

THE NEW MIDDLE AGES



MEDIEVAL WELSH  
PILGRIMAGE,  
c.1100–1500

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Kathryn Hurlock



# The New Middle Ages

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*For my mother, Mari,  
and in memory of  
William John Hurlock (1921–2015)*

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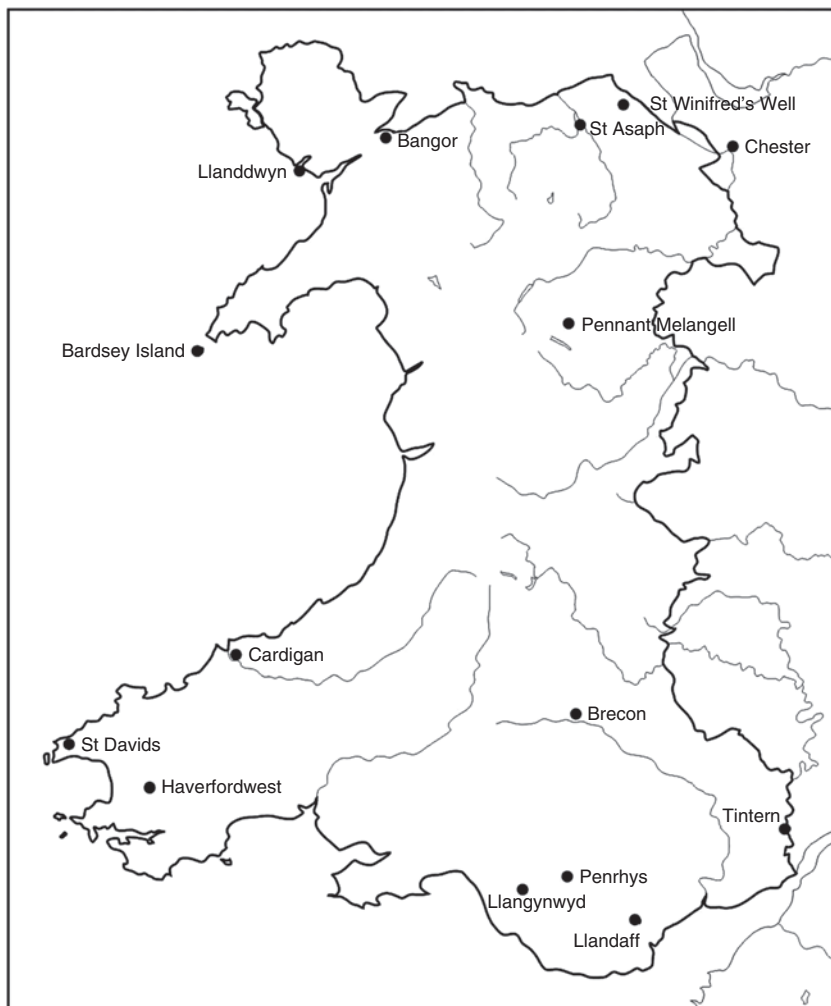
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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AC</i>	<i>Archaeologia Cambrensis</i>
<i>BBCS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies</i>
<i>BL</i>	British Library
<i>Cartwright, Feminine</i>	Jane Cartwright, <i>Feminine Sanctity and Spirituality in Medieval Wales</i> (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2008)
<i>CBPM</i>	G. Hartwell-Jones, <i>Celtic Britain and the Pilgrim Movement</i> (London: Honourable Society of the Cymmrodorion, 1912)
<i>CPR</i>	<i>Calendar of Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office</i> 15 vols. (London: H. M. S. O., 1893–1966)
<i>CPReg</i>	<i>Calendar of Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland</i> , 14 vols. (London: H. M. S. O., 1893–1960)
<i>GC, Opera</i>	Giraldi Cambrensis, <i>Opera</i> 8 vols., eds. J. S. Brewer, James F. Dimock and G. F. Warner, (London: H. M. S. O., 1861–91)
<i>GLGC</i>	<i>Gwaith Lewis Glyn Cothi</i> , ed. E. D. Jones (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1953)
<i>LBS</i>	S. Baring Gould and John Fisher, <i>The Lives of the British Saints: The Saints of Wales and Cornwall and Such Saints as Have Dedications in Britain</i> , 4 vols. (London: The Honourable Society of the Cymmrodorion, 1907–13)

<i>MHTB</i>	<i>Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury</i> , ed. J. C. Robertson, 7 vols. (London: Longman & Co., 1875–82)
<i>MWP</i>	<i>Medieval Welsh Poems to Saints and Shrines</i> , ed. and trans. Barry Lewis (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 2015)
NA	National Archives
NLW	National Library of Wales
<i>NLWJ</i>	<i>National Library of Wales Journal</i>
<i>PME</i>	Diana Webb, <i>Pilgrimage in Medieval England</i> (London: Hambledon, 2007)
<i>TCL</i>	Thomas Wright, <i>Three Chapters of Letters Relating to the Suppression of the Monasteries</i> (London: Camden Society, 1843)
Thorpe, <i>Journey</i>	Gerald of Wales, <i>The Journey through Wales/The Description of Wales</i> , trans. L. Thorpe (Harmondsworth: Penguin 1978)
<i>VSBG</i>	<i>Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae: The Lives and Genealogies of the Welsh Saints</i> , eds. A.W. Wade-Evans and Scott Lloyd (Cardiff: Welsh Academic Press, 2013)
<i>WHR</i>	<i>Welsh History Review</i>



