Otherness and Englishness in late medieval pilgrimage guides

> Wednesday, the vj Day of Januarii, the wynde Rose ayens us, with grett tempest, thonnderyng and lyghtnyng all Day and all nyght… And thane we putt us all in the Mercy of god, being in grett peyne and woo both Day and nyght, voowyng sum of vs pylgrymages to our blyssyd lady of Lorett in ytalya, and sum to our lady of Walsyngham, and sum to Seynt Thomas of Cannterbury, we that war englysshmen.[1]

This vivid description of a storm at sea during a 1517 pilgrimage to Jerusalem reveals the dangers of late medieval travel, and the reliance, even at this late date and by an Englishman, on the power of the saints to protect those in danger. Sixteenth century English readers of this account, however, might have read it not only for its practical advice and depictions of thrilling adventures, but as a tool to construct their own meditations on the Holy Land. Why, both these readers and modern scholars might ask, does the author, Sir Richard Torkington, tell us that "we that war englysshmen" prayed in a different fashion? As Torkington's narrative indicates, English people traveling abroad negotiated not only the lands they journeyed through, but also their own identity as English.

With their rather unpoetical lists of currency exchanges and mileages, and equally businesslike lists of indulgences, pilgrimage narratives have often been derided by modern scholars: one literary historian, for example, called them "the sadly degenerated offspring" of earlier, more skillfully written accounts, calling the latter books "lifeless and depersonalized".[2] Guidebooks seem to lack the emotional resonance of better-known

---

[1] Torkington, Sir Richard. *Ye oldest diarie of Englysshe travel: being the hitherto unpublished narrative of the pilgrimage of Sir Richard Torkington to Jerusalem in 1517*, ed W. J. Loftie (London: Field and Turner, 1884), 60.

[2] Campbell, Mary. *The witness and the other world: exotic European travel writing, 400-1600* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988), 127-8.

accounts; they have neither Margery Kempe's lively authorial vision, nor John Mandeville's wild imaginative fancies. These compendiums of practical advice can be read for a deeper understanding of how the majority of medieval pilgrims defined themselves in relation to the people they met and the landscapes they moved through. Pilgrimage guides reveal not only the conditions of late medieval travel, but the condition of late medieval travelers: how they were expected to behave, how they encountered foreigners, and, in these English guidebooks, how they moved through Jerusalem as English people.

This movement to and through Jerusalem could be made in the form of a physical pilgrimage, but it could also be enacted through a meditative imagined pilgrimage. Pilgrim guidebooks have not often been considered in this light because of their "merely" practical nature. This paper will argue that these lists, phrasebooks, and warnings were instrumental in allowing readers to recreate the visceral experience of the Jerusalem pilgrimage. Furthermore, it will argue that these English guidebooks constructed a pilgrimage experience that was particularly English, and that both shaped and was shaped by ideas of national identity.

The ultimate goal for a Christian pilgrim was Jerusalem, the place where Christ was manifest in human form and worked his miracles on earth. Some 526 Western European pilgrimage accounts written between 1100 and 1500 survive, and the vast majority concern the Jerusalem pilgrimage.[3] This paper will examine four accounts: the collected itineraries of William Wey from his pilgrimages of 1458 and 1462, an anonymous author's *Informacon for pylgrymes unto the Holy Londe*, dated c. 1498, the

[3] Howard, Donald R. *Writers and pilgrims: medieval pilgrimage narratives and their posterity* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1980), 17.

account by an anonymous chaplain of Sir Richard Guylforde of a pilgrimage of 1506, and the 1517 narrative by Sir Richard Torkington. All were written by Englishmen, and all were written in a period when both religious practice and England's relationship to the Holy Land were changing. This paper will also compare these guidebooks to other approaches to mediating travel through the Holy Land by briefly considering the 1438 pilgrimage narrative of Margery Kempe, and the late fifteenth century map that has been associated with the *Itineraries* of William Wey.

The late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries have been characterized as a time when worshippers began to reject the cult of relics, indulgences, and public ritual in favor of what Donald Howard has called "the interiorization of religious experience".[4] At the same time, travel was becoming more about the pleasure of the journey and the acquiring of knowledge than about obtaining religious salvation.[5] The relationship with the Eastern world was also changing at this time. As Mary Campbell points out, Christianity is "the first Western religion in which the sacred territory is located emphatically Elsewhere".[6] The Crusades had been over, in a practical sense, since the fall of Acre in 1291, but the idea of crusade persisted in the Western imagination. When Constantinople fell to the Turks in 1453, official and unofficial rhetoric encouraging crusade further increased.[7] The persistence of, as James Helfers phrases it, "geographical wishful thinking in Europe", [8] must have influenced the plans of English people to go on pilgrimages, as well

[4] Howard, 105.
[5] Tomasi, Luigi. "*Homo Viator*: from pilgrimage to religious tourism via the journey", in *From medieval pilgrimage to religious tourism: the social and cultural economics of piety*, ed William H. Swatos, Jr. and Luigi Tomasi, 14-15 (Westport: Praeger, 2002).
[6] Campbell, 18.
[7] Sargent-Baur, Barbara N. "Preface", in *Journeys toward God: pilgrimage and crusade*, ed Barbara N. Sargent-Baur, ix (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1992).
[8] Helfers, James. "From pilgrimage to exploration: the image of the journey in non-fictional travel narratives of the English tradition A.D. 100-1625" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1990), 9.

as the ways in which they behaved when they were overseas. As evidenced by the guides considered in this paper, English pilgrimage to Jerusalem did continue into the sixteenth century; however, these late medieval travelers had to contend with the fact that the main routes to the Holy Land and most of its sacred sites were under the control of people considered enemies of the Christian faith.

Late medieval pilgrimage guides were influenced by the tradition of travel writing that preceded them, including previous guides to the Jerusalem pilgrimage, as well as the late thirteenth century narratives of Marco Polo, a merchant-explorer who traveled in the East, and the book of the purported John Mandeville, a fanciful account from c. 1356 which drew on geographies, romances, and pilgrim and crusader tales. Mandeville's book has drawn a great deal of attention from literary scholars for its inventiveness and color. Mandeville differs significantly from the guidebooks considered here because it does not describe its sites as following a path that a reader could follow, either literally or figuratively; it never depicts the author in the process of travel and gives no practical advice.[9] It is also a compilation, rather than a single author's on-the-road experience.

Of course, the pilgrimage accounts considered here are in some sense compilations too. The anonymous *Infomacon for pylgrymes unto the Holy Londe* relies heavily on Wey's earlier account, repeating whole passages verbatim. Likewise, Torkington's account, while it describes an actual journey, nevertheless lifts whole passages from Guylforde's chaplain's narrative; the chaplain, in turn, has clearly read Wey. The derivative nature of these guidebooks perhaps accounts for the fact that they have been little studied by literary scholars: the differences between them have not been

[9] Yeager, Suzanne Michele. "England's quest for Jerusalem: fourteenth century literature of crusade and pilgrimage" (PhD, University of Toronto, 2004), 239-40.

systematically cataloged.[10] Anne Simon argues that by copying from several sources, including the reports of other pilgrims, authors could claim that their work was the most authoritative text possible.[11] It is also not surprising that these works would repeat each other, as they all take the Bible as their first and most important source: Biblical stories, especially those of the New Testament, guided what all Christian pilgrims wanted to experience. In addition, the very borrowing helped to create and reinforce a standardized tour.

