



THE ST. THOMAS WAY AND THE MEDIEVAL MARCH OF WALES

EXPLORING PLACE, HERITAGE, PILGRIMAGE

Edited by

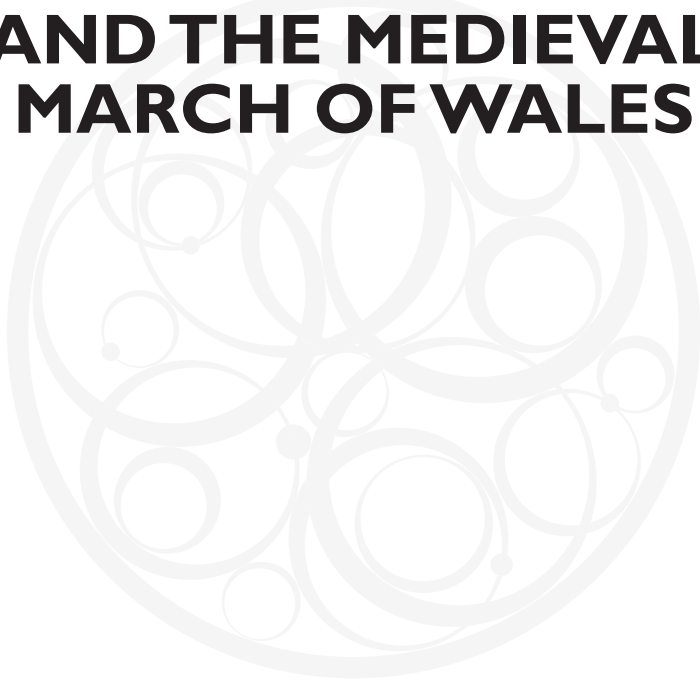
CATHERINE A. M. CLARKE

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Places and Spaces, Medieval to Modern is an exciting series that brings together new research and innovative approaches to explore the material and imagined landscapes, environments, and locales through which people engaged with each other and their surroundings in the Middle Ages. In the context of the ongoing “spatial turn” in the arts and humanities globally, the series seeks to shape the field of medieval studies through connecting both academic and practitioner research across disciplines including history, geography, literature, architecture, archaeology, heritage science, and tourism studies, as well as those working in heritage conservation, management, interpretation, and marketing of medieval spaces and places today.

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PREFACE

THIS BOOK TAKES the St. Thomas Way—a new heritage route from Swansea to Hereford launched in 2018 and inspired by a real medieval pilgrimage—and explores multiple dimensions of the project and its contexts through a collection of critical essays, as well as creative and reflective pieces. In the spirit of this series, “Places and Spaces: Medieval to Modern,” the book aims to find diverse audiences, both within a range of academic specialisms and beyond, including those working in heritage and tourism, as well as individuals with a personal interest in the themes and places explored here. So: what is this book about, and who is it for?

This book is for readers interested in medieval cults of the saints and pilgrimage traditions, especially those of St. Thomas of Hereford (also known as St. Thomas Cantilupe), as well as medieval history more broadly, including the politics and culture of the medieval March of Wales (the historical border region between England and Wales). This book is also for those interested in continuing traditions of pilgrimage and in pilgrimage practices today: both academics and professionals working in areas such as faith tourism, and also individuals with their own personal interest—whether grounded in a religious faith or not—in pilgrimage. More widely, this book’s exploration of the St. Thomas Way as a visitor experience has something to offer for readers interested in heritage, heritage tourism, and tourism as a route to regional development, from heritage practitioners and professionals to those working in local government or in community projects.

This is also a book about approaches to translating academic research into real-world activities and outcomes. It presents the St. Thomas Way project as a case study in transposing scholarly research into public “impacts” or benefits, with a discussion of the objectives, funding mechanisms, and project management involved (especially in the Introduction). It is for anyone interested in the process of developing research into public-facing projects—including those working on public history, but also in other humanities contexts and beyond—and for anyone looking for transferable methodologies and insights, or simply the opportunity to think critically about the role of “impact” in scholarship today.

The book will be attractive to readers interested in the digital humanities—that is, in using digital methods, new technologies, and new media to solve critical and conceptual challenges in the humanities, and to present and think about topics in new ways. Through the case study of the St. Thomas Way, some contributions to this volume explore the challenges and critical processes involved in developing a “digital” or even “virtual” pilgrimage experience, and the relationships between this and its medieval antecedents. The Introduction to the volume includes an overview of some of the digital tools used in

creating the Way, discussing and reflecting upon its technical features to share them with other scholars and practitioners in the digital humanities and digital medieval studies.

Finally: a word on how this book is structured. The first section, “Contexts and Critical Explorations,” is a collection of fairly conventional academic essays exploring the St. Thomas Way and its contexts—although, in several cases, incorporating creative, experimental, or personal elements. This is followed by a second section, “Other Perspectives,” bringing together three shorter reflective pieces, which move further away from the focus and form of a typical scholarly essay. These include reflections from Canon Christopher Pullin, Chancellor of Hereford Cathedral, on how the St. Thomas Way has contributed to the development of pilgrimage as a spiritual endeavour at Hereford Cathedral, Michelle Rumney on her work as Artist in Residence on the St. Thomas Way, and Anne Louise Avery on her experience of walking the Way in summer 2018.

Different readers will find their own pathways through this book, and will value varying elements—there is no single “right” way to read it. Please navigate your own way through the book, pause to notice and make use of what interests you, and pass by what is less relevant to your own focus. Good journeying!

CONTRIBUTOR BIOGRAPHIES

Anne Louise Avery is a writer and art historian. She has studied history of art and Japanese language at SOAS in London, ICU University in Tokyo, and Brown University, and was the recipient of a Daiwa Foundation Scholarship. She is the cartography editor for *Panorama: The Journal of Intelligent Travel* and director of Flash of Splendour, which works to empower disadvantaged young people through innovative academic and museum outreach. Her publications include *Albion's Glorious Ile* (Unicorn Press, June 2016), a book of fantastical seventeenth-century maps, described by Simon Schama as “wonderful.” Currently, she is working on a collaborative project with the Bodleian Libraries, University of Bristol and Aardman Animation, focusing on Anglo-Dutch history and the figure of Reynard the Fox, which will lead to the publication of her new children's book, a major exhibition, and a series of animated films.

Ian L. Bass is a PhD candidate and Associate Lecturer in History at the Manchester Metropolitan University. He has published on the life and career of Thomas Cantilupe, and worked for several years at Hereford Cathedral. Like Jonathan Wooding, he serves on the Advisory Board for the St. Thomas Way Project.

Catherine Clarke is Professor and Director of the Centre for the History of People, Place, and Community at the Institute of Historical Research, School of Advanced Study, University of London. She was Director of the St. Thomas Way project (and its antecedent, the research project “City Witness: Place and Perspective in Medieval Swansea”) in her previous role as Professor of English at the University of Southampton, where she remains a Visiting Professor in the English Department. She has published widely on histories of place, heritage, and uses of the medieval past today. Her most recent book is *Medieval Cityscapes Today* (Arc Humanities Press ‘Past Imperfect’ series, 2019).

Bethany Hamblen is the Archivist and Records Manager at Balliol College, University of Oxford, but wrote her contribution to this volume in her previous role as Cathedral Archivist at Hereford. Originally from Connecticut in the United States, she completed a BA in Medieval Studies at Smith College before moving to an MA in Medieval Studies and a PhD in History, both at the University of York. She has an MSc Econ. in Archive Administration from Aberystwyth University, and worked at Worcestershire Archive and Archaeology Service before her time at Hereford. Her particular interests are social history through the lens of late medieval administrative and legal records, and use and reuse of archives.

Mariana Lopez is Senior Lecturer in Sound Production and Post Production in the Department of Theatre, Film, Television and Interactive Media at the University of York.

Mariana has a background in music and sound design, having been awarded the BA degree in Arts with specialization in Music and the MA degree in Post Production with Sound Design. In 2013 she completed her PhD at the University of York on the importance of virtual acoustics to further our understanding of the York Mystery Plays. Before joining the University of York as a lecturer Mariana worked at Anglia Ruskin University as a Senior Research Fellow, where she developed research projects in the fields of sound and acoustics.

