

Camino de Santiago: the routes in the region of Viseu

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Resumen: El Camino de Santiago es una red de rutas en la que es posible encontrar personas con fines religiosos, turistas, curiosos y otros peregrinos con los más diversos objetivos e intereses, mostrando las perspectivas y significados multidimensionales de estos caminos. Varias veces los diversos interesados tienen dificultades efectivas para identificar, en cada región, la ruta utilizada en el pasado por los peregrinos del Camino de Santiago. En este marco, el estudio que se presenta aquí tiene por objeto explorar las principales percepciones destacadas por la literatura científica sobre el Camino de Santiago, haciendo hincapié en el caso específico de las rutas de la región de Viseu. Como metodología, se ha realizado, en primer lugar, una encuesta bibliográfica con 52 artículos diferentes obtenidos de la plataforma científica Web of Science (todas las bases de datos) para el tema “Camino de Santiago” y después se ha explorado la literatura relacionada con las rutas de la región de Viseu. Para mejorar la revisión inicial de la literatura y apoyar la organización del estudio se hizo previamente un análisis bibliométrico. Como principales conclusiones, de subrayar la importancia de considerar enfoques multidisciplinarios en los análisis de las diversas dimensiones del Camino de Santiago. Específicamente para las rutas de la región de Viseu de referir que, el Camino de Santiago, desde Coimbra hasta Chaves pasando por Viseu, era una de las principales rutas de peregrinación portuguesa. Las primeras referencias de una ruta que atravesó la región datan del siglo XII. En los siglos XVI y XVIII, peregrinos de diversas nacionalidades recorrían el Camino hacia la tumba del Apóstol. Fueron impulsados por diversas motivaciones de las desgracias de la vida. La devoción, la espiritualidad y la penitencia en particular fueron, sin embargo, los factores determinantes para que alguien estuviera dispuesto a llevar el hábito de un peregrino. Los caminos que tomaron no son fáciles de rastrear exactamente. No obstante, se pudo percibir que los peregrinos de la región preferían las rutas principales que datan del período romano.

Palabras Clave: Análisis bibliométrico; Estudio de la literatura; Puntos clave; Historia.

Camino de Santiago: las rutas en la región de Viseu

Abstract: The *Camino de Santiago* is a network of routes visited by people of different ages and conditions, be they pilgrims, tourists or merely in search of a different kind of holiday or adventure. The routes then mean all kinds of different things to different people. These various users sometimes find difficulties in identifying the original route used in each region by the pilgrims. The present study looks at the literature on the routes with special emphasis on the route within the region of Viseu. First we did data-mining of all the webs on the Web of Science (all databases) for “Camino de Santiago” and after explored the literature relating to the routes in the region of Viseu. To improve the initial literature review and to support the organisation of the study, we carried out a bibliometric analysis where we underlined the importance of considering multidisciplinary approaches in the review of the many different dimensions of the *Camino de Santiago*. Most specifically, the route in the region of Viseu, that is, the *Camino de Santiago* starting from Coimbra and ending in Chaves passing through Viseu, was one of the main routes used by pilgrims in Portugal. The first references of the route date back to the XIIth century. In the XVIth and XVIIIth centuries, pilgrims from diverse parts of the world walked the *Camino* to the tomb of the Apostles. They all had different motivations, some seeking spiritual enlightenment and others doing penance, but all dressed in the guise of pilgrims. These routes are not always easy to trace in our modern times but then as now the people who walk the Camino de Santiago prefer the traditional paths, dating back to the times of the Romans.

Keywords: Bibliometric analysis; Literature survey; Key points; History.

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1. Introduction

The several pilgrims of the *Camino de Santiago* walk the different routes with the more diverse objectives, where the religious and the tourist perspectives have their relevance. In any case, the network of routes from this way crosses several European regions and countries with diverse impacts on the local dynamics. The municipalities recognize the importance of these routes for their socioeconomic activities and usually are very interested in to have these ways in their territories. Sometimes the actual definition of these routes is more political than based on effective evidences from the past.

In this perspective it is important to bring more insights about the topic related with the *Camino de Santiago*, first to highlight the multidimensional meaning of these routes and after to stress the heritage related to them and the main evidences considered in the several European regions to recover these ways.

Considering the context described before, this work intends to explore the several aspects highlighted in the scientific literature related with the *Camino de Santiago*. For that, it was, first, made before bibliometric analysis (to better structure the study) and literature survey, considering 52 different articles from the Web of Science (Web of Science, 2019) related with the topic “Camino de Santiago”. After, it was explored the several literature (namely Portuguese documents) available related with the specific case of the routes in the region of Viseu.

In fact, in 2007, some Jacobean routes were referenced, including the Interior Route from Viseu to Chaves with a connection to the border through Verín (Iglesias, 2007). The route was opened, signposted and officially inaugurated in 2012, based on the old route that passed through the region (Loza, 2015). The first stage starts in Viseu, passing through Abraveses, and Moure, crossing the Vouga river in Almargem, towards Vila Meã (where there was an invocation chapel of Santiago), and Mões until reaching Castro Daire. One tends to consider this as the first stage that the pilgrims travelled after passing through Viseu. But would this be the path taken by the pilgrims of the past?