All of the pilgrims considered in this paper followed the same path, from England to France and then overland to Venice, a major attraction in its own right, and thence by boat to Jaffa and overland to Jerusalem. The climax of the Jerusalem pilgrimage was the visit to the Holy Sepulchre, which enclosed the sites of Christ's crucifixion, burial, and resurrection; the pilgrims also made many side trips around the Holy Land. Each writer also describes the journey back to England, depicting landscapes laden with signposts that pointed to important events of the past.

[10] For example, in their classification of pilgrimage and crusade literature, Donald Howard and J.G. Davies differentiate between "logs" and "narratives"; they cite the logs, which borrow freely from each other, for their practical information they offer about travel, and are uninterested in their literary form. Davies, J.G. "Pilgrimage and crusade literature", in *Journeys toward God: pilgrimage and crusade*, ed Barbara N. Sargent-Baur, 1-30. (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1992).

[11] Simon, Anne. "Of smelly seas and ashen apples: two German pilgrims' view of the East", in *Eastward bound: travel and travelers, 1050-1550*, ed Rosamund Allen, 213 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004).

***The Itineraries of William Wey*, 1458 and 1462**

William Wey identifies himself in his book as a priest and a fellow of Eton College.[12] His volume contains accounts of two pilgrimages to the Holy Land, in 1458 and 1462, and an account of a pilgrimage to the shrine of St James in Compostela in 1456. The volume begins with practical advice for travelers, written in English prose, followed by verse listing the sights to be seen on the boat journey from Venice to Jaffa and the overland trip from Jaffa to Jerusalem. The text then changes to Latin, providing a much more detailed prose account of the same journey. The volume ends with two phrasebooks and an account in Latin of Wey's pilgrimage to Compostela.

It is difficult to know how Wey's book was originally arranged, and the jumps from Latin to English can seem abrupt: it has been suggested that Wey borrowed the Latin sections of his account from an unknown source.[13] It does seem that the inclusion of both the shorter vernacular pieces and the more detailed Latin prose creates a volume that could be read and enjoyed by different groups of people on different levels. The charming verse account echoes patterns used in earlier medieval guides: this rhyming format may have made lists of indulgences easier to memorize.[14] Wey aimed his vernacular prose at a broad audience: at one point, discussing a field called Ager Sanguinis, he adds that "for hem that Latyn lack", the field is also known as Acheldmac.[15] With its multiple layers of engagement, the text is made as accessible as possible.

[12] Wey, William. *The Itineraries of William Wey, fellow of Eton College. To Jerusalem, A.D. 1458 and A.D. 1462; and to Saint James of Compostella, A. D.1456* (London: J. B. Nichols and Sons, 1857), 11.
[13] Yeager, 40.
[14] Davies, 5.
[15] Wey, 15.

The vernacular sections of the book are clearly written for a specifically English audience. Wey warns his readers not to take any English gold past Bruges, as they will not be able to exchange it,[16] and the phrase guide is translated into English. Furthermore, Wey tailors his advice to the particular temperament that an English person would be expected to have. Many Englishmen, he states, have perished from the corrupt air and water of Cyprus;[17] he also warns his reader to beware of certain fruits:

> … for they be not acordyng to yowre complexioun, and they gender a blody fluxe, and yf an Englyschman haue that sykenes hyt ys a marvel and scape hyt but he dye therof.[18]

Pilgrims should remember, Wey argues, that they carry their nationality with them in their bodies, and because of that fact, they are susceptible to certain dangers.

Food is a perpetual difficulty for travelers, and something that Wey discusses in detail. Suzanne Yeager points out that Wey's description includes a surprising amount of fresh food.[19] Wey suggests that the traveler should pack his own food as much as possible, and mentions the safest places to purchase it. Although pilgrims might be seated at the table of a noble host, nevertheless they should make sure that they have their own provisions, lest they be given "febyl bred, wyne, and stynkyng water": the host may be noble, but he is still a foreigner.[20] Pilgrims should also bring along their own laxatives, restoratives, and medicinal spices to suit their own natural—and national—temperaments.

How does Wey's party of Englishmen encounter the Holy Land? His English verse section describes events from Christ's life, but also from the Old Testament tales

[16] Wey, 2.
[17] Wey, 4.
[18] Wey, 6.
[19] Yeager, 38.
[20] Wey, 5.

that prefigure him and the lives of his early followers: pilgrims can visit, for example, the place where Jonah was swallowed by the whale, and where St. George was beheaded.[21] The journey culminates in Jerusalem, in the Holy Sepulchre. Here, the narrative becomes more detailed, leading the reader around all the sights to be seen, marking off the paces to be trodden and listing the remissions to be gained at each place.[22] This careful enumeration of indulgences encourages pilgrims to follow Wey to Jerusalem, but could also be seen as letting meditative pilgrims recreate the experience as they read.

Considering Wey's book as a meditative tool raises interesting questions about what he chooses to emphasize in his narrative. The sights that are mentioned in Wey's account tend to be those associated with the emotional responses of the players in the Passion drama: places where Mary wept, where Jesus agonized, or where Mary Magdalene mourned. However, the emotional response of the viewer is absent: there is no attempt to guide the reader in how to feel.

Intriguingly, there are numerous descriptions of the places where doctrinal practices were created: for example, Wey wants his readers to take note of the place where the Apostles composed the Creed, where Christ gave humankind the Paternoster, and where Jerome translated the Bible.[23] This guide also leans heavily on stories from the life of the Virgin, even more so than those relating to Christ's Passion. One of Wey's longest passages describes the house of Martha and Mary Magdalene, "where they dyd

---

[21] Wey, 8.
[22] For example:
"By yonde ys a chapel, hit ys right lowe.
Twenty pace downe as men hyt knowe,
In that chapel vndyr the grownde
Ther was the holy cross fownde.
Ther ys full remyssioun in that place
Too all men that thedyr goo for grace." (Wey, 10)
[23] Wey, 13, 17-18.

owre Lord Cryst gvyd servyse and chere".[24] Perhaps these themes reflect the interests of contemporary English readers.

The sections composed in Latin prose describe the same journeys, but are much more detailed: they add more pilgrimages and describe them in greater length, and they incorporate many more examples from the Old Testament, including stories such as Judith and Holofernes and sites such as the tomb of Jacob's wife Rachel that do not prefigure Christ as directly as do the ones discussed in the vernacular sections.[25] Wey also includes a long list of the relics that can be seen in Venice.[26] He repeats the practical advice given in the English section, recommending that pilgrims carry their own water and bread, and describing how to hire boats and horses without being defrauded.[27] This section thus seems aimed at readers who needed the same practical advice, but who sought a deeper and more varied account of the sights to be encountered.

Wey's pilgrims seem ambivalent toward the foreigners that they encounter; this is perhaps surprising, given that these "enemies of the faith" controlled access to Christianity's holiest sites. Wey does warn that Saracens may steal from pilgrims under the cover of conversing and "maykyng god chere" with them.[28] However, the danger of theft could also come from one's fellow travelers: he advises that pilgrims should get a padlock for the door of their chamber in the ship to protect their food and other provisions.[29] The fact that Saracens are depicted as making friendly conversation with Christians is also perhaps telling, even if their motives were not always benevolent.

