2

Mobile People and Places in Premodern Europe

Lucy Donkin[1]

Introduction

In medieval and early modern Europe, connections could be made between sacred places through the movement of stones and soil. The Campo Santo Teutonico, a cemetery close to St Peter's in Rome, belonged to a particularly rich spatial network. It was claimed to contain earth from Jerusalem, and from the late 15th century its own soil was taken to cemeteries and chapels north of the Alps, along with grants of equivalent spiritual benefits. This chapter considers how these beliefs and practices were inspired and enabled by a range of human and non-human mobilities, which were shaped by cultural, social and economic relations. While featuring on pilgrimage itineraries, the Campo Santo was associated with the resident German-speaking community in Rome. It was linked to locations defined as much by trade and industry as by religious custom and sacred space. By tracing the trajectories of the soil and other non-human agents, alongside those of individuals who engaged with the burial sites, I aim to show what these 'portable' places meant to those who moved for faith and work before the establishment of modern states and borders. At the same time, the earth functions as a diagnostic device, highlighting connections between different forms of movement.

A cemetery has particular potential as a site for thinking about mobility. It represents the end of individual trajectories though space and time, which converge on the place of burial. These journeys can be reconstructed through a variety of means: the analysis of human remains, the presence of grave goods or the style and textual content of memorials. In the case of the Campo Santo, these memorials have been carefully recorded. Albrecht

Weiland (1988) identified many of those buried there and traced their presence in other sources. However, the Campo Santo offers further insights into practices and patterns of movement because the site was itself mobile. It was not simply a destination, but also a point of departure. Through the soil from Jerusalem it was claimed to contain and the transalpine movement of its own soil, it was linked materially and conceptually to other cemeteries, each of which was also the final resting place for people from elsewhere. Although these individuals are not as well recorded as in Rome, their origins can be extrapolated from the sites and communities involved. The very fact of these linked places of burial is itself significant, constituting a complex network of dynamic locations.

Moreover, the means through which the cemeteries were connected were entangled with other processes, in ways that challenge neat classifications. The movement of the soil took place alongside a range of human mobilities, including pilgrimage, diplomacy, trade, finance and migration for work. It was part of a spectrum of movement that ranged from the long term to the momentary, and from the long distance and regional to the urban and even smaller scale. The portable earth was connected to the circulation of other material objects, not simply travelling the same routes, or passing through the same hands, but being exchanged for money and discussed in mobile media. In addition to sacred matter such as relics, and the intangible spiritual benefits – indulgences or time off purgatory – with which the soil was associated, two groups of things are particularly resonant: other substances extracted from the ground, including alum, salt, metal ore and the coins into which the latter was minted; and textual and visual sources, from correspondence and legal documents to devotional images and guidebooks.

The first part of the chapter considers the Campo Santo Teutonico in its Roman setting. It relates the site to widely shared practices of pilgrimage and the presence of a resident German community and highlights how phenomena which might today be associated with mobility and migration respectively were closely linked in this context. The second part follows the Campo Santo soil to three destinations in German- and Dutch-speaking northern Europe: Middelburg (Netherlands), Hall (Austria) and Annaberg (Germany). It analyses the relationships, channels of communication and movement of people and things that made this possible and notes other ways in which Rome was made present in those places. While acknowledging common factors and shared identities, it shows how these connections were shaped by the diversity of the individual destinations, in institutional, social, economic and environmental terms, including ways in which they participated in other forms of mobility. Links with Rome were not necessarily the defining feature of the recipient burial sites, and their urban settings acted as centres within circulatory networks in their own right.

Rome

Medieval and early modern Rome was a cosmopolitan city, which prompted forms of mobility that transcended political and physical borders and spoke to multiple identities. Its sacred sites attracted pilgrims from across Europe and beyond, who might be differentiated by the distance and difficulty of their journeys rather than by specific countries of origin. Some pilgrims stayed for a while or even settled, while those travelling for work could also see their presence there in religious terms. Within the city, pilgrimage practices involved a spectrum of micro-mobilities, from a circuit of the major churches to climbing the steps of Old St Peter's. Certain of Rome's churches alluded to a wider sacred topography by including relics and architectural elements believed to have been brought from Jerusalem, notably the Scala Santa, the stairs Christ had trodden on his way to Pontius Pilate. The city's appeal led to movement elsewhere, with some indulgences allowing pilgrims to visit other locations as if these were Rome. Arrangements could involve local churches and sometimes individual altars standing in for particular places in Rome (Kühne, 2017, pp 448–53). There was also a tradition of virtual pilgrimage supported by indulgenced prayers and images, requiring little or no actual movement on the part of the practitioner. In this sense, the whole city was mobile. Rome's status as the headquarters of the papacy also shaped movement to and from the city and the diversity of its population. The papal court lay at the heart of a complex system of faith and finance, which involved the circulation of petitioners, correspondence and coinage throughout Europe (Fonnesberg-Schmidt et al, 2021) and contributed to the development of resident communities of 'foreign' clerics and laypeople in Rome. The perception of these communities reflects the politically fragmented nature of the Italian Peninsula, where belonging and otherness were often defined in terms of a city and its surrounding territory; someone from Florence might be as foreign as someone from France, although *ultramontani* (those from north of the Alps) were thought of as a particular category.

