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Narrative Authority and Truth Claims in Late Medieval and Early Modern Accounts of Travel to Jerusalem

Paris O'Donnell

A Dissertation submitted to the School of English,
University of Dublin, Trinity College, for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

2008

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DECLARATION

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SUMMARY

This thesis explores continuity and change in the construction of authority and truth claims in accounts of travel to Jerusalem from 1432 to 1632. It takes as its main materials manuscript or printed narratives written by Englishmen or published in England which describe a completed experience of travel to Palestine. The project as a whole contests simple dichotomies between late medieval and early modern ways of writing about travel to Jerusalem. Late medieval narratives have often been represented as credulous and uncritically imitative. By contrast, early modern travel writing, according to many accounts, is characterised by absolute rejection of pilgrimage and emotional or devotional investment in "holy places" in favour of historical, ethnographical or mercantile interests. The thesis acknowledges and explores the profound changes that took place in this writing over the period in question, focusing on the consequences of this for constructions of narrative authority and truth claims. In complement to such exploration, it demonstrates that the relationship between pre-Reformation pilgrimage writing and post-Reformation travel accounts of Jerusalem in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries is not one of absolute disjunction. There is substantial formal stability in the patterns of pilgrimage over the period in question. Authority, authenticity and the relationships among text, material practices of pilgrimage and memory preoccupy the authors of pre-Reformation narratives as well as post-Reformation accounts. This thesis demonstrates this fact, while taking account of the changing ways in which pilgrims or travellers respond to these preoccupations in their narratives.

Because this thesis takes account of pilgrimage as a practice as well as a pretext for narrative, and because of the chronological span and variety of materials that it addresses, no single critical methodology is appropriate. The project is informed by work from disciplines including archaeology, anthropology, history, theology and history of the book. It strives for range and balance of perspectives in the theoretically-informed literary criticism of which it takes account. Chapter 1 examines the origins and evolution of pilgrimage to Jerusalem from the early Christian church to the beginning of the fifteenth century. Work by archaeologists, historians, art historians and literary critics informs this chapter, as does a range of pre-fifteenth-century pilgrimage writing, select patristic writings, crusade chronicles and other primary documents. The chapter provides a survey of the events and trends in the course of this evolution which had most impact on the late medieval and early modern pilgrimage. It takes account of the emergence of a network of monuments marking holy places under the emperor Constantine. This network provided the foundations for many aspects of the late medieval and early modern Franciscan pilgrimage. The interaction and mutual influence of pilgrimage and the Crusades is also addressed. There is concise discussion of the role that the

Crusades played in encouraging the development of the doctrine of indulgences and in attaching the availability of remission of sins to Jerusalem and certain holy places. The establishment of the Franciscan custodianship of the holy places is examined, as is the increasingly chronological, narratively-oriented pilgrimage which resulted from this development as well as other factors. This prepares for an understanding of the fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century pilgrimage narratives discussed in Chapter 2, and provides a basis for the discussions of authority and methods of authentication throughout the rest of the thesis.

Chapter 2 investigates English accounts of the Jerusalem pilgrimage written or published between 1432 and 1524. It examines representations of pilgrimages in Jerusalem in the writings of mystics, pilgrimage narratives and guides for pilgrims. The generic divisions among these writings are probed, instances of cross-fertilisation are identified, and the relationship between generic conventions and representations of the experience of the holy places is elucidated. The chapter shows that these writings yield rewards to literary analysis, in spite of the disdain in which they have often been held by textual editors and literary critics. They disclose purpose and discernment in their appropriation of material from existing sources, varied strategies for asserting the authority of what they recount, and ingenuity in fixing the memory of the pilgrimage in text.

In Chapter 3, attention is transferred from pilgrimage narratives to criticisms and defences of pilgrimage during the Reformation. The chapter provides an examination of the consequences of these debates for devotional travel to Jerusalem in the English context, a particular focus which has not been applied frequently or extensively to the controversies of the Reformation. It traces the issues animating debate about pilgrimage and related practices in treatises, sermons, humanist dialogues and letters, concentrating on the decades leading up to and immediately following the emergence of the Lutheran faction from 1517. Chapter 3 then examines the major changes in the legal status of pilgrimage within the English church from the reign of Henry VIII to that of Elizabeth I. Finally, it looks briefly at the evidence for the extent of the suppression of pilgrimage and related practices, some instances of resistance to it, and considers the efficacy with which this seems to have been accomplished. This chapter concentrates on the importance of authority and the processes of authentication in these debates to prepare for the investigation of the changed conceptions of authority, veracity and methods of proof which distinguish late medieval pilgrimage narratives from early modern descriptions. It also demonstrates the difficulty among critics of pilgrimage in leaving behind the vocabulary of relics, shrines and other material practices.