This study intends to reconstruct the first stage of the pilgrimage route that left from Viseu to Santiago, more specifically between Viseu and Castro Daire, at a distance of about 40 km. Reconstructing pilgrimage paths is no easy task. There are no documentary sources to accurately reference and reconstruct the itinerary. Therefore, in methodological terms, it is necessary to compel sources of a diverse nature, such as old ways of communication, relevant population centers, as well as toponymy or material sources that indicate the existence of a pilgrimage route.

It is believed that pilgrims used the main existing communication routes linking the most relevant population centers of a region, so that they could move safely and quickly. It is also known that the Roman roads were used at various times, reused in the medieval and modern periods. In this sense, the survey of Roman roads that passed through the region allows the reconstitution of possible pilgrimage routes. In order to detect roaming routes, it is also necessary to check the existence of the main communication routes in the past; it is believable that the pilgrims used them. It is also important to realize the existence of population centres, through the census of parishes for the medieval and modern period. The pilgrims privileged the passage through relevant population centers, with the purpose to obtain support from populations and institutions. Finally, in the survey of routes, invocations to Santiago, toponymy and other material sources must also be taken into account. In any case, the sources should be examined critically. In other words, a Santiago cross or a temple with its invocation should not be immediately understood, per se, as elements that testify to the existence of a pilgrimage route, as they often result from beliefs associated with worship that have long been rooted in the population.

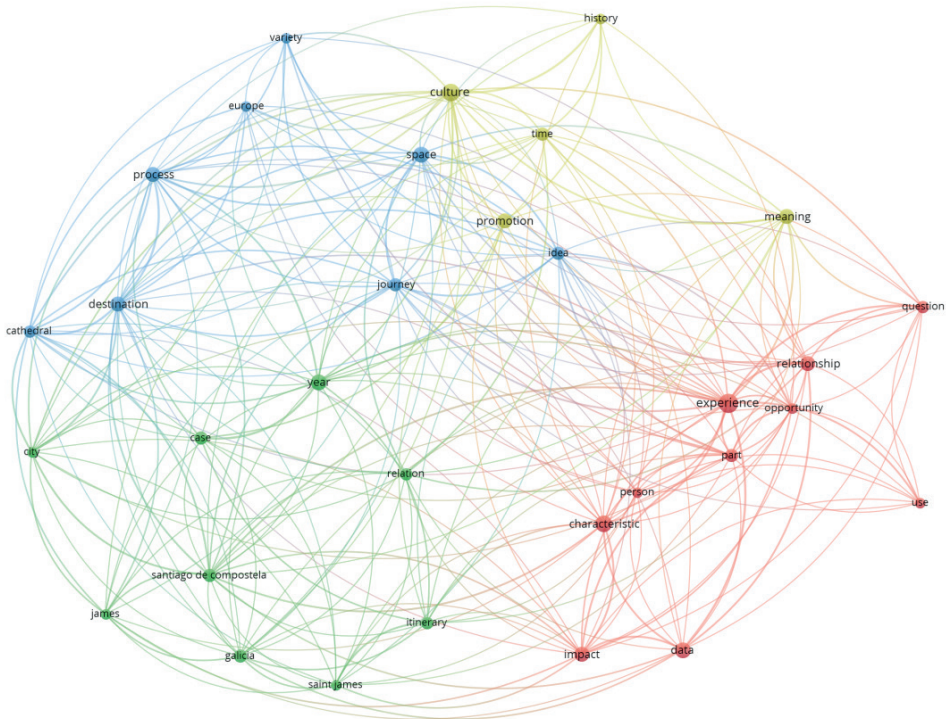
As far as the methodology is concerned, it should be noted that the reconstitution of the stage must be framed in the wider context of the pilgrimage and the life of the pilgrims. This is the only way to understand the importance of routes. The paper is divided into more six parts, after this introduction. In the second and third parts are to explore and analysis of the scientific literature available in the Web of Science. In the fourth part reference will be made to aspects associated with the Jacobean spirituality, as well as some of the main pilgrimage routes that crossed the north and center of the country. In the fifth part, we will try to observe the *Camino de Santiago* in the region of Viseu, as far as pilgrims, worship and paths are concerned. In the sixth part will be presented a suggestion for the Portuguese institutions consider the catholic sanctuary of *Senhora dos Milagres* in Pindelo dos Milagres (São Pedro do Sul) as strategic place for the pilgrims assistance in *Camino de Santiago* route between Viseu and Castro Daire (Portugal). Finally the last section is for the main insights from this research.

2. Networks from the literature available in the Web of Science

The figure 1, obtained through the software VOSviewer (VOSviewer, 2019) and considering 4 as the minimum number of occurrence of a term, groups the several terms with 4 or more occurrences in the 52 different articles considered in four clusters (one colour for each cluster). The terms from these clusters reveal the importance of the history and culture for the promotion of these routes and the existence of a great variety of ways across the Europe. On the other hand, these clusters show the importance of this *Camino* and *Santiago de Compostela* for the all Galicia region. Finally, this figure highlights the importance of the experiences in this network of routes and the characteristics of these ways as opportunities to promote local dynamics.