Rome was thus the focus of long-standing practices of devotional movement that concentrated on the tombs of the saints, together with holy images and venerated relics. These sites might be encompassed in a circuit over a few days or visited during an extended stay in the city. Over time, the most important churches became formalized through papal requirements to visit certain locations in Jubilee years, when particularly high numbers of indulgences were available, and the attention devoted to the city's seven main basilicas in indulgence guides. Long-distance and local movement could be explicitly linked. During the first Jubilee in 1300, Pope Boniface VIII required pilgrims or outsiders ('peregrini … aut forenses') to visit the basilicas of St Peter and St Paul daily for 15 days, while Romans had to do the same

for 30 days (Digard et al, 1904, cols 922–3). It was also possible to distinguish between pilgrims in terms of distance travelled and benefits received. One version of the *Indulgentiae ecclesiarum principalium urbis Romae*, printed c 1485–87, differentiates in this way between those coming to St Peter's to see the Veronica, the cloth imprinted with the face of Christ. It promised different levels of remission for Romans, people from the surrounding area ('circa Romam') and those who had travelled over 'over mountains, valleys, hills'.[2]

The Campo Santo played a minor, but distinctive, part in these practices. Guides to the city list indulgences for visiting the site, witnessing a burial, saying prayers for the dead and burial itself. The most influential of these texts was the *Indulgentiae ecclesiarum principalium urbis Romae*. Initially restricted to the seven main basilicas, this was expanded in the later 15th century to include other churches, with the Campo Santo or Gottesacker appearing in this longer list (Miedema, 2001, pp 367–97). In contrast, the *Reliquie rhomane urbis atque indulgentie*, first printed in 1483, refers to the cemetery at the end of its description of St Peter's.[3] However the Campo Santo appears in print, it seems likely that interested pilgrims visited the site in conjunction with St Peter's, although some will have been staying in the surrounding area anyway. In other words, the site fitted into an urban framework and benefited from its proximity to a key basilica and its major relics. The presence of the cemetery on itineraries is confirmed by travel accounts. For example, one pilgrim from Würzburg who visited Rome in 1470 on his way to Jerusalem mentions celebrating Palm Sunday at the cemetery (Röhricht, 1906, p 10).

As this last example implies, the Campo Santo was involved in a second network of long- and short-distance devotional movement. The appeal of the site lay in the legend that it contained soil from Akeldama in Jerusalem, the Potters' Field purchased with the money Judas received for betraying Christ, according to Matthew's Gospel. The *Reliquie rhomane* refers to the Campo Santo as Akeldama, while some versions of the *Indulgentiae* describe the soil as having been brought to Rome by Constantine's mother, Helena. Akeldama itself was visited by pilgrims to the Holy Land and used for their burial. Niccolò da Poggibonsi's *Libro d'Oltramare* of c 1346–50 notes the 'perdonanza grandissima' available and describes how pilgrims recited psalms and prayers for the souls of those buried there (Bacchi della Lega, 1881, vol 1, p 152). In 1431, another Italian pilgrim, Mariano da Siena, took some of the soil for his 'devozione' (Moreni, 1822, pp 57–8). By the late 15th century, Akeldama soil was mentioned in relic lists (Donkin, 2024, p 348). Other cemeteries too were claimed to contain soil from the site, including in Pisa, Cyprus and possibly Acre (Bodner, 2015; Meier, 2022). In Rome, the beliefs regarding the Campo Santo reflect a tendency in the later Middle Ages for the city to be seen to rival Jerusalem, partly through the transfer of matter from sacred places. Soil from Calvary was thought to pave the chapel of St Helena at Sta Croce in Gerusalemme and fill bronze columns

in St John Lateran, two of the seven key Roman basilicas (Donkin, 2017). The Campo Santo must thus be seen in the context of pilgrimage to Rome and the Holy Land, a form of mobility which involved the circulation of people and things at differing scales and in a variety of rhythms.

Germany in Rome/Rome in Germany

If these patterns of movement were geographically inclusive, relationships with Rome forged through the Campo Santo also had a specificity that can be seen as 'national', as this concept was understood at the time. Although the name Campo Santo Teutonico postdates the period examined here, the site was already closely connected with the German-speaking lands. The cemetery was run by a confraternity, an association of clergy and laypeople formed for pious purposes. Founded in the mid-15th century, this was officially restricted to Germans, though some members came from elsewhere. The German version of the oldest statutes from c 1490 formulates membership in terms of language ('baydelay man und frauwen von tutscher zungen'), although the Latin version renders things more generally ('utriusque sexus hominum Teuthonicorum'). Both stipulate that the confraternity's priest should speak German well, presumably to aid comprehension by a diverse membership (Schulz, 2002, pp 154, 163). Knut Schulz (2004) has remarked on the wide geographical origins of the founder members and suggested that they experienced a greater sense of affinity in Rome than they would have done north of the Alps. This was probably true for pilgrims too; certainly, Martin Luther's time in the city has been seen to have reinforced his self-identification as 'German' (Roper, 2016, pp 62–3).