Christopher Pullin has been Canon Chancellor of Hereford Cathedral since 2008, closely involved with the Cathedral's educational work in its many aspects, and with Chapter responsibility for the Library and Archives and the Mappa Mundi. With degrees in theology and philosophy, he is a Benedictine Oblate and numbers Dante and painting in oils among his enthusiasms.

Michelle Rumney uses a wide range of materials in her artwork including paper, thread, paint, pigments, string, gold leaf, maps, and books. Central to her practice is the idea of repetition leading to transformation—a form of ritual journey of making—and pilgrimages of sorts. The resulting artworks are tactile and often appear fragile and delicate, but are underpinned with grids, stronger than they look. Her art touches on religion, psychology, history, geography, and our attempts to make sense of the world around us. With a keen sense of curiosity and adventure, she is constantly attempting this herself, having lived and worked in London, Auckland, Madrid, New Mexico, Mexico City, Dartmoor, Bristol, Barcelona, Andalusia, and Dorset, plus artist residencies in Somerset and, on this project, in Wales and Hereford. This constant cultural journeying and displacement continues to inform her work.

Jonathan Wooding is the Sir Warwick Fairfax Professor of Celtic Studies at the University of Sydney. His research interests lie primarily in the area of religious history, with a particular focus on literary as well as historical narratives of pilgrimage—including a range of studies of the stories of St. Brendan. In 2011 he was made a patron of Churches Tourism Network Wales for his contribution to local church tourism and pilgrimage developments in Wales. Amongst other works, he is the author (with Anthony Grimley) of *Living the Hours: Monastic Spirituality in Everyday Life* (Canterbury, 2010) and (with Nigel Yates and others) of *A Guide to the Churches and Chapels of Wales* (University of Wales Press, 2011).

INTRODUCTION: REMAKING MEDIEVAL PILGRIMAGE—THE ST. THOMAS WAY

CATHERINE A. M. CLARKE

THE ST. THOMAS Way is a new heritage route from Swansea to Hereford, inspired by a real medieval pilgrimage. Launched in 2018, the route is built around thirteen core locations, and interactive, multimedia online resources at www.thomasway.ac.uk. In 1290, a Welsh outlaw, William Cragh, was hanged in Swansea by the Anglo-Norman Marcher Lord of Gower, William de Briouze. But after his execution, Cragh came back to life, in what was understood as a miracle of Thomas de Cantilupe, the former Bishop of Hereford (died 1282). The St. Thomas Way project had a variety of aims across two broad areas: to share new research on the case of William Cragh, Thomas de Cantilupe, and the geographical and cultural landscapes of the medieval March of Wales with wide public audiences; and to contribute to cultural and economic development in the England–Wales border region today, through tourism capacity-building, placemaking, and partnerships with local communities, institutions, and businesses.

Funded by the UK Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC), under their “Follow-on Funding for Impact and Engagement” scheme, the St. Thomas Way project was initially conceived and designed in terms of research dissemination, and the achievement of positive cultural and economic “impacts” or benefits, beyond academia. But the development of the Way has also opened up new research questions and directions for scholarly exploration, which extend beyond this project into broader areas of enquiry across medieval studies, heritage studies, digital humanities, and critical theory. Through practice-led and applied research—as well as critical analysis and interrogation of the methodologies, implications, and ethics of the Way’s content and representational modes—the project has animated new approaches to a range of important, often urgent, questions across a variety of fields. The St. Thomas Way project has brought new perspectives to current scholarly conversations around spatial imaginaries medieval and modern, and ideas of place and journeying in the Middle Ages and today. It has shed new light on the parallels and differences between medieval pilgrimage and modern tourism practices, as well as processes of remembering, commemoration, and heritage management. The project has enlarged and nuanced debates about relationships between place and time, and the varied ways of approaching temporality or multiple temporalities. The applied research challenges of the Way’s digital methodologies and idioms have raised questions about how a modern heritage route might respond to and enter into conversation with the aesthetic, conceptual, and representational conventions of medieval pilgrimage. In what ways can medieval productions and practices—such as pilgrim itinerary maps, or tools for affective or “virtual” pilgrimage—be transposed into new (digital) technologies, and with what effects or implications? With its many partners and collaborators, including academics,

creative practitioners, clergy, and museum or heritage sector professionals, the critical questions driven by the St. Thomas Way project span medieval cultural history and modern reception of the Middle Ages, as well as diverse areas of academic practice and public engagement, illuminating current debates about research methods and modes, and the potential idioms or registers of scholarship.

This volume uses the St. Thomas Way as a case study to intervene in such conversations across a wide variety of fields and current critical and practice-led research challenges. It brings together diverse perspectives, including accounts of methodology and practice, critical analysis of historical and cultural contexts, and reflections on the St. Thomas Way in the light of broader theoretical concerns. After this Introduction, six scholarly essays explore various aspects of the Way and its contexts, followed by a collection of shorter pieces which present alternative voices and perspectives: the views of the Artist in Residence who collaborated on the project, the Chancellor of Hereford Cathedral, and the first person (external to the project team) to complete the entire St. Thomas Way route, sharing her first-hand experiences. This book is intended for a wide and diverse audience: from academics working in related fields and on related critical themes, to practitioners in the heritage and creative sectors, local government and tourism professionals with responsibilities for placemaking and regional development, and general readers with interests in the broad themes of place, pilgrimage, and the past explored here. The aim of this introduction is to locate the St. Thomas Way project within some key contexts: both the cultural, economic, and policy contexts that drove the design of the Way and its immediate “impact” objectives, and also the scholarly and theoretical contexts that shaped the content and development of the Way and formed the starting point for the new critical thinking it prompted. This Introduction will also touch on some of the design and functionality features of the St. Thomas Way website, exploring the methodologies and critical processes involved in their development, and ways in which this experimental “digital pilgrimage” has opened up new spaces for critical dialogue with medieval practices and traditions.

In Swansea, in 1290, the Welshman William Cragh (otherwise known by the patronymic William ap Rhys) was sentenced to death by William de Briouze, the Anglo-Norman Lord of Gower, for his part in the burning of Oystermouth Castle (in modern Mumbles, just to the west along Swansea Bay), and the killing of thirteen men. This attack was probably part of the rebellion led by Rhys ap Maredudd, a descendant of the royal line of the Welsh kingdom of Deheubarth, in 1287.¹ But the hanging of Cragh did not go according to plan. First, the crossbeam of the gallows broke, and Cragh and the other condemned man, Trahaearn ap Hywel, were hanged a second time. Then, after the hanging was completed and Cragh appeared dead, something completely unexpected happened: Cragh came back to life. This astonishing recovery was understood by local people as a miracle of Thomas de Cantilupe: a putative new saint and former Bishop of Hereford, who had died a few years previously. We know the events of Cragh’s hanging in so much detail because they survive in a document associated

¹ See Ralph A. Griffiths, “The Revolt of Rhys ap Maredudd, 1287–8,” in *Conquerors and Conquered in Medieval Wales* (Stroud: Sutton, 1994), 67–83.

with the canonization process for Thomas of Hereford: Vatican Library MS Lat. 4015. This manuscript was produced in 1307, by a team of papal inquisitors investigating potential miracles associated with Thomas of Hereford—including the strange case of William Cragh, seventeen years earlier. It contains nine medieval eyewitness testimonies (gathered in London and Hereford), giving accounts of Cragh's hanging and revival, and the details which indicated, in the witnesses' view, the likely involvement of St. Thomas.

For example, William Cragh claims in his own deposition that, while in the dungeon of Swansea Castle, he “bent a silver penny from [his] belt to honour the said St. Thomas (following the English custom) in order that he might free him, and he hid the said penny thus folded in his trousers” (“plicauit, secundum morem anglie, unum denarium sterlingum ad honorem dicti Sancti Thome ut liberaret eum et dictum denarium sic plicatum recondidit in bricali suo”).² William de Briouze junior, son of the Lord William who ordered Cragh's execution, recalls his stepmother Lady Mary (wife of Lord William senior) praying for Thomas's intervention. The manuscript, otherwise written in Latin, records the exact words of Mary's prayer in their original Anglo-Norman French, honouring their perceived potency and significance: “I pray to God and St. Thomas of Cantilupe to give him life, and if they give him life we will bring him to praise the said St. Thomas” (“Prium deu, et seint Thomas de Cantelup qe luy donne vie, et si il luy donne vie, nous le amenerouns a lauant dit seint Thomas”).³ Further, while Cragh's apparently lifeless body lay in the house of a local burgess, Thomas Mathews, Lady Mary had him “measured to Saint Thomas,” another practice noted as “following the English custom” (“secundum morem Anglicanam”).⁴ This involved cutting a piece of string to the length of Cragh's body, later to be used to make a votive candle for the tomb of the saint.

