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"O Sancta Haera". Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Sanctuary of Sainte Foy at Conques

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ABSTRACT

The Liber miraculorum Sancte Fidis, written during the 11th century, partially by Bernard of Angers, describes miracles, healings and rituals practiced in the sanctuary of Sainte Foy at Conques, martyr of the beginning of the 4th century.

The Liber allows us to analyze the anthropological and religious dimension of the pilgrims and their pilgrimage. As a matter of fact, through the descriptions of the pilgrims, their gestures, their aspects, their words, their ritual practices by the tomb, their rich or poor offerings, we can analyze the dimension of the Medieval pilgrimage as a specific case study, which can help us describe the idea of pilgrimage in Medieval West Europe and specifically in this sanctuary.

Furthermore, through the reading of the accounts of miracle stories, we can analyze the healing ritual practices, the miraculous dimension of this cult and the Sainte's ability to treat diseases. The center of the Conques cult was – and remains – the Majesty of Sainte Foy, a reliquary statue in which the power (virtus/dynamis) of the saint's relics is concentrated.

Keywords: Pilgrimages, Hagiography, Sainte Foy, Conques, Pilgrimages' routes

Il Liber miraculorum Sancte Fidis, scritto nell'XI secolo, in parte da Bernardo d'Angers, descrive i miracoli, le guarigioni e i rituali che si svolgevano presso il santuario di Santa Fede a Conques, martire dell'inizio del IV secolo.

Il Liber ci permette di analizzare la dimensione antropologica e religiosa dei pellegrini e del loro pellegrinaggio. Attraverso la loro descrizione, i loro gesti, il loro aspetto, le loro parole, le loro pratiche rituali presso la tomba, le loro offerte, questo case study può

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aiutarci a comprendere l'idea di pellegrinaggio presente nell'Europa medievale e, in particolare, in questo santuario.

Inoltre, attraverso la lettura dei miracoli, possiamo riflettere sui rituali di guarigione, sulla dimensione miracolosa del culto e sulla capacità della santa di curare le malattie. Il centro del culto a Conques era e rimane la Maestà di Santa Fede, una statua-reliquiario in cui è concentrata la potenza guaritrice (*virtus/dynamis*) delle sue reliquie.

Keywords: Pellegrinaggi; Agiografia; Santa Fede; Conques; Vie di Pellegrinaggio

Introduction

The pilgrimage is one of the most important aspects of Medieval – and not only – piety, and is “the journey to a site considered sacred or spiritual” (Kay Davidson & Gitlitz, 2002, p. 478). Millions of people who left their houses, their communities, sometimes their families, their children, to begin their journey. In the Middle Ages, the main destinations of pilgrimages were the Holy Land, Rome and Santiago de Compostela.

One of the most important shrines along the *Camino de Santiago* was that of Sainte Foy in Conques (Gaillard, 1965; Webb, 2002, pp. 23-28). The abbey, built during the Early Middle Ages, obtained an important development due to the theft – legendary or historical? – of the relics of the young martyr Foy of Agen (Bouillet & Servières, 1900; Amore & Celletti, 1964; Grémont, 1969), martyred in the early fourth century, dated between 877 and 883 (Bousquet, 1954; Geary, 1990, pp. 146-149). Since that moment – and particularly from the 11th century on – the shrine became the destination of hundreds of pilgrims from France, and it grew in importance also thanks to its strategic position on one of the roads leading to Santiago.

The importance of the shrine during the Middle Ages is confirmed by the *Liber sancti Iacobi* – although its more accurate title would be *Codex Calixtinus* –, the most popular travel guide for pilgrimages, written by an anonymous author in the 12th century (Bonnassie & de Gournay, 1995). In the fifth book, *Iter pro peregrinis ad Compostellam*, the author describes also the *via Podiensis* – which crosses Conques –, mainly traveled by Hungarians, Austrians, and inhabitants of the Southern German region. He didn't know about the history of the relics theft, because he didn't add any references to it (Oursel & Cardini, 1995; Geary, 1990, pp. 146-149). Conques is one of the twenty-three shrines or churches reported in the book.

The development of the *Camino* started also owing to the multiple roads which still lead pilgrims from Western Europe to the shrine nowadays – namely from Germany, France and Italy. One of these aforementioned roads, from France to Santiago, was the *via Podiensis*; it began from the city of Le-Puy-en-Velay – where an important Marian cult took place in the Early Middle Ages – progressively receiving a remarkable increase in the 9th century and particularly in the second half of the 13th century. Louis IX the Saint, in 1254, returning from the so-called seventh crusade, was unquestionably a pilgrim to the shrine of Conques, to which he gave the ebony statue of the Black Virgin.

The city of Le-Puy was the first step of this *via* – representing a place of meeting and departure of groups of pilgrims as well (Oursel, 1978, p. 43). The other three roads were the *via Turonensis* that came for Tours, the *via Lemovicensis* that came for Limoges, and the *via Tolosana* that crossed Toulouse.

The importance of the shrine of Conques – related to its position on the *via Podiensis* – is confirmed also by the numerous donations it received since the beginning of the 11th century. Among the benefactors of the monastery, were many important families of the South of the France, such as the viscounts of Carlat and Lodève, the viscounts of Albi and Nîmes, the counts of Rouergue and the counts of Toulouse. From the second half of the century, the monastery acquired an importance that extended beyond national borders (Remensnyder, 1990).

An important source for pilgrimage and piety in the High Middle Ages in Europe is the bio-hagiographical¹ *Liber miraculorum sancte Fidis*.² The work is divided into four books: the first and the second one were written by Bernard of Angers respectively between October 1013 and around 1016, and between 1016 and 1020 (Robertini, 1994, pp. 57-64; Bonnassie & de Gournay, 1995; Ashley & Sheingorn, 1999, pp. 22-64); the third and the fourth books were written in the subsequent years by anonymous continuator-monks, who added to the *Liber* other miracles and stories (Robertini, 1994, pp. 65-68).

Although the *Liber* is an hagiographical work, with all characteristics of this literary genre (consistent presence of *topoi*, edifying purpose, ecclesiastical and political intent to promote the pilgrimage to the shrine and to glorify the Sainte, etc.), we can read this book also from a historical point of view, not with the intention of establishing the miracles authenticity, but of analyzing the aspect of the pilgrimage and that of the religious rituals which were held in the shrine.