**Fig. 1** Map of Wales, showing major pilgrimage and ecclesiastical sites discussed in the text

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## CHAPTER 1

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# Introduction

In 1567, Nicholas Robinson, bishop of Bangor (1566–85), complained about the continuation of some Welsh cult centres, particularly in the more rural areas of Caernarvon, Anglesey, and Merionethshire, and the lack of learning among the Welsh priesthood:

But touching the Welsh peoples receiving the Gospel I find by my small experience among them here, that ignorance continues many in the dregs of superstition, which did grow chiefly on the blindness of the clergy joined with the greediness of getting in so bare a country, and also upon the closing up of God's word from them in an unknown tongue ... Upon this inability to teach God's word (for there are not six yet can preach in these three shires) I have found since I came to this country images and altars standing in churches undefaced, lewd and indecent vigils and watches observed, much pilgrimage going, many candles set up to the honour of saints, some reliquaries yet carried about, and all the countries full of beads and knots, besides diverse other monuments of wilful serving God.<sup>1</sup>

Though critical, Bishop Robinson's letter was in fact testimony to the vitality of the medieval pilgrimage tradition and its legacy in sixteenth-century Wales, and the range and number of small shrines that were resorted to by those in need. The sites he referred to had, in many cases, been the focus of veneration since the fifth or sixth centuries, when the so-called Age of the Saints produced so many of the native saints around

whom the most important cults and pilgrimage centres were focussed. Many of the sites founded by the early saints, such as St Davids, Llantwit Major, or Llandaff, were developed over the following centuries into pilgrimage centres, as well as sites of political and ecclesiastical power.<sup>2</sup> Other locations famed as places where these early native saints were venerated took longer to develop, evidence of a cult with associated pilgrimage activity developing only in the twelfth or thirteenth century. St Winifred, for example, whose holy well at Holywell in North Wales was resorted to by pilgrims throughout the middle ages, only established itself as a major pilgrimage site in the period covered by this study, *c.*1100–1500, although pilgrims had visited there for some time.

At the same time as the native saints were establishing religious settlements, enduring martyrdom, or demonstrating their sanctity through preaching and miracles in Wales, people from Wales were also embarking on overseas pilgrimages to Rome. A man named Guidnerth, for example, went on pilgrimage after killing his brother, Cyngen king of Powys went to Rome in 856, and Hywel ap Rhys of Morgannwg visited thirty years later in 886.<sup>3</sup> Hywel Dda (*c.*880–950), king of a newly formed Deheubarth, also went on pilgrimage to Rome in *c.*929.<sup>4</sup> The difficulty of travelling to Rome might account for the sparse record, though it is worth noting that this could also be a reflection of the comparatively limited number of sources from this early period, or the fact that visits to Rome were only recorded if they were extraordinary in some way. The journeys of Cyngen and Hywel, for example, were worth remembering not because they went to Rome, but because that is where they were when they died. Of overseas pilgrimage to Jerusalem or Santiago there is no early record, though hagiographical works written after the late eleventh century sought to remedy this by creating an early tradition of visiting Jerusalem among the Welsh saints. SS David, Teilo, and Padarn all reputedly went to Jerusalem and Rome, though these journeys were probably fabrications in order to lend them (and their associated ecclesiastical jurisdictions) authority in a period when religious sites in Wales were in competition over lands, rights, and privileges.<sup>5</sup>

Despite these probable fabrications, there is plenty of sound evidence that the Welsh went on pilgrimage within Wales, to England, and to the major continental sites like Rome, throughout the middle ages, and that there was interest in the cultivation of pilgrimage sites in Wales itself. Following the development of major Welsh shrines in the early twelfth century, the development of Welsh pilgrimage led to the creation of

further pilgrim destinations, either focussing on graves, secondary relics or, in the later middle ages, on images—statues of the Virgin, living images of Christ, or miraculous roods. Enthusiasm for such pilgrimage endured throughout the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the period from which some of the richest evidence for material comes, testament to the vitality of Welsh pilgrimage throughout the middle ages and, no doubt, to the veracity of the complaint made by the bishop of Bangor some decades after such pilgrimages were supposed to have come to an end.