---

[24] Wey, 15.
[25] Wey, 32, 45.
[26] Wey, 89-90.
[27] Wey, 90-92.
[28] Wey, 7.
[29] Wey, 5.

In the late fifteenth century, some Christian sacred sites were more thoroughly controlled by Muslims than were others. Although Wey mentions St. Anne's house in his English verses, he does not point out that it is now surrounded by a Muslim temple.[30] However, he does mention this in his longer Latin narrative, telling his readers that what was once the house where the Virgin was born is now the site of a Saracen edifice.[31] His addressing this state of affairs in one version and not another might be due to his borrowing the Latin sections, as Yeager speculates, or it might be due to his overall project of presenting a less complicated story in his vernacular sections.

The volume then offers two phrasebooks: the first is brief, and gives translations from English into Greek, while the second much longer one translates Greek into Latin and adds a brief Hebrew alphabet. The English phrasebook includes names of foods and spices, and phrases any traveler would need, such as "good morow", "gyff me that", and "I understand the not".[32] Interestingly, it also includes some phrases that a person would need to discuss more profound matters, including the words for heaven, earth, temptation, grace, and incarnate.[33]

***Informacon for pylgrymes unto the holy londe*, Anonymous, c. 1498**

This work by an anonymous English writer has relied heavily on Wey, but differs from the earlier account in several crucial ways.[34] It begins with the same money-changing advice, in English. It then repeats the advice about renting a galley, padlocking

[30] Wey, 11.
[31] "Que domus fuit monasterium sancta scholastice Virginis, nunc vero est hospicium Sarazenorum" (Wey, 34).
[32] Wey, 102.
[33] Wey, 103-4.
[34] Anonymous. *Informacon for pylgrymes unto the holy londe*. (London: Wynkyn de Word, c. 1498).

one's supplies, and avoiding the corrupt air around Cyprus.[35] Then, under a heading in English, "Pylgrymages in Nazareth", the author lists in Latin the pilgrimages that can be made outside of the city of Jerusalem. In contrast to Wey's more detailed Latin prose, this section employs simple Latin, and is mostly comprised of easily read lists, cataloging, for example, the many places in which Christ performed miracles.[36]

The text seems somewhat muddled, abruptly switching back to English in the middle of a list of pilgrimages to repeat more of Wey's practical advice.[37] It then returns to Latin to give a list of how much certain parts of the journey will cost, noting, for example, that the trip to the river Jordan will cost the pilgrim ten Venetian *gros*.[38] Everything is calculated in terms of Venetian money, the accepted common currency.

The next section is a narrative in English not found in the Wey text; this is perhaps the story of the anonymous pilgrim that composed this work. The narrative begins as a group of English pilgrims leave Venice by boat on 27 June: the year is unspecified, but the days of the month are carefully noted, as is the length of time spent in each city. It seems to be a description of an actual voyage, as it gives the name of the Venetian merchant who owned the ship, John Moreson, and how much each pilgrim paid to travel on it.

After a long list of the pilgrimages to be undertaken in and around Jerusalem, the text returns to the general advice about travel taken from Wey.[39] The author repeats the advice about choosing food carefully, but words it slightly differently, advising the

[35] *Informacon*, 10-12.
[36] For example: "Item civitas Lapharnaum in qua Cristus fecit multa miracula. Item mare Galilee in quo Cristus fecit multa signa" (*Informacon*, 12).
[37] *Informacon*, 13-14.
[38] "Item in pergrinatioe fluminis Jordani x g" (*Informacon*, 14).
[39] *Informacon*, 24-5.

pilgrim to keep away from "melons and suche colde fruytes for they be not accordynge to our complexion and they gendre a blody fluxe".[40] He makes the connection more explicitly to prevailing theories about national "complexions" and what humors of foods would suit them.

This author, in contrast to Wey, seems interested in the wonders of the natural world around him.[41] He is also intrigued by contemporary political matters, mentioning how the Venetians have conquered a Greek island and elected a duke to rule over it.[42] The pilgrimages that he describes mostly concern the story of Christ's passion and the early martyrs. Like Wey, he seems particularly interested in how the familiar methods of worship came to be, laying emphasis on sites such as the places where Christ gave humankind the Paternoster and where St. Jerome translated the Bible.[43]

Throughout, this author's Latin is much easier to read than Wey's, consisting of either lists of places with short descriptions, or quotes that would have been very familiar to his readers. For example, he occasionally quotes short passages from Paul's letters when passing through the land of the people to whom they were written.[44] Christ's words are also given in Latin, as in this passage from the journey around the Holy Sepulchre:

> Also without the same chapel doore is a rounde stoone… where Crist appearyd to Mari Mawdeleyn after his Resurreccion in lyknesse of a gardener and sayd noli me tangere.[45]

[40] *Informacon*, 25.
[41] *Informacon*, 15.
[42] *Informacon*, 16.
[43] *Informacon*, 21, 23.
[44] *Informacon*, 16.
[45] *Informacon*, 18.

This intermingling of Latin and English would be familiar to a broad group of readers, and seems aimed at a less sophisticated audience than the Latin prose of Wey's account.

This text could also be used to perform a substitute pilgrimage. The author is careful to depict the details of how the travelers moved through space: for example, he goes into obsessive detail about the maneuvers the boats make as they move through the Adriatic Sea, allowing readers to vividly imagine the space being negotiated.[46] England remains his touchstone: he chooses, for example, to compare the heat in foreign lands to that of English summers, allowing English readers to imagine the exotic based on their own bodily experiences.[47] Like Wey, the anonymous author is more concerned with depicting the concreteness of the landscape being moved through and the indulgences to be earned by doing so than with depicting his own emotional responses to what he sees.

There is little mention of the Saracens in the anonymous account, but there are several brief references to the Jews, who do not figure in Wey's narrative. The author points out the tomb of Zachary, "whyche Jewes slewe", and, at the Mount of Olives, "the gardyne in whyche Crist was taken with the Jewes".[48] He has also included phrasebooks translating English into Greek. Unlike those offered by Wey, these do not include more esoteric phrases, but are limited to the words for meat and drink, and simple phrases like "how muche" and "where is the tauerne".[49]

---

[46] *Informacon*, 15.
[47] "And abowte Saynt Martyns tyme the sonne is as hote there as it is in August in Englonde. And so it is in Rodes and Cypres and alle that countree eestwarde" (*Informacon*, 16).
[48] *Informacon*, 20.
[49] *Informacon*, 27-8.

***The pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde to the Holy Land*, Anonymous, 1506**

This work was written by an unnamed chaplain to Sir Richard Guylforde, a wealthy courtier. Guylforde's father had been an important member of the household of Edward IV, and Sir Richard was with the future Henry VII when he returned to England; he later served on the king's Privy Council.[50] Guylforde's story dramatically illustrates the dangers of foreign travel: he fell ill near Jerusalem in August of 1506, and died on 7 September.