This work is based on the reading and analysis – from a methodological perspective – of the *Liber miraculorum sancte Fidis*, which contains several references to the pilgrimage to the shrine. Regardless of its hagiographic nature, it is still possible to use it in order to understand not only the ideas and the way of thinking – particularly of the one in the 11th century Southern France – but also the image of pilgrims that Bernard and the monks used to have. Furthermore, it is possible to analyse the miracles and the episodes of the *Liber* from the point of view of the historical anthropology, that can help us to understand the culture of the period. Moreover, it is paramount emphasizing that the *Liber* represents – as all hagiographical sources – a precious repository of information about the history, the economy, the culture and the traditions of the Middle Ages.

Bernard's pilgrimage

The first feature that characterizes the *Liber* is that it is a tale of a pilgrimage. At this regard, among numerous pilgrims, Bernard of Angers is the most important one, in a specific dimension that makes the *Liber* resembling an autobiography (Ashley & Sheingorn, 1999, pp. 39-45). The two first books of the *Liber* revealed a specific

personal idea of Conques, pilgrimage, and faith, in which he "is always explaining himself; he is consummately reflexive of himself and his making of the collection" (Ashley & Sheingorn, 1999, p. 39).

Probably belonging to an aristocratic family of the region of Anjou or Touraine, Bernard was perhaps Robert's brother, attested in some sources as the abbot of the monastery of Cormery, in Touraine (Robertini, 1994, p. 382). Someone by the name of John Scotus was his master during his childhood, perhaps in Tours or in Angers; later on, he attended the School of Chartres of which Fulbert (960-1028) was bishop (Clerval, 1895; Mac Kinney, 1957; Robertini, 1994, p. 60; Behrends, 1976). In 1010, called by Ubert of Angers, he went to Angers to be the supervisor of the school in the cathedral, position that he covered least until 1020.

He begins his work with a prefatory epistle addressed to Fulbert, responsible for the great success and development of the school in the cathedral. In this epistle, Bernard describes his interest in Sainte Foy, firstly because he often went to pray in the small church dedicated to her, outside the walls of Angers.³ The peculiarity of miracles and the fame of the cult of Sainte Foy pushed Bernard to visit her shrine in Conques, Rouergue, in the South of France. As a pilgrim, he took a vow, promising to go to the Sainte, and wrote it in his journal:

[...] paulatim subiit mihi in corde tacita et oblivionis impatiens cogitatio, uti ipsum sancte martyris habitaculum eadem studio discendi adirem. Postremo adeo res rediit huc, ut voti inde facti tempus diemque, ne daretur oblivioni, in manuali codicello notaverim.⁴

After almost three years, Bernard had the chance to begin his journey to Conques. He went on his first pilgrimage there around 1013, with a companion, Bernier. He was his friend and probably his collaborator in the Angers school direction and in 1025 he was appointed *levita et scholae magister* of it. As regards the route he took, we know that he went from Paris to Conques. We don't know all the steps of his journey, but one of these is described in the *Liber*. After arriving in Conques, Bernard and Bernier visited Aurillac, a compulsory stop for the pilgrims who came from the North of France. Here, the two pilgrims entered the monastery of Saint Peter where there was the reliquary statue of Saint Gerald. After three days, they arrived to Conques. The monks had a particular care for the important pilgrims, especially for those who could promote the cult of Sainte Foy; in fact, Bernard received a good accommodation (*decent hospitio*)⁵ and some servants (*servitores strenuos*)⁶ to provide for all his needs. Of course, his pilgrimage was a journey of a wealthy person, therefore, he didn't face all the difficulties a poor pilgrim would have (such as very poor hygiene at the local inns, the risk of being robbed or attacked by muggers, the huge physical strain it would have taken him to walk, etc.).

Bernard's pilgrimage is a research on the miracles of Sainte Foy: he spoke with the devotees, touched sick people, reflected on the healing miracles. For instance, when a widow's daughter regained her eyesight, the monks called for him so that he could see the miracle. When he arrived, he moved closer and gave the child a coin:

Mox ego de lecto, in quo tunc accubare coeperam, velociter resiliens, fateor, vix pre gaudio apud me non lento incessu intro monasterium, et video virginem videre candelarumque lumina

discernere, sed et manum meam, denarium sibi pauperrime erogantem, quem conspicata cum gratiarum actione sustulit.⁷

Bernard's role, emphasized by the hagiographic purposes of the books, was that of a cultured man, a theologian, who wanted to analyze what was happening at the tomb of Sainte Foy.

The most important episode of the first Bernard's pilgrimage is narrated in the miracle 13 of the first book. When he and his collaborator arrived to Conques, they entered the monastery to see the shrine and, especially, the Majesty of Sainte Foy (Oursel, 1978, pp. 90-92; Taralon & Taralon-Carlino, 1997). It was a reliquary statue of eighty-five centimeters, and, according to the pilgrims, "elle était le centre physique du culte, car elle hébergeait les reliques de la sainte, les rappels matériels de sa vertu" (Remensnyder, 1990, p. 357; Canetti 2017). It was kept in a small secluded place (*locus ille secretus*),⁸ in which devotees could pray. In this occasion, Bernard saw the statue but expressed perplexity – or an open condemnation – on the reliquary statues and the idolatrous veneration among ignorant people. However, the question concerned the possibility to have a statue of the saint which would not be idolized by worshipers, the same way they did in the ancient pagan cults; only the cross could be carved. Nevertheless, Bernard later changed his mind after hearing of churchman Oldaric's dream, who had been admonished from Sainte Foy for his offenses and blasphemy against her statue.⁹ So, in the *Liber* "Bernard portrays himself [...] as a skeptic who comes to jeer and is persuaded to belief" (Ashley & Sheingorn, 1999, p. 40). This first journey lasted twenty-five days.¹⁰

Bernard tells us about his second journey to Conques, made probably around 1015-1018, specifying he wished he had met the illuminated Gerbert, but that he had already died.¹¹ On the contrary, Bernard gave us the exact date of his third – and last – journey to Conques:

Anno igitur ab incarnatione Domini millesimo vicesimo, indictione tertia, tam sancte Fidis amore motus, quam Vuitberti illuminati gratia revisendi, tertio ad Conchas repedavi.¹²

He was deeply impressed by the two miracles of healing of Gerbert and Guibert – the latter taking place about thirty years before Bernard's first journey to Conques (Robertini, 1994, p. 322) –, the case of the two men who had had their eyes gouged out and who the Sainte recreated in their orbits. In his third journey, Bernard tells us that he wished he could come back immediately, however, thanks to the pressure of the monks who insisted he should write a third book of miracles, he stayed at Conques.¹³

During his third journey, in 1020 on the occasion of a pilgrimage to Rome, he also had a companion: his personal secretary Sigebald, man of letters and fellow-priest.¹⁴

The personal dimension of Bernard's pilgrimage emerged also from two episodes. The first being, since Bernard had a brother, affected by a serious illness consisting in the contortion of the limbs, Bernard promised that his brother would have gone on a pilgrimage to the shrine barefoot, had he been healed.¹⁵ The second dealt with his secretary, Sigebald, who had promised that had he been healed from a disease by which he was affected, he would have gone on a pilgrimage to the shrine.¹⁶

Pilgrimages to Conques

In Bernard's pilgrimage experience, the shrine of Sainte Foy appears as the center of Christianity.