Considering this bibliometric analysis, the section 3 of this study related with the literature survey will be organized in the following four subsections: historical and cultural heritage; routes across Europe; *Camino de Santiago* and Galicia region; routes characteristics.

Figure 1: Network visualization map for 52 different articles related with the Web of Science topic “Camino de Santiago”



3. Literature survey from the Web of Science

Considering the several articles obtained from the Web of Science in this section will be made a literature review taking into account the bibliometric analysis made before.

3.1. Historical and cultural heritage

The pilgrimage is considered in our days as a part of the tourism industry, where the pilgrims initiate their journeys, also, for tourist purposes (김진영, 2018). The *Camino de Santiago* is a UNESCO World Heritage with a cultural dimension (Chi-Wan, 2013) and this may be an interesting instrument to

promote the tourism in the crossed municipalities, namely in those with more problems of desertification (Alonso Gonzalez, 2018). But, in some cases, these dynamics created by the *Camino* are not enough to avoid the main problems verified in the rural area (Urrutia *et al.*, 2018). The cultural dimension and the historical heritage are crucial supports for the tourist promotion (Choi, 2013), where it is important to ensure a close correspondence between the projected image and the perceived context by the pilgrims (Suárez and Franco, 2016). In general, the pilgrims search spiritual wellbeing and new nature and sport experiences, giving less importance to the religious dimensions (Amaro, Antunes and Henriques, 2018). In a similar way, the U.S. pilgrims stress, for example, the friendship and the relationships with the nature (Anthony, 2018). In fact, the relationships with the nature are the aspects more highlighted by the several pilgrims of the *Camino de Santiago* (Beeman, 2017). The *Camino de Santiago* was and is an inspiration for several authors (Benitez Rojo, 1983) over the years (Chemris, 2008) and in different perspectives (Carvajal Gonzalez, 2015), approaches (Daie, 2018) places (Ruiz Alonso, 2014), legends and myths (Sabaris, 2018) and social dimensions (Tato Fontaina, 2016), in some cases relating their own experiences (Michan-Dona, 2011) as pilgrims (Sienkewicz, 2018). The *Camino de Santiago* seems to be in our days a space of reflection more about the society and our role inside it than about personal questions as the health, for example (Fitzgerald, 2015). The spirituality is referred by several pilgrims as the main motivations for the *Camino* and as the main ingredients from the lived experiences (Im and Jun, 2015). In general, the pilgrims search the happiness (Kim, Kim and King, 2016).

The pilgrimage is seen, indeed, as a way of traveling and as a tourist product with impacts in the local development, where the infrastructures to support the pilgrims play here a determinant role (Carbone, Corinto and Malek, 2016). The new technologies may bring relevant contributions in several aspects, since the tourist promotion (Lopez, Santomil Mosquera and Lois Gonzalez, 2015) until a better support and orientation (Smith, 2018a) for the several pilgrims (Fernandez Vazquez, Lopez Rodriguez and Arevalo Iglesias, 2016), where the kind of information available and the characteristics of these technologies may make the difference for the stakeholders (Nickerson and Mourato-Dussault, 2016).

The *Camino de Santiago* as tourist destination was reborn, in Spain, in the sixties when the Franco regime decided to create policies to promote the Spanish tourism, after decades of considering this economic activity as negative for the national ideology (Hwangbo, 2010).

3.2. Routes across Europe

The *Camino de Santiago* is, also, considered as a benchmark for other initiatives (Feixa, 2017) and as an inspiration for the revival of older routes and to create new ways, some with the destination of Santiago de Compostela and others with different end points. In any case, in our days, in some circumstances, there was a change from the original objective of the ancient pilgrimage, valuing more the journey than the destination (*caminoisation*) (Bowman and Sepp, 2019).

In Spain, the royal intervention had its impact on the evolution of the pilgrimage and the routes to Santiago de Compostela over the eleventh and twelfth centuries, namely promoting and supporting institutions related with Santiago phenomenon (Garcia, 2008).

The UNESCO distinguished more than 2500 kilometres in Spain of routes related with the *Camino de Santiago*, crossing eight autonomous communities (Aragón, País Vasco, Asturias, Cantabria, Castilla y León, Galicia, La Rioja y Navarra), where walking pilgrims from several countries of Europe (Somoza Medina and Lois Gonzalez, 2017).

3.3. Camino de Santiago and Galicia region

Compostela and the Galicia region as final destination of the routes related with the *Camino de Santiago* from several European locals had their sources in the ninth century and had a relevant impulse in the twelfth century. However, the nineteenth and twentieth centuries brought ideological and cultural perspective to the *Camino* (Abou-El-Haj, 2015). In practice, Santiago de Compostela and the Galicia changed from a sacred local in the Middle Age to a global place in our days with several impacts in the all region (Bermudez, 2018).

