

The Use of History in Late Medieval Guidebooks to Rome

1. Introduction

As people consider the relevance of the past to given tourism resort, they usually refer to the modern era. One only have to think about the cities like Florence and Rome, which draw millions of tourists every year, tourists whose main reason for coming are the history and old monuments.

One easily understands the importance of the cultural heritage to these places, as big proportions of their incomes come from tourism industry. The technological inventions that had made large scale tourism possibly easily shade the fact that some modern tourism locations had profited from travellers for centuries. My aim, in my presentation today, is to analyze how some late medieval guidebooks to Rome described the history of Rome and how they used the past to manifest the importance of eternal city.¹

During the medieval centuries, numerous pilgrims visited Rome. Though eternal city had lost its position as a sole head of the ancient Roman Empire, it still possessed religious and political importance as a home city of the popes and the resting place of numerous martyrs. Importance of papacy grew especially after twelfth century. This increased also the importance of Rome as many people had to do business with Roman curia. Rome had also been one of the most important destinations for Christian pilgrims since late antiquity. However, Rome faced many problems during the twelfth and thirteenth century, which decreased its popularity as a pilgrim destination.² Firstly, civil unrest in Italy and Rome made pilgrimage to Rome, at time to time, quite dangerous. Secondly, Rome was not the only major pilgrim destination; it also had to compete against other major destinations, Jerusalem and St. James in Compostela. These two places also advertised

¹ I am mainly concentrating on Latin editions which were printed in Rome during the last decades of fifteenth century.

² Birch, Debra, *Pilgrimage to Rome in the Middle Ages: continuity and change* (Suffolk, 1998), 170.

themselves more effectively than Rome.³ It seems that during the twelfth century these reasons led pilgrims to favour other major pilgrim destinations than Rome.⁴

If twelfth and thirteenth centuries marked the downfall of Rome's position as a pilgrim centre, the following century chanced this situation drastically. Though the twelfth and thirteenth century popes already supported the pilgrimage to Rome, it was Boniface VIII who invented new tradition, as he stated that the year 1300 was the Holy Year in Rome.⁵ Boniface promised plenary indulgence to all pilgrims who would come to Rome during that year, and as a consequence eternal city was full of pilgrims from all over the Western Europe.⁶ Pilgrim hordes who arrived to the Eternal City, underlined the importance of Rome as a head of Christian world. Their arrival was also an important economic factor as the city's economy was strongly dependent on incomes it received from visitors.⁷ The Holy Year tradition was not the only way in which Rome's importance as a pilgrim centre was promoted. Already during the end of the twelfth century, pope Innocent III started the production of pilgrim badges.⁸

While late medieval pilgrims, who worn badges in their clothes advertised Rome, there were also other products that gave more precise picture of the Eternal City: late medieval guidebooks of Christian Rome. These guidebooks marked a clear change compared to their early medieval counterparts, because, while the texts from early medieval centuries merely listed places where pilgrim could find martyrs graves, the guides from fourteenth century started to give wider and more advertising like view of Rome.

³ Birch, *Pilgrimage*, 175.

⁴ Birch, *Pilgrimage*, 170-171; Sumption, Jonathan, *The age of pilgrimage: the medieval journey to God* (New Jersey 2003), 323. First published as *Pilgrimage: an image of medieval religion* (London 1975).

⁵ Pope Boniface claimed in his bull, *Antiquorum habet fida relatio*, that the tradition had started already in the time of their ancestors. Pope Alexander VI admitted in the end of the fifteenth century that actually pope Boniface had invented this tradition.

⁶ The Holy Year tradition was so successful that later popes reduced the interval between Holy Years, first to 50 years then to 33 and finally to 25 years. Popes wanted also to promote the Holy Years and so pope Clemens VI send bull in that respect to England and ordered local church officials to make copies of it. Lunt, William E., *Financial Relations of the Papacy with England 1327-1534* (Cambridge 1962), 460. In order to increase the number of visiting pilgrims and to keep them longer in Rome, Romans manufactured false bulls. Sumption, *The Age of Pilgrimage*, 343. Another way to promote the Jubilee year was shown by Pope Sixtus IV, who banned other indulgences before the Holy Year of 1450. Vian, Paolo, "Papi, popolo e giubilei", in *Roma Sancta. La città delle basiliche*, a cura di Marcello Fagiolo, Maria Luisa Madonna. (Roma 1985), 26. On this see also Lunt, *Financial Relations*, 463.