Unlike Wey's book and the anonymous *Informacon*, the Guylforde account is structured like a journal, and seems less hodge-podge, although, as has been mentioned, it too borrows from earlier works. Like the Latin prose section of Wey, and the English narration of the anonymous *Informacon*, it is deeply rooted in time, and carefully notes when the travelers move from one place to another, and how long they stay in each place. Guylforde's party rides through Normandy, spending Easter at Roane and stopping at St. Denis, "where we offerde and saw the relyquys", and thence to Paris.[51] They proceed through France, stopping again at Lyon to see the rich collection of relics there. They also make a point of seeing Queen Eleanor of England's tomb in Lasheles: their interests are to some degree shaped by their nationality.

In May, they meet up with Jerome and Augustin Panyson, cousins of Sir Richard's wife. The Panyson brothers, along with a great number of their relatives, "made grete honour, feestis, and cheere" for the travelers, and load them with food and

[50] Ellis, Sir Henry. "Introduction", in Anonymous. *The pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde to the Holy Land, A.D. 1506*, ed Sir Henry Ellis, vi-vii. (Printed for the Camden Society, London, 1851, reprinted New York: AMS Press, 1968).
[51] Anonymous. *The pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde to the Holy Land, A.D. 1506*, ed Sir Henry Ellis (printed for the Camden Society, London, 1851, reprinted New York: AMS Press, 1968), 3.

supplies for the journey.[52] It is perhaps important that the party gets food from Englishmen, food that is presumably appropriate for English appetites and bodies. It is also notable that this author, without consciously placing himself in the narrative, writes most effusively when he depicts meetings with his compatriots.

The party reaches Venice on 16 May. There, they are interested in seeing relics, but also the objects that people have donated: at the church of St Mark, the author wonders at a "grete chales of fine gold of curious werke, set with many precious stones" and other riches. He also seeks out humbler sights, and is amused by a man and woman who are employed to do nothing but make ropes.[53] Venice impresses this author greatly: he marvels that for riches, buildings, religious houses, and the establishment of judges and councils, it surpasses any city he has seen.[54] The pilgrims are feted by the Duke and included in his processions, witnessing the famous ceremony of the espousal of the sea with lively interest.[55]

Having reluctantly left Venice, the narrator notes that the cities of Cyprus, their next destination, were destroyed by an English king in revenge for the rape of his sister; the author states that this act is "yet in memorye and in rype remembraunce" of the people there.[56] The inclusion of this story points to the travelers' continued identity as Englishmen: their journey is part of a history of English encounters with these foreign lands, and, as they wear their nationality on their bodies, they are perhaps subject to different or even hostile treatment because of that history.

[52] *Guylforde*, 5.
[53] *Guylforde*, 7.
[54] *Guylforde*, 8.
[55] *Guylforde*, 8.
[56] *Guylforde*, 15.

On 13 August, they land at Jaffa, but they are not allowed to disembark until they pay tribute to and get the permission of the "Mamolukes and Sarrasyns".[57] As Wey also relates, the pilgrims must formally register, as the Muslims write each pilgrim's name down before they let them off the boat. They leave Jaffa and come to the hospital established by Philip of Burgundy, where friars bring them food and bedding.[58] Having negotiated the Muslim bureaucracy, the pilgrims retreat to a place near the Latin church and established by a Westerner.

Finally, on 31 August, the pilgrims reach Jerusalem. They stay in the Latin hospital of St. John near the Holy Sepulchre. While they are visiting Mount Sion, Sir Richard Guylforde and an unnamed prior die of an undisclosed illness; both are buried at Mount Sion, with services held by the local friars.[59] The rest of the party, perhaps considering how far they have come and how unlikely they are to repeat the voyage, decide to continue their pilgrimages.

They eagerly visit several sites associated with the Passion, and, like Wey's pilgrims, seem particularly interested in seeing places made sacred by the emotional responses of Biblical people, especially the sites where Peter wept after betraying Christ, and where the Virgin sat and wept at the death of her son. As in Wey's account, Marian sites are particularly stressed.

This author is more present in the text than is Wey: Helfers has noted that late medieval travel accounts increasingly shift focus from the lands being traveled through to the narrator's own perceptions and personality.[60] Guylforde's chaplain lets his readers

[57] *Guylforde*, 16.
[58] *Guylforde*, 17.
[59] *Guylforde*, 40.
[60] Helfers, 3-4.

glimpse some of his own responses, as when he expresses his pleasure at seeing the view from the Temple of the Holy Sepulchre, and as when he describes his party's last day in the city, saying that they "vyssyted the sayd holy places with the more zele and deuocion bycause we rekenyd it for the laste tyme that we shuld se them in all our lyues".[61] When he mentions how, in the chapel of Our Lady outside the Temple, the members of his party take a little food and drink and then "euery man gaue hym selfe to prayer and contemplacion", this suggests spaces for private reactions as well as communal responses, and personal meditation as well as guided experiences. [62]

Places are described as lively and interesting in their own right: the plains outside Tripoli have excellent food and wine,[63] Mount Tabor was the site of miracles and is also "wonder pleasaute and delectable".[64] In contrast, the area around the Dead Sea where Sodom and Gomorrah once stood "stynketh and is horryble",[65] as if the Dead Sea smells foul because of the foul things that happened there.[66] The anonymous author's encounters with these places are colored by his understanding of their history and their meaning within a Christian context: he simultaneously sees their present situation, as when he gives his readers advice about changing money and choosing food, and their never-changing mystical situation, determined by their role in the Christian story. His account provides a guide to both for his readers.

Pilgrimage attractions in the Holy Land were the sites of uneasy negotiations: entrance to most of the sacred places, including the Holy Sepulchre, was controlled by

[61] *Guylforde*, 41.
[62] *Guylforde*, 22, 27.
[63] *Guylforde*, 47.
[64] *Guylforde*, 51.
[65] *Guylforde*, 53.
[66] Anne Simon notes this same observation in two accounts written by German pilgrims, one from 1350 and one from 1480. The evil of the cities of the past has contaminated the present-day landscape (Simon, 196).

Muslims, but once the pilgrims were inside, their visits were guided by the local friars that tended the sites.[67] The anonymous author describes a Jerusalem teeming with "dyuers sects of christen men", including Greeks, Syrians, Armenians, Georgians, and Latins, each with their own jealously guarded spaces within the Holy Sepulchre.[68] He is more explicit about the fate of St Anne's house than was Wey: he says that the Saracens have made it into a "muskey", or mosque, and that they "wyll suffer no man to come into this place but pryuely or for brybes".[69] Apparently, Christian pilgrims could still get in for a price, but the Muslims wanted to control access into what had become one of their own sacred spaces. Similarly, the author mentions that the Muslims will not allow pilgrims to ride up to the place where St Stephen was killed, but that pilgrims could nevertheless earn a remission by beholding it from afar.[70]

These realities of travel in a contested land do not seem to greatly worry Guylforde's chaplain. He does mention that on the journey back, when the pilgrims are weary from riding to Jaffa, they are "right euyl treated by the Sarrasyns" who lodge them.[71] On the other hand, he relates an intriguing story about the fate of a Saracen who interferes with a Christian church. While in Bethlehem, he hears the tale of how a Sultan invaded the church built over the site of Jesus' birth in order to remove pillars to use in his own palace:

> … and as he behelde ye masons bygynnynge to breke, sodenly there come out of the churche wall within… an houge, grete serpent, that ranne endlonge vpon the right vp side of ye church wal, and scorched ye sayd

[67] *Guylforde*, 23.
[68] *Guylforde*, 23.
[69] *Guylforde*, 30.
[70] *Guylforde*, 30.
[71] *Guylforde*, 56.