Pilgrims hardly went to any other place to have their miracles granted and Conques was almost the only place where God manifested His healing powers. It appears as the center of the pilgrimage system of Medieval Europe, with people who carried out their journey to Sainte Foy, sometimes after being in Rome or in Jerusalem.¹⁷ This is an unhistorical point of view, because, although the shrine of Sainte Foy became one of the most important in the South of France, at the same time there were other shrines for pilgrimages, that numerous pilgrims going to Conques wished they could reach. Therefore, the *Liber* strongly emphasizes the role of the shrine, which became, with its hagiographical narrative, the only shrine of pilgrimage, and Sainte Foy the most powerful saint. A confirmation of this – is also present in other hagiographical texts and referring to other saints – is contained in chapter 29 of the first book. The bishop of Rodez organized a synod and brought the statues and relics of numerous saints. Among these, was also the statue of Sainte Foy. A crippled and blind man had spent one night in front of Saint Mario's statue, to obtain a healing miracle, but, at sunrise, he was asleep and he thought he heard a voice who said: "Vade ad sanctam Fidem. Non enim datum est ut a tua infirmitate nisi per merita illius salvari possis".¹⁸ This hagiographical *topos* serves as confirmation that Sainte Foy was the most powerful saint and also promoted her authority. A few examples of this common *topos* are included in the *De mirabilibus sancti Stephani prothomartyris*¹⁹ – a Venetian hagiographical book in which a deaf, mute and blind woman was sent from Saint Leonard to Saint Stephen, Venice – and in the *Vita sancti Apiani monachi*²⁰ – in which a French woman was sent to Saint Appian, in Comacchio, by Saint Justine.

The *Liber* is an opportunity for us to reflect on the pilgrimage, not just for its historical importance on each single episode, but for the study of the Medieval mindset concerning the sacred journey. The local pilgrimage at Conques was characterized by a specific ritual: pilgrims went to the shrine particularly on the occasion of the Feast of Sainte Foy,²¹ staying awake the night before the *dies natalis*; and, the day of the Feast, or probably some days later, they returned home. This is for example what Guibert did in his pilgrimage, who traveled back home on October, 6th, the day of her martyrdom. On the same day, the Sainte asked him to go on a pilgrimage to the shrine to regain his eyesight. In some cases, pilgrims set out at dawn so they could attend the first Mass.²² In the *Liber* a Christmas pilgrimage is also attested²³ as well as one at Easter.²⁴ Another miracle attests the pilgrimage during the summer: pilgrims started their walk during summer, and came back to their homes in autumn (probably after the Sainte's Feast in October), spending some time in Conques.²⁵

The *Liber* tells us about a pilgrim who went to the shrine seven days before the Feast of the Sainte took place, spending his nights in vigil at the foot of her tomb.²⁶

There are many indications in the *Liber* on how Conques was considered being a very popular destination among the people back then.²⁷ Although there might be some

exaggeration to the story, this shrine was a very important step on the *Camino*; pilgrims would travel in order to reach Santiago de Compostela, in Galicia. But during the 10th century, according to what Bernard wrote, the shrine was not a very important place in the "international" system of pilgrimages. In fact, the author admitted that the fame of Conques miracles had not crossed the regional borders during the last years of 10th century. Proof of that is included in miracle 19 of the first book, in which he tells the story of the bracelets of Arsinde, wife of William III Taillefer, Count of Toulouse²⁸ (Robertini, 1994, p. 317).

People who went to the shrine of Conques belonged to different social orders. The *Liber* particularly reports women (widows or not) sometimes with their children, numerous soldiers, warriors, lords, priests, etc. They came from France, especially from regions of the South, near Conques, and sometimes from different countries, like Normandy.²⁹ Some pilgrims came from the North – like Bernard himself – and an example of this is given by the large presence of pilgrims coming from Limoges.³⁰

Perils of the journey

A pilgrimage is an experience full of dangers: the risk of being robbed or assaulted, the risk of getting sick or dying (Ohler, 2002). The *Liber* tells us of different episodes of assault. Particularly, it reports various cases of soldiers that, during the pilgrimage, were often attacked by other soldiers or lords who wanted to "settle their scores".³¹ In the *Liber*, the presence of nobles, soldiers and knights is particularly important. The term used by Bernard and the continuator-monks is generally *miles*, but it is referred more to as a state of nobility, than a precise title or function (Caitucoli, 1995).

However, if on one hand, there were many perils, on the other hand hospitality and assistance were important as well. In one miracle, for example, the author speaks about a soldier, Gerard, who was assaulted during his pilgrimage by an enemy, Gerald, but on that same occasion, he received the hospitality of a peasant, who welcomed him in his small hut (*rustici tugurio*).³²

Sometimes the pilgrimage was a wish, but there was also the risk of dying by the hand of enemies just waiting for the perfect opportunity.³³

The perils of the pilgrimages were also linked to the roughness of the territory. In the third book, the continuator-monk writes about a great group of pilgrims that were walking near the city of Saban,³⁴ when there was a natural waterfall. As they were coming back from the shrine, one of them risked drowning in order to save his donkey but was saved from the Sainte. The perils of nature were particularly threatening especially in places like this, in which there were waves and bridges. The perception of danger is confirmed by the names which were given to these places by the legends. Through this miracle, the author provides us with a folk tradition which is not present in any other source, and which recounts the bishop of Albi, Saint Salvius (574-584), who would drive the devils out of the city, throwing them into a gorge. It is a popular folk theme (Seppilli 1977). Furthermore, the description of the road traveled by pilgrims

into the site of Saban is very interesting to understand the perils of the journey and particularly of this place:

Quod precipitium non solum gressibus, verum humanis fit inaccessibleibus obtutibus. Hunc tamen fluvium, inter rupis morsum in angusto torrente coartatum, desuper vimineo iniecto ponticulo, viatores transeunt, magnaue formidine concussi, celeri pervolant gressu.³⁵

People could go on a pilgrimage alone or in a group, a condition which was obviously more reassuring also to have a better chance at defending themselves from the dangers of the journey, such as aggression or robbery. In the *Liber*, there are numerous examples of pilgrims groups.³⁶

During the journey and while staying at Conques, pilgrims would stay in hostels,³⁷ places in which they could sleep but also eat and feed their livestock. The hostels were placed also along the pilgrims' path³⁸ (Webb, 2002², pp. 37-38).