⁷ The arrival of pilgrims was especially important to Rome during the Avignon papacy in fourteenth century and in the beginning of the fifteenth century.

⁸ Other major pilgrim shrines, St. James in Compostela and Jerusalem had produced such tokens already in the middle of the twelfth century. Birch, *Pilgrimage*, 191.

After the invention of printing possibilities of distributing information grew highly.⁹ This can be well seen in guidebooks, which described the Christian wonders of Rome, as their number grew strongly, especially on the eve of Holy Years 1475 and 1500, when pilgrims were mostly expected to come to Rome.¹⁰ In the last decades of fifteenth century one could purchase either shorter guide to Christian Rome, so-called *Indulgentiae ecclesiarum urbis Romae*, which dealt only with Rome's most important churches or larger version, which had a history of Rome as an introduction, a prayer to Veronica plus many more churches, their relics and indulgences and a list of stations one could attend. Larger versions, so-called *Historia et descriptio urbis Romae*, apparently tried to help pilgrims while they were in Rome, as they informed travellers how to find a certain church. Travellers could also buy a copy of *Mirabilia urbis Romae*, which described the ancient wonders of Rome.¹¹ The last-mentioned book was a one version of the text that had been produced some time during the twelfth century.¹² These two types differ from each other, not only by their topic, but also by the fact that the Christian guides were updated, while *Mirabilia* stayed the same.¹³ This meant that Christian guides gave information about new relics and recent construction works carried out by papacy.¹⁴ Many of these guides were also translated to vernacular so that more people could read them.¹⁵ Later printed editions included also pictures representing some of the city's legendary key

⁹ The first guides were printed in the beginning of 1470. The first larger editions were made in German in 1475. First Latin editions arrived in 1486. Miedema, Nine Robinjtje, *Die römischen Kirchen im Spätmittelalter nach den „Indulgentiae ecclesiarum urbis Romae“*, Max Niemayer Verlag (Tübingen 2001), 116-118.

¹⁰ Esch, Arnold, "I Giubilei di Sisto IV (1475)", in *I Giubilei Roma il sogno dei pellegrini*, a cura di Gloria Fossi. Roma 1999, 182.

¹¹ The title *Historia et descriptio urbis Romae* is modern invention. Also the title *Libri indulgentiarum*, is used about the Christian guides to Rome. In many occasions all of these different types were simply called by name *Mirabilia urbis Romae*. Many of these printed editions don't bear any title, so I am using the title *Indulgentiae ecclesiarum urbis Romae* (hereafter IE), for shorter guides and title *Historia et descriptio urbis Romae* (hereafter HD) from larger ones. For the titles of guides see Nine Miedema, *Die "Mirabilia Romae" Untersuchungen zu ihrer Überlieferung mit Edition der deutschen und niederländischen Texte*, Niemeyer Verlag (Tübingen 1996), 11-12; Miedema, Nine, "The Power of Imagery", in *Essays on Rome, Italy & imagination*. Edited by Peter van Kessel (Rome 1992), 203-204.

¹² There are many different versions of *Mirabilia*. The origins and the functions of this text have caused a debate between modern scholars, as some of them see that *Mirabilia* was a guide and some that it was a part of tradition of describing the city of Rome. On the functions of *Mirabilia*, see Miedema, *Die "Mirabilia Romae"*; Dale Kinney, "Mirabilia urbis Romae", in *The Classics in the Middle Ages*, edited by Aldo S. Bernardo and Saul Levi (Binghampton 1990) 207-221; Jennifer Summit, "Topography as Historiography: Petrarch, Chaucer, and the Making of Medieval Rome", *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 30:2 (2000); Marc Laureys, "Antiquarianism and Politics in fourteenth-century Avignon: The Humanism of Giovanni Cavallini", in *Petrarch and His Readers in the Renaissance*, edited by Karl Enenkel and Jan Papy, (Boston 2006); Maria Accame Lanzillotta, *Contributi sui Mirabilia urbis Romae* (Genova 1996).

¹³ One could also buy an edition which contained both the *Mirabilia* and *Historia et descriptio*.

¹⁴ Buccilli, Germano, "L'aggiornamento riguardante reliquie ed indulgenze in alcune edizioni Romane di Libri indulgentiarum a stampa nel secolo XV", *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken band 70* (1990), 347.