> wall as it had be synged with fyre al ye way that he went, which scorching is sene vnto this day.[72]

This terrible sight makes the sultan abandon his plans. What is most telling is that visitors to the church can still see the scorch marks left by the serpent: the evidence of God's ultimate protection of his holy sites could reassure pilgrims worried about the sites' captivity.

Guylforde's chaplain also makes brief mention of the role that Jews played in the Biblical past: at Mount Sion, he describes the place where the Jews tried to confiscate the Virgin's body, and the place where they decided what to do with the captured Christ.[73] However, he is also interested in contemporary Jewish customs: while in Venice, his party makes a day trip to Mestres, "where the Iewes dwell", as well as to another town where they make glass.[74]

On the journey home, the chaplain's party is beset by a terrible storm off of the Barbary Coast that nearly capsizes their boat, and all the pilgrims pray for salvation.[75] What most alarms them is that, if they wreck, they will have no one to turn to for aid but the "Infidels and extreme enemyes of our Cristen faith":[76] here, at a moment of supreme emotion, the threat of Muslim difference is most highlighted. They promise that they will hire someone to go on a substitute pilgrimage to Loreto if they are spared, and they gather money amongst themselves as a pledge.[77] They make it home safely, but the author advises his readers to learn from their error in lingering too long in glamorous

[72] *Gulyforde*, 36.
[73] *Guylforde*, 18-19.
[74] *Guylforde*, 9.
[75] *Guylforde*, 65.
[76] *Guylforde*, 68.
[77] *Guylforde,* 68.

Venice, which forced them to make the return trip during the stormy winter.[78] Perhaps the story of storm and rescue can be read as a warning about what happens when holy pilgrimage slips dangerously into the realm of pleasurable sightseeing.

***Ye oldest diarie of Englysshe travel,* Sir Richard Torkington, 1517**

Sir Richard Torkington was a well-connected priest, granted the rectory of Mulberton in Norfolk in 1511 by Sir Thomas Boleyn.[79] Although his account borrows from others, this is a named author describing his own experiences. On his journey toward Venice, Torkington mentions the many relics he sees; like Guylforde's chaplain, he is also interested in sights with specifically English resonance, noting, for example, the tomb of Lionel, the son of Edward III, in Pavia.[80] Torkington is not always unskeptical about the things that he sees, as when, in the church of St Jean de Maurienne in the south of France, he inspects "as they say yt, the ffynger of Seynt John Baptiste".[81] He does offer prayers here, just in case.

The increasing presences of the narrator as a personality noted by Helfers is even more pronounced in Torkington's account, as is the narrator's nationality. Torkington relates that in Venice, he meets an innkeeper who "knew me by my face that I was an englysshman": he wears his nationality on his body. Torkington is delighted to hear English spoken, as he has not met an Englishman since he left Paris.[82] In Venice, he interests himself in more than churches and relics, looking at military armaments in the

[78] *Guylforde,* 82-3.
[79] Loftie, W.J. "A short account of Torkington's pilgrimage", in Sir Richard Torkington, *Ye oldest diarie of Englysshe travel: being the hitherto unpublished narrative of the pilgrimage of Sir Richard Torkington to Jerusalem in 1517*, ed W. J. Loftie, iii (London: Field and Turner, 1884).
[80] Torkington, 5.
[81] Torkington, 3.
[82] Torkington, 7.

Castle, for example.[83] His description of the chalice and the other treasures of St Mark's is exactly the same as Guylforde's, as is his description of why Venice is a great city.[84] He adds an account of how the Duke sends the pilgrims baskets of biscuits, sweets, and wines, and how the pilgrims see dancers, some "disgysyd in women clothes".[85] He also goes into much more detail than did the other authors about the rich and beautiful costumes worn by the people in the Venetian processions.

Torkington meets Englishmen along the way to Jerusalem and draws comfort and cheer from those meetings;[86] like Guylforde's chaplain, he seems happiest when in the company of his countrymen. His boat also runs into a storm, and his party also pledges future pilgrimages if they are saved.[87] Here, the English pilgrims promise to make pilgrimages to Walsingham, which was Loreto's major Marian rival, and to Canterbury, England's two great national shrines.

Torkington's attitude toward the Saracens seems similar to that of Guylforde's chaplain: he repeats the account of how pilgrims must register with the authorities before coming ashore, and registers his annoyance at it.[88] On the other hand, in the valley of Jehosophat, he visits the site of the Virgin's Assumption, which, although located in a church "in the kepyng and handys of the Sarazyns", is freely accessible to Christian pilgrims.[89]

His attitude toward Jewish people is similarly complicated. When visiting the Mount of Olives, Torkington sees the places where "Judas betrayed our Savyor to the

[83] Torkington, 8.
[84] Torkington, 11-12.
[85] Torkington, 13.
[86] Torkington, 19, 57.
[87] Torkington, 60.
[88] Torkington, 39-40.
[89] Torkington, 28.

Jewys with a kysse".[90] He also mentions, when seeing Herod's house, how Christ was accused by the Jews, and how they forced Simon to bear the cross.[91] The inclusion of these scenes might encourage the contemplating pilgrim to think about the role of the Jews in Christ's passion. However, like Guylforde's chaplain, Torkington seems to separate the behavior of the historical Jews from the actions of contemporary Jewish people. His attitude toward the Jewish people that he meets seems benign and interested, as when he casually states that his party "went in to the castell among the Jewys, it was ther Sabaday".[92] Describing with great interest a Jewish wedding he attended in Corfu, he says:

> I saw them Danse in a grett Chamber, bothe men and women, in Ryche apparel, Damaske, Saten, velvet… One of the Jewys began to syng, and than all the women Daunsed to gedyr by the space of an ower.[93]

Helfers argues that there is little attempt at social commentary in the pilgrim narratives, and little talk about the people who live there.[94] Torkington's account of the Jewish wedding, however, could be read as social commentary, or at least as evidence of his curiosity about the manners and customs of other people.

Interestingly, unlike Guylforde's chaplain, Torkington reports that upon reaching England, he made immediately for Canterbury. It is only after he makes an offering to St Thomas that he feels he has "made an ende of my pylgrymage".[95] Pilgrims had to have the blessing of their parish priest before they left on their journeys.[96] Mirroring this,

---

[90] Torkington, 29.
[91] Torkington, 32.
[92] Torkington, 63.
[93] Torkington, 63.
[94] Helfers, 73.
[95] Torkington, 67.
[96] Sumption, Jonathan. *The age of pilgrimage: the medieval journey to God* (Mahwah, New Jersey: Hidden Spring, 2003), 244.

Torkington does not consider his journey finished until he checks back in with his national saint: Torkington has gone around the world and returned an Englishman.