Chapter 4 untangles the various factors that contributed to the profound change in modes of writing about the journey to Jerusalem. As well as doctrinal debates, these included other developments in the culture and literature of travel and the economy of publication. It finds that early modern English accounts are often responsive to prior or almost contemporary

publications, like their late medieval counterparts, but that such interaction often represents itself as adversarial rather than imitative. The way of narrating Protestant encounters with the Franciscan friars and the practices of the Jerusalem pilgrimage is considered as it relates to pre-Reformation writing and as it is informed by the Reformation. It demonstrates that greater prominence is given in early modern narratives to motives for travel and processes of evaluation of authority and evidence. The performance of scepticism towards the pilgrimage, or of confrontation with its guides, contributes to the establishment of a reliable and orthodox narrator. Nonetheless, on closer examination, some of these narratives reveal nuanced, ambivalent and heterogeneous responses to the sites deemed holy at Jerusalem and to the practices of pilgrimage. The narrating voices find inventive ways of accommodating such responses without compromising authority or orthodoxy. In some cases, strategic representation of participation in certain practices of pilgrimage serves to bolster the construction of authority.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It is a pleasure and a relief to acknowledge formally the advice, support and help I have received from so many sources and of so many kinds. My pre-eminent academic debt is to my supervisor, Professor Eiléan Ní Chuilleanáin. She generously shared her time, formidable learning and calm, constant counsel from the earliest stages of this research to the final drafting. She always read my work carefully and promptly, suggesting fruitful areas of investigation. Her own rigour and her probing questions taught me a great deal about the responsibilities and rewards of scholarship and gave me an intimation of how much more there is still to learn.

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I thank the staff of the British Library, the Cambridge University Library, the Duke Humphrey Library, Oxford and the National Library of Ireland. I am particularly grateful to Dr Arnold Hunt, Curator of Modern Historical Manuscripts at the British Library, for his advice, and to Peter Kidd, formerly of the British Library. Heartiest thanks go to the librarians of Trinity College, Dublin, especially the duty librarians and Early Printed Books staff, who have borne patiently with inquiries and requests over the last four years.

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My greatest debt is to my parents, John and Kathleen O'Donnell. Their unstinting, unconditional support has taken more forms than could be enumerated here or anywhere else. This thesis is dedicated to them, with wishes that the coming years will bring them many rare adventures and pleasurable peregrinations of their own.

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Table 1

Numbers of Travellers arriving in Jerusalem from the British Isles, 1583-1632.

Note on Translations

Where possible, both the original text and its translation are given in citations of foreign-language sources. In general, the English translation is given in the body of thesis and the original in a footnote. Where an argument depends on lexical detail or phrasing in the original, however, the original is cited in the text and the translation given in footnote. The source for translations is given in the footnotes; if a source is not cited, it is my translation.

Note on Transcriptions

Spelling has not been modernised. Superscript letters have been lowered. Contractions have been expanded and supplied letters italicised.

Note on Geographical Terms

As a result of the numerous migrations, conquests and consequent changes of name and boundaries which take place in the territories around Jerusalem over the period with which this thesis is concerned, as well as three major religions' claims to it as a holy city, terminology is potentially contentious. The difficulty is exacerbated by the fact that under Mamluk and Ottoman rule (under which most visits treated here were undertaken) there existed no administrative unit mapping onto the territory to which European travellers refer as "the Holy Land": Jerusalem was part of the province of Damascus, which was subdivided under the Mamluks into the six districts of Gaza, Lydda, Jerusalem, Nablus, Hebron and Ḳāḳūn; under the Ottomans, into the *sanjaq*s of Gaza, Jerusalem, Nablus, Safed and Lajjun. The choice of a single name to designate the country oriented around Jerusalem, such as "*Canaan*," "*Judaea*" "*Palaestina*" or "*Jund Filasṭīn*" may attract accusations that one is asserting a particular ideological scheme or claim to possession, or eliding the presence of certain political structures or inhabitants. Nonetheless, I have settled on "Palestine," although "Holy Land" is still used where its avoidance would confuse or unhelpfully erase the connotation of sanctity which a narrative under discussion is emphasising. By the term "Palestine" I understand, roughly, an area including not only the Mediterranean littoral occupied by the Philistines but the larger area known as "Palaestina Prima" under the Romans, stretching north to Mount Carmel and south as far as Gaza. I choose this since it has a fairly stable meaning throughout the period under discussion. After its use by Roman and Byzantine governors, an Arab equivalent, *Jund Filasṭīn*, continued to refer to a territory corresponding to the Roman province within the Islamic state, although it was gradually enlarged. Haim Gerber gathers evidence attesting to the continued existence of *Filasṭīn* as a concept (if not an administrative unit) throughout the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and beyond, and it was also used by many of the English and Scottish travellers discussed here. See Haim Gerber, "'Palestine' and Other Territorial Concepts in the 17th Century," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 30, no. 4 (1998): 565. B. Lewis, Ch. Pellat, and J. Schacht, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., vol. 2 (Leiden: E. J. Brill; London: Luzac, 1965), s.v. "Filasṭīn."