¹⁵ German, Italian, English, French, Spanish and Dutch editions were made during the fifteenth and sixteenth century. The versions in different languages had some differences; for example German editions described the Holy door, which was broken during the ceremonies of the Holy Year. Miedema, Nine Robinjtje, *Rompilgerführer in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit: Die „Indulgentiae ecclesiarum urbis Romae“ (deutsch/niederländisch) Edition und Kommentar*, Max Niemayer Verlag (Tübingen 2003), 240. Italian editions, which are mostly similar to the Latin editions, differ in one

figures.¹⁶ The information that these guides gave, spread across the Western Europe by pilgrims who bought them from Rome.¹⁷ Some travellers also used the same texts as a source material in their own travelogues.¹⁸ These guidebooks then influenced many people ideas about Rome and its importance.

2. Papacy, churches and the past

Late medieval guides to Rome described the history of Rome and its importance by various ways. The historical details included in shorter versions were related to specific churches, while longer guides offer a history of Rome from foundation by Romulus to the reign of Constantine the Great as a first part of the book.¹⁹ As guides describe one emperor at the time, most emphasis is laid on those who had some sort of relation to Christianity. There are also remarks about important Christian characters and their deeds during a given emperor.²⁰ The importance of the past history to the readers own time, is clearly to be seen as guides tell the story about the emperor Constantine the Great and how he, after he had been cured from the plague by pope Sylvester, grants all his earthly powers to popes.²¹ This story is naturally drawn from the 9th century fabrication. This so-called

interesting aspect: Earlier Latin editions told that: "Item circa portam que ducit ad sanctum Paulum capena porta dicta: hic sepultura Romuli et Remi existit et etiam prope mons omnis terre". HD [ca. 1486], f. 22v-22r. BAV. Inc. VI. 17. As we compare it to the Italian edition from the year 1500 we can see a clear chance: " La porta di Roma che va a questa chiesa gia si chiamava porta Capena dove apresso e una meta o vero pyramide marmorea quale dal vulgo falsamente e chiamata sepultura di Romolo e Remo. Ma come per la inscriptione appare fu sepulchro di C. Cestio." HD [ca. 1492] f. 25v. Casan. Inc. 1287. This example shows that new knowledge about the antiquities of Rome was in some occasions translated also to Christian guides of Rome.

¹⁶ In the first pages there was picture representing Rhea Silvia with Romulus and Remus. After the first part of the book, there was a picture representing Veronica. Later on there were one picture in the beginning of each main church, representing Virgin Mary, Christ, St. Peter and other important Christian characters.

¹⁷ There were also other types of texts that described Christian Rome for example *Stacyons of Rome* from late fourteenth century and *Reliquie Rhomane atque indulgentie* from the late fifteenth century, but these two types were produced in quite modest scale. On Stacyons of Rome see J. R. Hulbert, "Some Medieval Advertisements of Rome", *Modern Philology* 20 (1923) 403-424. Miedema suggests that also many of those who could not make the pilgrimage to Rome got their information about the eternal city from these guides. Miedema, *Power of Imaginary*, 205.

¹⁸ For example William Brewyn, Nikolaus Muffel and Arnold von Harff have taken direct quotations from guidebooks of Christian Rome. Nikolaus Muffel, *Descrizione della città di Roma nel 1452, Delle indulgenze e dei luoghi sacri di Roma*. Traduzione e commento a cura di Gerhard Wiedmann. Pàtron Editore (Bologna 1999); Arnold von Harff, *The Pilgrimage of Arnold von Harff*. Translated from German and edited with notes and introduction by Malcolm Letts. (London 1946). William Brewyn, *A XVth. century guide-book to the principal churches of Rome*, translated by C. E. Woodruff (London 1933).

¹⁹ The time of the Republic was passed by short paragraph.

²⁰ For example while describing the reign of Emperor Claudius it is stated that: "His temporibus Petrus cum primo fundasset ecclesiam antiochenam romam venit tenuit cathedra episcopalem annos .xxv." HD [ca. 1486], f. 7v. BAV. Inc. VI. 17.