Despite a wider remit, the Campo Santo itself also had a national dimension. The cemetery was mainly used to bury pilgrims and foreign residents of the city, reflecting dividing lines between Romans and everyone else found in Boniface's instructions for the first Jubilee of 1300. Indeed, one German-language indulgence guide notes that the cemetery was exclusively for pilgrims and other foreigners ('pilgrin oder sinst fremd leit') and claims that the ground would not hold Romans (Miedema, 2003, p 133). Although memorials at the cemetery and its church, Sta Maria in Campo Santo, do in fact commemorate some individuals from Rome, for the most part they reflect this emphasis on outsiders. The majority of those buried there came from the German-speaking lands, including the Low Countries, with a scattering from elsewhere in Europe, including the rest of the Italian Peninsula, Iberia, France and Poland.

The memorials represent a constellation of individual trajectories, which ended in Rome but encompassed different forms and rationales of mobility. Some people were on pilgrimage, such as Johannes von Rodenstein from the diocese of Mainz, in the city for the Jubilee of 1500, or the Polish

nobleman Raphael Chroberski, who died on his way to the Holy Land in 1515 (Weiland, 1988, pp 289–90, 789–91). Later in the 16th century, there were individuals with more varied itineraries, such as Sixtus Lyaukama from Frisia, who died in Rome on his way home from travels in France and Italy (Weiland, 1988, pp 737–9). Yet many of those buried in the cemetery had settled in Rome as part of its German community, which included both laypeople and clerics, and as time went on, some had been born in Rome of German parents. Although the history and composition of this diaspora were shaped by the specifics of the city, flourishing after the return of the papacy to Rome in 1420, it was part of a wider presence of Germans in the peninsula, notably in Trento, Venice and Florence (Maas, 1981; Israel, 2005; Böninger, 2006).

These people did not just come together in death. Not only might visits to Rome fulfil a combination of purposes and more settled residents return temporarily or permanently to northern Europe, but different kinds of mobility were interlinked, with longer-term residents supporting visitors. This was the case for both the Germans at the curia and the lay population. Rome's German community was heavily involved in the running of guest houses, including some close to the Campo Santo, as well as baking and shoemaking, trades utilized by visitors and residents alike (Maas, 1981, ch 1; Schuchard, 1999). Especially in the late 15th century, Germans also dominated the printing trade, which had a particular impact on the circulation of objects, people and ideas. These professions and many others are reflected in the individuals buried at the Campo Santo and enrolled in its confraternity.