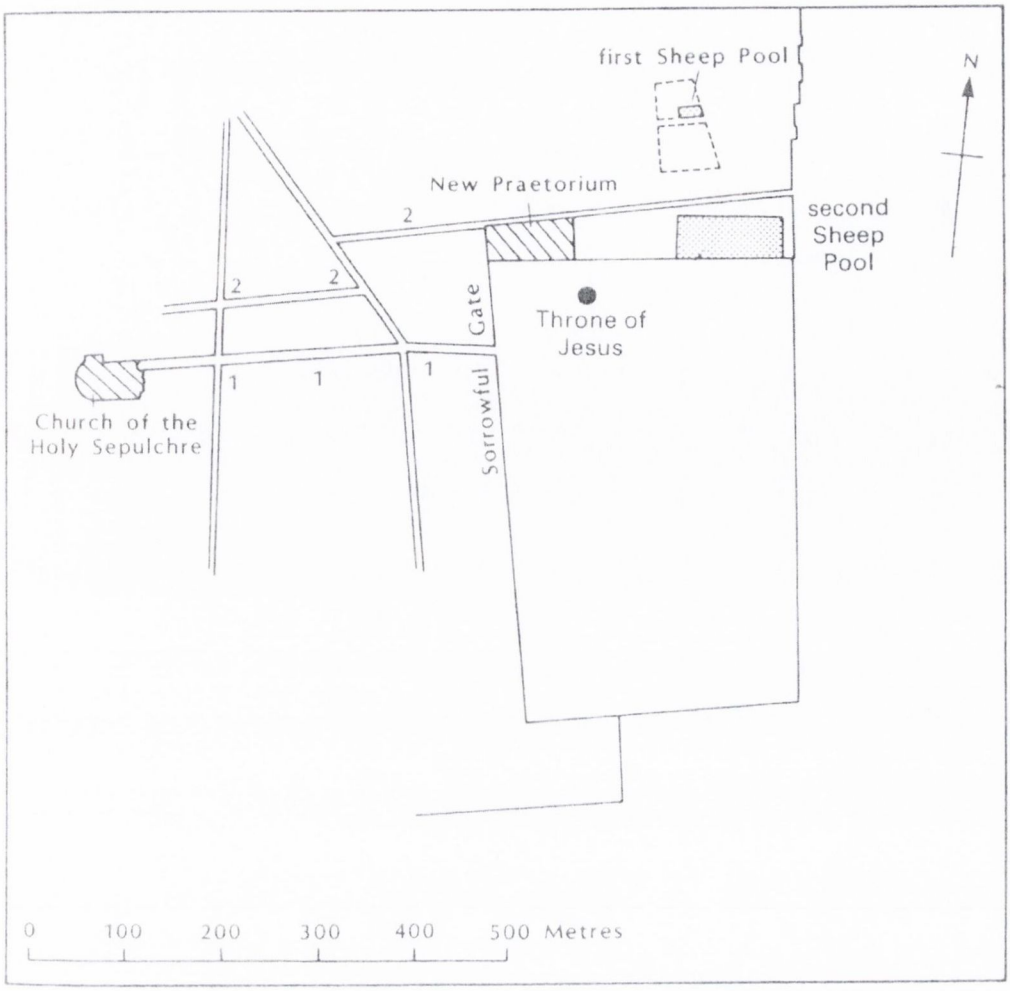


Figure 1

"The Templars' Way of the Cross." From John Wilkinson, ed., with Joyce Hill and W. F. Ryan, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1185*, Hakluyt Society Publications, 2nd series, vol. 167 (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1988), 77. The route marked 1 represents the Way of the Cross of the Templars. The route marked 2 represents that followed after the return of the Temple Mount to Muslim hands, when it became inaccessible to Christians.

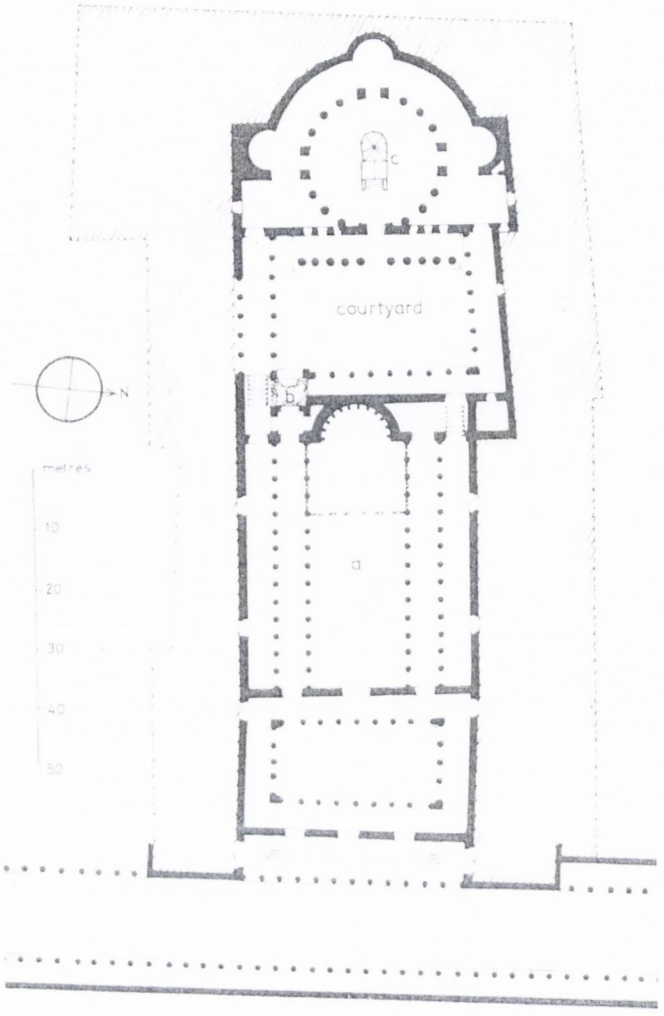


Figure 2

Plan of the church buildings at Golgotha in the 4th century. From John Wilkinson, ed., *Jerusalem Pilgrims Before the Crusades* (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1977), 174.