Dressing and means

The *Liber* doesn't tell anything specific about pilgrims' clothing. In the first miracle of the first book, the pilgrim Guibert said to his half-brother, met on the way back from Conques, that he was a pilgrim and he was returning from the Feast of Sainte Foy,³⁹ therefore in October. Pilgrims' clothing was considered sacred as well as pilgrims themselves⁴⁰ because they were both signs of their faith and wish to walk the road to God and His saints. Their clothing was worthy of respect,⁴¹ as said Guibert's evil half-brother, Gerald, despite attacking him later for score-settling and gouging his eyes out. As a matter of fact, during their pilgrimage, they were almost worthy of veneration, especially when they managed to return home from their journey. They would be greatly respected by their fellow citizens (Stopani, 1991, p. 8).

Despite this, pilgrims were not always treated with respect, particularly in case of scores settling, when a soldier assaulted other soldiers even if on their trip pilgrims were dressed as such. In the episode of the abbot Peter, pilgrim's clothes are used as a guarantee of salvation from their enemies.⁴²

One of the pilgrim's elements was the staff (*peregrinis bacillo*),⁴³ that was very useful during the journey. It was defined "bordon" and had a hook on one of its extremities. In addition to being practically useful, it had a symbolic value referring to the sacred staffs of Moses, Aaron, Saint Joseph, Saint Peter, Saint Anthony abbot, Saint Christopher. It was kind of a third leg, a symbol of Trinity, useful for protection during the journey (Palumbo, 1999, p. 443).

In one apparition of Sainte Foy, the pilgrim's staff is also one of her attributes. She appeared to Stephen, a layman who was the guardian of the shrine wax, while he was sleeping. Her aspect was that of a woman in pain, pale and emaciated, who supported herself on the pilgrim's staff.⁴⁴ In this case, the Sainte wanted to point out the grave situation of the monastery, attacked by powerful locals who wanted to steal its treasure, and her dresses were those of a poor pilgrim, almost to indicate how it would become if she had lost her treasure.

On their way to the shrine, pilgrims could either walk⁴⁵ or ride; this is the way two soldiers traveled on their pilgrimage: Bonfils who went to the shrine,⁴⁶ and Gerald, who came back in France after a pilgrimage in Rome.⁴⁷ Sometimes, as in these two episodes, the animals used for traveling were injured or died, the pilgrims were forced to continue on foot. Generally, the animal used by poor pilgrims was the donkey – initially defined as "bordon", word that later went to identify the pilgrim's staff (Stopani, 1991, p. 9) –, while the rich used the horse, like the noblewoman who went to the shrine of Sainte Foy⁴⁸ or the priest Hadimar.⁴⁹ In one case, there is the use of a horse-drawn pallet, in which the parents carried their paralyzed daughter to the shrine.⁵⁰

For a specific vow, a pilgrim could go to the shrine barefoot, as a sign of gratitude to Sainte Foy, like the soldier Gerald,⁵¹ the character of the third miracle of the first book, who had lost his lord's falcon. He traveled from the village of Villaris,⁵² to Rouergue, which was ten kilometers away from Conques.

Pilgrims wore objects symbolizing their pilgrimage, as confirmed by the warrior Bernard who started his journey fastening "signum videlicet peregrinationis"⁵³ on themselves. During the Middle Ages, different symbols for different pilgrimages were used: the shell for the pilgrimage to Santiago (often picked up at their arrival on the ocean shores, at Finisterre), the images of Veronica or of the Saints Peter and Paul for the pilgrims who went to Rome, and a small olive branch or small crosses for pilgrims who came back from Jerusalem.

Reasons for a pilgrimage

The reasons that pushed people to embark on a pilgrimage – and specifically, in this case, a pilgrimage to Conques – were of various kinds. Occasionally – even if the *Liber* and the hagiographical sources in general would have us believe otherwise – there was a specific request from God or, more often, Sainte Foy, who appeared in visions or dreams during the night, asking to go to her shrine,⁵⁴ bringing her something precious if the pilgrims were rich, or humble if they were poor. In the miracle of Guibert's eyesight restoration, Sainte Foy appeared to him during the night and said precisely what he should do: go to her shrine the day following the vigil of his martyrdom.⁵⁵ She urged him to start his journey. In Bernard's miracle, a soldier who had lost all his hair went to the shrine after receiving three visions – hagiographic and biblical topical number – and obtained healing.⁵⁶ Sometimes Sainte Foy appeared in a vision to ask nobles for jewelry, particularly women, and they started their journey to deliver them to her.⁵⁷

In the *Liber*, there are records of pilgrimages started almost on the pilgrim's deathbed, with the objective to obtain the comfort of their souls and remission of their sins. An example could be the decision of the soldier Raimond, at the service of Peter of Auvergne, who received a serious injury to his face that led him almost to death (his companions kept watch for about three months). After that period, he decided to go to the shrine of Sainte Foy:

Ita miser, odibilis vite mora diu protractus, coepit iam tandem intra se cogitare, ut ad sanctam Fidem se deportari crastina luce, nutu quo posset, innueret, non tamen eo voto ut de salute corporea que irreparabilis videbatur ultra cogitaret, sed ut anime vel inter vias vel ad sanctam Fidem obeuntis superna miseratio succurreret.⁵⁸

After being healed, the Sainte asked him to take the road to the shrine, pilgrimage that he later embarked on several times.⁵⁹

Sometimes they would take a simple vow in order to be healed, in which the sick – or their family – promised that they would go to the shrine of Sainte Foy (Webb, 2002², pp. 56-66). An example of this, is portrayed by the noble Roger who promised a bishop – who had a relic of the Martyr – that if his wife had been healed, he would have gone to the shrine.⁶⁰

Another reason to become a pilgrim was the desire of healing (Webb, 2002², pp. 52-56). In Normandy, there was a man who looked after some horses, but one night he suddenly went blind. Therefore, he decided to begin a journey. His decision allows us to reflect on the importance of healing potential in pilgrimage churches:

Cui de cecitate merenti, mente succurrit, ut diversa sanctorum oracula peragrarere deberet atque fortassis, eorum meritis obtinentibus, amissum lumen reciperet. Quo facto, Romam petiit; ibi, post peracta orationum studia, remansit somnoque, longa itineris molestia fessus, indulsit. Qua in quiete responsum accipere meruit, ad oraculum redire sancte Fidis ibique optata lucis reparatione potiri.⁶¹

Although the miracle is based on the idea of the preeminence of the shrine of Conques and Sainte Foy – but, at the same time, on the possible great fame of this cult during the 11th century –, it is interesting to reflect on the decision made by this pilgrim, who began his journey in order to be healed, and then he decided to start his pilgrimage from different churches of saints. After not receiving what had wished for, he went to a place of pilgrimage of a "superior level", the *limina apostolorum*. But even Rome didn't give him what he wanted and he remained blind for two more years. The shrine of Sainte Foy was his last chance, granted by a vision he had received in Rome. Therefore, the *status* of pilgrim was also a moment of life, during which people could find something they had lost.