### HISTORIOGRAPHY

The first study wholly devoted to medieval Welsh pilgrimage was the Rev. G. Hartwell-Jones' *Celtic Britain and the Pilgrimage Movement* (1912), a hefty volume in which he sought to highlight "the special parts played in the pilgrim movement by...the Welsh."<sup>6</sup> Looking at all "Celtic" peoples, but in reality focusing really on the Welsh, Hartwell-Jones' study made many of the poems relating to Welsh pilgrimage accessible in print, and gave considerable context on the reasons for pilgrimage as a whole.<sup>7</sup> His book followed the flourishing of interest in the same subject in England, which had really begun with the works of Jusserand on *English Wayfaring Life* (1891), Hall on *English Medieval Pilgrimage* (1905), and the lighter-toned *Pilgrim Life in the Middle Ages* (1911) by the illustrator Sidney Heath.<sup>8</sup> Hartwell-Jones' work remained the standard reference on the subject and shaped the modern field of pilgrimage studies in Wales. It covered domestic pilgrimage, overseas travel to Rome, Jerusalem, and Santiago, and the motives for pilgrimage and the crusades, amongst other things. It is not without issue, as the scholarship is now outdated, and at times the text presents information without supporting evidence.<sup>9</sup> Even with these issues, Hartwell-Jones' work is the first port of call for reference. Nona Rees and Terry John's *Pilgrimage: A Welsh Perspective* (2002) has been the only real attempt to provide a new narrative of Welsh pilgrimage. It is an interesting work but not overly rigorous, often relying on modern work as evidence for medieval actions, and, as with the work published ninety years earlier, fails to engage with modern debates about pilgrims and pilgrimage.

Discussion of pilgrimage was developed in the works of Glanmor Williams (1920–2005), whose *The Welsh Church from the Conquest to the Reformation* (1962) made the first attempt to discuss pilgrimage in the

context of both the Church and lay piety in medieval Wales.<sup>10</sup> He returned to discussion of lay piety and pilgrimage in subsequent studies, but monumental though his contribution to the field was, it was heavily influenced by both his 1950s education and his life-long devotion to the Baptist faith. His general tone was critical of medieval faith, and he viewed Welsh devotion in the pre-Reformation period as superficial and perfunctory. Lay Welsh religiosity was, he argued, a combination of “sincere devotion and blatant superstition, of...gross credulity.”<sup>11</sup> The Welsh blindly believed what they were told without really understanding their faith, continuing their devotions out of habit or tradition.<sup>12</sup>

Lacking a major modern study of Welsh pilgrimage, the field has instead largely been advanced through articles which focus on individual aspects of pilgrimage. A site of scholarly interest since the eve of the early twentieth century, the shrine to the Virgin Mary in the Rhondda, for example, has been the focus of study by Christine James (1995) and, at greater length, by Madelaine Grey (1996, 2011), who has analysed the site in relation to the natural world, amongst other things.<sup>13</sup> St Winifred’s Well in North Wales also has its own substantial historiography covering the well-building, St Winifred’s relics, her *vita* and miracles and, together with St Davids, is one of the few pilgrimage site in Wales to really find its way into English historiography on pilgrimage and pilgrimage shrines.<sup>14</sup> Unsurprisingly as the premier pilgrimage site in Wales, pilgrimage to St Davids and the cult of the saint is the most heavily studied topic in medieval Welsh pilgrimage, scholarship relating to which culminated in the 2007 edited collection on *St David of Wales: Cult, Church and Nation*, a work that included contributions on the spread of David’s cult, his *Vita* and *Life*, and his relics.<sup>15</sup> This work was complemented by the publication in the same year of Michael J. Curley’s study on the miracles of St David.<sup>16</sup> Not every pilgrimage site is so well-studied: Bardsey Island, arguably second only to St Davids in terms of spiritual importance, had to wait until 1996 to receive comprehensive treatment in a Welsh-language collection covering the island up to the modern era.<sup>17</sup> Pilgrimage to other sites in Wales, such as Pennant Melangell, or the Welsh monasteries, has also been the focus of a number of studies, as have holy wells (first studied at length in 1954 by Francis Jones in his classic book), and pilgrimage routes.<sup>18</sup> Overseas pilgrimage has also been a popular avenue of research since Hartwell-Jones’ time, for the most part in wider works on religion or poetry, though Katharine Olson’s 2007 article on Welsh pilgrims to Rome offered detailed analysis of when and why the city was so popular among the Welsh.<sup>19</sup>

Closely allied to studies of pilgrimage in the information they study, though not the primary focus of this present work, are studies of the Welsh saints. In 1836, Rice Rees' *The Welsh Saints*, based on a prize-winning essay he had given at the Eisteddfodd in Cardiff two years before, traced the origins of the early saints in Wales, their dedications and pedigrees and, in so doing, made reference to shrines and pilgrimage from and within Wales.<sup>20</sup> Rees' study was developed by Rev. Sabine Baring-Gould, an Anglican priest from Devon, and John Fisher who, from 1907–13, published their four volume study on *The Lives of the British Saints*, an encyclopaedic survey of saints from Wales, Ireland, Cornwall, and Brittany which recorded their places of veneration, pilgrimage cults, source material, and more.<sup>21</sup> Further articles on individual saints, as well as primary editions of Welsh saints' lives, were also produced at about this time: the Welsh clergyman Arthur Wade-Evans (*d.*1964) published a collection of articles on the Welsh saints in 1911, an edition of the *Life* of St David in 1923, and a collection of Latin Welsh saints *Lives* in 1944.<sup>22</sup>