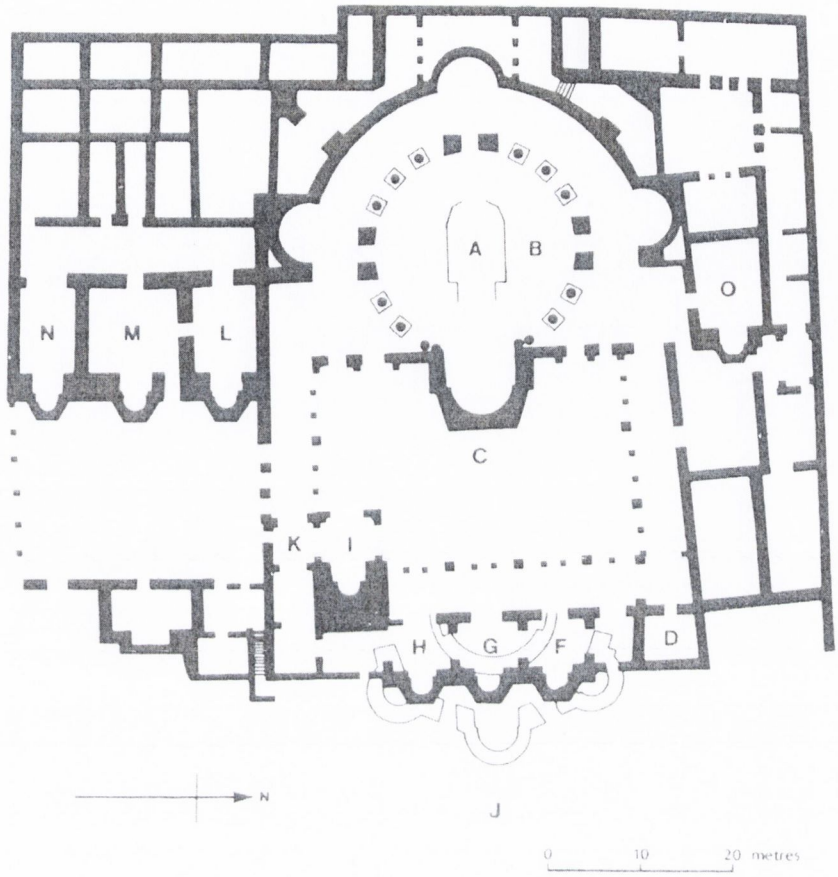
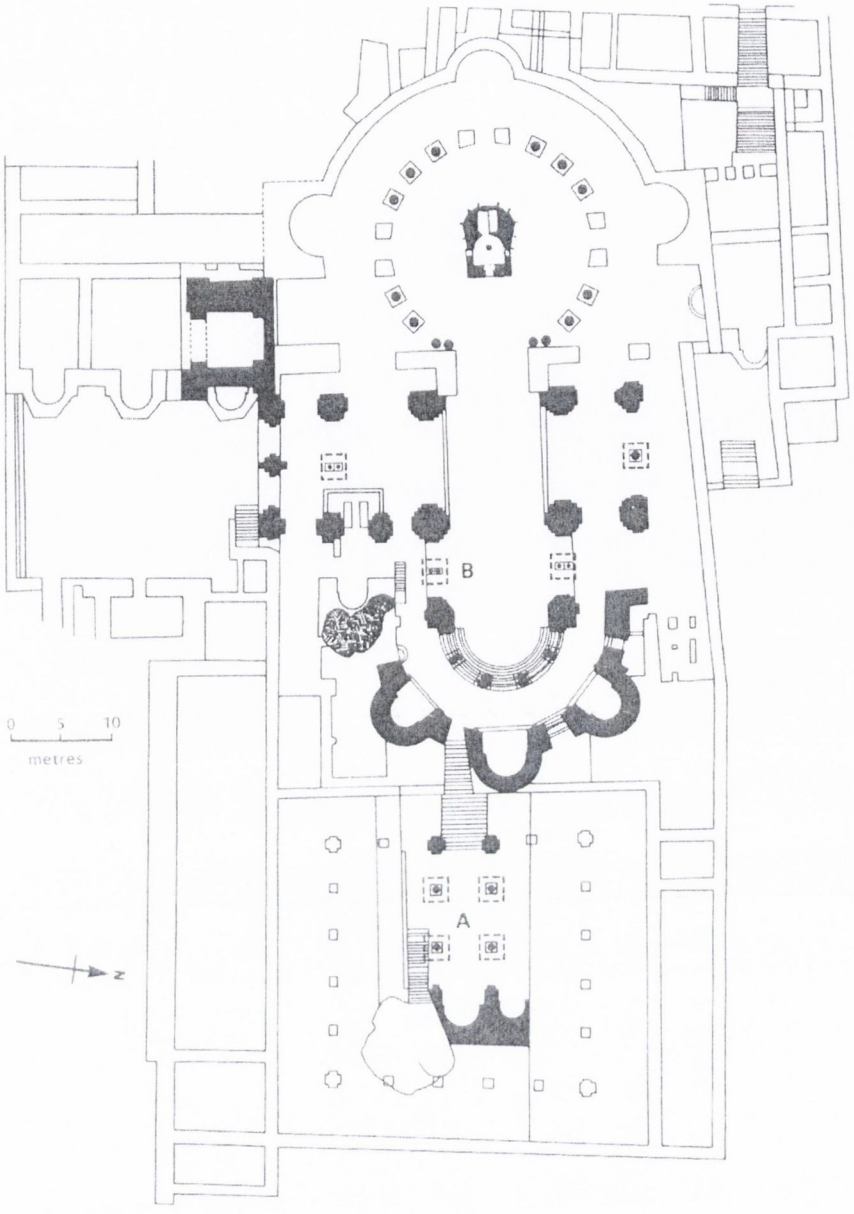


