



1. Map showing a fragment of the pilgrimage route to Santiago de Compostela. From the left: Grañón, Santo Domingo de la Calzada, Viana, Estella, Ponte la Reina

Quart 2021, 2
PL ISSN 1896-4133
[s. 3-19]

On the persistence of medieval urban spatial layout

Selected towns on the Pilgrims' Way to Santiago de Compostela in the Iberian Peninsula

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* The article is based on an excerpt from the author's doctoral dissertation titled *From Medieval parvis to Plaza Mayor. The evolution of the town square in Spain within the historical city* written under the guidance of Prof. Rafał Eysymontt and defended at the Institute of Art History, University of Wrocław, in 2017.

¹ See J. Gautier Dalche, *Historia urbana de León y Castilla en la Edad Media (siglos IX-XIII)*, Madrid 1979, p. 73.

² See *ibidem*, p. 67.

Introduction. Characteristics of the medieval centres on the Pilgrims' Way to Santiago de Compostela

One of the stimuli to establish new settlement centres in the northern part of the Iberian Peninsula was the discovery of the grave of James the Apostle in 813. This event coincided with the policy of the first Christian rulers, who aimed at strengthening the newly established kingdoms and successively pushing out the Muslims by way of the Reconquista. The mechanism of establishing colonization entities in this area was usually based on a simple predetermined scheme. At the beginning, a location was strategically chosen in terms of communication and logistics: near a river (Logroño – the Ebro River, Carrión – the Carrión River, Sahagún – the Cea River, Puente la Reina – the Arga River, Estella – on the banks of the Ega River); on the main road; on secondary routes (Miranda de Ebro); by monasteries (e.g. Sahagún, Larrasoaña); by royal residences (e.g. Nájera); on the border between two kingdoms, especially Navarre and Castile (Ejea, Logroño, Viana, Aguilar de Codes) and/or by a small existing settlement (e.g. Logroño). Subsequently, the first buildings were constructed along the road which was also a pilgrims' way. The simplest arrangements consisted of a church, a hospital or a hospice, and simple residential buildings placed in a linear pattern along the main road (e.g. Puente la Reina, Santo Domingo de la Calzada). In order to support the development of a centre, it was granted rights and privileges (*fuero*, *carta puebla*) and newly arrived residents were exempted from certain fees. Next, the privilege of organizing fairs was also granted. One of the first *fueros* and at the same time a model one, which was later applied in numerous cities of the Iberian Peninsula, was the *Fuero de Jaca*. The initiative for founding a given centre usually came from a ruler. It happened, however, that the impulse for its establishment came from an abbot, who asked a king to grant a *fuero*. Such a case took place, among others, in Sahagún. Bernard de Sédillac, the abbot of the local monastery, not only asked King Alfonso VI for the *fuero* so that the town could officially come into being and then prosper (1085) but also asked for the possibility of controlling the market [Fig. 1]¹.

Settlements, *villas* and towns started to appear on the Pilgrims' Way to Santiago de Compostela already a few years after the discovery of the grave of James the Great (813) – mainly, however, since the 11th century². It should be stressed, though, that, in addition to towns located *in cruda radice*, there was also a group of historical towns in the area under analysis. The popularity of the pilgrimage to the grave of St. James proved to be an extremely strong impetus for development for them (e.g. Astorga, León, Burgos, Carrión, Oviedo). In all of these centres commercial activity had already existed before. In almost simultaneous manner similar processes of spatial development took place in them. With the arrival of pilgrims, the

construction of monasteries, hospices, guest houses or whole separate merchant quarters called the Barrio de Mercato began. Usually at the edge of the town walls. An integral part of these quarters was a section of the Way as their main road and a *plaza* near the monastery, at the gate, or in the centre of the new settlement, which had trading and social functions. A good example of this was the Vico Francorum in León, established in the 10th century³. The same was the case in Lugo, where a *vico francorum* developed on the axis of the Rua de Santiago and at the very gate Puerta de Santiago⁴.

The Pilgrims' Way crossed the Pyrenees and continued through all Christian kingdoms on the Iberian Peninsula. Its departure point on the Iberian peninsula was marked by Roncesvalles and Canfranc, located on the border with France. It should be noted, however, that apart from the so-called French Way, the number of other pilgrimage routes also increased along with the growing popularity of Santiago de Compostela. In France alone, the following can be distinguished: that from Vezelay, from Le Puy, from Tours and from Saint Gilles, which meet at Ostabat and then lead to Roncesvalles. On the Iberian Peninsula there were: Vía de la Plata (the Silver Way) which was the ancient Roman route running from Seville to Astorga, the Camino Catalan (Catalan Way) beginning at Monasterio de Montserrat, and the Camino del Norte (Northern Way of St. James) passing through the Basque Country, Cantabria, Asturias and Galicia. Many pilgrims also chose the sea route. The main ports of arrival were Gijón or Avilés.

The Way embodied the unification of Spain, despite political or administrative differences, linking all kingdoms by common spatial, religious and symbolic elements. It was also the longest and one of the most important trade routes. In order to facilitate and develop trade, this route was under special protection along its entire length, which means that pilgrims and merchants travelling it were guaranteed appropriate safety. In the course of the 11th and 12th centuries various rulers successively contributed to the development of the Way by improving the roads, founding new towns of trading character, or by building bridges, hospitals and hospices. The most dynamic royal activities in this field took place during the reigns of Sancho Ramirez of Aragon and Pamplona (1064–1094) and Alfonso VI of Castile and León (1065–1109)⁵. The Order of Cluny, whose presence in Spain can be traced back to 1073, also contributed to the popularisation of the pilgrimage route. The Christian kings thanked the Order with generous monastic foundations (e.g. San Isidro de Dueñas in Palencia [1073], San Salvador de León [1076]), but also with the construction of bridges and church hospitals.