In addition to the saints' *Lives*, there has been considerable interest in the study of medieval Welsh poetry. Editions of a large proportion of these works have been published in Welsh, either in stand-alone editions as part of the series produced by the Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies as a result of their *Poets of the Princes* and *Poets of the Nobility* series, or as a result of one of the online research projects on the poets Dafydd ap Gwilym and Guto'r Glyn.<sup>23</sup> These make many of the poems relating to Welsh pilgrimage accessible to the specialist. There are a number of studies on this poetry which vary in depth of analysis: Elvet Lewis (1911/12) offered a general discussion of medieval poetry in relation to pilgrimage at the end of the middle ages; Roberts (1944) concluded that the poets saw pilgrimage as "the surest path to heaven"; Rowlands (1982) offered another general discussion of pilgrimage poetry; while Glanmor Williams (1991) largely expanded on what Rowlands had already said. All four articles were largely surveys of what interested the poets in terms of sites and themes, and as such focussed on explaining content without contextualising this in the broader pilgrim experience.<sup>24</sup> More specifically, Christine James' "Y Grog Ddoluriog Loywrym," focussing on the Welsh poetry to the Rood at Llangynwyd, made great strides in demonstrating how poetry could be used to explore pilgrim responses to the sensory impact of pilgrimage sites, while Brynach Parri's 2009 study of the poetry to the Rood at Brecon brought together the six surviving poems to this site, the most for any rood in medieval Wales, exploring the evidence for the look and

design of the rood itself.<sup>25</sup> More recently, a group of twenty-five poems relating to saints' cults, shrines and, by association, pilgrimage, has been edited by Barry Lewis in his 2015 collection *Medieval Welsh Poems to Saints and Shrines*, making these works accessible to a non-specialist readership too.<sup>26</sup> Not all of the twenty-five poems discuss pilgrimage directly, and those that do reflect only a fraction of the poems relating to pilgrimage, but it is still a scholarly and valuable work that does much to advance understanding of these works, and set the standard for modern treatment of Welsh pilgrimage poetry.

The historiographical tradition of Welsh pilgrimage thus tends to concentrate on narrative approaches, or on case-studies of individual sites or sources. As such, most fail to engage with the wider debates concerning the experience of pilgrimage across medieval Europe. Some of these debates stem from the work of the anthropologists Victor and Edith Turner, whose *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* (1978) argued that those on pilgrimage were separate from society, taking part in an activity that removed them from it and created a community of its own. The Turnerian paradigm has been vastly influential and, whilst many of the Turners' conclusions have been challenged, the Turners, their theories, and competing interpretations of pilgrimage have not been considered at all in the light of the medieval Welsh experience. Nor has study on medieval Welsh pilgrimage made much use of approaches to religion and the senses, theories relating to which have been used as a *lens* to study a wide array of religious experiences, or of the expectations of pilgrims in terms of experience and reward seen in discussions of pilgrimage elsewhere in Europe in both the medieval and modern eras. This study thus builds on the historiographical tradition on medieval Welsh pilgrimage re-examining the evidence in light of new approaches to pilgrimage studies; and by reinterpreting the sources in relation to interdisciplinary approaches where anthropology, philosophy, tourism studies and other fields are combined to shine a new light on pilgrims and pilgrimage within, from, and to medieval Wales.

## SOURCES

Pilgrimage activity within, to, and from Wales has left a rich and varied set of sources. Chief among them are the poems written by the Welsh poets, initially for the princely courts of native Wales and then, after the conquest of 1282, the gentry families of Wales. The Welsh tradition of pilgrimage poetry is unusual in Europe in its scope and range, and is important in

providing an often personalised account of the desires and experiences of individual pilgrims. Of the hundreds of poems which survive from medieval Wales, Glanmor Williams identified around ninety that were addressed to saints indicative of cults, while dozens more refer to pilgrimage in Wales, knowledge of English and overseas saints' cults, and long-distance pilgrimage to Jerusalem, Rome, and Santiago.<sup>27</sup> In many cases, cults or pilgrimage activity to an individual saint or shrine is only known from one poem; without it, we would have no evidence of a pilgrimage centre there at all. At the other end of the scale, several Welsh sites—the Marian shrine at Penrhys in the Rhondda, the Roods at Brecon and Llangynwyd, St Winifred's Well at Holywell—were the subject of several poems, testament to both their popularity and their fame. The variety of the pilgrim experience, and the interest shown in multiple sites, is also seen in this poetry, as several poets composed works to more than one location. Some, such as Dafydd ap Gwilym (*fl.* 1330–50), Gruffydd ap Ieuan ap Llywelyn Fychan (*c.*1485–1553), Lewys Glyn Cothi (*fl.* 1447–89), Guto'r Glyn (*fl.* 1440–93), Gwilym Tew (*fl.* 1460–80), Lewys Morgannwg (*fl.* first half of the sixteenth century) and Hywel Dafi (*fl.* 1450–80), composed poems on, or relating to, pilgrimage. That there were far more, now lost, is undoubtedly the case, as for the bulk of surviving Welsh poetry we are reliant on only a few manuscripts, such as the Red Book of Hergest (Oxford Jesus College MS. 111) or the Hendregadredd manuscript (NLW MS 6680B).<sup>28</sup>