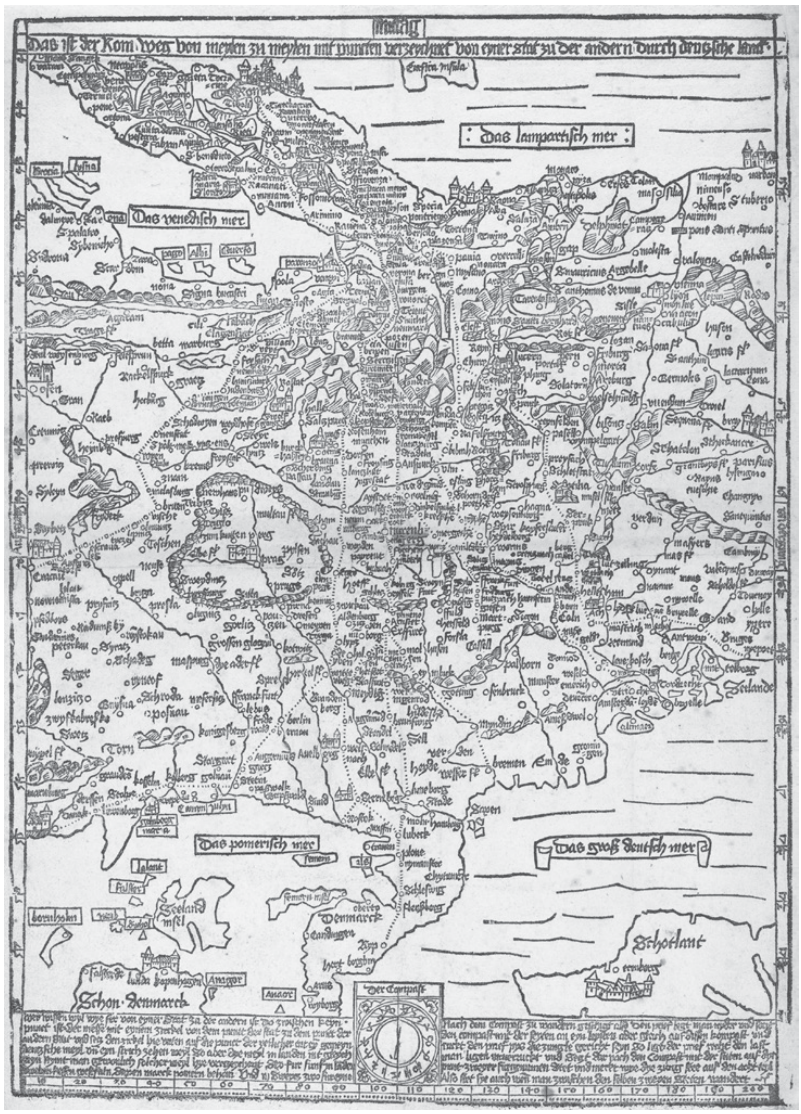
The involvement of Germans in printing and the production of pilgrim souvenirs illustrates the intersection of long- and short-term residents as well as the participation of material texts and objects in processes of mobility. A list of inscriptions in Sta Maria in Campo Santo includes the grave of Stephan Plannck from Passau, one of Rome's foremost printers in the later 15th century (Forcella, 1873, p 352). The works he printed included liturgical books for the curia, widely distributed outside the city, and diplomatic speeches delivered by envoys who travelled to Rome to offer obedience to the pope (Duggan, 1991, pp 85–6; Meserve, 2021, pp 269–73). Most significantly, he was active in the production of guides to Rome's antiquities and churches, printing editions of the *Mirabilia Romae* in Latin and the *Historia vel descriptio urbis Romae* and the *Indulgentiae ecclesiarum principalium urbis Romae* in Latin and German, as well as an Italian–German dictionary (Meserve, 2021, pp 180–95). The *Indulgentiae* had a particular agency. It guided the reader through the city's sacred sites, including the Campo Santo. Although several editions were printed north of the Alps, some copies will have been used in Rome and taken home by pilgrims, prompting others to visit the city in their turn or enabling a form of virtual pilgrimage. Alongside such texts

travelled devotional images. These served as a sign and souvenir of pilgrimage, but also had a wider appeal, being associated with indulgenced prayers, and circulated independently (Meserve, 2021, pp 162–89). Here too we see the involvement of the German community. Johannes von Lumen, who buried his wife Cornelia in Sta Maria in Campo Santo in 1526, described himself on the tombstone as 'in romana curia veronicarum pictoris' (Weiland, 1988, pp 400–1). The earliest list of members of the Confraternity of the Campo Santo includes individuals with similar occupations, such as 'Martinus van Harlem Vronikemaker', as well as Johann Besicken, another printer (Schulz, 2002, pp 181, 193). Their products are reflected in the expenses of travellers. In the 1450s, Albert van der Molen purchased not only day-to-day necessities and new clothes but also a copy of the *Mirabilia Romae*, a cookbook, and two 'hilgenblade' – devotional prints (von der Ropp, 1887).

The ultimate material mobility was the movement of soil from the Campo Santo as part of a process of establishing cemeteries elsewhere in the likeness of the site. Although this reflected interest in Rome and Jerusalem, and a long tradition of relics of place in Christianity, it also responded to ways in which the burial ground was *not* Roman. The Campo Santo was part of a phenomenon in which parts of Rome were associated with different foreign communities, through 'national' foundations such as churches and hostels, as well as clusters of residences and businesses. For Germans and those from the Low Countries, another important institution was Sta Maria dell'Anima, in the district of Parione, with its own confraternity and burial ground (Maas, 1981, pp 70–114). Across the city, San Gregorio on the Celio was significant too (Israel, 2005, p 81). This is not to imply that such locations possessed an informal extraterritoriality in a period before even the establishment of fixed embassies, but it seems clear that the Campo Santo was perceived as a non-Roman, and more exclusively German, space. Correspondingly, it was mainly to today's Germany, Austria and the Netherlands that its own soil was initially taken, along with two sites in Poland. Perhaps the earliest surviving evidence dates to the 1490s, when the records of the vicar general of the Archbishop of Utrecht include payment for the right to scatter soil from the Campo Santo over the cemetery of the Hospital of St Mary at Middelburg (Heeringa, 1926–32, vol 2, p 54). This was followed by grants of soil and indulgences by Popes Julius II and Leo X to Hall, Kolsass, Innsbruck, Freiburg im Breisgau, Łask, Gniezno and Annaberg (Tietz, 2012, pp 31, 34–8; Szymborski, 2015, pp 414–15; Donkin, 2017).