For strengthening Christianity in the northern area of the peninsula, the Order also received many buildings, sometimes entire settlements, and large tracts of land. By the early 1080s, Cluny was in possession of the following monasteries: Monasterio de Oña, San



³ See *ibidem*, p. 79.

⁴ See F. Benito Martín, *La Formación de la ciudad medieval. La red urbana en Castilla y León*, Valladolid 2000, p. 151.

⁵ See R. Betrán Abadía, *El Camino de Santiago y la ciudad ordenada en Aragón*, Saragossa 1999, p. 19.



⁶ See A. Rucquoi, *Cluny, el camino francés y la reforma Gregoriana*, "Medievalismo" Vol. 20 (2010), pp. 115–117.

⁷ See *Sztuka romańska*, Ed. R. Toman, Olsztyn 2000, p. 9.

⁸ See J. Gómez González de la Buelga, *La arquitectura románica española de la peregrinación, su fundamento estructural y su relación con la orden de Cluny*, "Anales de la Real Academia de Doctores" 2008, No. 2, p. 78.

⁹ See *Sztuka romańska...*, s. 189.

¹⁰ See M. Cantera Montenegro, *Santa María la Real de Nájera: fundación y primeros tiempos*, [in:] *Estudios en memoria del Profesor D. Salvador de Moxó*, Ed. M. A. Ladero Quesada, Madrid 1982, p. 258; J. Gómez González de la Buelga, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

¹¹ The *Codex Calixtinus* was created on the initiative of Pope Callixtus II. The whole consists of 5 books. The last one is focused on the description of particular places and stages on the route. The other books are about St. James.

¹² See H. Manikowska, *Jerozolima – Rzym – Compostela. Wielkie pielgrzymowanie u schyłku średniowiecza*, Wrocław 2008, p. 392.

¹³ J. Gautier Dalche, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

Isidoro de Dueñas, San Zoilo de Carrión, San Juan Bautista de Hérmedes de Cerrato, Santa María la Real in Nájera, Santa María in Cubarria near Narbonne, San Pedro in Camprodón, Santa María in Arles and San Pablo in Fenollet. In addition, the Order regularly received a substantial sum of money from the Castilian ruler⁶. In return, the Order was also to contribute to liturgical uniformity by displacing the Mozarabic liturgy, and to the dissemination of defined cultural and artistic values. Indeed, the importance of the Cluniac congregation in medieval Spain is expressed not only by the large number of monasteries, but also by the characteristic type of buildings and the iconographic programme addressed to the pilgrims, which appealed to the travellers more strongly than the liturgy⁷. Cluniac architecture was considered much nobler and of better quality than the dominant Lombard architecture of the time⁸. The new type of building used composite pillars and cross vaults. While churches of the pilgrimage type usually had a choir with an ambitus and chapels, an extensive transept, and high galleries⁹. The interconnected network of unified churches and monasteries had a variety of functions, but above all it served pilgrims and the strengthening of Christian rulers in the Iberian Peninsula. Thus, the Cluniac congregation expanded its influence in the areas of politics, religion, education and culture at large¹⁰.

A specific help and encouragement for pilgrims was the *Codex Calixtinus*¹¹, or the *Book of St. James*, compiled by the monks at the beginning of the 12th century, the last part of which was devoted to the description of settlements, *burgos* and towns along the Way. From the 12th century onwards, Cluny slowly began to lose its importance to the new congregations: the Cistercians and the Third Order Regular. Nevertheless, various versions of the Jacobean texts describing the Spanish roads as well as the stages of the pilgrimage were still widely circulated¹².

Various foreigners gradually settled along the Way, mainly French, who, encouraged by the privileges granted to them – *fuero* – contributed to the revival and development of individual centres, among others through trade and craft. Moreover, the need to build churches, hospitals, chapels and hospices as well as numerous privileges encouraged a skilled group of people to come to the towns and settlements and settle there with their families. This group was usually engaged in supplying the pilgrims with the necessary products and services. The pilgrims themselves, on the other hand, looked to these centres for provisions for the rest of their journey, thus contributing to the rapid development of trade and crafts. As Gautier Dalché points out, it was precisely the service function and the related role of the market that had the greatest influence on the development and functioning of the centres located along the Way¹³. It is also worth noting that the arrival of pilgrims from various parts of the world also meant an influx of foreign goods and at the same time increased trade and the popularity of the centres concerned. The role of merchants as

the driving force of the town's development was particularly evident in Sahagún and Logroño, for example, where this group constituted the vast majority¹⁴. Purchase and sale transactions took place along the streets, in designated squares, at the town gates, and near religious buildings. In Nájera (La Rioja, near the Najerilla River), opposite the monastery of Santa María (original building from 1052, current building from the 15th century), there were stalls forming a whole market district called "de Mercato", where, among other things, the Thursday market was held¹⁵. In Jaca (Huesca), on the other hand, the market was held at the Church of St. James (since the 17th century, the Church of St. Dominic; original building from the 9th century; church in its place – 11th century)¹⁶. It was already mentioned in written sources in 1197¹⁷. Market activity also took place in the vicinity of San Pedro Cathedral and in nearby Zocotín Street (the name has remained until today), which clearly indicates its strictly commercial character. The triangular cathedral *plaza* is distinguished by the 16th and 18th century porticoes in the adjacent tenement houses, which also refers to the commercial function of the place.