Evidence for interest in individual saint's cults, the places associated with them, and information on relics is also found in the *Lives* of the native Welsh saints. The *Lives* fall into two groups: those written in Welsh (*buchedd* pl. *bucheddau*), and those in Latin (*vita*, pl. *vitae*).<sup>29</sup> Latin *Vitae*, most of which were produced in the century following the Norman expansion into Wales, survive in the *Liber Landavensis* and the early thirteenth-century British Museum Vespasian A xiv. The Welsh *bucheddau* are more scattered, surviving in number of texts, devotional and clearly secular, from the fourteenth century onwards.<sup>30</sup> Though these works can shed light on the *locus* of cults, relics of individual saints, and traditions associated with their lives, their use is primarily in indicating when and where there was interest in a particular saint. As hagiographical works were written for a variety of reasons, including use in church services, it follows that not all hagiographical works are indicative of, or informative about, pilgrimage in itself. The composition, adaptation, and translation of saints' *Lives* were also commissioned by the laity for personal devotion and instruction. James Ryan Gregory, for example, notes that the early

fourteenth-century Lansdowne *Vita* of St Winifred altered the work “to focus on Winifred’s ability to make her own decisions regarding her spiritual life,” which provided “a model for a female audience to follow.”<sup>31</sup> It was not a version of St Winifred’s life intended to promote pilgrimage in her honour. In other cases, *Lives* were copied into collections that might not be intended for spiritual purposes: Guton Owain’s late fifteenth-century copy of the *Life* of St Martin, for example, is bound between a history of Adam and Eve, and a colour chart and treatise on urine.<sup>32</sup>

Pilgrimage overseas is referred to in a few narrative works, particularly those by Gerald of Wales, archdeacon of Brecon (c.1146–1223), who also recorded relics and pilgrimage sites he knew of in Wales itself. In his description of the Welsh, Gerald commented on their reverence for secondary relics, but in his *Itinerary* of Wales, his written account of the crusade-preaching tour he took part in during Lent 1188, he also referred to relics and pilgrimage sites in Wales, and recorded some of the behaviour he saw in relation to them. Gerald also provided the only surviving narrative account produced by a Welshman describing an overseas pilgrimage to Rome. His description of his journey and the wider world was of interest in Wales, where other works like *Delw y Byd*, the vernacular translation of the popular *Imago Mundi*, are testament to Welsh interest in the world beyond Wales and give a sense of the Welsh world-view and their idea about overseas pilgrimage locations.<sup>33</sup> So too do the copies of the letter of the legendary Christian ruler Prester John, *Gwlad Ieuan Fendigaid*, describing a fantastical world in the east. The first complete Welsh version was written in the mid-fourteenth century in a work containing religious texts and saints lives.<sup>34</sup> More broadly, knowledge of, and interest in, the activities of Charlemagne and his followers in the Holy Land, and against pagan enemies in Europe, indicates connections with the pan-European phenomenon that was crusading, itself an armed pilgrimage.<sup>35</sup>

In addition to written text, visual sources in Wales also furnish information on Welsh pilgrimage: memorial brasses, church decoration, sculpture, stone-carving and other forms of material culture are testimony to the activities and interests of Welsh pilgrims.<sup>36</sup> Other evidence for Welsh pilgrimage, including that of pilgrimage *to* Wales, can be found in the various miracle collections or *vitae* of saints in England, administrative documents produced primarily by the English, wills, narrative accounts, and chronicles. These include the episcopal registers of English bishops, the miracle accounts of Henry VI and St Thomas Becket, and letters and petitions sent to or from the papal see.<sup>37</sup>

## AIMS AND STRUCTURE

This book is not intended as a comprehensive study of all of the pilgrimage sites in Wales, nor all aspects of pilgrimage from taking the pilgrim vow to returning home. These topics have been covered by others in various ways which are accessible to the specialist and the interested reader, notably in the works by Hartwell-Jones, Francis Jones, and Terry John and Nona Rees for Wales, but more broadly in studies of medieval pilgrimage in general.<sup>38</sup> Instead, this work is a thematic study of pilgrimage to, from, and within Wales from the end of the eleventh century, when the Normans were first making their presence felt in Wales, to the eve of the Reformation in the early sixteenth century. Across this period, it examines Welsh pilgrimage in light of modern theories relating to pilgrimage and sacred travel. Discussions of anthropological interpretations of pilgrimage, which have so dominated its study since the 1970s, as well as theories on authenticity, sensory experience, family networking and patronage, and virtual pilgrimage, have not yet found their way into Welsh historiography, something that this work will address. Other aspects of pilgrimage, such as effective promotion, or political uses of pilgrimage, have not been properly considered in existing works, and so these too will receive focussed treatment.

