sup>7</sup> In order to meet his needs and make his journey more comfortable, and mainly due to the fact that the practice of charity was a duty of the clergy, The Bishop of Viseu, D. Jerónimo Soares, conceded Fr. Antonio alms, in exchange of prayers.<sup>8</sup> The clergyman João Garcia, on the other hand, was

*dressed like a peasant ... because he was very poor.*<sup>9</sup>

In the group of 14 pilgrims, five were Portuguese, four Spanish, three Italian and two French. Regarding nationalities, the Portuguese were in greater number, which is not surprising. However, it is important to note that, overall, the number of foreign pilgrims was high (nine pilgrims in total), which substantiates the global nature of the Jacobean pilgrimage in the Modern Period on the Portuguese routes. The travellers mainly came from the Catholic southern regions of Europe, where the Jacobean cult was effective. Marco Grimani, Patriarch of Aquileia, vowed to go to Santiago in 1542. He travelled through Portuguese territory from Lisbon, passing through the city of Coimbra, where he stayed at the Bishop's expense.<sup>10</sup> João Imbert, a French clergyman from Imbert – province of Lamarin – travelled through various regions of the centre of the country, as part of the pilgrimage to the Apostle's tomb, in the first decades

7 ADV - Cabido de Viseu, Avulsos, cx. 21, doc. 19.

8 ADV - Cabido de Viseu, Avulsos, cx. 21, doc. 19.

9 ANTT - Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 12646, fl. 5.

10 ANTT - Corpo Cronológico, Parte I, mc. 71, n.º 64.

of the 17th century.<sup>11</sup> One hundred years later, in the 18th century, Father Manuel José Rodrigues hailed from Aragon, and Father António Lino was from Rome.<sup>12</sup>

Because of the geographic proximity of the Portuguese territory to Galicia, some foreign pilgrims chose to make the journey through Portugal, as they benefited from the Portuguese ports. Indeed, Miguel Remolini, from Genoa, obtained a passport in Lisbon bound for Santiago 'by sea and land'.<sup>13</sup> Others, after arriving in Santiago, went to a Portuguese port to leave for their homeland. João Imbert, arrived in Setubal, Portugal, with the purpose of embarking to France from this port.<sup>14</sup> In addition, the existence of pilgrimage centres in Portugal, as well as religious institutions, which served as centres of assistance, contributed to making the Portuguese territory attractive to foreigners. Regarding alms given in Viseu to António de S. Bruno, the following was mentioned:

*he came from visiting the Sanctuary of Compostela and with great need has been passing by on his way and so he finds ... in this city the necessary to continue his pilgrimage.*<sup>15</sup>

Thus, the assistance networks, headquartered and dependent mostly on the Misericórdias, cannot be ruled out as a factor of attraction for choosing the Portuguese

11 ANTT – Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 11007, fl. 21v.

12 ADV - Cabido de Viseu, Avulsos, cx. 22, n.º 245; cx. 2, n.º 148.

13 ANTT - Gavetas, Gav. 16, mc. 5, n.º 30.

14 ANTT – Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 11007, fl. 4.

15 ADV - Cabido de Viseu, Avulsos, cx. 21, n.º 19.

**Figure 3: Saint James Pilgrim Draw by King Pedro V in 1856**



territory. João Nicolas sought shelter in the network of hospitals and inns in Portugal; in the region of Nazaré, he stayed at the Hospital of Pederneira.<sup>16</sup> The assistance network was also composed of monasteries, which provided aid to the poor and pilgrims. There are references to the role of monasteries in providing help through alms and meals. When Francisco Barbosa passed through Santarém, he had meals at the monastery of S. Clara.<sup>17</sup> When João Nicolas crossed Alcobça, he asked for alms at the Monastery there.<sup>18</sup>

Pilgrims to Santiago often wore habits that distinguished them. It was a way to call to the attention of the community, that reverted into alms and assistance in exchange for prayer. In 1760, in the city of Lisbon, one of the many pilgrims who passed through, claimed to be a beggar. He was