A good example is also the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela, where, according to records, stalls and benches were set up, and luxury products were among the goods traded¹⁸. Merchants' benches were also placed in the streets, which often led to traffic difficulties. One example is Toledo, where it was even forbidden to place benches in narrow streets so as not to obstruct the passage¹⁹. In order to regulate matters of trade and spatial organisation, a number of guidelines were introduced in almost all centres, including those on the pilgrimage route. The ordinances of the town councillors of Oviedo in 1245²⁰ regulated the sale of goods in the town by designating certain places, usually *plazas*, for the sale of meat and fish²¹. The Spanish medieval *plaza* known as an *azogue* – where benches and tables were placed for trading (mainly fish, meat, wine and grain) – covered not only the area of the square itself, but also the nearby streets²². Traditionally, fairs were also used for trading purposes. The reign of Alfonso X saw a significant rise in their popularity. Thanks to the ruler, Valladolid was allowed to hold fairs in 1263²³. In Santo Domingo, in turn, fairs were held from 1270 (September), in Najera from 1368 (May and September) and in Estella from 1251 (October). Apart from their trading function, the fairs had another important function; they consolidated the new community and helped in the Repoblación. They also contributed to establishing networks between individual centres. Many fairs were also religiously motivated, hence the pre-determined dates of their celebrations. In Valladolid, for example, it was 24 June for St. John's Day and 25 July for St. James's Day. The celebration of the Feast of St. James the Apostle had a special meaning in pilgrimage centres. They preserved the tradition, attracted crowds of pilgrims and contributed to the promotion of the pilgrimage route and the centres themselves. Apart from fairs which took place once or twice



¹⁴ See *ibidem*, p. 73–74.

¹⁵ L. Torres Balbás [et al.], *Resumen histórico del urbanismo en España*, Madrid 1987, p. 146.

¹⁶ See J. M. Lacarra, *El desarrollo urbano de las ciudades de Navarra y Aragón en la Edad Media*, Zaragoza 1991, p. 13.

¹⁷ See L. Vazquez de Praga, J. M. Lacarra, J. Uría Ríu, *Las Peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela*, Vol. 1, Madrid 1949, p. 470.

¹⁸ See A. López Ferreiro, *Fueros municipales de Santiago y su tierra*, Vol. 1, Santiago 1895, p. 99.

¹⁹ See P. Morollón Hernández, *Las ordenanzas municipales antiguas de 1400 de la ciudad de Toledo*, "Espacio, Tiempo Y Forma. III: Historia Medieval" Vol. 18 (2005), p. 436.

²⁰ See M. Álvarez Fernández, *Oviedo a fines de la Edad Media. Morfología urbana y política concejil*, Oviedo 2009, p. 102.

²¹ *Azogue* – a word of Arabic origin, cl. arab. *sūq*, to denote the square in which trade takes place.

²² See J. I. Ruiz de la Peña, *El Comercio ovetense en la Edad Media*, Oviedo 1990, p. 206.

²³ See A. Rebollo Matías, *La plaza y mercado Mayor de Valladolid, 1561–95*, Valladolid 1989, p. 35.



²⁴ See J. Valdeón Baroque, *Las peregrinaciones a Santiago: Trabajo y economía*, [in:] *El camino de Santiago y la sociedad medieval*, Ed. J. García Turza, Logroño 2000.

²⁵ See N. Juan García, *Parada y fonda en el Camino de Santiago: Un importante enclave de la ruta jacobea en el pirineo aragonés. El peso de la tradición medieval en la Edad Moderna*, "Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities" 2011, No. 1, p. 73.

²⁶ See J. Gautier Dalche, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

²⁷ *Ibidem*.

a year, the towns along the route held weekly markets (in Najera on Wednesdays and in Santo Domingo de la Calzada on Saturdays) and day markets for the local community²⁴.

Pilgrims on their way to Santiago de Compostela stayed in numerous inns and monasteries which combined the function of accommodation with that of a hospital. Moreover, the pilgrims also enjoyed the hospitality of the local people. According to the *Codex Calixtine*, one of the three most important hospitals of the time was the one located in the monastery of Santa Cristina in Somport. No less important were the monastic hospitals at Canfranc, Jaca and San Juan de la Peña²⁵.

This text discusses only a few small towns along the Pilgrims' Way to Santiago de Compostela. The choice was dictated by their similar time of origin as well as by their typological similarity in order to characterise a particular model of a medieval pilgrimage town set along its main road which was at the same time a section of the pilgrimage route, and which developed almost exclusively thanks to this route. For this purpose, two centres were chosen from the area of la Rioja: Grañón and Santo Domingo de la Calzada, and three from Navarre: Puente la Reina, Estella and Viana. Importantly, these towns have not undergone major spatial changes, which allows for a better analysis. Therefore, the analysis excludes centres which were the residence of kings and/or bishops (e.g. Najera, Oviedo, León, Astorga, Burgos) because they were characterised by a different functional and spatial development, although there is no doubt that the presence of pilgrims left an important mark on them. New districts were built, as well as numerous buildings such as refuges (in Najera in 1052, in Leon – 1084, Astorga 1062–1065²⁶).

Most of the centres along the section of the Way to Santiago under study began to develop with the construction of a castle, church or monastery in the 11th century, and then thanks to the privileges granted in the 12th and especially in the 13th century. They were small settlements adapted to the topography of the terrain, the composition of which was based on one or two or three parallel axes. They were fortified – due to the fact that to a large extent they also performed defensive functions. Hence, for example, the enclosure of religious buildings with separate fortifications. Larger centres consisted of two or more parallel axes, which were crossed by shorter transverse axes. One of the parallel axes, wider than the others, always had a superior role – the Rúa Mayor. The church and the square were situated on this axis.