This study opens with a discussion of the role of the Church in the development of shrines and pilgrimage destinations in early twelfth-century Wales that attracted pilgrims, particularly in the south. Examining shrine promotion through ideas relating to competition and marketing, it looks at the methods of promotion available to the Church as an institution—canonisation and the provision of indulgences—to demonstrate that both were largely ineffective in promoting pilgrimage in Wales. It demonstrates the way in which the Church developed its marketing methods in relation to changing circumstances but shows that these shifts were ultimately not as effective as hoped. This first chapter also considers what shrine sites had to offer the prospective pilgrim, and asks what was most important in terms of the focus of veneration—graves, bodies, or secondary relics? It challenges the idea that the body of the saint was not as central to veneration as elsewhere in Europe, highlighting the importance of death-sites and graves in the early development of Welsh pilgrimage.

Chapter two moves away from promotion to consider the importance of the pilgrim journey. Considered central to the pilgrimage experience, this chapter examines that journey to see what made it an

effective one for the pilgrim, and how a non-sacred journey might develop into a pilgrimage depending on the actions, attitude, and outlook of the pilgrim. The competing importance of distance, duration, and—using an aspect of James Preston’s theory of spiritual magnetism—the difficulty of accessing a shrine is considered in relation to Welsh sites, while the chapter also explores how far people were willing to go on pilgrimage in order to seek heavenly intercession. It argues that localism was an important factor in pilgrim choice, not necessarily in terms of visiting the nearest shrine, but in venerating saints and shrines that protected a specific area or were associated with a person’s locality. There was a sense of reciprocal loyalty in the veneration of saints by pilgrims. It looks at how potential pilgrims developed a more focussed experience as they got closer to the shrine and engaged in shrine-specific activities, as they approached and venerated their chosen shrine-site. In order to explore these ideas about what created or defined the pilgrim experience, Chap. 4 moves on to examine the authenticity of the pilgrim experience in medieval Wales at the shrine itself. Taking as a model criteria more commonly applied to modern business methods, but increasingly used when analysing medieval religious experiences, this chapter looks at the elements required by pilgrims in order to make their pilgrim experience a suitably authentic one. In particular, it looks at the role of the senses in the construction of this authenticity and, drawing on the personal observations of individual pilgrimage sites by Welsh poets, explores the sensory elements of the shrine as experienced by contemporaries.

The role of family in both encouraging pilgrimage traditions and promoting sites in Wales forms the focus of Chap. 5. These traditions are comparatively understudied in relation to medieval pilgrimage, despite their regular analysis in other forms of devotional activity, but it is clear that particular families took a real interest in embarking on or supporting pilgrimage. Analysis of patronage of pilgrimage sites in north-east Wales, for example, allows for a re-examination of St Winifred’s Well at Holywell, contextualising it for the first time in the gentry and ecclesiastical society of north-east Wales, and the development of other holy wells in the diocese of St Asaph in the same period. Overseas pilgrimage forms the focus of Chap. 6, which continues investigations into the family by considering group experiences of virtual pilgrimage. The motivations and experience of pilgrimage as seen in Welsh poetry form part of the chapter, though it also focuses on poetry as virtual overseas pilgrimage, arguing that the range and content of the poems, and the way in which they were

performed orally to an audience usually made up of the family or household, allowed for *collective* virtual pilgrimage. It maintains that the shift from poems on individual salvation developed into the more descriptive works of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as a way to provide the Welsh verse equivalent of the narrative pilgrimage accounts so popular in the rest of Europe.

The final chapter of this book explores the role of politics in both pilgrimage to Welsh sites, particularly by England's kings, and the development (or lack thereof) or potentially political saints' cults into pilgrimage sites. It argues that, despite the assumption that many English royal pilgrimages to Wales were politicised, with the exception of some of the Welsh pilgrimages of Edward I, there is in fact almost no evidence of real engagement in politicised pilgrimage, either by England's kings or by the native Welsh. Nor was potential for exploiting the tombs of native rulers for political purposes taken up, and Wales developed no "political" saints as there were in England. This was, the sixth chapter argues, because the Welsh were reluctant to appropriate native saints or rulers in this way, suspicious perhaps of the way in which such cults developed in England.

## A NOTE ON THE TEXT

Original sources quoted in the text are given with the original language when the translation is my own, with the exception of lengthier extract where the Welsh can be found in the reference. For other translations, the references direct the reader to the source.