The impact from the *Camino de Santiago* in Spain was, in fact, relevant, not only for Galicia, but also for the all neighbours regions as, for example, the País Vasco (Porcal Gonzalo, Diez Angulo and Junguitu Iniguez de Heredia, 2012), where Bilbao benefited from this pilgrimage before the Guggenheim Museum (Franklin, 2016), or El Bierzo from Castilla y León (Montes Perez, 2015). The *Camino de Santiago*, namely through the tourism, has a determinant impact on the regional and local development in several dimensions (economic, social, cultural, historical and environmental) (Lee and Sohn, 2017).

Nonetheless, there are roles that the several institutions related with the phenomenon should play, namely in the preservation of the *Camino* identity (Martin-Duque, 2017) and promoting strategic plans to deal with new realities, including in Santiago de Compostela to deal with the overcrowding related with the tourist affluence near the Cathedral (Perez Guilarte and Lois Gonzalez, 2018). The preservation of identity in the territories over the routes should be a concern (김신혜, 2014), considering the real possibilities of transference of customs and traditions from the pilgrims to the local communities (Rodriguez Fernandez, Pazos Couto and Palacios Aguilar, 2014).

3.4. Routes characteristics

The routes of the *Camino de Santiago* are not easy to do and are a really difficult task for the human resistance, where is not unusual the appearance of diverse health problems (Gimenez Duran *et al.*, 2010) and communicable diseases (Watkins *et al.*, 2014), including cardiovascular concerns (Harris and Wolf, 2013) and diverse injuries (Sevilla, Rodriguez and Dallasta, 2007). However, for some pilgrims this is part of their objectives and experiences intended (Bryce, 2017). The pilgrimage over the *Camino de Santiago* is not always made only by land paths. There are, also, records of pilgrimage over this way through the Ebro River made by famous pilgrims (Luis VII of France, for example) (Cuchi de la Cuesta, 2003).

The promotion of the forest over the *Camino de Santiago* as a resource that may be consider to create more dynamics over the several itineraries is being considered by the several institutions related with the territories crossed by the different routes (Miramontes Carballada, 2017).

The itineraries of the *Camino de Santiago* are, in many cases, a revival of the routes used by the pilgrims in the Middle Age to the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela (Murray and Graham, 1997), where the local potentialities in the municipalities crossed by the routes are not properly explored in consequence of lack of adjusted infrastructures (Padin and Pardellas de Blas, 2015) or adjusted initiatives (Tome Fernandez, 2017). In other cases, these potentialities are ignored by the pilgrims because their weak preparation for a journey as that over the *Camino* that requires some cares and concerns (Smith, 2018b).

4. The *Camino*, Jacobean spirituality

Santiago de Compostela was and still is today one of the main religious centers of pilgrimage of the Catholic universe. It is the place of veneration of the apostle, of the worship of the relics. Like other major centers of Catholic pilgrimage, it derives from a penitent spirituality, linked to the atonement of sins. It also emphasizes the need for protection and security and the strengthening of spirituality.

From the earliest days of the Church, the cult of the saints was structural in Christian spirituality. In the Modern Era, under the Counter-Reformation, the Church was not deterred from highlighting the importance of the veneration of Saints and Holy Images (Igreja Católica, 1786). More recently, in the twentieth century, at the Second Vatican Council, the relevance of the veneration of relics and images as a means of leading the faithful to guide their existence through the example of the life and work of the virtuous was emphasized. The pilgrimage should be inscribed in the context of worship of the saints, as intercessors of divine grace (Concílio de Vaticano II, n.d.).

The motives that led to pilgrimage were varied. Pilgrims sought protection and mediation through a contractual relationship that presupposed offers as a form of gratitude. But there were those who did it because of promises that resulted from distressing moments. And there were those who left so that the contact with the relics would cure the maladies or ensure protection. In the Modern Era, a penitent spirituality is gradually affirmed, resulting from the strengthening of sacramental practice; indulgences and prayers for the souls of purgatory led believers into sacred spaces. In addition, the proliferation of confraternities and brotherhoods has led to the reinforcement of penitential practices, and pilgrimage is a form of penance (Penteado, n.d.).

The importance of Santiago in the lives of the faithful is unmistakable. Carolina Michaelis collected a set of popular songs that attest the Santo's strength in the Portuguese popular imagination (Serrão, 1974). There were even places in Portugal that channeled part of the tributes to the church of Compostela. In Malpartida (Almeida) the farmers, in the middle of the eighteenth century, were still obliged to pay two fields of the best seed they harvested to the Cathedral of Santiago (ANTT, n.d.a). These rights came from regal or private donations to the cathedral of Compostela; the first donations date from very backward times, more concretely to the ninth century (Almeida, 1968). In any case, they testify to the

relevance of Santiago in the Portuguese territory and contributed, in the cases in which the rights crystallized, to the affirmation of Compostela in the popular imaginary.