The first settlements and urban centres on the Way to Santiago de Compostela usually follow a single pattern: a regular, elongated plan with a main road forming part of the Way and with two gates at its ends. As Gautier Dalché points out, these were the spatial layouts that emerged along the Way and developed along it²⁷. Their central part was usually occupied by a *plaza* formed by a slight widening



2. Grañón, current cadastral plan. Photo: <https://www1.sedecatastro.gob.es/Cartografia/mapa.spx?pest=urbana&from=OVBusqueda&ZV=NO&ZR=NO&anyoZV=&tematicos=&RCCompleta=Gra%3b1on&via=&tipoVia=&numero=&kilometro=&bloque=&escalera=&planta=&puerta=&DescProv=LA%20RIOJA&prov=26&muni=69&DescMuni=GRA%3%91ON&TipUR=U&codvia=&comVia=&tc=U&del=26&mun=69> (access date: 28.06.2021);

Santo Domingo de la Calzada, current cadastral plan. Photo: <https://www1.sedecatastro.gob.es/Cartografia/mapa.aspx?pest=urbana&from=OVBusqueda&ZV=NO&ZR=NO&anyoZV=&tematicos=&RCCompleta=Gra%3b1on&via=&tipoVia=&numero=&kilometro=&bloque=&escalera=&planta=&puerta=&DescProv=LA%20RIOJA&prov=26&muni=69&DescMuni=GRA%3%91ON&TipUR=U&codvia=&comVia=&tc=U&del=26&mun=69> (access date: 28.06.2021);

Puente la Reina, current cadastral plan. Photo: <https://catastro.navarra.es/navegar/default.aspx> (access date: 28.06.2021)

of the main road. Sometimes, over the years, such a *plaza* took the shape of a quadrangle directly adjacent to the tract.

Grañón in the province of La Rioja (*fuero* granted in 1187 and 1256)²⁸ originally began to develop around a castle existing in the eastern part of the settlement as early as in 900, the Convent of San Juan (1052), and with the granting of a *fuero* in the 12th and then 13th centuries²⁹ [Fig. 2]. The Villa was enclosed by a line of walls in the 13th century, covering the area of about 8.4 ha³⁰. The last information about the fortifications can be found in the descriptions of the town from 1730³¹. However, Madoz's 1847 dictionary only mentions the formerly existing fortifications and fragments of the castle³². In Grañón, three parallel axes – La Parilla, El Caño and the central Mayor with a length of 509 m – are crossed by two narrower and shorter cross streets Cantones and Martín García. Between them, at the Rua Mayor, there is the slightly elongated, rectangular Plaza del Horreo (formerly Horrio) of about 703 m² (the present form of the square is from the 20th century), and next to it the church, which is the highest



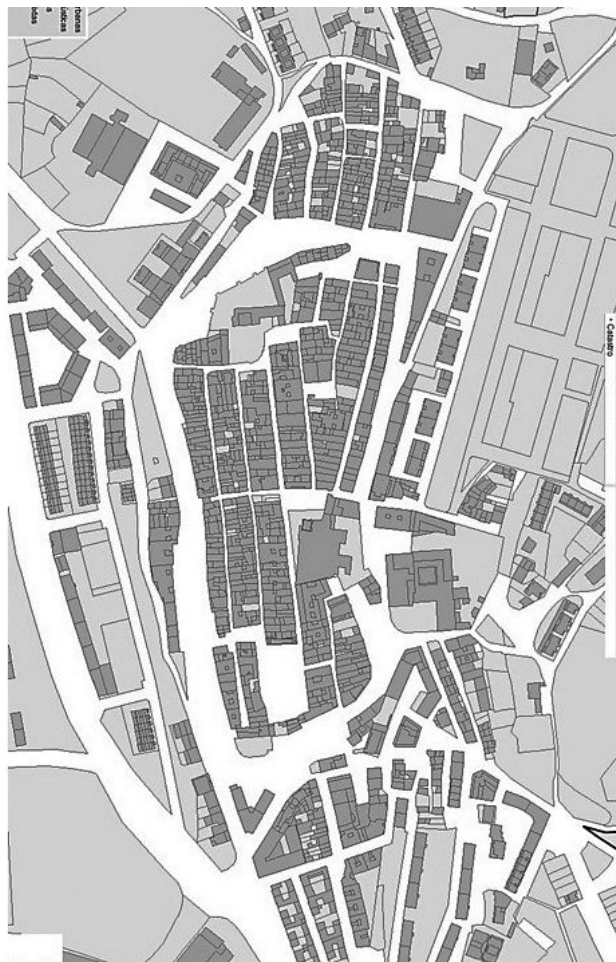
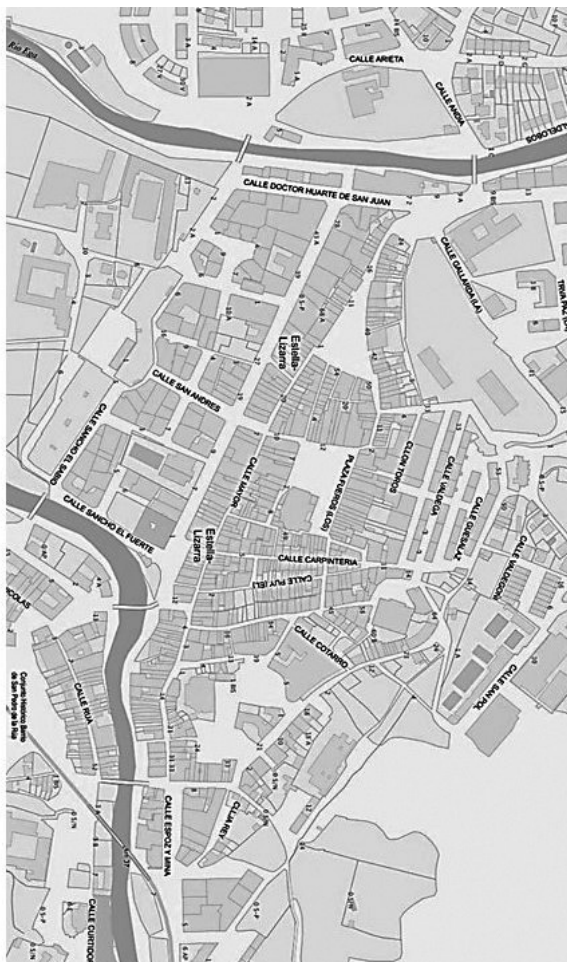
²⁸ Geomap available at: http://www.iderioja.larioja.org/geovisor/index_fs.php?map=GRANON&lang=es# (access date: 28.06.2021).