16 ANTT - Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 12646, fl. 5v.

17 ANTT - Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 1252, fls. 12-24.

18 ANTT - Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 12646, fl. 6.

*dressed in a very long canvas garment ... carrying a carrycot made of the same canvas in his hand.*<sup>19</sup>

In the 17th century, João Imbert

*would walk around dressed like a hermit in brown habits.*<sup>20</sup>

This attire which includes the use of a brown habit, a tunic or long garments, conveying an image of poverty, resembled the 'Pauper Christ'. There was a case where João Garcia was accused of heresy that would prove to be false. During the interrogation, the judge asked him 'how he was walking in these clothes with a long beard and in beggar's clothes', being a cleric.<sup>21</sup> Garcia answered 'because he was very poor'.<sup>22</sup> In 1760, José dos Santos, from Lisbon, mentioned that he heard blasphemies against Our Lady uttered 'by a poor pilgrim begging for alms'.<sup>23</sup>

In the Modern Period, especially in the 16th and 17th centuries, the number of false pilgrims grew. These were people who pretended to be penitents in order to live an idle life, off alms and committing crimes (Lacarra, 1966). Authorities began to pay more attention to this reality, with the aim of distinguishing true from false pilgrims and penalising those who used the pilgrimage for other purposes than strictly religious ones (Singul, 1999).

Portugal did not remain on the sidelines of this reality. At the end of the 16th century, Francisco Barbosa was accused of being a false pilgrim by the episcopal authorities of the dioceses of Santiago and Leiria. Barbosa lived on alms and assistance from the community, seeking shelter in huts and hovels, relying on hospitals and monasteries. He carried out religious and magical practices, where religion was intertwined with beliefs of popular nature. He was condemned,

19 ANTT - Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 3770, fl. 3-3v.

20 ANTT - Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 11007, fl. 3.

21 ANTT - Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 12646, fl. 5.

22 ANTT - Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 12646, fl. 5.

23 ANTT - Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 3770, folio numbering not discernible.

Figure 4: João Imbert's Compostela



by the episcopal authorities and by the Inquisition, to several years in prison, being prohibited from wearing pilgrim robes. After the Council of Trent, the pilgrimage became the object of close surveillance, in the context of the affirmation of a sacramental practice that was purged of deviant practices (Prosperi, 1999).

There were also pilgrims who committed blasphemies and heresies. They assumed behaviours contrary to the doctrine and dogmas of the Catholic faith. Guilherme Boroa, a French cleric, in the mid-16th century, travelled through Portugal on a pilgrimage. In 1554 he was arrested in Lamego, being later condemned by the Inquisition for Lutheranism.<sup>24</sup> In the 17th century, João Imbert was condemned by the Holy Office for sacrilege because he

did not show due reverence for the Blessed Sacrament.<sup>25</sup> In the 18th century, in Lisbon, a pilgrim was accused of blasphemy against Our Lady by affirming that ‘it was said that Our Lady had given birth more often and had had many children’.<sup>26</sup>

To avoid being distrusted by the authorities, some were accompanied by documentary evidence that asserted that they were indeed pilgrims, whose practices were in accordance with the dogmas and doctrine of the Church. Clerics brought licenses and resignations, as was the case of João Imbert, who carried several episcopal licenses that authorised him to celebrate masses.<sup>27</sup> Imbert was still carrying with him a proving document ‘Compostela’,

<sup>24</sup> ANTT – Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 600.

<sup>25</sup> ANTT – Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 11007, fl. 5v

<sup>26</sup> ANTT – Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 3770, folio numbering not discernible.