Although popular devotion has been fundamental to the proliferation of worship, religious and civilian powers have become central to its claim. Even before the formation of the Portuguese nationality, monarchs from Leon, the order of Cluny and some bishops, case of D. Diego Gelmirez, in the twelfth century, aided by important members of royalty and nobility were decisive in the promotion of worship. The Portuguese royal power also contributed. The Queen Isabel of Aragon was a pomegranate of Santiago. In 1502, King Manuel visited Santiago de Compostela as a way of thanking the arrival of the Portuguese ships in India. And after the visit he ordered that a lamp should be kept lit at all times in the cathedral so as to obtain grace for the kings of Portugal (ANTT, n.d.b). In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, many Portuguese people visited Santiago, including some important figures of the society of the time, such as the infant D. Fernando, brother of D. João III, Damião de Góis and Francisco de Holanda (Penteado, n.d.).

Both important figures in Portuguese society and religious fervor motivated so many others to travel hundreds or thousands of kilometers of the Jacobean routes. Guilherme Boroa, who was to be burned by the Inquisition for heresy, crossed the country on a pilgrimage; in 1554 he arrived at Lamego, coming from Lapa, with the purpose of going to Santiago de Compostela (Correia, 1982). Years before, António Lopes, a cleric of Elvas, was prepared to go to Santiago in pilgrimage and from there to other parts. He was authorized to do so for one year by Cardinal D. Henrique, an extremely important figure of the Church and politics, in 1535 (ANTT, n.d.c). At the end of the sixteenth century, after landing in the Algarve from Africa, Francisco Barbosa took the habit of a pilgrim and went to Romaria to “Santiago de Galicia” (ANTT, n.d.d).

The pilgrims wore particular habits during the pilgrimage. In 1760, in the city of Lisbon, it is said that one of the many pilgrims who passed through it was dressed in a long piece of canvas, covered with a cloak of the same material, a pair of old boots, holding a bag made of canvas too (ANTT, n.d.e). The habit was a way of distinguishing themselves, of drawing the attention of the community to pilgrimage.

The pilgrims belonged to various social classes, nobles, clergymen and people of lower status. Some of them had diverse activities. A paradigmatic one is Francisco Barbosa who was a fisherman, sailor and soldier. At the end of the sixteenth century, he left his activities to embrace pilgrim life (ANTT, n.d.d).

The pilgrims travelled on established routes. One of the most commonly used was from Lisbon to Coimbra towards Porto. From Porto, to Caminha where it crossed the border. But there were also routes of pilgrimage in the interior, namely that of Coimbra that passed through Viseu and was headed to Chaves. There was also the route from Évora, through Castelo Branco and Guarda that inflected towards Lamego, meeting the route from Viseu towards Chaves (Moreno, 1986). These routes originated in Roman routes that linked the *civitas* of Roman Portugal. In fact, one of the most important routes in the territory linked Coimbra to Viseu. The existence of a road linking Mérida to Chaves, crossing the Tejo river in Segura is also documented (Alarcão, 1983). In the Roman period a road also went from Viseu towards Chaves, crossing the Douro river in the region of Lamego (Vaz, 2000). It is believed that, having been reused in the Middle Ages, these routes continued to serve the transit of people and goods in the Modern Age, between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. In the twentieth century, with the opening of new roads, the old roads were either destroyed to build new roads or abandoned, serving only as rural roads.

Pilgrims benefited from the existence of a set of hostels that flourished since the Medieval Epoch. Here they found a roof, water and food (Serrão, 1974). But the pilgrims did not only benefit from receiving shelters. The community also helped them through existing institutions or individually by feeding them and killing their thirst. When Father António Lopes left Elvas in the direction of Santiago, he took with him the letter written by Cardinal D. Henrique asking that the prelates, priors, vicars, priests and deacons [...] would receive him with charity (ANTT, n.d.c). Charity was one of the Christian precepts, practiced in the context of the remission of sins.

During the pilgrimage the pilgrims contacted, in the different regions of the country, with signs of the cult to Santiago. There were churches and chapels invoking this saint, although their expressiveness was reduced in the general summation of invocations. For example, in the thirteenth century, in the diocese of Viseu, the cult of Santiago was carried out in six main churches, which corresponded to about 4% of the total number of temples (Nunes, 2016). In the course of the Modern Age, and in spite of the appearance of numerous parishes, the expressiveness of the cult remained residual. In 1675, there were the same six churches that were already coming from medieval times, in a universe of 289 temples, namely: Trancoso; Venda do Cepo; Santiago de Cassurrães; Cepões; Carvalhais; Santiago de

Besteiros. Santiago was commonly deprecated to the detriment of the cult of Our Lady, St. Peter, St. Michael, and St. John the Baptist (ADV, n.d.a).

The temples of invocation to Santiago were not confined to a particular region. Instead, they were located in regions as different as Trancoso, Besteiros, Lafões and Mangualde. This means that it was not the existence of a pilgrimage route, that is, the pilgrims' passage, which determined the existence of temples of invocation to Santiago, because if it were so it would be natural that this type of orago would flourish along a certain route. The invocations came from the popular, individual or collective spirituality of the community when the temples were founded. For example, in 1620, António Saraiva de Sampaio and his wife Guiomar de Vasconcelos, certainly for reasons of private devotion, built a chapel invoking Santiago, adjacent to their house in Póvoa d'el Rei (Trancoso) (Alves, 1968).