²⁹ See J. Passini, *El Camino de santiago. Itinerario y núcleos de población*, Madrid 1993, p. 92.

³⁰ See *ibidem*.

³¹ J. A. de Estrada, *Población general de España, sus reynos y provincias, ciudades, villas y pueblos, islas adjacentes y presidios de Africa*, Madrid 1768, p. 273.

³² P. Madoz, *Diccionario geográfico-estadístico-histórico de España y sus posesiones de ultramar*, Vol. 8, Madrid 1847, p. 586.



3. Estella, current cadastral plan. Photo: <https://www1.sedecatastro.gob.es/Carrografia/mapa.aspx?pest=urbana&from=OVCBusqueda&ZV=NO&ZR=NO&anyoZV=&tematicos=&RCCompleta=&via=&tipoVia=&numero=&kilometro=&bloque=&escalera=&planta=&puerta=&DescProv=LA%20RIOJA&prov=26&muni=138&DescMuni=SANTO%20DOMINGO%20DE%20LA%20CALZADA&TipU-R=U&codvia=&comVia=&tc=U&del=26&mun=138> (access date: 28.06.2021); Viana, current cadastral plan. Photo: <https://catastro.navarra.es/navegar/default.aspx> (access date: 28.06.2021)

³³ Ibidem.

³⁴ J. I. Linazasoro, *Permanencias y arquitectura urbana. Las ciudades vascas de la época romana a la ilustración*, Barcelona 1978, p. 52.

³⁵ See J. Cruz Labeaga Mendiola, *El Castillo y las fortificaciones de Viana*, Pamplona 1980, p. 13.

building in the town. The first mentions of the church date back to the 11th century. (e.g.: “*Grañon cum sua Eclesi, cum integrilate*”)³³. On the other side of St. John’s church is another churchyard, originally (until the 17th century) occupied in part by the monastery of the same name.

Viana in the Province of Navarre, whose origins date back to the late 11th century, received its *fuero* in 1219³⁴. From the beginning, it was a defensive town with a wall line of 1370 m³⁵. The town walls encompassed an area of regular, roughly rectangular form. Fragments of the wall and gates are still visible today. For centuries, the main traffic route was the Rúa Santa María (now the Calle Navarro Villoslada and the Rúa Santa María) with a length of about 330 m. Three more streets ran parallel to it; clearly divided by one transversal – the Calle Conde San Cristóbal (approx. 140 m). At the intersection of

the transversal axis with the Rúa Santa María the church of Santa María (built in 1250) and the **Plaza los Fueros** were constructed. Its importance is evidenced by the Casa Consistorial (17th century) located there. However, as early as the 13th century, council meetings were held in and around the Church of Saint Maria³⁶. In the first half of the 13th century, St. Peter's Church was completed, located in the western part of the town, near the gate and the main road. Taking into account the strategic location of the churches, it can be assumed that the town plan was well thought out and followed certain guidelines from the very beginning³⁷. From the 16th century onwards, council meetings were held in one of the towers of St. Peter's Church³⁸. One more historical square stands out in Viana. This is the Plaza del Coso, located on the eastern side of the town. Its origins go back to the 16th century, when it was used to organise bullfights.

One of the most important centres on the route to Santiago is Puente la Reina in Navarre, founded in 1090. The origin of the town is linked to the construction of a bridge over the Arga River in the 11th century. At the beginning of the 11th century, the Franks were already living near here, and in 1122 a *fuero* was granted to the entity (*"a todos populatores quicumque veneritis populare ad illo ponte de Arga qui ecian cognominatur di illa regina... et magnam et spontaneam populacionem faciatis ibis"*³⁹), after which the construction of the walls with 4 gates began, completed at the end of the 12th century⁴⁰. The development of the centre in the initial period was remarkably rapid. This is evidenced by the comment of Edrisi, who described the 12th century Puente la Reina as a strong centre surrounded by vineyards⁴¹. Enrique Cook emphasised its development still in the 16th century, noting the large number of inhabitants – around 1000, and of churches, as many as 5, and several monasteries⁴².

The centre was set out on a plan of an elongated rectangle of 182 × 153 m (the first layout)⁴³. Soon, however, the spatial layout was enlarged to 182 × 453 m, and in the 12th century the whole area was enclosed by walls⁴⁴. The main traffic and pilgrimage route, the 5–6 m wide Calle Mayor, ran through the middle of the town from east to west, with regular parcelling along it. This axis is perfectly visible on the historical postcard showing Puente la Reina from a bird's eye view. The street is definitely one of the widest and most regular in the town. Two other streets ran parallel on either side of it. In the eastern part of the foundation, slightly off the axis, was the church of St. James the Elder (1142). The distance of the church from the axis was used to create a small elongated square with a market function. It should be noted, however, that the market originally functioned in the atrium of the church and in its immediate vicinity⁴⁵. It was not until the 16th century that the *"plaza"* became rectangular in form. Hence the impression of a public space being somewhat *"cut out"* in the town fabric. These regulations created an urban interior large enough to accommodate a variety of social, cultural and enter-



³⁶ See *idem*, *La Casa Consistorial y los balcones de toros de la ciudad de Viana (Navarra)*, "Príncipe de Viana" 1979, No. 154/155, p. 101.