Conclusions

The four pilgrimage guidebooks considered here suggest a model of appropriate behavior for their audiences. For example, the guides that lead pilgrims around the holy sites impose some level of uniformity on the pilgrimage experience, but the inclusion of the tour guides in these accounts also offers an opportunity for the authors to suggest proper pilgrim behavior. In Guylforde and Torkington, the friars are apparently recompensed by each pilgrim according to his level of devotion: this deliberate ambiguity tells the reader about how devotion will be understood by fellow travelers.[97] Messages about how pilgrims are meant to feel are less clearly defined. As has been discussed, these accounts tell us little about the pilgrims' emotional responses to the holy places and relics they experience. Modern scholars have called Wey a "guidebook" and Torkington a "narrative" because the latter reveals his own responses in a way the former does not: Torkington and Guylforde's chaplain are more present as individual narrators in their works. However, when Torkington describes his pleasure in seeing the view from the Holy Sepulchre, or his irritation at the Muslim port authorities, he uses the same phrases as the earlier Guylforde account. How much of this is what might be privileged as authentic emotion and how much is a standardized response? The answer is probably that the emotions may very well have been real for both Guylforde's chaplain and Torkington, but that the way in which they expressed those emotions was strongly shaped by conventions of writing about the Holy Land.

[97] Guylforde, 18.

For a contrasting example of how to construct a guide for pilgrims, we can turn to the much better known account of Margery Kempe. Her book is earlier than the ones discussed here, having been written in the 1430s to describe a series of journeys that took place in 1413-4. In her account of her pilgrimage around the Holy Sepulchre, rather than detailing the sights to be seen and the indulgences to be gained, she traces her journey through her own emotional responses:

> And the forseyd creatur wept and sobbyd so plentyvowsly as thow sche had seyn owyr Lord with hir bodily ey suffering hys Passyon at that tyme… And whan thei cam up on to the Mownt of Calvarye, sche fel down that sche mygth not stondyn ne kneyln.[98]

For Kempe, the important realities, while triggered by the sanctity of her surroundings, are taking place within her soul. Kempe should be read as operating within a tradition of female mystics.[99] Her vivid, personal experiences of Christ's suffering can also be read as didactic, reminding her readers that the physical pilgrimage is only the outward sign of what should be an inward transformation. However, although it has received more critical attention than guidebooks, her autobiography is exceptional, and the majority of pilgrimage guides are unconcerned with guiding their readers' emotional responses through example.

This is not to suggest that readers of these pilgrimage accounts may not have had strong emotional responses to these works. The very lack of given examples may have allowed room for a reader's own responses: the spare lists provided by these authors construct a framework within which people meditating at home could create a mental journey. Furthermore, this journey could be specifically an English one: Guylforde's

[98] Kempe, Margery. *The book of Margery Kempe*, ed Barry Windeatt (New York: Longman, 2000), 162-3.
[99] Atkinson, Clarissa W. *Mystic and pilgrim: the "book" and the world of Margery Kempe* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell, 1983), 105.

chaplain lets his readers know what the Holy Sepulchre looks like by comparing it to the Temple Church in London.[100] The details that inform his descriptions, telling his readers the number of windows, the placement of lamps, and the direction in which pilgrims turn when they enter the space, would allow his readers to move around the church in London as if it were the original.

Imagined pilgrimages became even more crucial for Western Europeans after the fall of Acre in 1291, when pilgrimage to the Holy Land became more difficult and pilgrims sought to replicate the journey to Jerusalem in other ways. Much recent work has focused on the ways in which Western cities responded to the perceived loss of the Holy Land by constructing themselves as the New Jerusalem.[101] In order to bring the sacred space home, pilgrims also returned with visceral reminders of their journey, souvenirs that helped them to relieve it and others to imagine it. Oddly, what is not much discussed in these four pilgrimage accounts is the purchasing of badges or souvenirs, an extremely common practice. The single mention comes when Guylforde's party eats dinner with the friars of Mount Sion and are each presented with a folded piece of paper containing a relic, like a holy party favor.[102] We know that Wey purchased souvenirs because of his will: an inscription on the flyleaf of his *Itineraries* records that amongst other gifts of clothing and goods, he left to his chapel stones from Mount Calvary, the Holy Sepulchre, the pillar of Christ's flagellation, the place where the True Cross was

---

[100] Guylforde, 24.
[101] Kühnel, Bianca. *From the Earthly to the Heavenly Jerusalem: Representations of the Holy City in Christian Art of the First Millennium* (Freiburg: Herder, 1987); Tomasch, Sylvia. "Introduction: Medieval Geographical Desire", in *Text and Territory: Geographical Imagination in the European Middle Ages*, ed Sylvia Tomasach and Sealy Gilles, 1-14 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998); Woodward, David. "Medieval *Mappaemundi*", in *The History of Cartography, Volume One: Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*, ed J.B. Harley and David Woodward, 286-370 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).
[102] Guylforde, 39.

hidden, and a cave in Bethlehem.[103] He also left a piece of wood on which was marked out the exact measurements of the Holy Sepulchre.[104] This precision was, of course, to allow people to map the temple out in their own space and then travel around it as advised by Wey's guide.

There is some evidence that Wey's account could have been enhanced as a tool for imagined pilgrimage by the simultaneous use of a map created specifically as a companion piece. Wey's Latin accounts begin with a curious section that assigns a number to each site. A late fifteenth century map discovered in the Bodleian library in the 1850s appears to be keyed to this section of Wey's book. The map is large, but manageable for private study, at 7 feet long by 16.5 inches wide.[105] There is a list in Latin along the left-hand side of the cities and sights depicted. Reading the map from left to right, the viewer moves from north to south, starting at the city of Damascus and ending with Hebron and Beersheba. Each city is represented by a unique building, decorated with crenellated towers and pointed arches that resemble those of contemporary Western castles or cathedrals. Some show little people peeping out of the windows, representing the site's notable past inhabitants. Also included are several tombs of Biblical personages, as well as other charming details such as Jacob's ladder, sticking out of the walls of Bethel. The details are lovingly and wittily rendered in bright colors that reward close viewing; one can even spy fish swimming in the rivers, and the sunken cities of Sodom and Gomorrah under the waters of the Dead Sea.

---

[103] Wey, xxix.
[104] Wey, xxx.
[105] Anonymous. *Map of the Holy land, illustrating the Itineraries of William Wey, fellow of Eton in A.D. 1458 and 1462* (London: J. B. Nichols and Sons, 1867).

The rivers that flow across the page empty into the largest, most elaborately depicted city, Jerusalem. Interestingly, the city is shown as walled, but with its gates open and the rivers flowing through them, as if to invite the viewer to step inside. Each city is labeled, many with explanatory paragraphs. Some of the buildings are upside down or sideways, so that the reader's eye must move around the map just as his or her body would move around the places being depicted. The map thus encourages a kind of active viewing that engages the reader physically as well as imaginatively.

This intriguing map has been little examined by modern scholars; Yeager, considering the map in a footnote to her discussion of Wey's book, calls the map "not practically useful".[106] Catherine Delano-Smith has demonstrated, however, that the monk Felix Faber consulted maps in preparation for his late fifteenth century journey.[107] What was he looking for in these maps? The practicalities of navigation would likely be left to professional sailors armed with portolan maps and nautical charts. Maps like the Wey example are in the tradition of earlier *mappaemundi*, maps that were drawn in order to embody a system of theology, not display actual geographies.[108] Connolly has demonstrated the "performative possibilities" of Matthew Paris' thirteenth century maps of pilgrimage routes to Jerusalem, used by Benedictine monks to enact imagined pilgrimages.[109] In the Wey map, the cities and monuments are not shown to mathematical scale: rather, their relative sizes reflect their historical and spiritual importance. In other words, the map is meant to orient the viewer in not physical space,

---

[106] Yeager, 74.
[107] Delano-Smith, Catherine. "The intelligent pilgrim: maps and medieval pilgrimage to the Holy Land", in *Eastward bound: travel and travelers, 1050-1550*, edited by Rosamund Allen, 107-130 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004).
[108] Helfers, 69.
[109] Connolly, Daniel. "Imagined pilgrimage in the itinerary maps of Matthew Paris". *Art Bulletin*, 81, no. 4 (1999): 598-622.

but spiritual space. This particular map has never been thoroughly examined and dated: if it was indeed produced to compliment Wey's account, it reinforces the idea of Wey's text as a substitute pilgrimage guide.