Figure 3

Plan of the rebuilding of the Byzantine Church of the Holy Sepulchre, mid-eleventh century. Slightly modified from Wilkinson, ed., *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1185*, 35. The black shading represents the structure of the church at this stage; the outlining represents the modifications made during the twelfth-century crusader rebuilding.



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Plan of the completed Latin Kingdom rebuilding of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. From Wilkinson, ed., *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1185*, 37.



Figure 5

The Earl of Warwick's departure on pilgrimage. *Pageant of the Birth Life and Death of Richard Beauchamp Earl of Warwick K. G. 1389-1439.* Edited by Viscount Dillon and W. H. St John Hope. London: Longmans, 1914, fol. 5^{r} (p. 18). The caption reads, "Here shewes howe good provision made of Englisshe clothe and other thynges necessary/ and licence hadde of the kyng ꝥ Erle Richard sailed towardes the holy londe/ and specially to the holy Cite of Jherusalem/ Where our lorde Jhesu Criste wilfully suffered his bitter passion. for the redempcion of al man kynde."

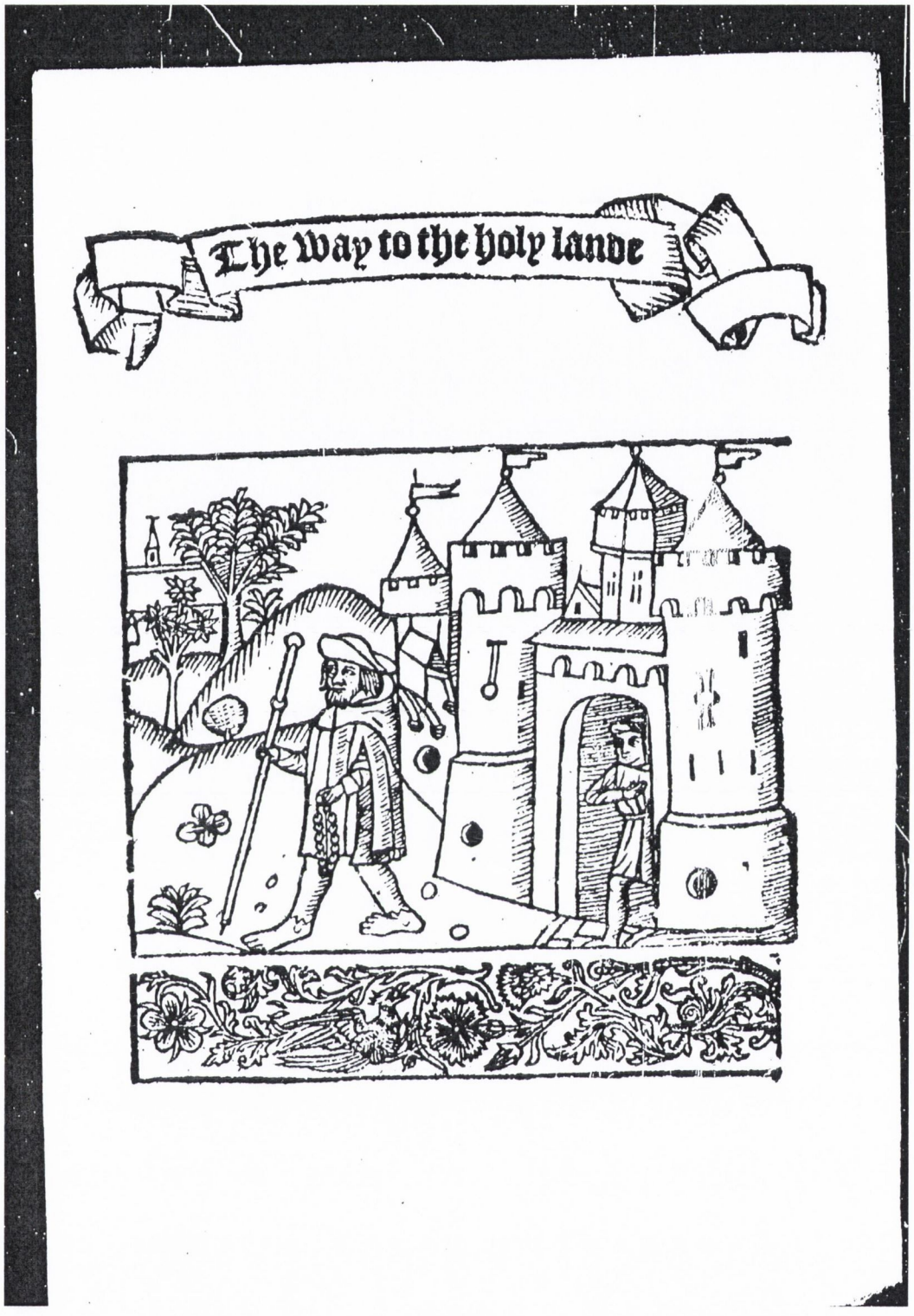


Figure 6

Title-page, *The Way to the Holy Lande* [*Informacion for pylgrymes vnto the Holy Londe*]. [Wynkyn de Worde], 1524.