³⁷ See **M. C. García Gainza**, *Catálogo monumental de Navarra*, Vol. 2, Pamplona 1980, p. 547.

³⁸ J. Cruz Labeaga Mendiola, *La Casa Consistorial y los balcones de toros de la ciudad de Viana (Navarra)*, "Príncipe de Viana" 1979, No. 154/155, p. 102.

³⁹ **J. Ignacio Linazasoro**, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

⁴⁰ See **J. Passini**, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

⁴¹ See **E. Saavedra**, *La Geografía de España del Edrisi*, Madrid 1881, p. 81.

⁴² **E. Cook**, *Relación del viaje hecho por Felipe II 1585 a Saragossa, Barcelona y Valencia*, [in:] *Viajes de extranjeros por España y Portugal desde los tiempos más remotos hasta comienzos del siglo XX*, Ed. J. G. Mercadal, Salamanca, 1999, Vol. 1, p. 594.

⁴³ **J. Á. Solórzano Telechea**, *El fenómeno urbano medieval en Cantabria*, [in:] *El Fenómeno urbano medieval entre el Cantábrico y el Duero: revisión historiográfica y propuestas de estudio*, Ed. **J. Solórzano Telechea**, **B. Arizaga Bolumburu**, Santander 2002, pp. 276–277.

⁴⁴ See **M. C. García Gainza**, *Catálogo monumental de Navarra*, Vol. 2, Pamplona 1980, p. 546.

⁴⁵ See *ibidem*, p. 547.



4. E. Silvestre, *Panorámica de la plaza de España de Santo Domingo de la Calzada*, 2015. Photo: [https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Santo_Domingo_de_la_Calzada#/media/Archivo:Picture_by_Edmir_Silvestre_\(22872417549\).jpg](https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Santo_Domingo_de_la_Calzada#/media/Archivo:Picture_by_Edmir_Silvestre_(22872417549).jpg) (access date: 27.06.2021)

tainment events, including bullfights⁴⁶. For centuries, however, the *plaza* by the church of St. James, as well as the plaza by the church of St. Peter (1174) located in the south-western part of the site, were merely open spaces in a medieval town. The Plaza Julián Mena, in turn, adjacent to the Calle Mayor and located in the centre of the town, was only built in the 16th century. It is now the largest and most important square in the town. With its construction, the importance of the medieval squares has diminished considerably. José Ignacio Linazasoro emphasises that, as in the case of Viana, the location of the two churches (almost at the two ends of the town) was a deliberate decision⁴⁷. A similar opinion is maintained by the authors of the *Catalogo Monumental de Navarra*, claiming that the achievement of such a regular foundation must have been accompanied by a pre-established urban development plan⁴⁸. The relevance of this concept is evidenced by the fact that the model of this layout was subsequently, in the 12th and 13th centuries, replicated in many foundations of towns, including those outside the actual Pilgrims' Way. These include San Sebastián, Vitoria and Laguardia⁴⁹.

Santo Domingo de la Calzada in La Rioja developed, like Puente la Reina, due to the construction of a bridge over the Oja River in the 12th century and the Pilgrims' Way that quickly became



⁴⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁷ J. I. Linazasoro, *Permanencias y arquitectura urbana. Las ciudades vascas de la época romana a la ilustración*, Barcelona 1978, p. 47.

⁴⁸ See M. C. García Gainza, *op. cit.*, p. 501.

⁴⁹ See Á. J. Martín Duque, *El fenómeno urbano medieval en Navarra*, [in:] *El fenómeno urbano medieval entre el Cantábrico y el Duero: revisión historiográfica y propuestas de estudio*, Ed. J. Á. Solórzano Telechea, B. A. Bolumburu, Valladolid 2002, p. 27.



the compositional axis of the foundation⁵⁰ [Fig. 3]. A *fuero* granted in 1207 (“*ad forum de francos*”), the construction of a church and a hospice for pilgrims (“*iuxta viam que vadit a somso, sub caminum peregrinorum*”)⁵¹ considerably accelerated the process of populating the centre. The *fuero*, therefore, only became the impetus for the development of the already existing settlement developing around the church, the hospice and the Rúa Mayor, whose current length is about 643 m. The influx of pilgrims enabled the rapid expansion of the centre, which was linked to the creation of another district, the Barrio Nuevo. While the development of the Burgo Vello may have been spontaneous, in the case of the Burgo Nuevo it took place with deliberation. This can be evidenced by the information contained in a document from 1162, in which Maestro Garsión was mentioned as being responsible for the division of the land for the construction of future buildings⁵².

Surrounded by the first fortifications (c. 1264), the whole town layout was originally 68 m long⁵³. Between the old and new *burgo* the street widened creating a small *plaza*⁵⁴. Next to it a church was placed (construction of the cathedral – 1168). The cathedral square is probably the oldest in the town. For centuries, the Plaza del Santo, located in the centre, had not only a market function, but also a sym-



⁵⁰ See J. Passini, *Estructura de los espacios urbanos a lo largo del camino de santiago en la epoca medieval*, [in:] *El camino de Santiago y la sociedad...*, p. 38.

⁵¹ *Idem*, *El camino de Santiago...*, p. 88.

⁵² See *idem*, *Estructura de los espacios urbanos...*, p. 38.

⁵³ See *ibidem*, p. 39.

⁵⁴ See E. Azofra Agustín, *Desarrollo urbano de Santo Domingo de la Calzada en los tiempos medievales: Nuevas aportaciones históricas*, [in:] *III Semana de Estudios Medievales: Nájera 3 al 7 de agosto de 1992*, Ed. J. I. de la Iglesia Duarte, Najera 1993, p. 246.