While the revival of William Cragh was incorporated into the manuscript now known as Vat. Lat. 4015, it did not make the final extant compilation of his miracles, produced in 1319 (Bibliothèque Nationale de France MS Lat. 5373), which appears to include only the most certain and incontrovertible miracles used to make the case for Thomas's canonization.⁵ So, perhaps some doubt lingered about this strange and audacious miracle story. John of Baggeham, the steward of William de Briouze senior, claimed, after all, that Lady Mary's “rejoicing was bad, because it was bad that a bad man was thus resuscitated” (“gaudebat de malo quia malum erat quod ita malus homo resuscitaretur”).⁶ Still, after Cragh's recovery, he went on pilgrimage—together with Lord and Lady de Briouze—to the shrine of Thomas at Hereford Cathedral, just as Lady Mary had promised in her prayer of supplication. In his testimony, Cragh claims that he had already travelled to Hereford before, as a previous act of devotion to Thomas (fol. 221r), but recalls in more detail the special pilgrimage following his miraculous resurrection:

2 Vatican Library MS Lat. 4015, fol. 221r.

3 MS Vat. Lat. 4015, fol. 11r.

4 MS Vat. Lat. 4015, fol. 9r.

5 See Harriett Webster's discussion of the textual history surrounding the manuscripts associated with the canonization process for Thomas of Hereford, in “Mediating Memory: Recalling and Recording the Miracles of St. Thomas Cantilupe,” *Journal of Medieval History* 41 (2015): 292–308.

6 MS Vat. Lat. 4015, fols. 224v–225r.

the lord and lady of the said castle went with him on a pilgrimage, on account of the said miracle, to the tomb of the aforesaid St. Thomas, and offered there a certain gallows of wax and the rope with which he was hanged which he carried, bound around his neck.

dominus et domina dicti castri cum eo uenerunt peregrini ratione dicti miraculi ad tumulum predicti Sancti Thome, et optulerunt ibi quasdam furcas de cera et funem cum qua fuit suspensus quam oportuit ligatam ad collum suum.⁷

Cragh also claims that his story was instrumental in increasing devotion to St. Thomas, “because more frequent pilgrimages [were made] to the said tomb than were made previously” (“peregrinantur frequentius ad dictum tumulum quam facerent prius”).⁸ Indeed, the canons of Hereford made their own record of Cragh’s visit to the shrine and his miraculous story, as part of their campaign, under Thomas de Cantilupe’s successor, Bishop Richard Swinfield, of promoting their potential new saint (and the attendant benefits this could bring to the Cathedral).⁹

The story of William Cragh has received attention from a number of scholars, most notably Robert Bartlett in his excellent micro-history *The Hanged Man: A Study of Miracle, Memory, and Colonialism in the Middle Ages*.¹⁰ However, Bartlett’s book includes no maps, and only one photograph—a picture of Oystermouth Castle today. The unique potential of the nine medieval eyewitness statements—with their detailed accounts of itineraries and experiences within the medieval town of Swansea—to extend our understanding of medieval urban environments and spatial practices remained unexplored. In 2013–14, the AHRC funded the research project “City Witness: Place and Perspective in Medieval Swansea,” which sought to investigate what these medieval witness statements could tell us about spatial practices and identities in medieval Swansea, using textual analysis, digital mapping, and 3D visualizations. This rare opportunity to investigate the routes and itineraries of figures from diverse ethnic and social backgrounds, moving within the same geographical space, revealed ways in which the urban environment was negotiated and understood differently by different individuals and groups. The “City Witness” project also contextualized the story of William Cragh within the wider landscape of the medieval March of Wales, advancing new insights into beliefs, power, and cultural identities in this border region.¹¹

⁷ MS Vat. Lat. 4015, fol. 221v.

⁸ MS Vat. Lat. 4015, fol. 221v.

⁹ This record survives in a manuscript now in Oxford (Exeter College MS 158), fols. 49r–v.

¹⁰ Robert Bartlett, *The Hanged Man: A Study of Miracle, Memory, and Colonialism in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004). Other key publications include Michael Richter, “Waliser und Wundermänner um 1300,” in *Spannungen und Widersprüche: Gedenkschrift für Frantisek Graus*, edited by S. Burghartz et al. (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1992), 23–36; Jussi Hanska, “The Hanging of William Cragh: Anatomy of a Miracle,” *Journal of Medieval History* 27 (2001): 121–38; and the *Journal of Medieval History*, special issue, 41 (2015), “Power, Identity and Miracles on a Medieval Frontier,” especially the Introduction and articles by Clarke and Webster.

¹¹ Resources and analysis produced by the project are available on the “City Witness” website at www.medievalswansea.ac.uk, and in the 2015 special issue of the *Journal of Medieval History*, “Power, Identity and Miracles on a Medieval Frontier.”

The “City Witness” project included significant public engagement elements—activities designed to connect non-specialists with the research underlying the project—as well as strategies designed to help deliver specific local impacts—that is, real-world benefits outside of academia. The project itself developed out of a direct approach by Swansea Council, who were keen to pursue regeneration plans for the city centre, which had recently been the recipient of significant European Union Convergence funding (directed at regions where GDP per capita is below 75 percent of the European Union average). In particular, the Council aimed to bridge the disconnect between the surviving material fabric of Swansea Castle and the surrounding urban environment, which had been scoured of its medieval character by wartime bombing and later redevelopment. As part of its strategy to create a distinct “Castle Quarter,” with heritage at the heart of the city, the Council co-funded a pavement marker trail, produced by the “City Witness” project, which linked to multimedia online resources based on the new research into the Cragh story and the landscape of medieval Swansea. The “City Witness” project also worked in partnership with Swansea Museum to produce a major exhibition on the medieval town.¹² These activities were all successful, raising local awareness of the medieval heritage of Swansea, and helping to drive the Council’s regeneration and tourism objectives. But by the end of the “City Witness” project, a major challenge had become apparent. While the surrounding areas of the Gower, and even neighbouring Mumbles, with the picturesque ruins of Oystermouth Castle, were enduringly popular with visitors, Swansea city centre itself was not on established heritage tourism routes, or a medieval heritage destination with wide public recognition. There was a clear need to embed Swansea more robustly in the wider heritage tourism map.

The proposal for the St. Thomas Way project initially developed as a response to this particular challenge. But its objectives evolved and expanded to engage with further challenges and aspirations identified by other agencies and institutions in the wider region. The Business Wales Cultural Tourism Action Plan 2012, produced by the Cultural Tourism Partnership and Steering Group for the Welsh Assembly Government, highlighted “Sense of Place” as a key attraction for visitors to Wales, which it argued should be developed further. It also identified “religious tourism” as an area “not currently being exploited to [its] full potential,” targeting it as a sector for growth.¹³ Indeed, in 2013, the Welsh Government pursued this goal through the publication of a specific Faith Tourism Action Plan for Wales, defining “faith tourism” in broad terms as both visitors motivated by faith or belief, and those attracted to sacred sites and their stories as destinations. The Action Plan sets out the ambition that “by 2020 Faith Tourism is recognized as an integral component of the visitor experience in Wales, adding significant value to the destination offer, contributing to the well-being of the visitor and

12 For detailed discussion of these public-facing projects, and the critical and theoretical issues they raise, see Catherine A. M. Clarke, *Medieval Cityscapes Today* (Leeds: Arc Humanities, 2019).