²¹ "Quam ob rem censui cum universo senatu cunctisque principibus romane urbis exaltare sedem beati Petri apostolorum principis: Quare decernentes sanctimus: ut ipsa romana sedes super omnes ecclesias que in universo orbe sunt teneat principatum: & qui pro tempore fuerit pontifex huius ecclesie sit ex celsior princeps mundi & ad dei cultum: stabilitatemque Christiane fidei disponat ut libet. Iustum quippe est ut ibi lex sancta teneat principatum ubi sanctorum legum institutor Christus beatum..." "...Petrum tenere iussit cathedram apostolatus: quomodo sanctus Constantinus

donation of Constantine was a forged document which stated that Constantine wanted to give all his jurisdictional powers to the Roman church and to the popes. This text was used in order to strengthen the secular power of papacy. Even though this document where criticised by many and finally was proven false by Lorenzo Valla, in 1440, guidebooks continued to describe this event all the way to the sixteenth century.²²

Guidebooks indicate that the popes were not the only ones who used history for their purposes: as guides describe the importance of different churches they show many means by which the past is put to use. This is understandable as churches sought ways to underline their importance over other churches, partly to gain prestige, partly to receive more donations from visiting pilgrims.²³ Most of the pilgrims were looking for the visible remains of the golden era of the early Christianity and guidebooks fulfilled these wishes by listing countless martyrs' graves, relics and other holy objects one could find from different churches of Rome and also how one could find them.²⁴ Firstly, there were tombs of the martyrs, who had died in Rome during the persecutions of ancient Roman Empire. Secondly, there were numerous relics of foresaid martyrs and other holy objects that were related to these. While guides listed martyrs and saints that pilgrim could find from a specific church, they also told, in some occasions, why the person in question was important. This was done by relating to the miraculous deeds he or she had done while a live or after death.²⁵ The fact that churches were full of different kind of relics and other holy objects can clearly be seen in these guides. Many of these had nothing to do with the history of Rome, but they were, or were said to have been, imported to Rome from elsewhere. For example, it is stated that one could see The Arch of the covenant, the table in

ecclesia romanam dotavit beato Silvestro omnibusque suis succesoribus romanis pontificibus totam Italiam: omnes provincias occidentales: regiones: loca: civitates: insulas que circa Italiam sunt pio affectu dedit". HD [ca. 1486], f. 15v-15r. BAV. Inc. VI. 17.

²² John Capgrave, who did pilgrimage to Rome about 1450, was also speculating about the reasons for importance of Rome. Like the guides, he also referred to the donation of Constantine. He also gave another explanation and write to his pilgrim guide that: "'Men think ferthermore of grete reson that it schuld be soo for the multitude of martires wechch spilt her blood in confirmacioun of our feith in that same place." Capgrave, *Ye Solace*, 61. It seems that the Donation of Constantine was proven false already during the eleventh century. Riché, Pierre, *Les Grandeurs de l'An Mille* (Paris 1999), 272-273.

²³ The battle was in its fiercest between St. Peter's and St. John Lateran, as both of them wanted to be recognised as a head church of Rome.

²⁴ It seems that towards the late medieval centuries, pilgrims were eager to see more concrete manifestations of Christianity. This situation led to the competition, were different churches and shrines tried to get more and more important relics. In some occasions they were even ready to steal them. On this see Patrick Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages*, Princeton University Press (New Jersey 1978). Guides told the area were pilgrim could find a church in question. They also guided travellers inside the churches by telling were in the church some holy object was. Shorter guides underlined the fact that Rome was the resting place of seven apostles: "Sciendum tamen est quod Rome requiescunt octo corpora sanctorum apostolorum S. Petri Pauli Simonis & Iude Philippi Iacobi Bartholomei et Mathie". IE [ca. 1472], f. 6r. BAV. Ross. 1394.

²⁵ For example: "Item caput Pancratii martiris: de quo fluxit et emanavit sanguis per tres dies continue quando ista sacratissima ecclesia fuit ab hereticis conbusta". HD [ca. 1486] f. 19v. BAV. Inc. VI. 17.

which Jesus ate with disciples and the rod of Aaron, in Lateran basilica.²⁶ There were also larger structures that were said to be imported from elsewhere, it is said for example that the stairs from the house of Pilate were to be seen next to Lateran basilica. This was not all as it was stated that one could even then clearly see a stain Christ had left while falling in these stairs.²⁷ These examples show that guides advertised Rome as a place where a pilgrim could see and experience a lot of Christian history which had happened elsewhere. The past and the present were linked interestingly to each other also in other passages. For example, guides describing the church of S. Maria Transpontiana mention that there are two columns, where apostles Peter and Paul were scourged and that all people could touch them daily.²⁸ There are also other rhetorical ways to highlight the importance of certain holy objects, the actual possibilities of pilgrims and the multitude of relics. It is said for example that in the church of S. Maria de Popolo there are so many holy relics that it would take too long to list them all.²⁹ So, the guides underlined and emphasized the concrete possibilities of pilgrims to see, and in some occasions to touch, numerous important holy objects from the past.³⁰