In one episode, the pilgrimage for healing is taken by another person: the lord who wished for his warrior to be healed. After returning, the warrior, reassured of his healing by the lord, went personally on a pilgrimage to the shrine.⁶²

Another reason for a pilgrimage to Sainte Foy was women' sterility. In the third book, the continuator-monk tells us about a couple who had been trying to have children for a long time but couldn't. At the end, they decided to go to the shrine of the Sainte, and then the woman became pregnant.⁶³ A similar episode is narrated in the next miracle, but in that case the character is a nobleman – the husband – of the region of Perigord.⁶⁴ It is interesting as, according to Medieval medical knowledge, causes of infertility were usually attributed to women, whereas it was not taken into account the chance it might also be the man who was barren. One of the first insights about male infertility dates back to the physician Trotula (11th century) of the medical school of

Salerno, of which she deals in her book *De passionibus mulierum ante in et post partum* (Green, 2009).

Among the different requests for grace, there was one by a mother who asked the Sainte to help her son imprisoned.⁶⁵ Pilgrimages to the shrine often took place annually, with the idea that prayers could protect one person throughout the year.⁶⁶

The *miles* of the miracle III, 23 went to the shrine to request healing for three people unable to speak, and the author tells us about the pilgrimage custom.⁶⁷

Among pilgrimage motives, there was also penitence (Webb, 2002², pp. 49-52). Although sometimes, more often during the Early Middle Ages, penance pilgrimages were bribed by bishops, they were considered punishments for the crimes committed. In this case, penitents went to the shrine by themselves, asking for the absolution of their sins and confessed them to the monks. The priest Hadimar was guilty of capturing an enemy warrior pilgrim, and because of this he had been struck by a disease. After arriving to the shrine and confessed his sins, he had started punishing himself and, after many prayers and vows, he returned home and decided to start on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. After his return, he frequently went to visit the shrine of Sainte Foy.⁶⁸

Economy, vows and rituals

In the miracle of Guibert, he brought two candles to the shrine: one to be placed in front of the altar of the Savior⁶⁹ and one in front of his reliquary statue. The miracles allow us to understand some economical aspects of the pilgrimage, as for instance the sale of wax for the candles sold by the monks and, in case of Guibert's eyes miracle, by himself.⁷⁰ Wax was an important element for the abbey's economy, because of the great number of candles offered by pilgrims. This issue serves as base for another miracle, in which a "dishonest" merchant bought a big quantity of wax in the shrine at selling price – a reduced price because of the extensive use of the wax and pilgrims' flowing donations – then sold them over the region of Auvergne.⁷¹ The *Liber* in general reveals that in the 11th century there were many merchants who went to Conques to do business, because of the substantial pilgrims' influx, as it is also the case for various shrines, like that of Saint Mary the Magdalen at Vézelay (Webb, 2002², pp. 33-34).

The gifts were an important element of the cult of Sainte Foy. In this regard, Monks received a lot of money, silver and jewelry from pilgrims who were grateful to the Sainte. After the healing of his mule, Bonfils gave the Sainte one gold coin, the animal itself and other donations.⁷² It is one of the most important source of income which filled up the monks and the abbey's coffers (Latouche, 1956). Sometimes, when people were about to go on a pilgrimage, they made a will or donations to a shrine. It is the case narrated in the miracle I, 12, in which Raimond II, Count of Rouergue (960-1010), son of Raimond I – murdered, according to Bernard, on the path to Santiago –, before the beginning of his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, gave to Sainte Foy various precious things, like twenty-one richly decorated silver vessels, a saddle worth a hundred pounds and, furthermore, a hereditary feud.⁷³ People's vow – especially the poor's – often consisted in lighting a candle for the Sainte⁷⁴ or in making a pilgrimage.

The monks had a central importance at Conques. Among the numerous commitments of their day, they could hear pilgrims' requests and prayers. After arriving in Conques, Guibert reports to the monks the vision he had received first, and then does what Sainte Foy had requested of him.⁷⁵

Among the pilgrims' practices, there was that of the vigil. Pilgrims went in front of the reliquary statue of Sainte Foy – the center of the Sainte's *virtus*, which also contained her relics and particularly her head⁷⁶ (Canetti, 2017) – and prayed, stayed awake or, specifically when the Sainte wanted to show something to her devotees, slept (and often dreamed). In the *Liber* there are many episodes in which the Medieval form of the classical practice of *incubatio* is attested, the ritual sleeping beside the relics, during the day or the night, when the Sainte showed to her devotees that she would heal them or what they had to do to be healed;⁷⁷ we can also find several cases of healing during their night visit at the shrine, in which specific dreams or apparitions are not present.⁷⁸

It was common for pilgrims to sing praise during the acts of devotion, but also to thank the Sainte⁷⁹ (Webb, 2002², pp. 155-158). In the second book, Bernard tells us that it was custom for pilgrims to stay in the church during the vigils, holding candles and torches.⁸⁰ While the clergy and the educated people (*literati*) sang psalms and songs, the *illiterati* sang songs in vulgar or other secular music,⁸¹ sometimes, from the point of view of the monks, also making "animalesque" sounds,⁸² which, in the opinion of the clergy, contaminated the holiness of the vigil. One miracle describes the monks' attempt to prohibit to sing these songs and, particularly, closing the church doors, preventing peasants from taking part to the vigils. These prohibitions caused aggressive reactions from the peasants who wanted to enter the monastery.⁸³

The *Liber* and their authors can describe pilgrims' attitudes in a detailed way. For example, a servant of the shrine, after coming to the Sainte to pray for his donkey, he prayed whispering,⁸⁴ and then, after the death of the animal, he repeated his prayer, moaning.⁸⁵ One of the principle practices made by pilgrims at the tomb of Sainte Foy was the vigil with lighted candles. They spent one or more vigils offered to the martyr,⁸⁶ often together with the other pilgrims.⁸⁷ It is the case, for example, of the paralyzed girl whose parents carried to the shrine. When they reached the shrine, they lit candles and spent the night in vigil and prayed.⁸⁸ Another element, described exactly in this miracle, is the wait for Mass celebration and particularly for receiving the Eucharist, which, in this case, is the healing *medium*.⁸⁹ Pilgrims sometimes walked from the hostel to the church with lighted candles.⁹⁰

The way the knight asks for the healing of three dumb people can represent the manner in which the healing grace was usually asked: the continuator-monk describes how the third healing miracle had happened, writing down that the knight and the dumb person had entered the church, that the knight had grabbed a candle and passed it on to the dumb person and how after this gesture the former had started praying to Sainte Foy's altar.