The marks of the saint also asserted themselves through toponymy. There are many places in the country called Santiago. They were high places, almost always on top of hills. Some were, since remote times, occupied. The castro of Santiago in Figueiró da Granja (Fornos de Algodres), located on the "Monte de Santiago" (Marques, 1988), for example, is situated on a mountain top and has been occupied since the Chalcolithic period (Valera, 2007). In Penaverde (Aguiar da Beira) there is also a reference to a site known as Santiago (Lemos, 2001). In the region of Viseu, more concretely in Pindelo dos Milagres there was also the top of a mountain known as "Cabecinha de Santiago" (ANTT, n.d.f). It is not plausible that the hagiography of these places result from any pilgrimage routes that have passed through the orography of the sites. Santiago, like other saints, such as St. Peter, who also gives the name to a hill in the region of Forninhos (Aguiar da Beira). These saints served as elements of Christianization of these places and consequently strengthening Christian faith.

The cult of Santiago was also shown through images and crosses. Of course, the images of the saint were mostly in the temples where the cult was held. The paintings of Vasco Fernandes in the church of Santiago de Cassurrães are emblematic (Fernandes, 2014). The existence of crosses dedicated to Santiago is documented in several regions of the country, not only in pilgrimage routes. In Mareco (Penalva do Castelo), the existence of a house with the cross of Santiago was signalled. The association between these traces and hypothetical pilgrimage routes is not linear. The existence of a temple of worship to Santiago itself does not witness the existence of a route. In the case of Mareco, the existence of a cross is linked to the fact that the village belonged to the Order of Santiago (ANTT, n.d.g).

5. The *Camino* in the region of Viseu

Francisco Monteiro, farmer in Barbeita, a small village near Viseu, in the mid-seventeenth century, had visions of a soul. On one occasion the soul told him that those who died were going on pilgrimage to Santiago. This case testifies the importance of the penitential aspects in the lives of the men in the past. It also testifies the importance of Santiago as a peregrinal center for the people of Viseu (Ribeiro, 2015).

A Jacobean pilgrimage in the region has been documented since the 12th century. One of the itineraries, signalled by the Arab geographer Al-Idrisi in the 12th century, passed by the villages of Avó and S. Miguel do Outeiro, the latter one situated in the vicinity of Viseu. It is certain that this itinerary also passed through Viseu, as this city was an important population center of the region. From Viseu, the *Camino* went to Santiago de Compostela, through Braga crossing the Douro in Vila Boa de Quires (Debasa, 2009). The fact that Al-Idrisi referenced this route, may indicate that he himself made his way to Santiago on it or knew about it from other pilgrims. This means that there were already pilgrims who took the way through Viseu to Santiago de Compostela in the period of the foundation of Portugal.

In the Modern Era the pilgrimage did not fade away. Instead, several pilgrims of multiple nationalities passed through Viseu annually. Friar António de S. Bruno, hermit of S. Antão, passed through Viseu as a pilgrim to Santiago in 1720 (ADV, n.d.b). In 1722 Antonio Lino, who had long since left his native Rome, arrived in Viseu as part of his pilgrimage to Compostela (ADV, n.d.c). Years later, in 1731, it was the turn of Manuel José Rodrigues, an Aragonese clergyman. When he passed through Viseu he received alms to continue his way (ADV, n.d.d). In that same year, Diogo Queves, a Hungarian priest, passed through Viseu coming from Santiago de Compostela (ADV, n.d.e). It was commonly poor people, who asked for alms in exchange for prayer (ADV, n.d.b). The specific motives behind these pilgrimages are unknown; surely the penitence, the prayer or the misfortunes of the life, as António Lino refers, have led pilgrims to make the *Camino*. It is important to highlight, nevertheless, the importance of almsgiving; charity was a moral obligation of the good Christian. The alms, in these concrete cases offered by the

Cathedral Chapter or the Bishop, were a charitable act. Part of the revenues of the Diocese of Viseu was spent on alms for the poor (Nunes, 2010).

Pilgrims also benefitted from care institutions. Being many of them poor, they found lodge in hostels and hospitals where they found lair and assistance. The assistance in those places was carried out by meritorious people so as to save their own souls, in the context of the so-called “Economy of Salvation”. In Viseu there are documentary references to several lodges, namely to the lodges of Soar, S. Martinho and Trindade in the thirteenth century. Near the city of Viseu there was another one known as “Banhos do Dão”, which already existed in 1267 (Rosa, n.d.).