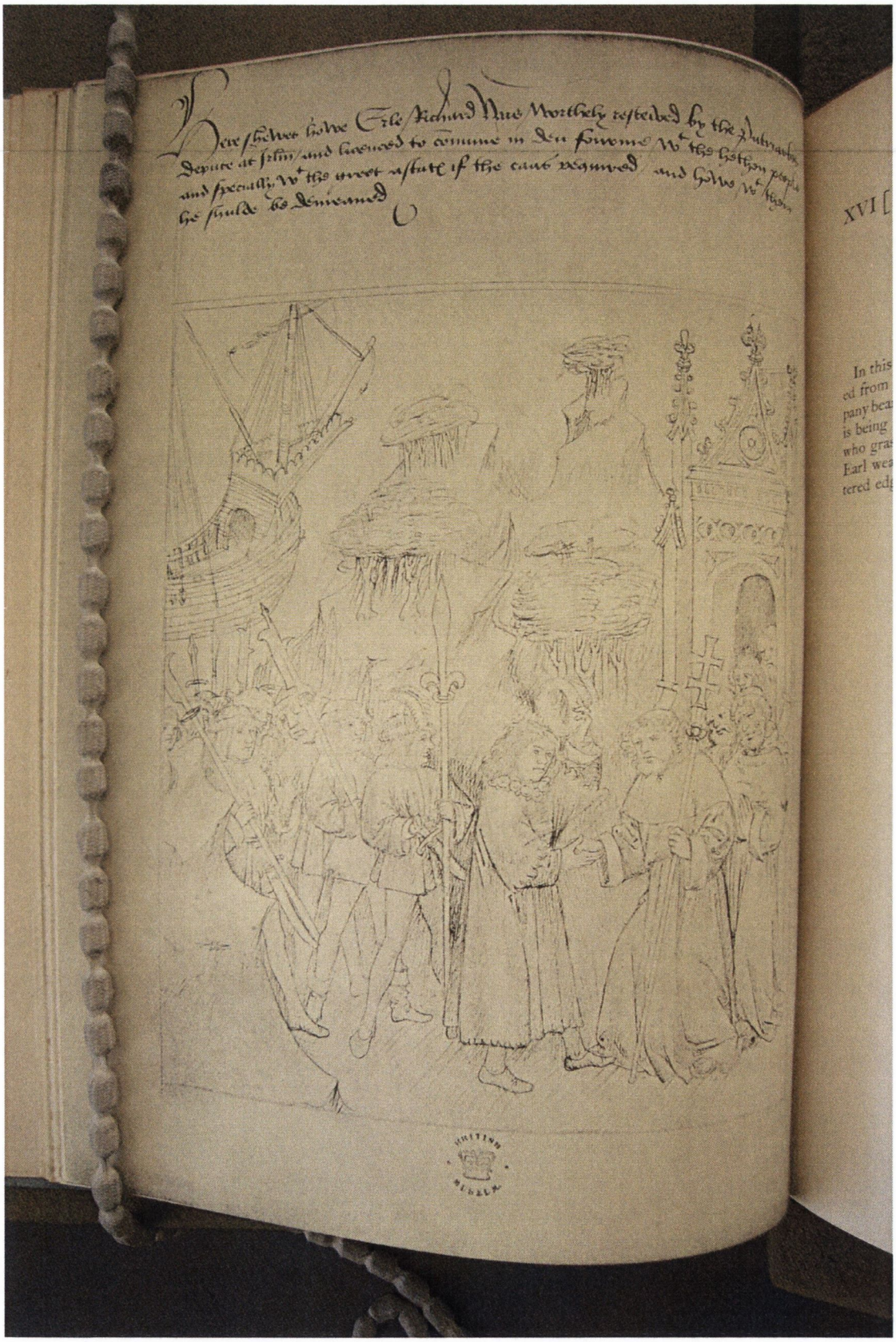


Figure 7

The Earl of Warwick's arrival in Jerusalem. *Warwick Pageant*, ed. Dillon and Hope, fol. 8^{v} (p. 31). The caption reads, "Here shewes howe Erle Richard was worthely resceived by the Patriarkes depute at Jerusalem/ and licenced to commune in deu fourme with the hethen people and specially with the greet astates if the caus required/ and howe with them he shulde be demeaned."