13 Business Wales Cultural Tourism Action Plan 2012, <https://businesswales.gov.wales/dmwales/sites/dmwales/files/documents/DM%20Wales%20-%20Cultural%20Tourism%20-%20Action%20Plan%20-%20Eng.pdf>.

host community and enhancing local, regional and national ‘Sense of Place.’¹⁴ Different places across the region had differing tourism goals and challenges: for example, a key target in the Herefordshire Tourism Strategy was the increase of overnight stays in the area, with the aim of retaining visitors for more than just a day trip.¹⁵ And broader challenges—and opportunities—emerged in terms of heritage tourism across the England–Wales borders. Where the concerns facing Swansea were acutely urban, linked to economic pressures and the formation of identity in a post-industrial city, much of the area between Swansea and Hereford is highly rural. Many highly significant, impressive medieval sites (from churches to castles and monastic ruins) are located in remoter areas and are relatively little known and under-visited. How could the heritage tourism potential of these smaller or less visible sites be better developed? Could less well-known locations benefit from being linked into a narrative and visitor experience alongside world-famous visitor destinations such as Caerphilly Castle or Hereford Cathedral? Further challenges particular to many of these rural areas also became apparent. Where local rural communities struggled to access cultural or arts provision, could spaces such as historic churches fulfil some of these roles? And what kinds of wellbeing benefits could an enriched understanding and experience of local heritage bring to host communities? Finally, a very concrete goal emerged through discussion with Hereford Cathedral—the key partner for a project taking forward the story of William Cragh and his pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Thomas. In general, the Cathedral hoped to explore traditions of pilgrimage, and its own place in practices medieval and modern. More specifically, the Cathedral planned to commemorate the 700th anniversary of the canonization of St. Thomas, in 2020, and was keen to develop resources and visitor engagement strategies around this.

St. Thomas of Hereford, or Thomas de Cantilupe, is not generally well known today, but was an important saint in the Middle Ages, and his shrine was a major pilgrimage destination. The surviving miracle collections in MS Vat. Lat. 4015 and elsewhere are second only to those of Thomas Becket in medieval Britain. Cantilupe was born into the higher Anglo-Norman nobility in Buckinghamshire between 1218 and 1222: his father William, a prominent baron, had been steward of the household of Henry III and his uncle, Walter Cantilupe, was Bishop of Worcester (1237–1266). Thomas Cantilupe’s career spanned academia, including a period teaching canon law at Oxford and the chancellorship of the university in 1261 and 1264, as well as involvement in government and politics, including acting as an advisor to Edward I during the period of the king’s campaigns to conquer Wales. His tenure at Hereford began as prebend from 1274 and as bishop from 1275. The circumstances of Thomas’s death were unpromising for a

14 The Faith Tourism Action Plan for Wales, 2013, <https://gov.wales/docs/drah/publications/131024-the-faith-tourism-action-plan-for-wales-en.pdf>, 2. For a discussion of the meanings of “faith tourism” and its implications for tourism practices and consumption, see Jonathan M. Wooding, “Historical-Theological Models of Pilgrimage as a Resource for Faith Tourism,” *Journal of Tourism Consumption and Practice* 5 (2013): 61–72, as well as his piece in this volume.

15 A Tourism Strategy for Herefordshire, 2010–2015, www.marcheslep.org.uk/download/economic_plans/european_structural_and_investment_fund/tourism/herefordshire_tourism_strategy_final_3910.pdf, 8, 35.

potential future saint: he died in 1282 while in Rome to plead his case to the Pope, after having been excommunicated in a dispute with John Pecham, Archbishop of Canterbury. This certainly complicated the campaign for Thomas's canonization, but it was led vigorously by Bishop Swinfield, with the translation of Thomas's relics to a new shrine in Hereford Cathedral in 1287, and the careful compilation of records of miracles. Swinfield proposed Thomas to the Pope for canonization in April 1290 and the inquisitorial commission was established in 1306. After years of sustained campaigning and pressure from Hereford, as well as complex processes of papal review and evaluation of the case, Cantilupe was finally made a saint by Pope John XXII in 1320.¹⁶ The medieval cult of St. Thomas—incorporating a rich textual record, material evidence such as the surviving shrine, and records of behaviours and practices associated with pilgrimage and devotion to the saint—offers a window into medieval religious beliefs, both within the official culture of the church and its structures, and within the sphere of lay traditions and customs.

Pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Thomas was of course a major part of his cult and expression of devotion to the saint. William Cragh's journey to the shrine, in 1290, was around the time of its peak popularity amongst pilgrims and those seeking miraculous cures. In terms of miracles recorded by the canons of Hereford (different from, though perhaps related to, the numbers of pilgrims in general), the peak period was April 1287, when the relics of Thomas were transferred to their new shrine in the north transept of the Cathedral. The year 1287 saw the most recorded miracles in the cult's history (160), with numbers gradually declining in the following years: only ten miracles were listed in 1299. Interestingly, the gender balance among recipients of the saint's miracles also shifted: initially, those who received miracles were predominantly women, though by 1288 more men were recorded as recipients.¹⁷ As the cult of St. Thomas grew in strength, miracles were reported far beyond Hereford—such as the resuscitation of Cragh in Swansea. Yet the shrine remained a focal point for supplicants and for those, like Cragh, travelling to express their thanks and devotion. In 1307, the papal commissioners involved in Thomas's canonization trial made an inventory of the offerings at the shrine. This included "silver ships and golden rings, knives and anchors and precious stones and nearly 2,000 wax images of humans, animals, eyes and limbs." And this, according to the canons' own records, was "a collection in decline."¹⁸

Pilgrimage to Hereford Cathedral was, for most of the visitors to Thomas's shrine, a relatively local journey. According to Lady Mary de Briouze and John of Baggeham, the journey from Swansea to Hereford had taken just three days (after a mere three or four days convalescence for the recently hanged Cragh), though the witnesses, relying on memory seventeen years after the events, do not always agree on such details.¹⁹ But

¹⁶ For detailed discussion of the career, cult, and legacy of Thomas Cantilupe, see *St. Thomas Cantilupe, Bishop of Hereford: Essays in His Honour*, edited by M. Jancey (Hereford: Friends of Hereford Cathedral Publications Committee, 1982).

¹⁷ R. C. Finucane, "Cantilupe as Thaumaturge: Pilgrims and their Miracles," in *St. Thomas Cantilupe, Bishop of Hereford*, ed. Jancey, 137–44, at 141.

¹⁸ Finucane, "Cantilupe as Thaumaturge," 144.

¹⁹ For discussion of the length of time of Cragh's convalescence, and the time taken for the journey to Hereford, see Bartlett, *The Hanged Man*, 58.

pilgrimage could, of course, take the faithful much further; to holy places such as Rome or Jerusalem. Several of the witnesses to Cragh's hanging are under the impression that he may have subsequently travelled—or at least proposed to travel—to the Holy Land on pilgrimage, as a further act of penance or devotion. William de Briouze junior recalls that Cragh had “vowed to go beyond the sea” (“vouerat ire ultra mare”),²⁰ while William of Codineston, the de Briouze family chaplain, is more sceptical:

he heard reported that the said William vowed to go to the Holy Land, and had not gone, but remained in his own land.

audiuit [...] referri quod dictus Willelmus vouerat ire ad terram sanctam, et non iuit sed remansit in terra sua.²¹

Whether or not he did in fact make the journey, pilgrimage to the Holy Land was clearly something that Cragh and his contemporaries understood as a further, more testing, act of spiritual devotion—and which Cragh used (even if only rhetorically) to his own advantage as a way of extricating himself from a tense and complicated political situation in Swansea. Cragh's visit to Hereford may itself have helped to shape these ambitions for further pilgrimage, and his understanding of the Holy Land as the ultimate destination for a Christian pilgrim. It is possible that, laying his rope noose and wax votive model of a gallows at the shrine of St. Thomas, Cragh glimpsed the Hereford *Mappa Mundi*, with its spectacular visual representation of a world imagined in patterns of faith, journeying, and pilgrimage.

Research over the past two decades has argued, based on a range of evidence, that the Hereford *Mappa Mundi* was originally produced for and sited at the “shrine complex” of St. Thomas in Hereford Cathedral, as a visual prompt to meditation designed to situate the pilgrim experience within the wider context of geographies and histories of Christian faith. Most recently, Dan Terkla has used the evidence of medieval masonry in the north transept of the Cathedral (where stone inserts suggest medieval wooden supports were once fixed) and dendrochronological dating of the surviving map panel to argue that the *Mappa* was displayed immediately beside the shrine of St. Thomas. Here, he proposes, “pilgrims to the shrine could have extended their literal journeys to the building by experiencing the *Mappa Mundi* as a portal to myriad figurative journeys through pagan, mythological, legendary, political and biblical history.”²² Thomas de Wesselow has responded to Terkla's hypothesis with an alternative theory: that the map was displayed on one of the piers in the south choir aisle of the Cathedral. Yet, despite this slightly different location, Wesselow still interprets the *Mappa Mundi* in terms of its contribution to the experience of medieval pilgrims to Thomas's shrine, enhancing “the climax

²⁰ MS Vat. Lat. 4015, fol. 11v.