The majority of these destinations lay within the Holy Roman Empire, a fragmented entity composed of a multitude of independent polities. Relationships forged by these places with the Campo Santo were correspondingly established on an individual basis, with connections between only a few. Nonetheless, it is significant that the region was visualized as a single space in the context of its shared connections with Rome. This is

Figure 2.1: Erhart Etzlaub, *Romweg* map, Nuremberg, 1500. Woodcut, 41.6 × 30.2 cm.



Source: National Gallery of Art, Washington, Rosenwald Collection, 1943.31448 (CC0)

shown in Erhart Etzlaub's *Romweg* map, probably printed in Nuremberg in 1500 for the Roman Jubilee (Figure 2.1; Krüger, 1951). Oriented with south at the top, it stretches from the Baltic Sea and the North Sea ('das groß deutsch mer') to Rome, and extends roughly from Krakow in the east to Bruges in the west. The heading describes the map as showing the way to Rome from one city to another 'durch deutzsche lantt'. It includes no

political boundaries within those German lands, and though neighbouring countries and language areas were each designated their own colour by Etzlaub, this has often not been provided in surviving versions. More prominent, therefore, are geographical features such as rivers and mountain ranges, cities and nine itineraries to Rome marked by dotted lines. While this primarily reflects the function of the map, it is in keeping with a tendency in the period, especially within the Holy Roman Empire, to prioritize routes over borders (Scholz, 2020, p 214).

The Campo Santo soil made its way northwards on existing routes as part of a complex motion of people and things. The case studies of Middelburg, Hall and Annaberg illustrate the variety of these dynamics as well as a shared frame of reference. They also demonstrate that the places to which the soil was taken were not blank canvases, to be understood only in terms of their interest in and connections to Rome. Part of their distinctiveness as locations involved the circulation of people and commodities, which in turn framed the reception of the Roman earth.

Middelburg

The soil scattered over the hospital cemetery at Middelburg reflects the presence of individuals from the Netherlands in Rome and journeys made by representatives of that community north of the Alps. In 1493, an agreement was made between a Marian confraternity in Middelburg and that of the Campo Santo, which channelled funds to the latter in return for earth from the cemetery (de Waard, 1907, p 372).[4] The document was drawn up between Wilhelm de Heyck, representative of the German province of the Benedictines in Rome, and Wilhelm Petri, a citizen of Middelburg. The proceedings took place in San Lorenzo in Damaso, a church located – like Sta Maria dell'Anima – in Parione and frequented by merchants from the Low Countries (Vaes, 1919, p 193). The agreement corresponded to wider efforts by the Campo Santo confraternity to engage with the lands from which its members came to raise funds for building a new church. In 1493, the confraternity was concerned about a drop in the number of members resident in Rome and thus paying annual dues, and asked Pope Alexander VI to grant an indulgence to anyone who donated and was inscribed in the list of members. They were allowed to send two men to sell the indulgence, and when the first pair absconded with the proceeds, another was despatched (Baumgarten, 1908, p 54; Maas, 1981, pp 121–2). It is indicative of the importance of regional ties and linguistic divisions that the representatives were sent to their home territory; one man – from Bamberg – went to southern Germany and the other – from Utrecht – to the Netherlands.

The financial relationship between the Middelburg hospital and the Campo Santo was sustained over several years and formed part of a wider

set of relations with Rome. The funds were sent via the bank of Willem Pietersz in Mechelen, a firm later responsible for transmitting to the papacy a share of the proceeds from the indulgence granted to the Teutonic Order in aid of its campaign in Livonia, and which acted for Philip of Burgundy in sending funds to his procurator or representative in Rome (Schulte, 1904, p 46; Sterk, 1980, pp 132, 195–7; Kool-Blokland, 1990, p 58). This was not the only direct engagement with Rome in the period. In 1492, Pope Innocent VIII granted members of the hospital confraternities indulgences for work they did with the poor (de Waard, 1907, pp 371–2, 396). Rome was also brought to mind through more concrete means, in communal and private spaces. The hospital accounts for 1513/14 record payment for panel paintings showing the seven churches of Rome, and the same year the room of one resident contained two 'fronika' or Veronica images (Kool-Blokland, 1990, p 26). Paintings of the seven churches, associated with indulgenced prayers, could be hung around a church or religious complex and acted as prompts for virtual pilgrimage (Sugiyama, 2019).

Middelburg, together with its outport of Arnemuiden, was the most important port in Zeeland, involved in trade across the North Sea and into the Baltic Sea and the Atlantic. From the city, located on what was then the island of Walcheren, goods were taken inland, especially to Antwerp. On the *Romweg* map, Middelburg lies close to the route ending in Brussels, Bruges, Ghent and Nieuwpoort (Figure 2.1). The city handled a wide range of goods, including woad and wine from France, iron and fruit from the Iberian Peninsula and alum from the Papal States (Cannelloni, 2017; Goicolea Julián, 2017). Middelburg's identity as a port both meant that elements of its population were highly mobile and led to the presence of foreigners in the city. The Scottish community was particularly well established, with its own conservator or governor, and Middelburg often acted as the staple for Scottish wool and other goods (Catterall, 2005, pp 169, 173; Spufford, 2014). There was also a permanent Spanish community and Portuguese merchants are attested as burghers. The hospital which received the soil catered to the city's transient population as well as to the local poor and sick, and in this sense it replicated the function of the Campo Santo. The complex had dedicated lodgings for passing travellers, such as merchants, craftspeople and pilgrims. In this way, it was a staging-post in the regional and long-distance movement of people and goods. It was customary to enforce a short stay of a few nights, but both long-term residents and short-term guests might come to be buried in the cemetery (Kool-Blokland, 1990, pp 50–1).