In the sixteenth century there is a specialization of this type of institutions and the hospital/hostel designations gradually started to acquire their modern meaning. The hospital focused on the treatment and support of the sick whereas hostels became dedicated to the support of the poor and the pilgrims. Of the various care institutions in Viseu, one of the most important was the one in Regueira Street which hosted and took care of pilgrims and travellers (Magalhães, 2011). As in other places, in the seventeenth century the welfare institutions of Viseu were dependent on a charity, known as “Santa Casa da Misericórdia”. One can read in the commitment of this confraternity, written in 1624, that the hospital of Regueira pays assistance to pilgrims and other passengers (Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Viseu, 2010). It should be noted that the hostels in Viseu were part of a group of hostels that existed in the region. For example, in the locality of Reigoso there was a lodge with four beds, firewood, fire, light, candle and salt (ANTT, n.d.h). In Moimenta, more precisely in Caria, there were three lodges with beds, firewood and a pitcher of water for the poor passengers (ANTT, n.d.i). Moreover, in Vouzela there was a lodge administered by the local “Misericórdia” to give shelter to passengers (ANTT, n.d.j). As it turns out, they were spaces where pilgrims could regain strength, protect themselves from the natural elements, and quench their hunger and thirst. After the rest, they were predisposed to start another journey. What path did they take when they left Viseu?

Taking into account that the Roman roads were reused for centuries, it is important to first check the route of the Roman road that linked Viseu to Lamego, as far as the first stretch from Viseu to the Paiva river. Studies have shown that it left Viseu in the direction of Abraveses, towards Campo, crossing the Vouga river over the bridge at Almargem. It then went through Adenodeiro, passing by Arcas, continuing until Ponte Pedrinha where it crossed the Paiva River towards Castro Daire (Vaz, 2000). The existence of Roman remains, namely sidewalks in Pousa Maria (Almargem) and near Castro Daire prove the existence of this road (Vaz, 2000). The existence of *vicus* or *villae* is unknown; However, it is known that the region was inhabited by an autochthonous population that occupied several castros (there are vestiges of human occupation in Mamouros, Alva and Moledo). The inscription of “Lamas de Moledo” is one of the most important material remains of this time in the region. It is a votive inscription of sacrificial character with reference to diverse communities of that period (Alarcão, 1996).

It is plausible that this route of communication was reused in the medieval period. In the surroundings of the road, several parishes appeared in the Middle Ages. The fact that the Count D. Henrique, father of the first Portuguese King, mentioned the village of Alva in an important document, at the dawn of the formation of Portugal, testifies the importance of some of these villages from long ago (Alarcão, 1996). In fact, the road passed near Pindelo dos Milagres, Mamouros, Alva and Ribolhos, places that had already been constituted as parishes in the thirteenth century (Nunes, 2016). The early importance of this settlement is also attested by other references. In 1156, Pedro Alvites together with several members of his family, exchanged with Pedro Godins the estate they had in “Villa Alva” in the territory of Viseu, for a piece in Portela (Ventura and Matos, 2010).

Along with the documentary evidence, there are material sources which also testify the importance of these settlements in the medieval period. In Mamouros, a holy relics box was found, which was associated with the consecration of the altar. It contained the relics of S. Sebastião and S. Cecília. It dates back to the beginning of the thirteenth century and was part of the altar at the time the temple was sacred. In Alva a coin of Vitiza, a Barbarian King, was found next to the church of S. Martinho; this discovery can be associated with the presence or passage of regional elites through this region (Ventura and Matos, 2010).

However, the first concrete and precise references to a route of communication linking Viseu to Lamego only emerged in the Modern Age. In 1753, João Baptista de Castro, in his “Terrestrial Route of Portugal”, mentions the existence of the road between Viseu and Lamego in a course of nine leagues. The itinerary was as follows (in brackets the distance in leagues per stage): from Viseu to Campo (1); to the Almargem Bridge (1); to Rio de Mel (1); to Mamouros (1); to Castro (1); to Senhora do Ouvido (1); to Bigorne (1); to Cruz (1); to Lamego (1) (Castro, 1753).

The itinerary practically replicates the preexisting Roman road. It is important to bear in mind that the Roman road passed through Campo, Almagem, Adenodeiro (which is next to Rio de Mel), Arcas (in the vicinity of Mamouros) and Castro Daire. The passage through Rio de Mel is confirmed by the parish priest in 1758. He says that in this village there was a wooden bridge in Rio de Mel village used by the people who went from Viseu to Lamego (ANTT, n.d.f). This route of communication was so important that at the end of the Modern Era, complaints were put forward by the population to repair the road and improve the connections between the two cities (Oliveira, 2002). The importance of the route is also attested due to the fact that it was represented in cartographic form in 1808 in the “Military Charter of the main roads of Portugal” made by Lourenço Homem da Cunha de Eça.