²¹ MS Vat. Lat. 4015, fol. 14r.

²² Dan Terkla, “The Original Placement of the Hereford *Mappa Mundi*,” *Imago Mundi* 56 (2004): 131–51, at 146. Terkla also gives a concise overview of other more recent analyses of the provenance and medieval display of the Hereford *Mappa Mundi* (187). See also Marcia Kupfer, *Art and Optics in the Hereford Map: An English Mappa Mundi, c. 1300* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016).

of the Hereford pilgrimage, explicating the journey's allegorical significance and articulating the spiritual meaning of its final stage."²³ As Daniel Birkholz comments, "to associate Hereford Cathedral with cartography is now commonplace ... for heritage tourists and academic medievalists alike."²⁴ With Jerusalem at its centre, the earthly paradise at the top, and Christ enthroned in majesty in the upper border, the map configures space according to providential history, with biblical narratives such as the crossing of the Red Sea represented alongside contemporary pilgrim routes and motifs from classical mythology. It locates the pilgrim's journey within a far wider world, layered with itineraries and stories. Medieval visitors to the shrine of St. Thomas would also have been able to identify (likely with the help of a cathedral attendant or *custos*)²⁵ England, Wales, and Hereford itself, pressed down into the lower left-hand rim of the map, almost at the very edge of the known world. If Britain, in its peripheral position at the edge of the map, was perceived as "marginal," "liminal," and "other,"²⁶ then Hereford and Wales are doubly remote and otherworldly, located at the far west of the island, teetering at the brink of the world. Already within this marginal position, the region around Hereford and across to the south coast of Wales is an even more acutely troublesome and suggestive edge: a space where liminality is compounded, a wild border landscape where strange and dangerous things can happen, as evidenced in the accounts of Gerald of Wales, a canon of Hereford in the late twelfth century.²⁷ The March of Wales, then, is a borderland within a borderland, balanced precariously at the end of the world.

While the "March of Wales" or the "Welsh Marches" is often used today to describe the Welsh borders in general, the terms are used more specifically by historians to refer to the conquest territories of Wales gradually occupied by Anglo-Norman rulers and governed as semi-autonomous "Marcher lordships" from around 1067 until the late thirteenth century. Even after the conquest of Wales by Edward I in 1282–83, these Marcher territories (around forty in number) remained distinct from the Principality of Wales—largely land to its north and west—and under the control of their Marcher lords, who continued to pursue their own territorial ambitions and claims. Encompassing historic kingdoms such as Gower (Gŵr) and Glamorgan (Morgannwg), which ran far along the south coast of Wales, and later encroaching into English territory in the east, the Marches were characterized by ethnic and political frictions and tensions—between Welsh and

²³ Thomas de Wesselow, "Locating the Hereford *Mappamundi*," *Imago Mundi* 65 (2013): 180–206, at 198.

²⁴ Daniel Birkholz, "Hereford Maps, Hereford Lives: Biography and Cartography in an English Cathedral City," in *Mapping Medieval Geographies: Geographical Encounters in the Latin West and Beyond, 300–1600*, ed. Keith D. Lilley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 225–49, at 231.

²⁵ Terkla, "The Original Placement of the Hereford *Mappa Mundi*," 146.

²⁶ Kathy Lavezzo, *Angels on the Edge of the World: Geography, Literature, and English Community, 1000–1534* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), 1–3.

²⁷ Daniel Birkholz suggests that, based on Gerald's many close connections with Hereford, he might better be called *Giraldus Herefordensis* than *Giraldus Cambrensis*. See "Hereford Maps, Hereford Lives," p. 229. For Gerald's stories of the strangeness of Wales and its Marches, see *The Journey through Wales/The Description of Wales*, trans. Lewis Thorpe (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978).

Anglo-Normans, and between rival Marcher lords—as well as rich cultural interactions and hybrid identities and traditions.²⁸ The story of William Cragh, the hanged man of medieval Swansea, brings many of these broader tensions and complexities into focus. Cragh, a Welshman born in the Gower parish of Llanrhidian to a Welsh mother (Swannith) and father (Rhys), is described by those associated with the household of Lord William de Briouze as a “malefactor” and “rebel” (“malefactor,” “erat de rebellibus,” William de Briouze junior) or a “famous brigand” (“latro famosus,” Lady Mary).²⁹ Cragh’s actions in burning down Oystermouth Castle were motivated by resistance to Anglo-Norman rule, as part of the rebellion of Rhys ap Iaredudd, a prince of the Welsh royal house of Deheubarth, of which the kingdom of Gŵr (now occupied as the Marcher lordship of Gower) was part. Yet the medieval witness statements in MS Vat. Lat. 4015 reflect cultural confluences and hybridity, as well as division: Cragh bends a penny as a votive to St. Thomas “following the English custom,” though he later refuses to speak anything but Welsh when interviewed by the papal commissioners (forcing them to seek two local Franciscan monks as translators).³⁰ Lady Mary de Briouze’s choice to direct her prayers for intervention to Thomas of Hereford is also significant, both reflecting her allegiances as an Anglo-Norman noblewoman and charged with contemporary recognition of Hereford’s “transactional location and borderlands function” within programmes of Welsh conquest and colonization.³¹ In this context, Thomas’s miraculous resuscitation of the hanged Welsh rebel is as much a performance of Anglo-Norman “soft power” as it is a revelation of divine mercy.

The story of the Welsh rebel William Cragh and the Anglo-Norman bishop-saint Thomas Cantilupe is, then, a suggestive and resonant narrative through which to explore the rich and complex history and culture of the medieval March of Wales. The connection with individual medieval lives and stories—as well as specific places and journeys—presents compelling possibilities and opportunities from the perspective of heritage interpretation and public engagement. Yet the medieval March of Wales is still, in some ways, a border region that presents practical challenges. Telling the distinctive story of William Cragh, and his pilgrimage from Swansea to Hereford, takes in places on both the Welsh and English sides of today’s border, and necessarily involves working with multiple tourism agencies and government bodies, across political boundaries. For the St. Thomas Way project, this posed various difficulties, partly through multiplying the partners and stakeholders involved, and in the challenges of making connections and communicating effectively across the structural borders between England and Wales.

28 For landmark works on the medieval March of Wales, see Max Liebermann, *The Medieval March of Wales: The Creation and Perception of a Frontier, c. 1066–1283* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), and R. R. Davies *The Age of Conquest: Wales 1063–1415* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987); for a concise overview see Max Liebermann, *The March of Wales 1067–1300: A Borderland of Medieval Britain* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2008).

29 MS Vat. Lat. 4015, fols. 10r and 8r.

30 MS Vat. Lat. 4015, fols. 221r and 222r.

31 Birkholz, “Hereford Maps, Hereford Lives,” 230, using Gerald of Wales’s writing about Hereford to illustrate contemporary perceptions.

But there was also an exciting opportunity here: to work across the usual remits of national-focused tourism agencies, to tell a medieval story inherently about borders, hybridity, and multifaceted cultural identities.

A primary challenge of the project was the development of a route from Swansea to Hereford, either to reconstruct or in some way to take inspiration from William Cragh's pilgrimage. In the end, our choices were driven by research—what could be known and what was unknowable about Cragh's exact route—as well as by questions of intended audience, the outreach and tourism capacity-building objectives of the project, and our aims to make positive interventions in local economies and communities. MS Vat. Lat. 4015 gives no detail on the route taken by Cragh and the de Briouzes to Hereford, other than the (somewhat unlikely) claim that it took just three days (with Cragh, only just recovering from his hanging, on foot). Yet it is possible to make some informed guesses about Cragh's likely journey, based on knowledge of medieval roads, river crossings, and stopping places. The medieval road east from Swansea followed the route of the modern A48 (later the M4 motorway in some sections), with the nearby Margam Abbey well known as a place of hospitality and respite for travellers after (or in other cases, before) they had negotiated the treacherous waters and quicksands of the river Neath.³² Despite the immediate difficulties of the river Neath, a route eastwards out of Swansea seems more plausible than a journey north, through the remote and mountainous landscape towards the Brecon Beacons (with increased possibilities of ambush and attack for Lord and Lady de Briouze). It is likely that a significant proportion of Cragh's journey followed (in reverse) the route recorded by John Ogilby in 1675 in his map of the itinerary from London to St. David's. Ogilby's itinerary travels long-established roads, setting out a potential route for Cragh and his companions which takes in Aberavon, Margam, and Cowbridge, before crossing the Ewenny river and travelling close to St. Fagan's, Llandaff, and on towards Cardiff and Newport, and perhaps north to Hereford via Monmouth.³³ Recently, Madeleine Gray has interpreted depictions of pilgrims in the newly discovered wall paintings at the church of St. Cadoc, Llanccarfan (southeast of Cowbridge, in the same area of the south Glamorgan coast) as a possible suggestion that the church was on or near to a pilgrim route.³⁴ But, of course, all these clues and hints as to Cragh's possible journey can only be informed speculation. Other priorities were also involved in devising the route for the St. Thomas Way.