Hall

In Hall in the Tyrol, the soil was spread over a family burial chapel in the church of St Nikolaus, forming a site with dynastic and wider significance.

Following a request by Florian and Barbara Waldauf von Waldenstein, soil was granted, along with indulgences equivalent to those available at the Campo Santo, by Julius II in 1508 (Baumgarten, 1908, pp 69–72). Florian Waldauf's eponymous nephew, a cleric, may have acted as an intermediary since 'Doctor Florianus de Waldenstein' was enrolled in the Confraternity of the Campo Santo that year (Schulz, 2002, p 196). The grant benefited the family most immediately, but indulgences were also available to those visiting the chapel. It was part of Waldauf's efforts to amass a large collection of relics, prompted by a vow made during a storm in the Zuiderzee. As a counsellor and envoy of the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I, Waldauf was well travelled and well connected, and the rapid growth of his collection was facilitated by these experiences and networks. He drew up an account, intended for publication and accompanied by woodcuts, which details the origins of the relics, drawn from across the German-speaking lands and Hungary (Cárdenas, 2021, pp 254–314). Already prior to the arrival of the Campo Santo soil, the burial chapel was strewn with the ashes of the virgins of Cologne and with holy earth ('heiligen erdrich') from the grave of St Ursula (Garber, 1915, pp lxxv, clxxii). A letter of safe conduct issued by Maximilian requests that Waldauf's chest of relics and another of holy earth should be allowed to pass without incurring duties, showing how the circulation of sacred matter could be part of larger systems of mobility of goods and people (Fabian and Weirather, 2019, p 15). The collection also included relics of Roman saints, such as Peter, Paul and Laurence, and a copy (which still survives) of the image of the Virgin in Sta Maria del Popolo, understood to have been painted by St Luke (Garber, 1915, pp clx–clxiii). Reciting seven Ave Marias in front of this copy of the image earnt 440 days of indulgences. As at Middelburg, then, there was an interest in substituting for Rome, as well as the accumulation of sanctity in a single site.

Hall was a key point on the north–south axis of communications, lying just to the north of the Brenner Pass. On the *Romweg* map, it is shown as the first stop after Innsbruck on the route leading towards Regensburg (Figure 2.1). From Hall, the River Inn was navigable towards the north-east. For example, Andrea de Franceschi's account of Venetian ambassadors' travels in 1492 describes their stay in the city and onward journey by boat to Passau (Simonsfeld, 1903, pp 290–4). Hall drew its prosperity partly from transit trade, especially after c 1500, when a transregional trade fair was established there. A second dimension of its significance lay in the rich mineral resources of the Inn Valley, especially the silver mines at Schwaz. Hall itself was the location of an imperial mint and a centre of operations for the Fugger banking house. It was also an important site of salt production, which de Franceschi describes as providing for the whole of Germany (Simonsfeld, 1903, p 291). If these activities led to the flow of commodities away from the city, they also drew people and things towards it. The mining industry attracted workers,

increasing Hall's population to the extent that food had to be brought in by river (Schmitz-Esser, 2015, p 1689). Waldauf himself supervised the saltworks from 1506, and his promotion of his relic collection both tapped into the town's connectivity and generated new momentum. In 1501, the relics were moved from his castle at Rettenberg to St Nikolaus in Hall. The procession was claimed to have attracted thousands of participants and was commemorated in two woodcuts in the Haller Heiltumbuch (Garber, 1915, pp lxxii–lxxiii). The relics were displayed annually until 1524, linked to a market lasting a fortnight, with indulgences available on this and other feast days. Another woodcut pictures this event, with a crowd gathered around the stage, indicating Waldauf's aspirations to encourage pilgrimage (Garber, 1915, p cxxxi).