## NOTES

1. Letter from the Bishop of Bangor to Sir William Cecil, 7 October 1567. *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Edward, Mary and Elizabeth, 1547–80*, ed. Robert Lemon (London: Longman & Co., 1856), pp. 300–1.
2. The establishment of St Davids as a monastic community is recounted in Rhygyfarch's *Life* of the saint, written in the late 1090s. Richard Sharpe and John Reuban Davies, "Rhygyfarch's *Life* of St David," in *St David of Wales: Cult, Church and Nation*, ed. J. Wyn Evans and Jonathan M. Wooding (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007), pp. 118–21.
3. T. M. Charles-Edwards, *Wales and the Britons, 350–1064* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 258; *Brut y Tywysogyon: The Chronicle of the Princes, Red Book of Hergest Version*, trans. Thomas Jones (Cardiff:

- University of Wales Press, 1973), p. 9; *Brut y Tywysogyon: The Chronicle of the Princes, Peniarth MS. 20 Version*, trans. Thomas Jones (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1952), pp. 4–5; *Brenhinedd y Saesson, or the Kings of the Saxons, BM Cotton MS Cleopatra Bv and The Black Book of Basingwerk NLW Ms 7006*, ed. Thomas Jones (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1971), p. 19; *Annales Cambriae*, ed. John Williams ab Ithel (London: Longman, 1860), pp. 4–5.
4. *Brut y Tywysogyon...Red Book of Hergest*, p. 13.
  5. See, for example, Richard Sharpe and John Reuban Davies, “Rhygyfarch’s *Life of St David*,” in *St David of Wales*, p. 141; *Hen Gerddi Crefyddol*, ed. Henry Lewis (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1931), pp. 43–52, lines 182–3.
  6. *CBPM*, p. xi.
  7. See the review of Hartwell-Jones’ work in *English Historical Review* 2 (1913): 947–50.
  8. J. J. Jusserand, *English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages*, trans. Lucy Toulmin Smith (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1891); Diana Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England* (London: Hambledon, 2000); Colin Morris and Peter Roberts, ed., *Pilgrimage: The English Experience from Becket to Bunyan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Sidney Heath, *Pilgrim Life in the Middle Ages* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1911).
  9. *CBPM*; Hartwell-Jones’ discussion of the crusades has been superseded by Kathryn Hurlock, *Wales and the Crusades, 1095–1291* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2011).
  10. Glanmor Williams, *The Welsh Church from Conquest to Reformation* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1962), pp. 488–503.
  11. *Ibid.*, p. 462. For pilgrimage in his other works, see Glanmor Williams, *Renewal and Reformation: Wales c.1415–1642* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), pp. 123–8.
  12. Williams, *The Welsh Church*, p. 558. For Glanmor Williams’ attitudes to late medieval religion, see Katharine K. Olson and Huw Pryce, “The Reluctant Medievalist?” in *Degrees of Influence: A Memorial Volume for Glanmor Williams*, ed. Geraint H. Jenkins and Gareth Elwyn Jones (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2008), pp. 45–7.
  13. John Ward, “Our Lady of Penrhys,” *AC* 14 (1914): 357–406 was the first modern study of the shrine at Penrhys; for current scholarship on the site, see Madeleine Gray, “‘Gwyrth yn y coed gynt’: A Rediscovered Miracle Collection from the Shrine of the Virgin Mary at Penrhys?” *Studia Celtica* 45 (2011): 105–9; Madeleine Gray, “Penrhys: The Archaeology of a Pilgrimage,” *Morgannwg* 40 (1996): 10–32. The best modern discussion of the site is still Christine James, “Pen-rhys: Mecca’s Genedl,” in *Cwm Rhondda*, ed. Hywel Teifi Edwards (Llandysul: Gomer, 1995), pp. 27–71.