The final St. Thomas Way route comprises thirteen locations between (and including) Swansea and Hereford, in some places coinciding closely with the probable route of Cragh and his fellow pilgrims, and in others selecting sites with rich and vibrant medieval heritage, which help to tell the story of the medieval March of Wales in the most engaging

32 For example, in the case of Gerald of Wales, discussed in this volume in the essay "Place, Time, and the St. Thomas Way: An Experiment in Five Itineraries."

33 John Ogilby, *Britannia, or an Illustration of the Kingdom of England and the Dominion of Wales: By a Geographical and Historical Description of the Principal Roads Thereof*, vol. 1 (London: Ogilby at White Friars, 1675), plate 16.

34 Madeleine Gray, "Hidden Treasures on the St. Thomas Way: Llanccarfan and the Good Pilgrim," unpublished paper presented at Hereford Cathedral, St. Thomas Way launch event, July 7, 2018.

and compelling ways. The thirteen locations on the Way are: Swansea, Margam, Ewenny, Llancarfan, St. Fagan's, Caerphilly, Newport, Usk, Abergavenny, Patrishow, Longtown, Kilpeck, and Hereford. Together, they form a mix of world-renowned and well-known heritage tourism destinations, such as Caerphilly Castle and Hereford Cathedral, and more remote or less widely known locations such as Patrishow and Llancarfan. Urban locations on the Way include Swansea, Newport, and Hereford, each with their own particular regeneration and development challenges and goals, while other sites are highly rural and often already well-established destinations in terms of natural heritage tourism (for example, Longtown and the area around Abergavenny). So the St. Thomas Way is different from many other heritage routes, which explicitly seek to reconstruct or retrace medieval pilgrimages and journeys. Best known of these is the world-famous Camino de Santiago in northwestern Spain, which follows medieval pilgrim routes to the shrine of St. James. In Wales itself, the Cistercian Way is more of a hybrid network, partly following known routes taken by Cistericans between their monasteries in medieval Wales, and partly incorporating other modern paths and rights of way.³⁵ Instead, the St. Thomas Way takes William Cragh's pilgrimage as inspiration, and as a way into the rich and colourful landscape of the medieval March of Wales. A further difference from most other heritage or pilgrimage routes is that the St. Thomas Way is not one single, continuous walking route. Instead, there is a circular walk at each of the thirteen locations, which visitors travel between (either by car, or by public transport, or, potentially, on foot, though there is no prescribed route). The decision to structure the Way in this form was primarily for reasons of accessibility and inclusion: opening up the experience to those who might not be able or willing to commit to a major walking route, such as families, people with mobility issues, or passing visitors who discover the St. Thomas Way without having planned in advance. While some visitors will follow the route in full from Swansea to Hereford, it is designed so that the locations can be visited in any order. This was a major factor in shaping how the interpretation resources for the Way were conceptualized, and how we told the story of Cragh and his pilgrimage: the locations and their content needed to make sense as a nonlinear experience, as well as (potentially) a linear narrative leading from Swansea to Hereford as the final destination.

Practical considerations also determined the medium for the St. Thomas Way content and interpretation. It was clear from the start that it would be impossible to provide onsite physical infrastructure for the Way at thirteen different locations, across multiple local government jurisdictions and two countries. Apart from the slim chance of achieving consensus and cooperation between multiple local councils, and problems associated with proliferating interpretation "clutter" at historic sites, material features such as signage would be vulnerable to vandalism and would in any case require ongoing maintenance—not something possible after the end of the fixed-term AHRC funding period. Building on approaches taken in earlier AHRC-funded projects led by Clarke, in Chester and Swansea, the St. Thomas Way was developed as a web-based

35 The Cistercian Way is online at www.cistercianway.wales/.

digital resource.³⁶ This made it possible to include a wide range of multimedia content, as well as interactive features. The main section of the Thomas Way website, centred on an interactive map of the thirteen route locations, was built in collaboration with the Brighton-based digital learning company Elucidat, using their proprietary software which allowed the academic team to develop content in a “WYSIWYG” (“what you see is what you get”) interface. The Elucidat software enabled the display to be optimized for various different devices, from PCs to phones and tablets. The Elucidat module was then embedded as an iframe (inline frame element) in a WordPress site. Because of the use of an iframe, an additional (and unforeseen) technical challenge was that the project team had to use the professional version of WordPress—an interface requiring more coding expertise and with less of the WYSIWYG intuitiveness usually associated with that platform. Of course, building a website brings its own sustainability challenges. Some of those have been addressed by archiving the static content as PDF files, as well as an offline version (though this could still be vulnerable to any major browser changes in future). Any future problems with functionality will be addressed as they arise.

The interactive map of the thirteen core locations on the St. Thomas Way was designed by the artist Tom Woolley, who specializes in illustrated visitor maps for towns and cities and heritage sites.³⁷ Woolley’s design brief was to take visual and stylistic cues from the iconography of the Hereford *Mappa Mundi*, with each representation of a town or place on the St. Thomas Way map directly inspired by a detail on the medieval *Mappa*, and playful motifs such as animals, a pilgrim, and mythical beasts evoking the sense of a landscape inscribed with stories. These stylistic influences are also carried through the rest of the St. Thomas Way website design, alluding playfully to the cartographic tradition at medieval Hereford associated with the shrine of St. Thomas, and suggesting the role of the Way as a modern extension and response to these medieval pilgrimage traditions and spatial imaginaries. The layout of the St. Thomas Way map is perhaps surprising to modern users: rather than set out in the typical modern cartographic format, with north at the top and locations positioned according to a strict scale and geographical location, the map is structured vertically, with the thirteen locations running downwards in a series from Swansea to Hereford. The map expresses the relationality of these locations, and their rough geographical context (for example, showing the coastline, key rivers, and mountains, and featuring three other significant places—Neath, Bridgend, and Cardiff) for orientation. But it does not aim for geographical accuracy, which is included instead through a small thumbnail map at the top of the webpage, and a link to the route on Google Maps.³⁸ The vertical layout of the route map is optimized for use on a number of different devices—especially the screens of mobile phones and tablets, which many visitors will use at locations on the Way. Yet its design is also, again, in dialogue with medieval aesthetic

36 For these earlier projects, see in particular “Discover Medieval Chester” (<http://discover.medievalchester.ac.uk>) and the pavement marker trail on the “City Witness” website at www.medievalswansea.ac.uk.

37 www.tomwoolley.com/.

38 <http://thomasway.ac.uk/explore-the-way/>.



Figure 1. St. Thomas Way route map, illustrated by Tom Woolley.

and representational conventions. The vertical concatenation of locations reflects the sense of journey as narrative, and deliberately echoes the visual language of medieval pilgrim itinerary maps, such as those produced in the mid-thirteenth century by the monk of St. Albans, Matthew Paris, which show the route from London to Palestine.³⁹ This tradition of itinerary maps, read vertically to focus attention on a specific journey through space—whether for practical use, or for meditative reading and imaginative travel—continued well into the early modern period, as indicated by Ogilby's *Britannia*, used in this project as a source for the possible route from Swansea to Hereford.⁴⁰ Matthew Paris's medieval itinerary map, depicting the pilgrimage from London to Jerusalem, also engages the reader in a dynamic, interactive experience: the approach to the holy city is experienced in the turn of pages, the route can be traced with a fingertip, and flaps showing extra detail for significant places such as Rome can be opened up and explored. Once again, the St. Thomas Way map participates in these medieval pilgrimage traditions, by transposing these interactive elements into the realm of digital technology, with hypertext links and multimedia content to open and explore. Thus, the visual designs and modes of the St. Thomas Way website model ways in which new technologies can enter into productive dialogue with medieval spatial imaginaries and representational tools.