Annaberg

A different dynamic again led to the transfer of Campo Santo soil to the cemetery of the Hospital of the Holy Trinity in Annaberg (Donkin, 2024). Here it was part of a set of privileges obtained in 1517 by George, Duke of Saxony, for institutions in the town he had founded. The soil and a papal bull granting the cemetery indulgences equivalent to those available in the Campo Santo were brought back by Nikolaus von Hermsdorff, the Duke's procurator in Rome. What he refers to in a letter as 'several pounds of earth from the Campo Santo' was acquired following payment of four ducats to its confraternity (Richter, 1746–1748, vol 1, p 232; Gess, 1891, p 562). Hermsdorff is recorded as joining the confraternity in the year of the negotiations (Schulz, 2002, p 221). Other ducal agents enrolled in that of Sta Maria dell'Anima (Volkmar, 2008, pp 261–8, 295–6). Hermsdorff was aided by allies at the curia who were long-term residents of the city: papal notary Georg Pusch and prominent Dominican Nikolaus von Schönberg. Both came from the Margravate of Meissen, part of the territories ruled by Duke George, reflecting how polities within the Empire dealt with Rome independently. The granting of the soil and indulgences was accompanied not only by documents and correspondence but also the transfer of money. The payment for the earth was very modest compared to the wider costs. Privileges for the main Annenkirche alone cost 500 ducats, while a share of the revenue from the indulgences for that church went towards the construction of the new St Peter's, with monies transferred by the Fugger banking house (Bünz, 2017, pp 195–214). Since Annaberg was a centre of mining and minting, there is a sense in which these funds were literally extracted from the substance of the surrounding territory.

Annaberg was less pivotally located than Hall, but experienced forms of mobility even more dependent on the mining boom. In the early 16th century it was still a very young town, having been founded shortly after silver

ore was discovered there in the early 1490s. As such it does not appear on the *Romweg* map, but it lies close to the route that passed through Zwickau (Figure 2.1). One of several new mining towns in the region, Annaberg grew rapidly. Indeed, such was the rush of new arrivals that the 16th-century *Annabergische Annales* compares them to crowds on a pilgrimage ('so großer menge Volcks, wie es sich damals anlies als zu einer Wahlfarth'; Bönhoff, 1910, p 11). All adults in Annaberg at the time of the grant of the Roman soil had therefore grown up elsewhere. The initial group of residents came from the nearby mining town of Geyer, but the bulk of the town's population necessarily came from further afield. More generally, Susan Karant-Nunn (1989) has described the miners of the western Erzgebirge as initially peripatetic and drawn from other social groups, including craftsmen and agricultural workers, as well as miners from the east of the region.

The documents drawn up to request the Roman privileges suggest that it was hoped that these would attract people to the town too (Bünz, 2017, pp 204–14). For the relevant feast days, when a stational liturgy on the model of Rome was anticipated, indulgences were to be available not just to the inhabitants of Annaberg and the diocese of Meissen, but also any other visitors. Similarly, initial plans for the cemetery intended that burial there would be available to anyone, wherever they had lived, although this was dropped in a shortened version of the petition drawn up by Hermsdorff. On the occasion of the consecration of the cemetery in 1519, soil and papal bull were carried in procession from the Annenkirche (Richter, 1746–1748, vol 1, pp 227–48). The feast of the Trinity was subsequently marked by a sermon preached at the cemetery and by wider festivities, which attracted a regional audience. Already prior to the Roman benefits, efforts had been made to gather sources of sanctity, including relics of St Anne brought from Lyon. The town's relics are celebrated in a poem by Hans Schneider, printed in 1510, which mentions a procession on the feast of St Anne and draws comparison with Rome (Richter, 1746–1748, vol 1, pp 27–30). Indeed, Christoph Fasbender (2013, p 115) has suggested that the poem, which details Annaberg's sacred topography, should be related to the Roman guidebook tradition.

Conclusion

The movement of the Campo Santo soil was part of a wider devotional interest in Rome that took material and immaterial form. It did not just accompany indulgences connected to the Campo Santo, but is also found in the company of images of the seven churches of Rome and the Veronica, relics of Roman saints and a copy of the image of the Virgin in Sta Maria del Popolo, as well as other Roman indulgences, all of which were valued more widely. Nonetheless, the soil did not effect a simple translation of

Rome. The Campo Santo clearly had particular meaning for people from the German-speaking lands. Although ultimately neither were exclusively Germanic, both the site and its confraternity brought together people from a wide range of geographical locations within the Holy Roman Empire. As such, they were symptomatic of a phenomenon in which the experience of travelling or living away from one's place of birth fostered a greater sense of affinity between people than they might have experienced back home. In the *Romweg* map, we can see this taking visual form. Mobility in this sense helped to constitute a shared identity. The movement of the soil translated a place that was already in some way transalpine and perhaps even more 'German' than the locations to which it was taken. While it is important to define this against the universal qualities of pilgrimage and the wider use made of earth from sacred places, this 'national' quality should not be overstated. Different constellations of actors were involved in the movement of the soil and the Campo Santo's transalpine relationships, reflecting a range of urban and regional affiliations and linguistic and political divisions.