<sup>27</sup> ANTT – Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 11007, folio numbering not discernible.

passed by the religious authorities of Compostela, that proved he had actually finished the pilgrimage.<sup>28</sup>

With regards to motivations, religious aspects stood out, namely prayer and penance. In the 18th century, in Viseu, prayer was suggested by some pilgrims in exchange for alms:

*Father Manuel Jose Rodrigues from Aragon who is in this land disadvantaged and does not have to make the expense of his way to Compostela that he begs your Lordships to deign to send him alms to help with the maintenance which will be a memory to pray to God for the life and health of Your Lordships and increase of their houses.*<sup>29</sup>

Prayer was also practiced in liturgical contexts. Clerics, on pilgrimage, celebrated masses. When asked about his first mass, João Imbert revealed that it took place:

*in the church of S. Luiz in the village of Imbert more than twenty years ago and later he said mass in Bordeaux and in Baiona de France and in Santiago de Galicia.*<sup>30</sup>

Also, Guilherme Boroa, celebrated mass in the sanctuary of Lapa, during his pilgrimage (Correia, 1982)

Misfortunes were also a motivating element for pilgrimages. Francisco Barbosa, for example was affected by a disease when he was a soldier in Mina Coast (Africa), at the end of the 16th century. This situation led him to embrace the life of a penitent.<sup>31</sup> João Nicolas, from Valencia, mentioned

*that he had left his homeland for Santiago de Galicia, where he had promised to go on a pilgrimage due to the illness he had had.*<sup>32</sup>

João Fernandes said

*that he had been captive ... and that he had gone on a pilgrimage to the apostle S. Tiago, where he was now on his way.*<sup>33</sup>

28 ANTT –Tribunal do Santo Oficio, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 11007, folio numbering not discernible.

29 ADV - Cabido de Viseu, Avulsos, cx. 22, nº 245.

30 ANTT –Tribunal do Santo Oficio, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 11007, fl. 21.

31 ANTT - Tribunal do Santo Oficio, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 12521, fl. 65-73v.

32 ANTT - Tribunal do Santo Oficio Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 12646, fl. 4.

33 ANTT - Tribunal do Santo Oficio Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 12646.fl. 3.

João Nicolas, and many others who travelled along the pilgrimage routes in Portugal, did so mostly following long-established ways. One of the most commonly used of those ways, went from Lisbon to Coimbra towards Porto, along the coast. From Porto it headed to Caminha, where it crossed the border to Galicia. In the Portuguese inland, one of the main routes began in Coimbra, went to Viseu and from there to Lamego and Chaves, connecting to the border through Verin, ending up on the Galician pilgrimage routes.

Pilgrims, such as António Lino, and others travelled this way throughout the 18th century. There was also a route that passed through Évora, continued along the border, through Castelo Branco and Guarda and turned towards Lamego, to meet the road that came from Viseu towards Chaves (Moreno, 1986). Guilherme de Boroa embarked on this way in the 16th century. These routes originate from Roman roads that connected civitas in Roman Portugal (Vaz, 2000). It is believable that, having been reused in the Middle Ages, these roads continued to serve the transit of people and goods in the Modern Period, between the 16th and 19th centuries. In the 20th century, with the opening of new roads, the old roads were either destroyed or abandoned, being henceforth only used as side roads.

If it is, on one hand, possible to perceive the existence of pilgrimage routes that crossed Portuguese territory, it is, on the other hand, not easy to geographically locate in concrete terms all the places through which these routes passed. The route that connects Viseu to Lamego is paradigmatic. It is known that pilgrims passed through Viseu and Lamego. In the 17th century, João Imbert, reveals the following as regards this issue

*he landed in Corunha and from Corunha he left Compostela where he stayed for three months and from there he entered Portugal he doesn't know where and he came from Guarda and from Guarda to Lamego and from Lamego to Viseu and from Viseu to Coimbra and from Coimbra to Santarem and from Santarem to Lisbon from here to Setubal.*<sup>34</sup>

This means that the sources are usually silent regarding the smaller towns that were part of the route. In any