More important objects got more space in guides and for example the Veronica, maybe the most valued relic in Rome, had its history largely covered.³¹ Its power is said to be so strong that even the pagan emperor Tiberius was quickly cured from illness, when he saw the Veronica.³² While most pilgrims sought mementoes from Christian past, some were also interested in the ancient Rome.³³ This can also be seen in guides: they indicate that those who were interested to see mementoes from

²⁶ “Item in quadam capella in sine dicte ecclesie est archa federis veteris testamenti. Item mensa super quam cenavit dominus noster Iesus Christus cum discipulis suis. Item virga moysi et Aaron”. HD [ca. 1486] f. 18v. BAV. Inc. VI. 17. The fact that different pilgrims shrines claimed to possess same relics led some pilgrims in doubt of their authenticity. For this see Arnolf von Harff, *The Pilgrimage of Arnold von Harff*, 19; John Capgrave: *Ye Solace of Pilgrimes: A Description of Rome, circa A. D. 1450, by John Capgrave, an Austin Friar of Kings Lynn*. Ed by C. A. Mills with an introductory note by H. M. Bannister. Oxford University Press (London 1911), 73.

²⁷ “sunt gradus super quos dominus noster Iesus Christus cecidit usque ad effusionem sanguinis: et signum apparet clare ubi sanguis cecidit. Qui quidem gradus steterunt ante domum Pylati in Hierusalem”. HD [ca. 1486], ff. 19r-20v. BAV. Inc. VI. 17.

²⁸ “Ad sanctam Mariam Transpontinam in ista ecclesia cernuntur adhuc iste due colonne in quibus beati apostoli Petrus & Paulus fuerunt ligati & ftagellati: quas omnes homines possunt pro devotione quotidie attingere.” HD (1499), f. 52r, BAV. Inc. Ross.996(1).

²⁹ “In eadem vero ecclesia sunt quam plures venerabilissime reliquie quorum nomina nimis longum esset narrare”. HD[ca. 1486], f. 39r. BAV. VI. Inc. 17.

³⁰ Guides also informed readers when it was possible to see some relics which were normally out of sight.

³¹ Veronica was a cloth that bore the imprint of Christ’s face. On its popularity see Sumption, *The age of pilgrimage*, 316, 342 and 357-358.

³² “facies & vultus sanctus nostri redemptoris a sancta Veronica per mare de hierusalem Romam portata & adducta: qua visa Tyberius mox a morbo liberatus est”. HD [ca. 1486], f. 6r. BAV. VI. Inc. 17.

³³ According to Sumption, Rome was the most important secular tourism resort in the Middle Ages and its popularity did grow especially in the fifteenth century. Sumption, *The Age of pilgrimage*, 372.

the ancient Rome should go to S. Sabba, where they could see the corpses of the emperors Titus and Vespasianus.³⁴

3. Justification of indulgences and miracles

Although the listing and describing of different martyrs and their remains, filled a large part of guides, the other important content was the different spiritual services churches offered. In the case of almost every church described, the indulgences one could gain are listed. Also few places where one could receive healing miracles are described. These things too had a clear connection to the past.

In many occasions the possibility for a specific church to give indulgences are justified by relating to some early pope, even though the system of giving indulgences did fully develop during the high middle ages.³⁵ The possibilities for giving indulgences are also justified by relating to the saints who were buried to the church. All of this was basically in accordance with the church doctrine about the *thesaurus ecclesie*. According to this, Christ and martyrs had managed to collect more merit than was necessary for their personal salvation and this surplus constituted the treasure of the church. From this thesaurus, popes could grant Christian people indulgences, which reduced the time they had to spent in purgatory. Also the healing miracles are explained by the powers of the saints. In the case of the church of SS. Bonifacio e Alessio it is said that one could receive healing to whatever disease thanks to the merits of the saints whose relics are in the foresaid church.³⁶

One finds similar rhetorical methods used, as in the case of relics, for example as guides describe Lateran basilica they state that: “popes Sylvester and Gregory, who did consecrate that church, gave those who devotedly visit it indulgences whose number only God could count.”³⁷ Guides also

³⁴ “Item possunt videri in loco isto corpora Tyti et Vespasiani”. HD [ca. 1486], f. 30v. BAV. VI. Inc. 17.