14. David Thomas, "Saint Winifred's Well and Chapel, Holywell," *Journal of the Historical Society of the Church in Wales* VIII (1958): 15–31; M. J. C. Lowry, "Caxton, St Winifred and the Lady Margaret Beaufort," *The Library* (1983): 101–17; Glanmor Williams, "St Winifred's Well: Ffynnon Wenfrew," *The Journal of the Flintshire Historical Society* 36 (2003): 32–51; Anne F. Sutton, "Caxton, the Cult of St Winifred, and Shrewsbury," in *The Fifteenth Century V. Of Mice and Men: Image Belief and Regulation in Late Medieval England*, ed. Linda Clark (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005), pp. 109–26.
15. F. G. Cowley, "A Note on the Discovery of St. David's Body," *BBCS* 19 (1960): 47–8; *St David of Wales: Cult, Church and Nation*, ed. J. Wyn Evans and Jonathan Wooding (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007).
16. Michael J. Curley, "The Miracles of Saint David," *Traditio* 62 (2007): 135–205.
17. Brynley F. Roberts, "Enlli'r Oesoedd Canol," in *Enlli*, ed. R. Gerallt Jones and Christopher J. Arnold (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1996), pp. 22–48.
18. C. A. Ralegh Radford, "Pennant Melangell; The Church and the Shrine," *AC* 108 (1959): 81–113; in 1994, a volume of the *Montgomeryshire Collections* was dedicated to St Melangell and her shrine at Pennant Melangell, from which see in particular W. J. Britnell and K. Watson, "Saint Melangell's Shrine, Pennant Melangell," *Montgomeryshire Collections* 82 (1994): 147–66; Kathryn Hurlock, "Pilgrimage," in *Monastic Wales: New Approaches*, ed. Janet Burton and Karen Stöber (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2013), pp. 119–32; an attempt to trace alleged pilgrim routes to Strata Florida Abbey was made, with limited success, in S. M. Powell, "Pilgrim Routes to Strata Florida," *Transactions and Archaeological Record* 8 (1931): 9–24; for a more detailed discussion of the route to St Winifred's Well see Martin Locker, *Landscapes of Pilgrimage in Medieval Britain* (Oxford: Archaeopress Archaeology, 2015), chapter 5; Madeleine Gray has also retraced the pilgrim route in south Wales from Llantarnam Abbey to Penrhys in "Penrhys: The Archaeology of a Pilgrimage," pp. 10–32; Francis Jones, *The Holy Wells of Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1954) is a detailed but uneven study as Jones concentrated on south Wales, an area he knew and visited, neglecting to visit north Wales, thus omitting some information relating to wells there.
19. For example, see Katharine Olson, "Ar ffordd Pedr a Phawl: Welsh Pilgrimage and Travel to Rome, c.1200–1530," *WHR* 24 (2008): 1–40; see also D. Tecwyn Lloyd, "Welsh Pilgrims at Rome: 1471–1738," *Trivium* vi (1978): 95–106.
20. Rice Rees, *An Essay on the Welsh Saints or the Primitive Christians Usually Considered to have been the Founders of Churches in Wales* (London: Longman, 1836).

21. S. Baring-Gould and J. Fisher, *The Lives of the British Saints: The Saints of Wales and Cornwall and such Irish Saints as have Dedications in Britain*, 4 vols. (London: The Honourable Society of the Cymmrodorion, 1907–13).
22. Arthur Wade-Evans, *Parochiale Wallicanum* (Stow-on-the-Wold: J. H. Alden, 1911); Arthur Wade-Evans, *Life of St David* (London: S. P. C. K., 1923); Arthur Wade-Evans, *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1944); republished as *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae: The Lives and Genealogies of the Welsh Saints*, ed. A. W. Wade-Evans and Scott Lloyd (Cardiff: Welsh Academic Press, 2013).
23. The Poets of the Princes Project: <http://www.wales.ac.uk/en/CentreforAdvancedWelshCelticStudies/ResearchProjects/CompletedProjects/ThePoetsofthePrinces/IntroductiontotheProject.aspx> (date accessed 01.08.17); The Poets of the Nobility Project: <http://www.wales.ac.uk/en/CentreforAdvancedWelshCelticStudies/ResearchProjects/CompletedProjects/PoetsoftheNobility/IntroductiontotheProject.aspx> (date accessed 01.08.17); Dafydd ap: [Gwilym.net](http://www.dafyddapg-wilym.net/): <http://www.dafyddapg-wilym.net/> (date accessed 01.08.17); Guto'r: [Glyn.net](http://www.gutorglyn.net/); <http://www.gutorglyn.net/gutorglyn/index/#> (date accessed 01.08.17).
24. H. Elvet Lewis, "Welsh Catholic Poetry of the Fifteenth Century," *Transactions of the Honourable Society of the Cymmrodorion* (1921–12): 23–41; Thomas Roberts, "Cywyddau pererindod," *Y Thraethodydd* xcix 430 (1944): 28–39; Glanmor Williams, "Poets and Pilgrims in Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century Wales," *Transactions of the Honourable Society of the Cymmrodorion* (1991): 69–98; E. I. Rowlands, "Religious Poetry in Late Medieval Wales," *BBCS* XXX (1982): 1–19.
25. Christine James, "'Y Grog Ddoluriog Loywrym': Golwg ar y Canu I Grog Llangynwyd," *Llen Cymru* 29.1 (2006): 64–109; Brynach Parri, "Crog Aberhodni," *Brycheiniog* 35 (2003): 19–36.
26. MWP; see also his excellent *Welsh Poetry and English Pilgrimage: Gruffudd ap Maredudd and the Rood of Chester* (Aberystwyth: University of Wales Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies, 2005).
27. Williams, "Poets and Pilgrims in Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century Wales," *Transactions of the Honourable Society of the Cymmrodorion* 92.90 (1991).
28. The manuscript of the Red Book of Hergest can be viewed online at <http://image.ox.ac.uk/show?collection=jesus&manuscript=ms111> (date accessed 01.08.17); The Hendregadredd Manuscript, see <https://www.llgc.org.uk/en/discover/digital-gallery/manuscripts/the-middle-ages/hendregadredd-manuscript/> (date accessed 01.08.17). See also Daniel Huws, *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2000), pp. 193–226.