The mobilities that the Campo Santo and its soil reflected and engendered were not just multiple in terms of number. One important leitmotif has been the integration of movement for faith and work, as well as interconnections between mobilities different in scale or time span. In Rome, the long-term German-speaking population, both clerical and lay, and the transitory population of pilgrims, envoys, bankers and others were mutually dependent. In life, short-term visitors enrolled in the Confraternity of the Campo Santo alongside residents, used their services and bought their products; in death, they could lie alongside each other. Attention to the Campo Santo soil as it was taken and contextualized elsewhere reveals a similarly complex picture. Two of the places discussed here were regional pilgrimage destinations in their own right. All had populations shaped by migration and mobility, whether these involved extractive industries, trade or a combination of the two. Different motivations for movement could be associated both practically and conceptually, in ways that spoke to local particularities. If the annual display of the Hall relic collection coincided with a trade fair that reflected the city's nodal position in a network of land and water communications, the Annaberg 'silver rush' could be conceived in religious terms, being compared in scale and intensity to a collective pilgrimage.

The value of approaching intertwined mobilities through an attention to urban spaces remains relevant in eras where national boundaries and identities dominate. As the headquarters of the papacy, the capital of Italy and the site of international organizations such as the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, Rome is still home to communities of resident foreigners. Indeed, current patterns of mobility underpin the present study. Not only has the Campo Santo been used as a burial ground into the modern period, but it is home to a German Catholic institute, the

Görres-Gesellschaft, which published some of the scholarship on which this article has drawn. This is just one of many nationally constituted research institutions and religious communities in the city, some of which shaped my own experiences of living in Rome. Scholarship analysing national groups in Rome today also recognizes the importance of ecclesiastical sites and organizations, such as the processions organized by Peruvian confraternities that venerate an image of Christ from Lima (Roldán, 2019). Here urban micro-mobilities and long-distance migration come together in ways that display parallels with premodern phenomena, suggesting the potential of the cityscape as well as institutions when interrogating mobility across time.

A further dimension of the multiple mobilities examined here concerned materiality. The Campo Santo earth was just some of the matter in motion that joined and defined the places discussed. The fact that it was acquired in addition to indulgences suggests a desire for concrete and visible forms of the sacred to accompany intangible spiritual benefits, which we can see in the other artefacts and relics related to Rome. Received in return for payment, it took part in processes of transaction and exchange which encompassed the sacred and the secular. Transportation of the soil was connected to long-distance financial systems, which saw funds collected as coinage sent via paper transfers to the papacy, through banking networks such as those run by Pietersz and the Fuggers. As a site-specific substance taken from the ground, it can be set alongside other extracted commodities: salt and silver from the Tyrol and the Erzgebirge, alum from the Papal States and soil from sacred places in Cologne. Finally, the earth and its movement featured in mobile material texts. These included not only the Roman indulgence guides that were produced north and south of the Alps, inspiring pilgrimage and acting as souvenirs, but also a local equivalent in the Haller Heiltumbuch. Furthermore, the earth generated legal documents and correspondence, which circulated along the same routes.

In this chapter, earth has formed both subject matter and methodology. Attending to the Campo Santo soil, in Rome and as it was taken elsewhere, has shed light on a network of connected, mobile places, people and things. It has also brought into focus and dialogue wider processes of mobility and their interconnections. Pilgrimage, diaspora, diplomacy, banking, trade and extractive industries are all complex phenomena, each of which has a substantial dedicated body of scholarship. Tracing a single substance, it is possible to see some of the ways in which these overlapped and intersected in individual locations. The claims made for the Campo Santo, the particular trajectories of the soil and the wider connections involved are all specific to their time and place. However, both substance and approach are more widely applicable. In the modern era, earth has also been moved in ways that reflect mobility and migration. In the 19th and 20th centuries, emigrants from Greece, Russia, Ukraine and Galicia took with them soil from their

places of origin with which to be buried (Harvey and Troper, 1975, p 204; Merridale, 2000, p 47; Papanikolas, 2002, p 53). Taking soil from places with ancestral connections is still carried out by later generations on journeys of return. These burial customs intersected with practices of taking earth from Jerusalem to include in graves (Graham, 1913, p 181), while earth has also been used to create diasporic shrines, such as the Cuban sanctuary in Miami (Tweed, 1997, pp 102–3). At the same time, such customs correspond to a sense in which the place of origin was itself perceived as sacred. Though not all such places of departure were nation states, these practices are often studied as part of national histories. While this is a different dynamic between national and sacred space from that embodied by the Campo Santo and its network, the movement of soil is equally expressive of the movement of people and its significance. Moreover, to trace these practices collectively would engage with patterns and pathways of mobility that transcend the nation and its borders.

Notes

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[2] *Historia et descriptio urbis Romae*; *Indulgentiae ecclesiarum principalium urbis Romae* (Rome: Stephan Plannck, 1485–87), fols 27r–v.

[3] *Reliquie rhomane urbis atque indulgentie* (Basel: Peter Kollicker, 1483), A6r.

[4] Zeeuws Archief Middelburg, Godshuizen Middelburg, Charters, 1343–1574, no 353.

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