⁵⁵ See *idem*, *Santo Domingo de la Calzada: de ciudad camino a ciudad bastida*, "Fayuela" 2005, No. 1, pp. 11, 35.

⁵⁶ See **E. Azofra Agustin**, *Desarrollo urbano...*, p. 251.

⁵⁷ See **J. Passini**, *Estructura de los espacios urbanos...*, p. 39.

⁵⁸ See *idem*, *El Camino de Santiago...*, p. 88.

⁵⁹ See *idem*, *Estructura de los espacios urbanos...*, p. 39.

⁶⁰ **E. Cook** *Relación del viaje hecho por Felipe II 1585 a Saragossa, Barcelona y Valencia*, [in:] *Viajes de extranjeros por España y Portugal desde los tiempos más remotos hasta comienzos del siglo XX*, Ed. **J. G. Mercadal**, Salamanca 1999, Vol. 1, p. 589.

⁶¹ See **J. A. García de Cortázar**, *Nueva historia de España en sus textos. Edad media*, Santiago de Compostela 1975, p. 336.

⁶² See **J. Passini**, *El Camino de Santiago...*, p. 69.

⁶³ See *ibidem*, p. 347.

⁶⁴ See **J. Ignacio Alberdi Aguirrebeña**, *La actividad comercial en el espacio urbano medieval: el ejemplo de Estella*, "Vasconia" Vol. 21 (1993), p. 103.

bolic one. From the second half of the 11th century the town councillors held meetings in the square and a hospital was built there, which functioned in this place until the 19th century. The Councillors' House was built in the Plaza del Santo in 1358 on the site of the present Torre Exenta. It was one of the first town halls in Castile⁵⁵.

The main market in Santo Domingo de la Calzada was held *extramuros* – in the northern part of the town layout, at the back of the church⁵⁶. At the turn of the 13th and 14th centuries, a regular, elongated suburb began to develop on the southern side of the layout, based on a street running parallel to the original Pilgrims' Way (now the Calle el Pinar)⁵⁷. Even today, this area is easy to identify on the town plans. This is because it is still characterised by an almost geometric regularity. In 1334 Santo Domingo de la Calzada was elevated to the status of a town and the whole, including the new suburb, was enclosed by a 1670 m long stone wall⁵⁸. The wall line included also the market square. Markets and fairs were held there until the 14th century⁵⁹. Whereas in the 18th century in this square, called the **Plaza de España**, the Town Hall was situated [Fig. 4]. The current layout of the square also dates from this period.

Until the middle of the 16th century the town did not undergo any major changes, maintaining its medieval character. This is evidenced by the travellers' accounts. Enrique Cook described Santo Domingo de la Calzada as a tiny town with less than 1000 inhabitants and nothing but a cathedral⁶⁰. This statement testifies not only to the poor development of Santo Domingo, but also to the strong and continuing position of the Church in pilgrimage centres.

Estella (in Basque Lizarra) in Navarre, in the first centuries of its existence consisted, similarly to Pamplona, of several settlements which were united into one coherent organism as late as in the 15th century [Fig. 5]. It was confirmed by the granting of town privileges. The beginning of the centre's development is connected with the Burgo de Lizarra – retaken from the Muslims in 914 – by which the Burgo de San Martín began to form at the beginning of the 11th century⁶¹. In 1090 the settlement was granted a *fuero*, allowing the Franks to settle there⁶². They were located on the right side of the Ega River, at the foot of the castle and around the chapel of San Martín. The Burgo de San Martín was a typical settlement based on the town-road model. The settlement started to develop by the bridge, along the pilgrimage route. The church of St. Peter and the square located at the bridge Puente de la Carcel were located along its length. It was as well the first market area⁶³. For centuries, the Plaza San Martín, had a predominantly secular character, due to the meetings of the town councillors that took place there and later due to the Councillors' House located there. Both the Plaza San Martín and the Rúa de las Tiendas were the centre of commercial activity and economic development of the town⁶⁴.



5. F. Miranda, *Vista de Estella*, Madrid, 1842, lithography, 134 × 200 mm, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Lit. Nueva. Cab de Gracia 22. Photo: <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000053515> (access date: 28.06.2021)

In the 12th century other settlements appeared: the royal Población de San Juan (1187), Burgo San Miguel (1187) located on the left side of the river, at the **Plaza de los Fueros**⁶⁵ and San Salvador del Arenal (1188) on the east side of the Burgo de San Miguel, inhabited mainly by Franks and Navarrese⁶⁶. Each was a separate, self-sufficient entity. It was not until 1266 that they were administratively united, and in 1405, a definitive unification was established⁶⁷.

The first markets were held in the Plaza de los Fueros, next to the church of St. John, on the axis of the Rua Mayor⁶⁸. They date back to 1164, when King Sancho the Wise granted the privilege to hold a weekly market⁶⁹. The square also served religious and ludic functions (e.g. bullfighting events). Probably in the 16th century the *plaza* was given a regular form, which significantly changed its appearance. Even today it is one of the largest open spaces in the town. Another market was held in the **Plaza del Mercado Viejo** in the Burgo San Miguel area. This plaza was located in front of the northern façade of the church of San Miguel. Over the centuries it has un-

⁶⁵ See M. C. García Gainza, *op. cit.*, p. 459.

⁶⁶ See L. Vazquez de Praga, J. M. Lacarra, J. Uria Riu, *op. cit.*, p. 472

⁶⁷ See M. C. García Gainza, *op. cit.*, p. 461.

⁶⁸ See J. L. García Fernández, L. S. Iglesias Rouco, *La Plaza en la ciudad y otros espacios significativos: Galicia, Asturias, Cantabria, País Vasco, Navarra*, Madrid 1986, p. 353.

⁶⁹ See J. Passini, *El Camino de Santiago...*, p. 69.