In the shrine, there were several rituals, such as that of blessing and consecrating water, the same with which the reliquary statue was washed in. It is attested in just one miracle of the *Liber*, telling the story of the warrior William, of the castle of Carlat, who requested that the blessed water washed his sick eyes.⁹¹

Conclusion

The *Liber miraculorum sancte Fidis* allows us to reflect on the pilgrimage in the Middle Ages, particularly in the shrine of Sainte Foy at Conques. The first evidence that emerges reading the book is the importance of the shrine – of course exaggerated –, described as the center of the pilgrimage dimension of Medieval Europe. At the same time, the pilgrimage of Bernard holds a central role for us to understand the general meaning and the specific goals of the book: aimed at confirming the Sainte's healing power and her authority. He is the "first" pilgrim of the story he told. By the reading of the miracles of the four books, we have collected much information about uses, practices and behaviors of the 11th century in the South of France.

People made the pilgrimage to the shrine at any moment of the year, at Easter or Christmas, and during summer, but particularly on the occasion of the Feast of the Sainte's martyrdom. The journey was often full of dangers, like that of being assaulted or robbed, of getting sick or dying, because of a territory particularly dangerous and rough, like in the episode of the waterfall.

There is just little information about the pilgrims' clothing, but from this we can gather the sense of holiness that they held and the respect they received – especially after the pilgrims had returned from their journey.

We have seen numerous reasons to start a pilgrimage: from a dream, which orders to go to the shrine, to the hopes of healing, from the penitence pilgrimage to a specific vow.

The pilgrimage appears like one of the most important elements of the economy of these places: Conques, as appears from the *Liber*, became an important place of business, not only for the monks, with their candle wax, but particularly for the merchants.

One of the most interesting aspects of the cult of Sainte Foy is the ritual. Pilgrims spent one or more vigils during the night in the shrine, usually in front of the Majesty of Sainte Foy containing her relics. Here they prayed, sang, slept practicing the *incubatio*.

So, in the *Liber* there is a world of gestures, words, behaviors which, despite the hagiographical dimension of the source, it may help us understand the hopes, the difficulties and the habits of pilgrims in the Middle Ages.

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¹ This literary work can be considered also a biographical work, because the author, Bernard of Angers, inserted personal aspects of his pilgrimage, his travels, and his life.

² All quotations are extracted from the most recent critical edition of the book (Robertini, 1994).

³ "[...] accidebat crebrius ut, vel scribendi causa vel orandi, sancte Fidis martyris, que extra muros eiusdem urbis sita est, ecclesiolam adirem" (*Liber*, I, *Incipit*, 4). The small church was probably built at Fulbert's time outside the walls of Chartres.

⁴ *Liber*, I, *incipit*, 7-8.

⁵ *Liber*, I, 9, 8.

⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁷ *Liber*, I, 9, 9.

⁸ *Liber*, I, 13, 14.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 22-26.

¹⁰ "Hec itaque supra scripta tantummodo miracula, dum trium ebdomadarum spatio diebusque quatuor apud Conchacensem vicum fuerim demoratus, scripsi et scripta ibidem reliqui [...]" (*Liber*, I, 7, 4).

¹¹ "Hunc ergo secundo itinere, quia excesserat, videre non potui" (*Liber*, II, 1, 28); during his second visit, he wrote the miracles 1-6 of the second book.

¹² *Liber*, II, 7, 2.

¹³ *Liber*, II, 7, 5-8.

¹⁴ During his third journey, he wrote miracles 7-15 of the second book.

¹⁵ *Liber*, II, 13, 11.

¹⁶ *Liber*, II, 14.

¹⁷ In the *Liber*, there are some pilgrims who went to Jerusalem, as for instance, Raymond (*Liber*, III, 19), and to Rome, like the two warriors who met in Lombardy (*Liber*, IV, 19). During the pilgrimage, the two warriors stood by an *hospitium* "in vico Sancti Domnini" (*Liber*, IV, 18, 6), id est Borgo San Donnino, today Fidenza, which is one of the settings Sigeric describes in his pilgrimage to Rome, along the *via Francigena*, in 990 (in the text, Sigeric wrote: "XXXVI Sce Domnine"). Also in this case, the *Liber* tells us about a great number of pilgrims: "[...] omnis peregrinorum caterva in laudum preconia erupit [...]" (*Liber*, IV, 19, 24).

¹⁸ *Liber*, I, 29, 5. A similar episode is *ibid.*, III, 6.

¹⁹ *De mirabilibus sancti Stephani prothomartyris* (Corner, 1749, 117).

²⁰ AASS, Martii I, 321, 13.

²¹ "Ad huius diei sollemnitatem ex diversis partibus multorum fit concursus populorum" (*Liber*, IV, 17, 9); "Verum quia ad tante sollemnitatis gaudia innumera populorum copia confluxerat [...]" (*Liber*, IV, 17, 12).

²² Cf. *Liber*, I, 1, 70.

²³ It is the case of the *miles* Regimbald, who was captured during a pilgrimage to the shrine "imminente dominici natalis die" (*Liber*, III, 24, 3).

²⁴ It is the case of the lord Adalhelm: "Sed dum dominice resurrectionis sollemnitas adpropinquaret, ipse Adalelmus, iunctis sibi sociis, oratorium sancte Fidis orationis gratia expetiit" (*Liber*, IV, 7, 6).

²⁵ *Liber*, IV, 2, 3-5.

²⁶ *Liber*, IV, 15, 14.