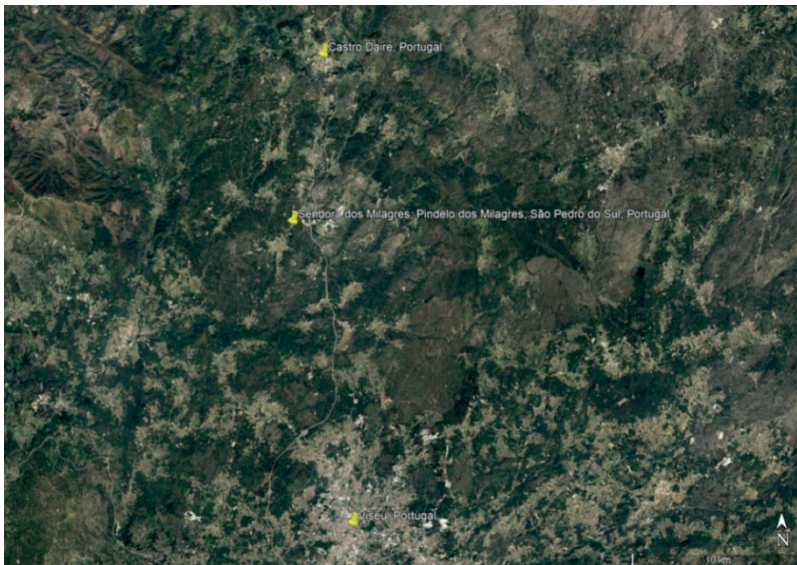
This means that the Roman road linking Viseu and Lamego was reused in the Medieval and Modern Times. Taking into account the itinerary (it was the quickest way to get to Lamego, an important point of passage of the *Camino*) and the existence of important population nuclei for a long time ago, it is credible that it was the route used by the pilgrims in the past.

6. The catholic sanctuary of *Senhora dos Milagres* in Pindelo dos Milagres (São Pedro do Sul) as strategic place for the pilgrims assistance in *Camino de Santiago* route between Viseu and Castro Daire (Portugal)

As stressed before by the literature review the availability of infrastructures over the routes of the *Camino de Santiago* is determinant to support and assist the pilgrims. These infrastructures may, also, to have an important role in the promotion of the more interesting natural and tourist places over the itineraries.

The catholic sanctuary of *Senhora dos Milagres* more or less in the middle of the route between Viseu and Castro Daire may be a strategic place to promote assistance to the pilgrims of the *Camino* (figure 2 obtained from the Google Earth (Google Earth, 2019).

Figure 2: Location of the sanctuary of *Senhora dos Milagres* in the itinerary between Viseu and Castro Daire, Portugal



This sanctuary is a very interesting place, with a religious meaning, but also an interesting natural landscape. In fact, every year come to this place several pilgrims with the more diverse objectives, namely faith, devotion and wellbeing. However, as many sanctuary located in rural areas and distant

from the population aggregates, this sanctuary without an effective promotion has serious risks of lose pilgrims, namely because the older people reduce naturally disappear and the younger are not familiar with the sanctuary and their traditions and history (Martinho, Serra and Duque, 2017).

Creating here a point of assistance for the pilgrims of the *Camino de Santiago* will be good for the pilgrimage and for the sanctuary that needs more promotion. The local institutions, namely the public organizations should play here an effective and energetic role to achieve these objectives.

7. Conclusions

In our days the pilgrimage combines the religious and the tourist dimensions following the social changes and the objectives of the pilgrims. In fact, in the recent decades the pilgrims search the religious dimension of the destination places, but also, the happiness, the reflection, the wellbeing, the contact with the nature and heritage dimensions of the end points. This is true for many places around the world, as it is for the several itineraries of the *Camino de Santiago*.

This bring new challenges for the local and regional institutions, namely to take advantages from the implicit opportunities and to preserve the identities of the several traditions and customs over the different places crossed by the routes of the *Camino de Santiago*. The intangible resources related with the landscape (nature and forest) and cultural and historical heritage should be properly combined to promote in a sustainable way the regional development, namely in zones with more socioeconomic problems. The creation of adjusted infrastructures to support and inform the pilgrims is fundamental and may be considered as tourist points.

The documents do not make it possible to accurately measure the pilgrimage routes that passed through the interior of the country. The references of the geographer Al-Idrisi in the twelfth century are too generic; they allow to prove the existence of a Jacobean route that passed through the region of Viseu, but with the exception of S. Miguel do Outeiro, they do not identify the localities where it went through. It is plausible, considering that the main routes of medieval communication followed the route of the Roman roads, that the Jacobean routes followed those as well, because they were being reused in the course of the centuries. As far as the route from Viseu to Lamego is concerned, it was possible to verify that the existing route of communication in the Medieval and Modern Ages marked the preexisting Roman road. The *Camino* led through Almargem, Rio de Mel/Adenodeiro and Mamouros. The existence of pilgrims who passed through Viseu is documented at various times, from the birth of the nation. In the 12th, 16th and 18th centuries, Portuguese pilgrims from various nationalities made their way through Viseu. They were mostly poor people who survived from charity in exchange for prayer and penance. They benefitted from a set of care institutions, namely hostels. The lodging in Regueira Street, located in a strategic place, next to one of the main routes of access to the city was particularly concerned about the assistance of travellers and pilgrims. The pilgrims also benefitted from the support of people and institutions through alms; the Bishop of Viseu channeled part of the Diocese's revenues into alms.

The history of the Portuguese roads of Santiago and in particular the history of the pilgrims who left towards Compostela still has to be told. The research behind this essay opened a window, making it possible to have a glimpse of the *Camino*. There is, however, still a long road to walk so as to wholly observe and understand this millennial reality that marked the Portuguese culture in an indelible way.

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