34 ANTT – Tribunal do Santo Oficio, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 11007, fl. 21v

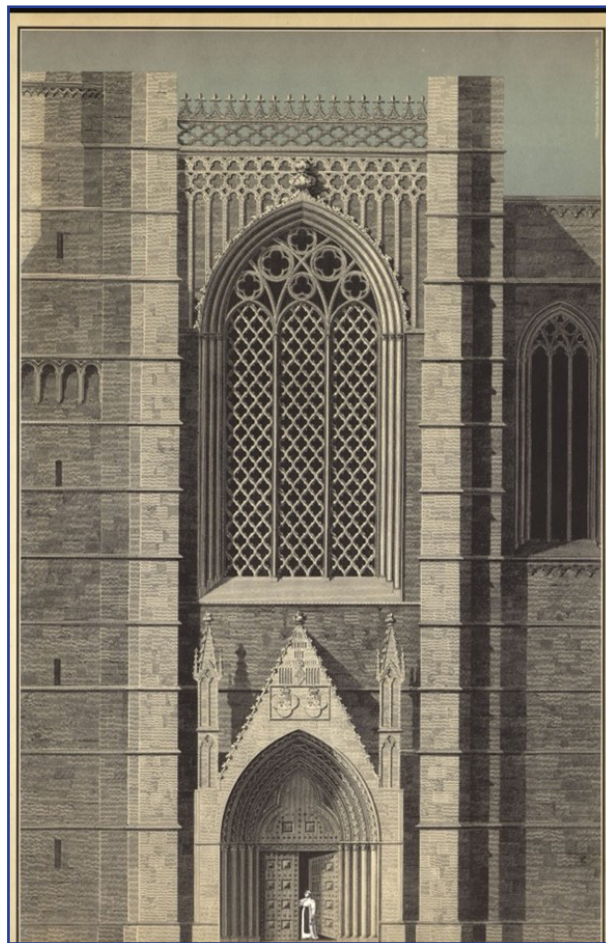
case, by crossing several sources, of a documentary and cartographic nature, it is possible to find out exactly where the route passed. It is extremely likely that pilgrims favoured the existing roads most commonly used by travellers, the ones that are referenced in maps and travel guides. The road that connected Viseu to Lamego, in the 18th century, appears referenced in the *'Roteiro Terrestre de Portugal'*, a work by João Baptista de Castro, dated 1753, which lists the main existing communication routes in the territory (Castro, 1753). This route is also documented on the map *'Carta Militar das Principal Estradas de Portugal'*, by Lourenço Homem da Cunha de Eça, dated 1808. It is likely that the pilgrims coming from Viseu travelled this route, which passed through Campo, Almargem, Rio de Mel, Mamouros, Castro Daire, then crossing the Montemuro mountain. In fact, this was the fastest and easiest way to get to Lamego, a city where pilgrimage routes crossed the interior lands. Furthermore, and this aspect is of no small importance, the itinerary practically traced the pre-existing Roman road (Martinho; Nunes, 2021).

The fact that the Jacobean pilgrimage was a transnational phenomenon, visible in the number of foreign pilgrims who travelled the Portuguese routes in the Modern Period, was a determining factor for the occurrence of cultural exchanges between pilgrims and the communities they passed. In fact, pilgrims travelled to numerous locations in the territory, whether in remote regions of the interior or on the coast of the country, making contact with local people and different cultural realities, especially attending religious festivities. As a pilgrim, Guilherme Boroa, a French clergyman, visited episcopal cities in the interior, such as Guarda and Lamego, and was in Lapa, a place of local pilgrimage in the mid-16th century (Correia, 1982). At the same time, João Garcia, a Castilian from the region of Medina del Campo, after arriving in Santiago in 1566, went to Portugal on a pilgrimage to Nazaré.<sup>35</sup>

The pilgrimage was also a way of discovering and getting to know the other. As formerly referred, João Nicolas and João Garcia met in January 1566, in Gandia (Spain), when both were making the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela. They decided to continue the pilgrimage together for four months. They shared experiences.