²⁷ When Guibert came back from the shrine to his house, there were many people: "[...] inter angustias turbarum ad ecclesiam concurrentium [...]" (*Liber*, I, 1, 87); he then worries that a donkey might hinder him and the other pilgrims: "Heus tu, homo, quisquis es, inepte, abige asinum tuum, ne fiat viatoribus offendiculum" (*Liber*, I, 1, 89). His miracle attracted a large number of pilgrims, curious to see him: "Quod cum plerique omnes, tam ex longinquis quam proximis regionibus confluentes, pro inaudito miraculo eum certatim videre festinant [...]" (*Liber*, I, 1, 92); references to this miracle are also included in the *Chanson de Sainte Foy*, written around 1065: "Giralz, uns preire mal tunduz, / los oilz traiss Guidbert q'es sos druz; / pois, pos los ag un an perduz, / Deus li redded per leis la luz" (vv. 441-444). The *Liber* tells also about pilgrims who came to the shrine from different places ("Mulier quedam vidua inter ceteros peregrinos, qui de diversis partibus eo confluxerant, pro salute filie cece ibidem pernoctabat", *Liber*, I, 9, 3) or from everywhere ("Nec minus idem et peregrinis undique confluentibus instans faciebat", *Liber*, I, 17, 17), and that were healed ("[...] multis a diversis partibus sanatis [...]", *Liber*, II, 4, 30).

²⁸ "Nondum enim Conchacensium virtutum novitas, nisi raro, fines suos excesserat" (*Liber*, I, 19, 18);

William probably took Arisind, his first wife, around 975.

²⁹ *Liber*, III, 6.

³⁰ *Liber*, II, 6, 2.

³¹ An example is that of the noble Roger, who didn't go to the shrine, after the healing of her wife, because he feared he might be captured by his enemies (*Liber*, III, 1, 13); see also: *Liber*, IV, 9, 5.

³² *Liber*, I, 10, 9.

³³ It is the case of the abbot Peter, who wished to go on a pilgrimage to the shrine, but was afraid of his enemies (*Liber*, II, 9).

³⁴ Today Saut-du-Sabot, a town in the municipality of Saint-Juéry, five kilometers away from Albi, in which there is a high waterfall.

³⁵ *Liber*, III, 2, 7-8.

³⁶ The pilgrim William traveled with some companions, the same ones he searched when he didn't find his ring: "Tum socios districtius perscrutatus, minime repperit [...]" (*Liber*, I, 21, 7); the pilgrim Peter, who could go to the shrine with his companions: "Denique cum sociis ad Conchas attingens [...]" (*Liber*, II, 6, 28); a group of pilgrims of Auvergne: "Arvernico ex territorio quidam agricole orationis gratia ad sancte martyris Fidis concurrebant templum" (*Liber*, IV, 2, 3); the warrior Bernard went to the shrine with other pilgrims: "[...] non multo post sociis reingitur ac sancte Fidis basilicam de collato beneficio grates redditurus aggreditur" (*Liber*, IV, 9, 12); a widow went to the shrine with some companions: "At illa somno elapso verbis monitoriis fidem adhibens, iussa capescit ac iunctis vie sociis Conchas devenit" (*Liber*, IV, 16, 5).

³⁷ A pregnant woman stayed in a hostel not far from the monastery: "Que a monasterio exiens regressaque in hospitium [...]" (*Liber*, I, 20, 4); "[...] propriis pedibus deambulans, ad hospitium reverteretur [...]" (*Liber*, I, 20, 8); a lord and his companions went from the hostel to the church: "[...] cum ab hospitio iunctis sibi comitibus quamplurimis ad ecclesiam in cereis accensis ire disponeret [...]" (*Liber*, IV, 10, 11); a widow spent the night with other companions in the hostel: "Cui in hospitio pernoctanti sancteque Fidis presidia attentius efflagitanti [...]" (*Liber*, IV, 16, 6).

³⁸ The warrior Bernard, when he was to start his pilgrimage, stayed in a hostel where there were other pilgrims with whom he could make the journey: "[...] nemine comitante, ad comperegrinorum tendebat hospitia, cum quibus crastina luce iter dispositum tenebat" (*Liber*, IV, 9, 4).

³⁹ "Ecce, Vuitberte, romeus, ut video, effectus es'; sic enim in eadem patria sanctorum peregrini appellantur. Et respondit: 'Et iam, domine, a festivitate sancte Fidis revertens'" (*Liber*, I, 1, 6-7). *Romei* was one of the name by which, pilgrims who went to this shrine – and generally in pilgrimage to saints' churches – were known in the Middle Ages.

⁴⁰ Guibert said to his half-brother: "Domine, indulge, queso, veniam te, si non propter innocentiam meam, saltem pro amore Dei et sancte Fidis, cuius amore in presentiarum gesto sacrum peregrini habitum" (*Liber*, I, 1, 20).

⁴¹ "Nec Deus nec sancta Fides hodie – inquit – te liberabit, neque eos invocando proficies, ut a manibus meis impunitus abeas, neque eo confugies, ut ob peregrini habitus reverentiam, cum sis mihi iniquissime iniurius, te in contemptibilem inviolabilmeque habeam personam" (*Liber*, I, 1, 22).

⁴² "Hostis vero dolosus, simulata penitudine, hunc deforis affatur, nec prorsus peregrino sancte Fidis esse metuendum pollicetur, ilicet id arte tractans, ut multa securitate inductum, exeuntem a villa excipiat incautum" (*Liber*, II, 9, 22).

⁴³ *Liber*, I, 4, 8.

⁴⁴ *Liber*, II, 5, 25-26.

⁴⁵ *Liber*, I, 33, 60.

⁴⁶ *Liber*, I, 3.

⁴⁷ *Liber*, I, 4.

⁴⁸ The woman, after a first pilgrimage, went again to the shrine to deliver her ring to the Sainte: "Mox ergo ut precepit equum sterni, ut videlicet recidivo tramite ad sanctam Fidem remearet, nimius ardoris remittitur estus" (*Liber*, I, 18, 15).

⁴⁹ *Liber*, III, 24, 8.

⁵⁰ *Liber*, III, 22, 4.

⁵¹ *Liber*, I, 23.

⁵² Desjardins affirms that the village of Villaris is the today Vialarels, in the municipality of Firmy, when the monks of Conques had a farm (Desjardins, 1879, p. LIX).

⁵³ *Liber*, IV, 9, 4.

⁵⁴ An example is in *Liber*, IV, 8, 49-52.

⁵⁵ "Verum si crastina luce, que erit martyrii mei vigilia, Conchas perrexeris emptasque duas candelas, unam quidem ante aram sancti Salvatoris, alteram vero ante aram ubi gleba corporis mei condita est, apposueris, oculorum de integro reformatorum decore mereberis gaudere" (*Liber*, I, 1, 66).