In his analysis of the “participatory design” and “interactive quality” of Matthew Paris's itinerary map, Daniel Connolly suggests how this document may have been encountered and used by its audience at St. Albans.

The Benedictine brother who perused these pages understood this map primarily through its performative possibilities, as a dynamic setting, the operation of whose pages, texts, images, and appendages aided him in effecting an imagined pilgrimage that led through Europe to the crusader city of Acre and eventually to a complex representation of Jerusalem.⁴¹

Similarly, Dan Terkla notes that the Hereford *Mappa Mundi* was used as a prompt to imaginary, meditative travel, enabling the “ocular journeys” of those who witnessed it.⁴² Medieval practices of virtual or imagined pilgrimage have recently received attention from a number of scholars. Kathryn Rudy discusses strategies for “virtual” pilgrimage, developed by those such as nuns and religious women who had little chance of visiting the Holy Land in person. She explores tools and techniques of “somatic virtual pilgrimage”—which might include physical engagement with a book or map, as well as other performative and multisensory elements—and examines the motives amongst female religious for these virtual travels.⁴³ On the one hand, they hoped to collect

39 British Library Royal MS 14 C VII, fols. 4r–5r.

40 Ogilby, *Britannia*, plate 16 and passim. See discussion of the use of Ogilby in devising the St. Thomas Way route, above.

41 Daniel K. Connolly, “Imagined Pilgrimage in the Itinerary Maps of Matthew Paris,” *Art Bulletin* 81 (1999): 598–622, at 598.

42 Terkla, “The Original Placement of the Hereford *Mappa Mundi*,” 146.

43 Kathryn M. Rudy, *Virtual Pilgrimages in the Convent: Imagining Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 23.

indulgences through the completion of virtual journeys, but on the other, with more immediate experiential rewards and implications, they sought “empathetic devotion” and affective experiences through their virtual visits to places associated with the life and passion of Christ.⁴⁴ Once again, the St. Thomas Way takes cues from these medieval practices and the ways in which they enlarge an understanding of what might constitute journeying or travel. The multimedia resources linked to the Thomas Way map are designed for use both at the thirteen route locations and also remotely, as a form of virtual pilgrimage or heritage tourism. This extends the project’s access and inclusion aims, by enabling engagement with those who are unable—through geographical distance, financial pressures, or physical limitations—to explore the Way in person, and also seeks to create space for the kinds of affective and imaginary experience identified in medieval culture by Rudy and others. The interpretative text is accompanied by copious images of sites on the Way, and also by other kinds of multisensory content designed to catalyze virtual, intellectual, and affective experiences of journeying. This content includes ambient sound recordings of locations on the Way, medieval soundscapes, maps, and 360-degree footage of some walking routes, taken with a “Street View” camera, specially loaned from Google and available via links to Google Maps. Through elements such as these, the St. Thomas Way project hopes to push forward the possibilities of “virtual” tourism—a topic with major implications for sustainability in many popular visitor sites globally—and to rethink modern assumptions about journeying and travel through medieval precedents.

The thirteen core locations on the St. Thomas Way each include a range of multimedia content, grouped under nine main headings. “Place and History” gives an introduction to the location in the Middle Ages, with image, links to further information, and a “Don’t Miss” section featuring three sites or features worth taking the time to see. Each location also has a “Walking Route,” with an OS map and narrative instructions, as well as information on distance, terrain, and accessibility (for example, whether the route is suitable for strollers or wheelchairs). The walking routes were devised by the project Research Fellow, Chloe McKenzie, and each tested at least twice by members of the project team and volunteer test walkers. “The Hanged Man’s Journey” tells the story of William Cragh’s hanging and miraculous revival, though not structured in a linear narrative from Swansea to Hereford. Instead, this content section takes cues from features or characteristics of each location, developing the story of Cragh in a more thematic, nonlinear, and multilayered way. For example, the content at Llancarfan responds to the medieval wall paintings at St. Cadoc’s church, with their vivid visions of vices, virtues, and other elements of medieval Christian belief, to focus on the visions Cragh experienced before his hanging, and their place in medieval devotional culture. The fourth content section, “St. Thomas and Medieval Belief,” also picks up on thematic connections suggested by the specific route location, exploring the life and cult

44 Rudy, *Virtual Pilgrimages*, 35–38, quotation at 35.

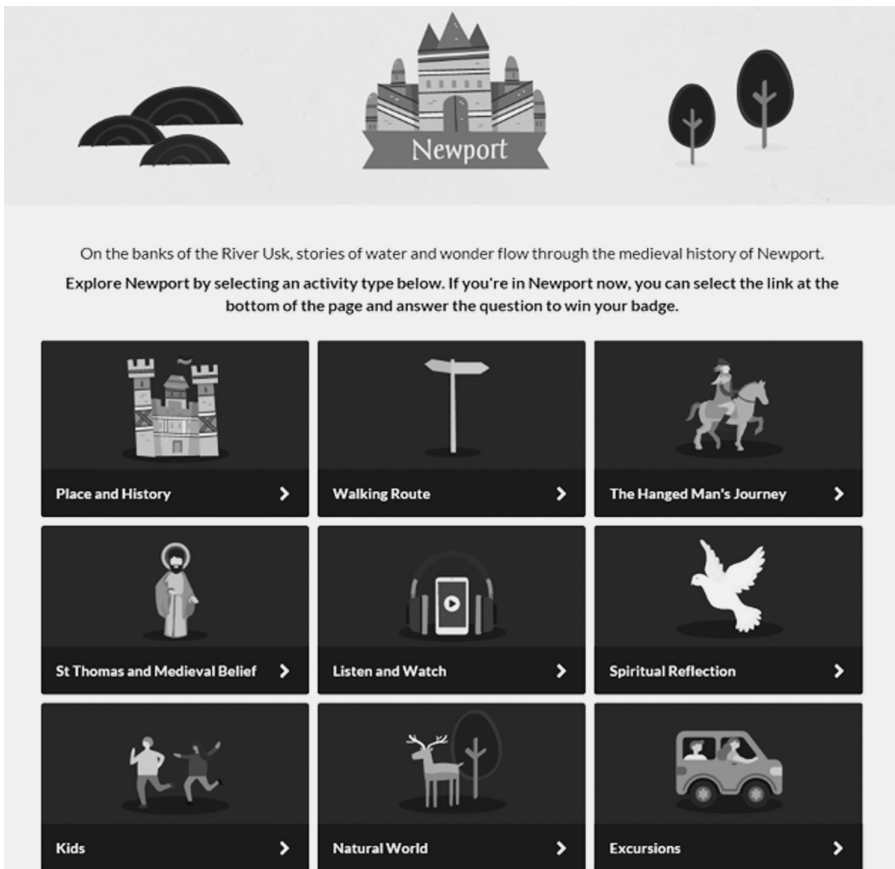


Figure 2. Example St. Thomas Way website page (Newport): screenshot.

of St. Thomas of Hereford, and the insights they open up into wider medieval beliefs and religious traditions. At Llancarfan, for example, this content explores visions of the saint recorded in miracle narratives. “Listen and Watch” includes a range of multimedia content: 3D animations of the medieval townscape in Swansea,⁴⁵ video, recordings of ambient sound at selected locations, and music from Hereford Cathedral chosen to fit with the themes explored at each location. Most sites also include a medieval soundscape, designed by Mariana Lopez at the University of York, which evokes the place in the Middle Ages, whether as an ecclesiastical, market, or harbour site. These soundscapes play a key role in supporting affective and imaginative engagement with the past, and

⁴⁵ Produced by the earlier “City Witness” project.

help to develop the resources beyond the “emphasis on or (perhaps) the fetishization of visual experience” common to much heritage interpretation.⁴⁶

The final content sections for each location include “Spiritual Reflection”: a short text designed to provide inspiration for visitors of all faiths and none, followed by a short prayer. Written for the project by Canon Christopher Pullin, Chancellor of Hereford Cathedral, these reflections ensure that the heritage route retains a spiritual dimension, linking it to practices of pilgrimage, and they again connect with the themes for each site. The reflections also help to embed and promote the potential wellbeing benefits of pilgrimage—whether with a religious or secular motivation—as an opportunity for reflection, recreation, and renewal. The “Kids” section is designed for children and families, where possible focusing on “real-world” activities and embodied experiences which take participants beyond the digital and invite them to engage actively with places and themes. For example, the activity at Longtown is a virtual scavenger hunt; Ewenny suggests an art project involving the medieval floor tiles; Abergavenny is a “selfie” with a real medieval person (encouraging children to learn about the funerary monuments and memorial effigies in St. Mary’s Priory); and the activity at Caerphilly is making a model from playdough or plasticine “of something important to you,” engaging with the medieval pilgrim tradition of wax votives. The “Natural World” content offers a short introduction to some features of the natural environment, with an emphasis on uses in the Middle Ages. Abergavenny, for example, focuses on bees and medieval beekeeping (picking up on legends around the bees at St. Mary’s Priory and its Abbot’s Garden), while Ewenny looks at medieval monastic brewing. A final section, “Excursions,” suggests places—usually with a medieval connection—near the core location for further visits.