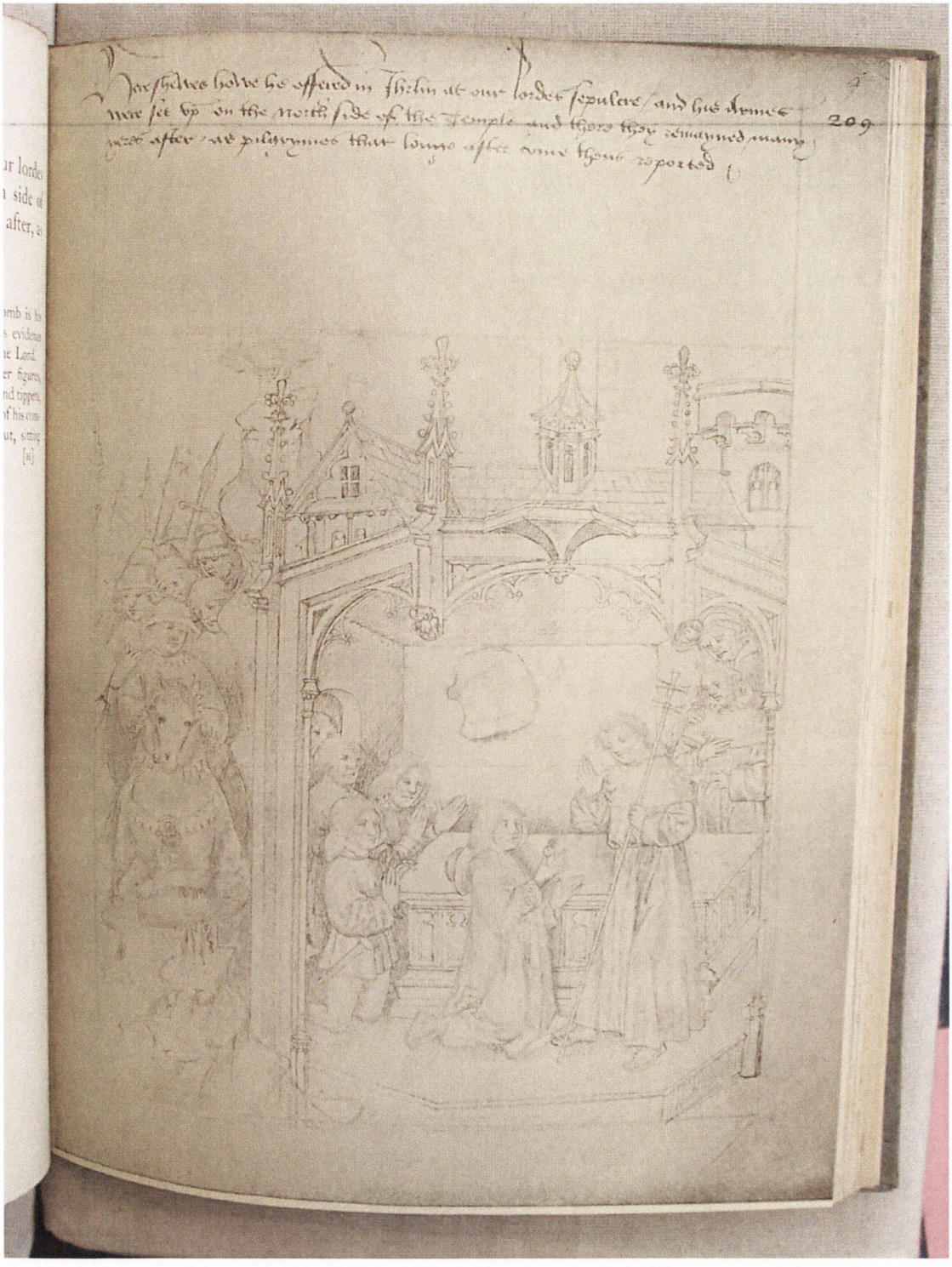


Figure 8

The Earl of Warwick's visit to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. *Warwick Pageant*, ed. Dillon and Hope, fol. 9[r] (p. 34). The caption reads, ""Here shewes howe he offered in Jherusalem at our Lordes Sepulcre and his Armes were set vp on the north side of the Temple and there they remained many yeres after, as pylgrymes that longe after came thens reported."



Figure 9

The Earl of Warwick's meeting with Sir Baltirdam. *Warwick Pageant*, ed. Dillon and Hope, fol. 10[r] (p. 38). The caption reads, "Here shewes howe Sir Baltirdam at that dyner in his owne place set first Erle Richardes Chapelleyn in the chief place/ and next hym Erle Richard/ he hym self beyng as marchall/ and after dyner rewarded his men with silkes and stones of greet valure/ And in secrete wise tolde hym. that in his hert thowe he durst nat utter his concept ꝥ yet he feithfully beleved as we do. Rehersyng by ordre the articles of our feith:"