How do these accounts, serving as practical guides and as tools for meditation, define Englishness against views of "the other"? These four pilgrimage accounts indicate that community identity was not entirely abandoned when a late medieval person became a pilgrim. The physicality of foreign places, down to their very air and water, are recognized as foreign by the bodies of English pilgrims. Even if they are traveling only in a meditative, imaginative sense, pilgrims carry their bodies with them when they travel to the Holy Land. Contemporary theories, building on ancient ideas of bodily humors, named certain foods as appropriate for certain body types, classes, and nationalities.[110] English and French authors in particular emphasize nationally defined food choices, even when their advice contradicts classical theories of balance. These four pilgrimage guides all stress the traveler's Englishness as paramount when choosing healthful foods.

Pilgrims also remember their Englishness when they meet their compatriots abroad. This is most striking in Torkington, who mentions by name the English people he meets, from whom he buy wine, and with whom he has a memorably enjoyable time. These meetings suggest that there is something about English people that remains English even when they live permanently in a foreign land. Helfers mention the link between traveling and national identity, but he does not address the ways in which pilgrimage texts themselves might have fostered it until his treatment of Richard Hakluyt's late sixteenth century *Principal Navigations*, which he sees as consciously fostering English

[110] Albala, Ken. *Eating right in the Renaissance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 224-31.

nationhood.[111] The earlier texts considered here argue for the beginnings of this idea in the late fifteenth century. These pilgrims' experiences challenge the idea, articulated most famously by the anthropologists Victor and Edith Turner, that pilgrimage forces people to abandon their communal identities to forge new alliances as they travel.[112]

The particular pilgrimages that these guides describe are significant. To some extent, all late medieval pilgrimages to Jerusalem will be largely the same, as there were standard sites to be visited in proscribed manners, and as they all draw on the same Biblical narratives. However, the four authors considered here lay particular stress on the events of the life of the Virgin, and on the places where the everyday prayers of ordinary people were given to the world. By visiting the sites where their prayers literally began, pilgrims would obtain a more profound understanding of their daily practices. Of course, these were not strictly English concerns. It has been argued that during the fourteenth century, there was a general shift in Western Christianity toward inward-oriented prayer, and that at the same time, worshippers began to focus less on individual saints then on Christ and the Virgin Mary.[113] More work might be done to compare what English pilgrims are shown and/or ask to see to what pilgrims from other countries experience. Each of these four accounts does seem to make particular mention of St George's tomb: perhaps this indicates a certain nascent patriotism. Moreover, as has been noted, Torkington, the author of the latest and most self-consciously English account, does not

[111] Helfers, 22.
[112] Turner, Edith and Victor Turner. *Image and pilgrimage in Christian culture: anthropological perspectives* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1978), 3-4.
[113] Finucane, Ronald. *Miracles and pilgrims: popular beliefs in medieval England* (London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1977); Morris, Colin and Peter Roberts, eds. *Pilgrimage: the English experience from Becket to Bunyan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

feel that he has completed his pilgrimage until he returns to the shrine of his national saint.

Mary Campbell, in her survey of medieval romances and wonder books, has argued that the farther from their homes people travel, the more they depict the bodies and manners of the people they meet as outlandish and unreasonable.[114] The situation with Muslims in the Holy Land was, of course, particularly troubled. After Acre was returned to Muslim control in 1291, most European pilgrims disembarked at Jaffa.[115] Jonathan Sumption has found that the tolls and taxes imposed on European pilgrims increased sharply throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as relations with the Islamic powers deteriorated.[116] A group of pilgrims on a Venetian galley returning from the Holy Land in 1408 had to fight off Turkish pirates in the gulf of Satalia; this and other incidents made the Venetian government pass laws requiring ships to be supplied with bows, arrows, and lances.[117]

Sumption has argued that because of these changing attitudes in Venice, pilgrimage to the Holy Land dwindled to almost nothing by the beginning of the sixteenth century.[118] However, the parties of pilgrims considered in this paper all embark from Venice, and all are treated well or even feted in that city. As Sumption himself has noted, pilgrimage was a major source of income for the republic of Venice, and it was thus to their advantage to see that pilgrims were well-treated and safe.[119] While gross numbers

[114] Campbell, 65.
[115] Sumption, 264.
[116] Sumption, 265.
[117] Cited in Sumption, 264.
[118] Sumption, 269-271.
[119] Sumption, 266-68.

of pilgrims may have declined, it is interesting to note that this trend is not reflected in these four accounts: indeed, they paint a picture of a pilgrimage business that is thriving.

The accounts do not, of course, paint a benign picture of the Muslim people who control the holy sites, the most sacred places to these Christian pilgrims. Much of the hostility toward Muslims, however, is expressed in standardized ways: since each author reports that he was treated poorly by the Muslims when disembarking at Jaffa, and each uses the same terms, how much are they repeating a literary trope rather than expressing their own responses? This is not to say that these pilgrims were not concerned about problems of access and control, but their accounts lack the scenes of lamentation over lost lands that Yeager sees in fourteenth century accounts; neither is there a call to action against the Muslims. The story of the serpent told by Guylforde's chaplain reassures pilgrims that while the Saracens have control of the holy sites now, they will not be allowed to harm them. The holy sites might be temporally controlled by enemies of the faith, but their eternal character prevails.

Similarly, these later authors separate historical Jews from the contemporary people that they encounter: they repeat stories of how Jews contributed to the Passion, but they do not offer a proscribed emotional response, and they do not linger on these sites in the way that, for example, they linger on sites associated with Mary's life. Both Guylforde and Torkington seem interested in contemporary Jewish customs, as if the Jews were another exotic attraction, not a known enemy to be reacted against in set ways. Individual readers, of course, may or may not have separated the Jews of the Passion story from the Jews of the contemporary account, or from any Jews they might be acquainted with. However, these authors' meetings with "the other" show how the

landscapes of Biblical past and present time that pilgrims move through interact in unpredictable ways.

The choices made in compiling the phrasebooks also enact these ambiguities. Apparently, Wey did not think his readers would need or want phrases in Arabic: Charles V of France owned a book called *How to Ask in Arabic for the Necessities of Life*, but this language is not discussed by these English writers.[120] Ohler argues that phrasebooks attempt to manipulate the prejudices of the people to be encountered in order to endear travelers to them.[121] Furthermore, Yeager points out that Wey includes not only phrases for obtaining food or shelter, but also for saying the Paternoster in local languages.[122] However, Wey includes many more religiously themed phrases than the ones that make up the Paternoster: many of them seem designed to help pilgrims hold fairly complex conversations.