Finally, each place on the Way also includes a “Collect your Badge” feature, in which visitors can answer a question or solve a puzzle—only possible if they can find clues at the location itself—to win a badge. Puzzles include choosing the missing corbel in an image of the Romanesque stone sculptures on Kilpeck church, or spotting the mistake on a memorial stone (Usk, Priory Church of St. Mary). These badges provide an appealing “treasure hunt” element, as well as an incentive to complete all thirteen locations on the Way (a promotional strategy used effectively by other tourism projects, such as the Wild Atlantic Way in Ireland, though usually reliant on stamps in a physical paper “passport” with the associated infrastructure and staffing).⁴⁷ The St. Thomas Way badges also allude, again, to medieval pilgrimage traditions, offering a virtual, digital twist on the practice of collecting pilgrim badges at saints’ shrines.⁴⁸ More than that, they also

46 Vincent Gaffney, “In the Kingdom of the Blind: Visualization and E-Science in Archaeology, the Arts and Humanities,” in *The Virtual Representation of the Past*, ed. Mark Greengrass and Lorna Hughes (Farnham: Ashgate, 2008), 125–34, at 127. See also Mariana Lopez’s article in this volume.

47 For the Wild Atlantic Way, see www.wildatlanticway.com/home.

48 For a brief overview of this tradition, see Diana Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage, c. 700–c. 1500* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), 35–37, and for more extensive survey and analysis (based on collections in the Museum of London), see Brian Spencer, *Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2010).

demonstrate once again the ways in which medieval traditions and practices can be a fertile resource for developing tourism strategies and visitor engagement devices today.

Beyond the website and core visitor interpretation materials, other elements were developed around the St. Thomas Way project, including activities and opportunities unforeseen at the initial planning stage. The Way was launched in July 2018 with a day of special events at Hereford Cathedral, including medieval pilgrims living history and storytelling, mini lectures, an art exhibition and workshops, and a special Evensong sung by the choir of St. Mary's Swansea—symbolic pilgrims from the starting point of Cragh's journey. The day also included a dedication ceremony at the shrine of St. Thomas, with medieval elements such as censing the tomb, singing the medieval antiphon to St. Thomas and the *Te Deum* (recorded as being sung when Cragh arrived at Hereford in 1290), and making offerings to the shrine, symbolic of all those participating in the project. These offerings were lengths of string and ribbon, produced when all those present were invited to join in the medieval tradition of "measuring to the saint." The day's activities, culminating in an evening reception, brought together representatives from across the Way's thirteen locations.⁴⁹ "Measuring to the saint" also formed a key part of another aspect of the St. Thomas Way. With additional funding from the University of Southampton's Public Engagement with Research Unit, the project Research Fellow, Chloe McKenzie, led an art project with Artist in Residence Michelle Rumney. "Remaking Maps of the Mind: Medieval and Modern Journeys" produced an exhibition inspired by the St. Thomas Way and medieval ideas of place and journeying, which launched at Hereford and went on to tour sites along the Way, along with public art workshops and an outreach project which involved "measuring" hundreds of people according to the medieval devotional custom.⁵⁰ This touring exhibition helped to realize the project's aims to bring arts and culture into new spaces and communities along the Way. The St. Thomas Way project also fostered partnerships with local communities, stakeholders, and small businesses across the thirteen locations on the Way. One unexpected highlight was a partnership with the microbrewery Mumbles Brewery in Swansea, which led to the production and launch of a new beer, "St. Thomas Way Ale," alternatively labelled as "Hanged Man Walking." This medieval-influenced pale ale was made with a touch of yarrow, a herb often used in brewing in the Middle Ages. As well as becoming an effective promotional tool for the Way (with the map, information, and a QR code printed on the label), the beer was also a success in helping Mumbles Brewery reach new stockists (including Hereford Cathedral cafe) and customers.

The essays collected in this volume reflect on diverse aspects of the St. Thomas Way and the research contexts, practices, and critical approaches involved in its development. They examine ways in which the project has opened up new methodologies or insights, and how it has shaped new questions for future exploration. In Chapter

⁴⁹ A short film of the launch day's events can be viewed at www.youtube.com/watch?v=8Ny8t1geciQ&feature=youtu.be.

⁵⁰ See the perspectives from Artist in Residence Michelle Rumney in the final section of this volume.

One, Jonathan Wooding situates the St. Thomas Way in the wider contexts—historical and contemporary—of pilgrimage, religious and secular. In this long-view discussion, Wooding explores the motivations that drove pilgrims in the past and which inspire pilgrims today, advancing new insights into this distinctive form of spiritual journeying. In Chapter Two, “In the Footsteps of the Past: Medieval Miracles Stories and the St. Thomas Way,” Ian Bass uses the thirteen locations of the St. Thomas Way as a framework for exploring some of the miracles of St. Thomas Cantilupe, going back to the contemporary medieval collection in what is now Oxford, Exeter College MS 158. The chapter focuses first on places along the St. Thomas Way route associated with miracles recorded in the medieval collection, and then uses the themes linked to each location on the St. Thomas Way (in the online content) as a framework for a wider exploration of the miracles of the saint. Clarke’s chapter, “Place, Time, and the St. Thomas Way: An Experiment in Five Itineraries,” tests the possibilities of an unconventional structure and critical approach in order to interrogate the ways in which multiple temporal moments might be experienced in place, using the new heritage route—along with a variety of texts and encounters, medieval to modern—as a case study. The author of the fourth chapter, Bethany Hamblen, was Archivist at Hereford Cathedral during the development and launch of the St. Thomas Way. Her contribution examines patterns and processes of commemoration and memorialization at Hereford Cathedral, from the Middle Ages to the Thomas Cantilupe anniversary in 2020, drawing on material evidence from the Cathedral and its archive collections. Mariana Lopez, who designed and produced the medieval soundscapes for the St. Thomas Way, contributes Chapter Five: “Heritage Soundscapes: Contexts and Ethics of Curatorial Expression.” Her piece situates the St. Thomas Way multimedia (and especially audio) content within the broader context of multisensory heritage interpretation experiences, asking questions about the potential and limitations or challenges of using sound at heritage sites.

The book concludes with a further section, offering contributions that extend beyond scholarly or academic viewpoints, reflecting the involvement of other kinds of practice and perspectives in the project, and enriching the book’s account of this multifaceted endeavour. Christopher Pullin, Chancellor of Hereford Cathedral, reflects on the Cathedral’s participation in the St. Thomas Way, and how the project resonates with the Cathedral’s commitment to developing pilgrimage as a mode of spiritual engagement and expression today. Michelle Rumney, the St. Thomas Way Artist in Residence, tells the story of her creative engagement with the St. Thomas Way, revealing how the development of her touring art exhibition foregrounded unexpected themes and new ways of thinking about place and journeying. She touches on the strange medieval custom of “measuring to the saint”—and offers an opportunity for readers of this book to share in her renewal of this tradition. The final contribution is by the writer Anne Louise Avery, who walked the entire St. Thomas Way with her family in August 2018. Her luminous evocation of the lived experience of walking the Way—and encounters with particular places, moments, and fragments of history—is vivid, immersive, and moving.

The diverse range of scholars and practitioners who bring their perspectives to this volume is inevitably reflected in the diverse voices, idioms, and approaches of the essays.

Rather than seeking homogeneity, and levelling all content into the same style, editorial practice has been deliberately to retain this variety, reflecting the varied disciplinary, professional, and practice-led approaches to the St. Thomas Way collected here.

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