⁷⁰ See *ibidem*, p. 353.

⁷¹ See L. Torres Balbás, *La edad media*, [in:] *Resumen histórico del urbanismo en España*, Ed. A. García y Bellido [et al.], Madrid 1987, p. 160.

⁷² See J. L. García Fernández, *op. cit.*, p. 353.

dergone many spatial modifications. It also lost its trade function. There was yet another *plaza* near the aforementioned church of San Miguel. Specifically, in front of the main portal. We are referring to the small Plaza de Chapitel, where, in one of the buildings, the councillors of this *burgo* gathered⁷⁰.

In Estella, regular fairs were held between the different urban centres/*burgos*: Lizarra, San Juan and San Miguel in a large open space – the Plaza de Santiago. This square dates back to the beginning of the 12th century, the moment when the Población del Rey (or: Población de San Juan) began⁷¹. From 1251 fairs were held there regularly⁷². Once all the entities were enclosed by a single line of walls, the square became an integral part of the town and still serves a similar function.

Conclusion

The 13th century centres along the Pilgrims' Way to Santiago de Compostela were characterised by a simple linear layout. They were usually small urban layouts, located directly on the pilgrimage and trade route, which functioned as the main road of about 300–600 m. This road was often widened creating a space used for trading and ludic purposes. With time, in these centres a special market area was separated taking a regular form. Such a square was usually located directly next to a church. Apart from the church building, a prison and a councillor's house were located on the square. These centres have not undergone any major spatial modifications. Many of them do not differ in layout and size from the medieval ones.

In the case of towns of ancient origin or composed of several settlement entities which were connected by a single line of walls in the 14th century, the functioning of several market squares can be distinguished. They often constituted the centre of a given district, suburb or *burgo*, as for example in León, Lugo, Pamplona or Estella. The shape and functioning of these entities was significantly influenced by the presence of the Franks.

A characteristic element of pilgrimage centres was a religious building. Situated usually along the main traffic route it was an indisputable architectural landmark. It also had a symbolic dimension directly associated with the pilgrimage and the Pilgrims' Way itself. The church tower was thus the main point of reference for travelling pilgrims. The three-dimensional aspect of these centres has remained virtually unchanged to this day. The church and the tower still play the most important role in the panorama of these towns. This can be seen, for example, in the aerial photo of Grañón. The size of the town has almost not changed, and the church in the centre still dominates the other buildings.

In most of the centres analysed – next to the church or monastery – there was a *plaza* where goods were exchanged and major public events took place. Among numerous examples of such churches and

plazas, it is worth mentioning those located in Viana, Canfranc, Santo Domingo de la Calzada, Sangüesie, Nájera, Grañón. In the course of time, stalls were set up in the squares and commercial activity spread to further streets.

As these linear centres developed, the plaza took on a more regular form, almost becoming an independent spatial entity with a defined character. However, it was still dependent on the main road, which was part of the Way. This can be seen even on contemporary plans of these towns, such as Canfranc in Huesca or Puente la Reina in Navarre. The centres mentioned in the article, with their service and trading character, have not been greatly transformed over the centuries. At most, they have been complemented by parallel or perpendicular streets, such is the case in Santo Domingo de la Calzada. Sometimes new squares were also created, and these usually corresponded to subsequent neighbourhoods or settlements and the churches located there. Most of the historic squares still serve their original purpose, which demonstrates a certain continuity both in terms of function and form.

A significant role in the formation of an entire pilgrimage centre and individual districts was played by the Franks. The previous influence and importance of this population is evident today, e.g. in the naming of streets, chapels, churches, e.g. San Nicolás, San Martín.

The towns presented here bear a strong resemblance to mid-14th century Italian towns located in the Arno Valley and the Mugello Valley⁷³.

Noteworthy among them is Manfredonia (Puglia), whose 13th-century plan shows great similarity to Spanish Grañón. In both cases, there is a cut-out square by the church located next to the main road that started the town's development. It is situated on the main axis which is a part of the route and at the same time next to the central religious building. As can be seen, the model also appeared in other parts of Europe, which proves its functionality.

Słowa kluczowe

historia urbanistyki hiszpańskiej, place w średniowieczu, urbanistyka średniowieczna, miasta na szlaku pielgrzymkowym, plac miejski

Keywords

history of Spanish urban planning, squares in the Middle Ages, medieval urban planning, towns on the pilgrimage route, town square

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⁷³ A description of selected cities can be found in the book by **R. Eysymontt** *Kod genetyczny miasta. Średniowieczne miasta lokacyjne Dolnego Śląska na tle urbanistyki europejskiej* (Wrocław 2009, p. 147–149).

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Summary

NATALIA BURSIEWICZ (Pedagogical University in Cracow) / On the persistence of medieval urban spatial layout. Selected towns on the Pilgrims' Way to Santiago de Compostela in the Iberian Peninsula

The aim of this article was to analyse selected medieval urban structures in the pilgrimage centres on the route to Santiago de Compostela, and then to examine the processes of their transformation and the phenomenon of spatial continuity. The centres analysed here are examples of early regular street layouts established in a planned manner. Their characterisation was preceded by a brief description of the historical and spatial conditions allowing the phenomena in question to be placed in an appropriate wider context. The study paid particular attention to open spaces, especially squares, as important areas of the urban structure that still exist today performing a variety of important functions for the local community. A literature search was carried out on the subject. Historical, iconographic and cartographic sources were also used. No less important role was played by direct observation and analysis of the towns.

The centres analysed have not undergone major spatial transformations since the Middle Ages. In their layout we can distinguish the main pilgrimage-trade route, around which residential and service buildings were erected. In the described settlements, as they developed, a special market space evolved with a regular form. It was usually located by the church. The community of the Franks played a key role in shaping the centres described in the article.