⁵⁶ *Liber*, III, 7.

⁵⁷ Cf. *Liber*, I, 19, 10-16.

⁵⁸ *Liber*, II, 7, 12.

⁵⁹ *Liber*, II, 7, 25.

⁶⁰ "At ille, eius sospitatem desiderans, dato pignore in manu presulis, eam sancte martyri vovit magnoque cum munere se illam ad eius oratorium dirigendam spondit" (*Liber*, III, 1, 10).

⁶¹ *Liber*, III, 6, 7-10.

⁶² *Liber*, IV, 10, 16.

⁶³ *Liber*, III, 8, 3-4.

⁶⁴ *Liber*, III, 9, 3-5.

⁶⁵ *Liber*, III, 15.

⁶⁶ It is the case, for example, of the impious Raymond: "[...] sancte medice Fidis basilicam quotannis revisere studebat, gratias pro impenso munere relaturus" (*Liber*, IV, 8, 7); the Warrior Bernard of the castle of Salignac in Perigord: "Petragorico in pago castrum Saliniacum multi vestrum norunt, unde miles quidam nomine Barnardus, amore virtutum sancte Fidis succensus, ipsius ad propitiatorium quotannis erat recurrere solitus" (*Liber*, IV, 9, 3); the lord of the warrior Rigaud, in the region of Albi: "Contigit namque solito more eum ad sancte virginis propitiatorium accedere [...]" (*Liber*, IV, 10, 11);

⁶⁷ "Cumque iam tertio idem miles ad solitas orationes gressum dirigeret [...]" (*Liber*, III, 23, 7).

⁶⁸ *Liber*, III, 24, 7-13.

⁶⁹ The original abbey dedication was to the Savior. Sainte Foy's exhortation allows us to understand that the original dedication – or the cult connected to it – was still in place at the time the *Liber* was written, although, after the Sainte's relics had been transferred from Agen to Conques, Sainte Foy herself

became the one who the dedication was primarily addressed to. It is interesting to take notice of Bernard's words: "Monasterium Conchacense in honore sancti Salvatoris dedicatum est. Sed postquam antiquitus sancte martyris corpus a duobus furtim monachis ab urbe Agenno huc allatum fuit, propter crebriores virtutes sancte Fidis nomen prevaluit" (*Liber*, I, 17, 2-3). The altar of the Savior was the central one (*Liber*, I, 31, 14).

⁷⁰ *Liber*, I, 1, 95.

⁷¹ "Hic cum vidisset facillimum cere commercium, nam propter peregrinorum frequentiam offerentium cereos multo vilior habetur [...]" (*Liber*, I, 24, 3).

⁷² "Miles vero Deo sancteque eius pro gratiarum actione unum aureum offerens [...]; ipsoque animali sancte Fidi remisso, plurimis post inde annis plurima ei donaria delegavit" (*Liber*, I, 3, 15).

⁷³ *Liber*, I, 12, 2-5.

⁷⁴ It is the case of one of the servants of the shrine, who offered a candle to Sainte Foy to obtain healing for his donkey (*Liber*, IV, 20, 5).

⁷⁵ "Adit locum, visionem prodit senioribus, emit cereos, apponit altaribus, excubat coram aurea sacratissime martyris imagine" (*Liber*, I, 1, 75).

⁷⁶ The custom of putting the relic of the head in a reliquary statue is confirmed also by Bernard: "Est namque vetus mos et antiqua consuetudo, ut in tota Arvernica patria sive Rotenica vel Tolosana, necnon et reliquis nostris his circumquaque contiguis, de auro sive argento seu quolibet alio metallo, sancto suo quisque pro posse statuam erigat, in qua caput sancti vel potior pars corporis venerabilius condatur" (*Liber*, I, 13, 4); "[...] venerabilis illa imago, in qua sanctum martyris caput venerabiliter conditum est [...]" (*Liber*, I, 14, 3). Other examples of reliquary statues are that of Saint Gerald (*Liber*, I, 13, 5), and probably the statues of Saint Mario, Saint Amanzio, Saint Saturnino and that of the Virgin Mary (*Liber*, I, 28, 6).

⁷⁷ Guibert slept in front of the relics (*Liber*, I, 1, 75-80); Gerbert kept vigils for three months at the sepulcher of Sainte Foy, and at the end she appeared to him in a vision (*Liber*, II, 1, 15-19); the warrior Rigaud heard the voice of the Sainte and, after sleeping, his arm was healed (*Liber*, IV, 10, 20-21); a warrior spent his night prostrated in tears to the Sainte to obtain healing and received her vision (IV, 28, 8-14).

⁷⁸ A woman kept vigil with her blind daughter (*Liber*, I, 9, 3-4); eleven sick people were cured during the night (*Liber*, I, 9, 10); a deformed girl who kept vigil in prayer at the monastery for some nights (I, 15, 14); a woman led to the shrine and kept vigil for two nights (*Liber*, I, 22, 7-11).

⁷⁹ "[...] miles ille inestimabile gaudio perfunditur [...], humi procubuit, Deoque ac sancte martyri magnificas laudes decantavit [...]" (*Liber*, III, 23, 16).

⁸⁰ "Est mos ab antiquis, ut peregrini semper vigiliis agant in ecclesia sancte Fidis cum cereis ac luminaribus" (*Liber*, II, 12, 2).

⁸¹ "Horum vero ignari, tam cantilenis rusticis quam aliis nugis longe noctis solantur fastidium" (*Liber*, II, 12, 3).

⁸² "feralesque rusticorum vociferationes" (*Liber*, II, 12, 7).

⁸³ "[...] accidit ut una noctium peregrinorum turba copiosior solito, post cenam, cum cereis ac luminaribus astartet pro foribus, vociferantes et efflagitantes admitti intra monasterii septa" (*Liber*, II, 12, 8).

⁸⁴ "tenui sussurro perlegit" (*Liber*, IV, 20, 5).

⁸⁵ "sanctam Fidem querulis vocibus ingeminat" (*Liber*, IV, 20, 10).

⁸⁶ Examples are in *Liber*, III, 15, 19; III, 23, 4; IV, 1, 48; IV, 10, 17; VI, 15, 14; IV, 21, 15-16;

⁸⁷ "[...] dum ante gloriose martyris propitiatorium in vigiliis cum multis aliis pernoctaret [...]" (*Liber*, IV, 14, 4).

⁸⁸ *Liber*, III, 22, 5.

⁸⁹ *Liber*, III, 22, 7.

⁹⁰ *Liber*, IV, 10, 11.

⁹¹ *Liber*, IV, 15, 15.