³⁵ Shaffern, Robert W, “Images, Jurisdiction, and the treasure of merit”, in *Journal of Medieval History* 22 (1996), 238. The amount of indulgences pilgrim could gain rose from twelfth century onwards. Churches tried to improve their popularity especially after the Jubilee year 1350 by claiming to own huge indulgences. Sumption, *The Age of pilgrimage*, 346.

³⁶ “...aliorum sanctorum reliquie sunt quorum meritis & intercessionibus ab omnibus malis & morbo epidimie liberemur”. HD [ca. 1486], f. 29v. BAV. VI. Inc. 17.

³⁷ “Item papa sylvester & Gregorius summipontifices qui eam consacraverunt & devote visitantibus dederunt indulgentias quas nemo sed solus deus numerare potest”. HD [ca. 1486], f. 18v. BAV. VI. Inc. 17. Some manuscript versions gave even more concrete descriptions of the multitude of indulgences in Lateran basilica: “Item scs. Gregorius et scs. Silvester pape qui dedicaverunt dictam ecclesiam, concesserunt eidem tantas, quas si homo sciret, multa et pessima mala committeret, et ideo numerus indulgentiarum ignoratur.” Huelsen, Christian, *Le Chiese di Roma nel medioevo, catalogo ed appunti*, Edizioni Quasar (Roma 2000), 141. See also Alois Weissthanner, *Mittelalterliche*

compare the amount of indulgences in one place to another.³⁸ They, for example, informed that pilgrim should not go to Santiago de Compostela or Jerusalem, as he or she could obtain same indulgences from Lateran basilica.³⁹ There are also other methods used in order to emphasize the religious importance of different churches of Rome. It is, for example, stated that if one participates a mass in the church of S. Maria Scala Coeli, one could quickly liberate a soul from purgatory, thanks to the merits of Saint Mary and besides one could also ask for anything and it is surely fulfilled.⁴⁰ In the case of St. Peter's it is said that the ancient column that used to stand in the temple of Salomon, does many miracles every day and that in the church of S. Sebastiano fuori le mura there are countless relics and due to them there are also countless amount of indulgences. All of these possibilities are justified by some character from the Christian past. The fact that indulgences and saints or their relics were in many occasions connected, led to the situation where one could, in a way, measure the holiness of a certain place or relic by counting the years one could receive from it.

In conclusion, the importance of Rome, its popes and its churches were justified by using the history. Further, guides also emphasized the concrete possibilities pilgrims had to experience the past. Central message guides to Rome propagated was that Rome had a special importance to Christian people due to its glorious history.

Rompilgerführer: Zur Überlieferung der Mirabilia und Indulgentiae urbis Romae, *Archivalische Zeitschrift* 49 (1954) 39-64.

³⁸ It's said that when the heads of St. Peter and St. Paul are shown in Lateran basilica, then one could receive the same amount of indulgences, as in St. Peter's, when the Veronica is shown there. In isto opusculo dicitur [ca. 1486], f. 18r. BAV. VI. Inc. 17. In the case of St. Sebastian, it's written that one could receive the same indulgences than from St. Peter's and from St. Paul's, because the holy apostles Peter and Paul rested there a very long time. HD [ca. 1486], f. 23r. BAV. VI. Inc. 17.

³⁹ "si homines scirent indulgentias ecclesie lateranensis quod tot essent non eius opus esset ut irent ad sepulchrum seu ad sanctum Jacobum". HD [ca. 1486], f. 18v. BAV. VI. Inc. 17. The possibilities of gaining huge indulgences was one of the main reasons for Rome's success as a pilgrim destination. Because of this indulgences were important factor for city's economy. On this see Richard Ingersoll, *The Ritual use of Public space in renaissance Rome*, PhD 1985. University of California, Berkeley, 118; Summit, Topography, 231-233.

⁴⁰ In some occasions it's stated that one could receive more indulgences or liberate a soul from purgatory, depending how laborious ones pilgrimage was: "Item si quis intraverit dictam ecclesiam per annum omni quarta feria liberat animam a purgatorio". HD [ca. 1486], f. 23r. BAV. VI. Inc. 17. The amount of indulgences one received from Veronica depended from the distance one was coming: "In cuius ostensione Romani advenientes: & in eius ostensione presentes habent tria milia annorum indulgentiarum. Et illi qui sunt circa Romam advenientes & presentes habent.vi.milia annorum Ceteri vero qui adveniunt per montes valles colles habent.xii.milia annorum indulgentiarum & tot quadragenas: & remissionem tertie partis omnium peccatorum". HD [ca. 1486], f. 29v. BAV. VI. Inc. 17.