35 ANTT - Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 12646, fl. 5.

**Figure 5: Monastery of Batalha Drawn by James Murphy in the 18th Century**



Garcia revealed that he was from the Medina del Campo region and had been to Rome and Naples, having crossed the Piedmont region on his way back to Spain, where he was the target of a theft in Barcelona. João Nicolas, from Alzira, near Valença, revealed that he had promised to go to Santiago on account of an illness.<sup>36</sup>

Pilgrimage was equally determined by the spirit of evasion and knowledge of local realities of a cultural nature. The Spaniard João Nicolas reveals it expressly:

*that he had come from Santiago on a straight path to reach this village [Alcobaça] and that from here he decided to go on his way to Lisbon to see the city of Lisbon and ... he had come to sleep with some couples that are beyond Aljubarrota.*<sup>37</sup>

36 ANTT - Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 12646, fls. 4-7v.

37 ANTT - Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 12646.fl. 4.

As can be seen, some foreign pilgrims, after arriving in Santiago, were attracted by the relevance of Lisbon and its greatness as the capital of the empire. Nicolas states, it should be noted, that he wanted to 'see the city of Lisbon'. The fact that the Portuguese path ran along routes that passed through important religious centres, naturally determined contact with different cultural realities. João Nicolas passed through Alcobaça, Batalha and Aljubarrota. Alcobaça was the location of the Monastery of Alcobaça, the main monastery of the Cistercian order in Portugal. In Aljubarrota, the battle occurred between the Portuguese forces and the Spanish ones, resulting in the assertion of national independence, in the 14th century. The Monastery of Batalha, near Aljubarrota, was built then to commemorate the victory of the Portuguese army.

The lives of some pilgrims were marked by very diverse cultural aspects. The case of Francisco Barbosa is paradigmatic. Portuguese, although born in Galicia in the mid-16th century, more specifically in Goyan, he was a fisherman and sailor, who regularly went on trips to Mazagão, Madeira, Canary Islands, Cape Verde and São Tomé. Afterwards, he was linked to the slave trade in Brazil. He was also a soldier in places as geographically diverse as Mina in Africa, and Flanders, having established contacts with the Protestant community there. He was a religious, a hermit and, finally, a pilgrim. This cultural melting pot, of a global nature, would mark his existence. Although the authorities accused him of being a false pilgrim, he did not shy away from asserting penance, poverty, charity, and holiness in the communities where he passed. He criticised the Church, accusing the clergy of being vicious. Imbued with Sebastianism beliefs, he performed syncretic rituals and magical practices, pretending to be a saint. He considered that the religious persecution he was a witness of, and the Inquisition were unfair towards him, due to the great services he had rendered to religion and the crown. Religion and the empire, a life in transit across several continents, were decisive in his existence as a pilgrim (Nunes, 2022).

## Final Note

Those who passed through Portugal in the context of pilgrimages to Santiago in the Modern Period were, partly foreigners and not just Portuguese people. The pilgrims came from different social strata, who benefited from the network of hospitals and inns throughout the Portuguese territory, as did other travellers. Piety, penance, prayer and promise in the context of danger to life or other types of misfortunes were factors that motivated believers to embark on pilgrimages. They travelled on transnational routes, some on a global scale. They shared experiences and interacted with different social and cultural realities. They wore clothing that distinguished them. Devotion, salvation, prayers, and vows in the context of danger and death, indulgences, as well as protection associated with the power that the relics had on the lives of the faithful were some factors that motivated the visit to the Apostle's tomb.

There were also temporal purposes, namely evasion, the spirit of adventure, the knowledge of new lands and places. With regard to gender, it is known that they were men of different ages who, as a rule, used local assistance institutions. There they found shelter and food. Charity was one of the Christian precepts, practiced in the context of the remission of sins. The Church played an important role in this context. Bishops, chapters, and monasteries ended up being the main responsible institutions for giving alms, many of which were given to these types of travellers. Nevertheless, in Portugal, similarly to what happened in Spain, there were also false pilgrims, people who wore the habit to live in a wandering way, of idleness, of alms, of begging. Seen as pretenders, they ended up being persecuted by the authorities. The fact that poverty and begging, in particular vagrancy, were viewed with distrust, determined that they were regarded in a derogatory way on a social level. Moreover, some committed heresies, which is why they were the target of persecution by the Inquisition.

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