Equipping readers to speak about spiritual matters with the people they will encounter reflects the special character of pilgrimage as religiously motivated travel, but it may also reveal late fifteenth and early sixteenth century anxiety about forms of worship, particularly concerning encounters with Greeks. The phrasebooks may also enhance the usefulness of the texts for those performing meditative pilgrimages: people reading these texts at home could picture themselves taking part in dialogues that would enhance the authenticity of their experience. Likewise, the emphasis on sites where doctrine and prayers entered Christian practice may speak to anxieties about changing

[120] Sumption, 276.
[121] Ohler, Norbert. *The medieval traveler*, trans. Caroline Hiller (Woodbridge, Suffolk, Boydell Press, 1989), 78.
[122] Yeager, 74.

religious identities and practices in England. These descriptions ground the readers' experience of Biblical authority, thus making their prayers at home more authentic.

The practical advice that these guides relate can also be read as scripting a more profound meditative pilgrimage. Like the precise measurements taken of the Holy Sepulchre, the mundane nature of the descriptions in these pilgrimage accounts would have allowed readers to recreate as closely as possible the particular experience of these pilgrimages, deepening their understanding of the holy sites and making their journeys more authentic. Reading these accounts in tandem with consulting a map, as in the Wey example, would allow a still deeper understanding of the space, and provides another way to meditate on both the Holy Land and the meaning of pilgrimage. There is a sense throughout these four accounts that bodily touchstones are crucial: readers are encouraged to meditate in visceral ways, feeling the heat, speaking the languages, tasting the food, and even suffering the flux along with the authors. Above all, the readers are meant to recognize their bodies and their experiences as English people: this both reinforces ideas about what it is to be English and helps to create them.

Pilgrims move through at least two landscapes: the magical one of the past where they walk in Christ's footsteps, and the everyday one filled with Saracens that shortchange them and food that makes them sick. The Holy Land is paradoxically a place where English Christians are at home, but also foreigners. The descriptions, lists, and phrasebooks in these pilgrimage accounts emphasize foreignness and travail: readers are shown how difficult it is to negotiate these landscapes, and are simultaneously reminded of their English identities. The practical advice offered by these guides, while retaining its utilitarian possibilities, could also be read as assisting the creation of

imagined pilgrimages: in constructing these meditative journeys, readers come to understand what it means to be an English person and a Christian.

Sources

Anonymous. *Infomacon for pylgrymes unto the Holy Londe*. London: Wynkyn de Word, c. 1498.

Anonymous. *Map of the Holy land, illustrating the Itineraries of William Wey, fellow of Eton in A.D. 1458 and 1462*. London: J. B. Nichols and Sons, 1867.

Anonymous. *The pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde to the Holy Land, A.D. 1506*, edited by Sir Henry Ellis. Printed for the Camden Society, London, 1851, reprinted New York: AMS Press, 1968.

Kempe, Margery. *The book of Margery Kempe*, edited by Barry Windeatt. New York: Longman, 2000.

Torkington, Sir Richard. *Ye oldest diarie of Englysshe travel: being the hitherto unpublished narrative of the pilgrimage of Sir Richard Torkington to Jerusalem in 1517*, edited by W. J. Loftie. London: Field and Turner, 1884.

Wey, William. *The Itineraries of William Wey, fellow of Eton College. To Jerusalem, A.D. 1458 and A. D. 1462; and to Saint James of Compostella, A. D.1456*. London: J. B. Nichols and Sons, 1857.

Bibliography

Albala, Ken. *Eating right in the Renaissance*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.

Atkinson, Clarissa W. *Mystic and pilgrim: the "book" and the world of Margery Kempe*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell, 1983.

Campbell, Mary. *The witness and the other world: exotic European travel writing, 400-1600*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988.

Connolly, Daniel. "Imagined pilgrimage in the itinerary maps of Matthew Paris". *Art Bulletin*, 81, no. 4 (1999): 598-622.

Davies, J.G. "Pilgrimage and crusade literature", in *Journeys toward God: pilgrimage and crusade*, edited by Barbara N. Sargent-Baur, 1-30. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1992.

Delano-Smith, Catherine. "The intelligent pilgrim: maps and medieval pilgrimage to the Holy Land", in *Eastward bound: travel and travelers, 1050-1550*, edited by Rosamund Allen, 107-130. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004.

Ellis, Sir Henry. "Introduction", in Anonymous. *The pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde to the Holy Land, A.D. 1506*, edited by Sir Henry Ellis, v-xvi. Printed for the Camden Society, London, 1851, reprinted New York: AMS Press, 1968.

Finucane, Ronald. *Miracles and pilgrims: popular beliefs in medieval England*. London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1977.

Helfers, James. "From pilgrimage to exploration: the image of the journey in non-fictional travel narratives of the English tradition A.D. 100-1625". PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1990.

Howard, Donald R. *Writers and pilgrims: medieval pilgrimage narratives and their posterity*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1980.

Keeble, N.H. "'To be a pilgrim': constructing the Protestant like in early modern England", in *Pilgrimage: the English experience from Becket to Bunyan*, edited by Colin Morris and Peter Roberts, 238-256. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Kühnel, Bianca. *From the Earthly to the Heavenly Jerusalem: Representations of the Holy City in Christian Art of the First Millennium*. Freiburg: Herder, 1987.

Loftie, W.J. "A short account of Torkington's pilgrimage", in Sir Richard Torkington, *Ye oldest diarie of Englysshe travel: being the hitherto unpublished narrative of the pilgrimage of Sir Richard Torkington to Jerusalem in 1517*, edited by W. J. Loftie, i-xxxvi. London: Field and Turner, 1884.

Morris, Colin and Peter Roberts, eds. *Pilgrimage: the English experience from Becket to Bunyan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Ohler, Norbert. *The medieval traveler*, trans. Caroline Hiller. Woodbridge, Suffolk, Boydell Press, 1989.

Sargent-Baur, Barbara N. "Preface", in *Journeys toward God: pilgrimage and crusade*, edited by Barbara N. Sargent-Baur, vii-xii. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1992.

Simon, Anne. "Of smelly seas and ashen apples: two German pilgrims' view of the East", in *Eastward bound: travel and travelers, 1050-1550*, edited by Rosamund Allen, 196-220. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004.

Sumption, Jonathan. *The age of pilgrimage: the medieval journey to God*. Mahwah, New Jersey: Hidden Spring, 2003.

Tomasch, Sylvia. "Introduction: medieval geographical desire", in *Text and territory:*

geographical imagination in the European Middle Ages, edited by Sylvia Tomasch and Sealy Gilles, 1-14. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998.

Tomasi, Luigi. "*Homo Viator*: from pilgrimage to religious tourism via the journey", in *From medieval pilgrimage to religious tourism: the social and cultural economics of piety*, edited by William H. Swatos, Jr. and Luigi Tomasi, 1-24. Westport: Praeger, 2002.

Turner, Edith and Victor Turner. *Image and pilgrimage in Christian culture: anthropological perspectives*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1978.

Woodward, David. "Medieval *mappaemundi*", in *The history of cartography, volume one: cartography in prehistoric, ancient, and medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*, edited by J.B. Harley and David Woodward, 286-370. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.

Yeager, Suzanne Michele. "England's quest for Jerusalem: fourteenth century literature of crusade and pilgrimage". PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2004.