1. Goods bequeathed by William Wey to a chapel at Edington Abbey "made to the lyknes of the sepulkyr of owre Lorde at Jerusalem" (English).
2. Table of contents (Latin).
3. Changes of money from England to Rome/Venice (English).
4. Provisions to be made by travelers from Venice to Jerusalem (English).
5. Summary in Middle English metre of the holy places in Palestine.
6. Latin hexameter *memoria technica* of holy places to be seen in the Holy Land.
7. 10 reasons for pilgrimage (*materia moventes Christianos peregrinare ad terram sanctam*), including, at number 8, a description of the holy places in Palestine (Latin).
8. First itinerary of William Wey, describing the journey to Jerusalem and the holy places to be seen in Palestine (Latin).
9. List of cities and towns, Calais - Rome - Venice - Calais (Latin).
10. Second itinerary to Holy Land, describing the journey to and from Jerusalem and the holy places to be seen in Palestine, including "De dubiis motis rerum in terra et eorum solucionibus, per magistrum Willelmum Wey" (Latin).
11. Greek and Hebrew lexica and useful phrases for pilgrims (Latin and English).
12. Of the city of Venice and dominions and places between Venice and Jerusalem, and relics along the way, notable things in the holy land, resolved doubts (Latin).
13. Places, cities, towns, castles, mountains, rivers, springs in Holy Land, as appear in map of holy land, and then an alphabetical index of proper names (Latin).
14. Distances between places in holy land (Latin).
15. Useful phrases and lexicon, Latin to Greek.
16. Indulgences at Rome (Latin).
17. Itinerary to Santiago de Compostela (Latin).

Figure 10

List of contents of Wey's *Itineraries*.

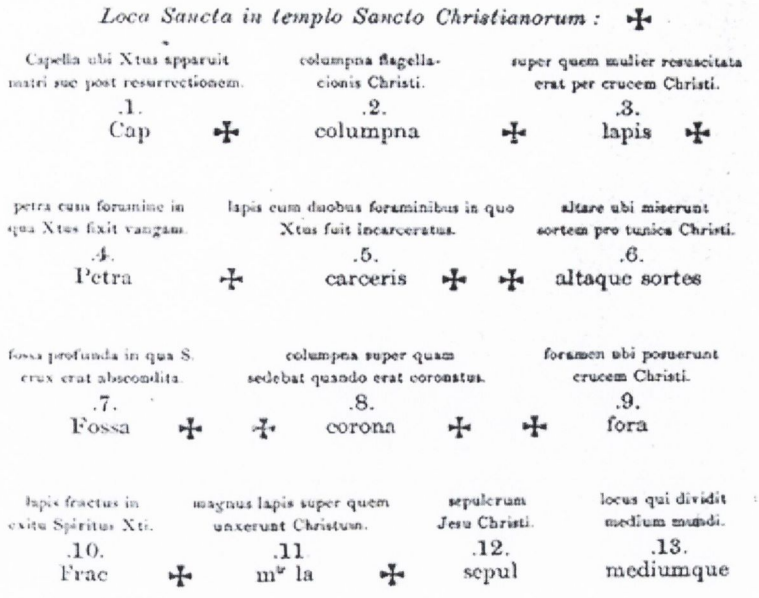


Figure 11

Memoria technica of holy places in the Holy Sepulchre. William Wey. *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. From the Original Manuscript in the Bodleian Library*. Edited by George Williams. London: J.B. Nichols and Sons for Roxburghe Club, 1857, 23.

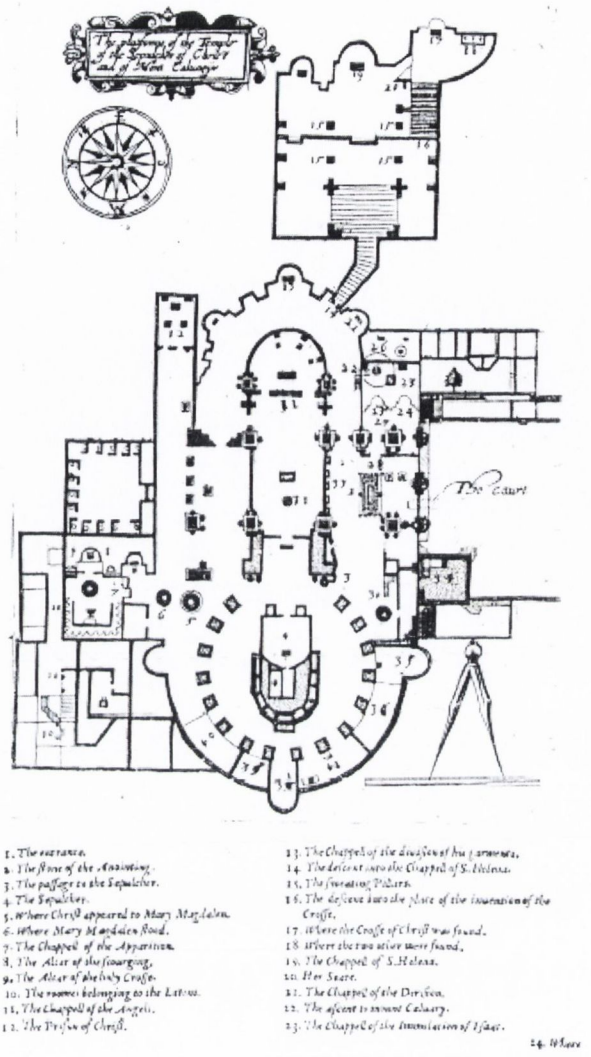


Figure 12

Floorplan of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. From George Sandys, *Relation of a Journey Begun An: Dom: 1610 Foure Bookes. Containing a Description of the Turkish Empire, of AEgypt, of the Holy Land, of the Remote Parts of Italy, and Ilands Adioyning*. London, 1615, 163.



Part.6 By 3. voyages in Europe, Asia, and Affrica. 287

that cost me 3. Chickens of Gold. The beginning whereof I recall, although the principall, be lost in the Inquisition of *Malaga*, was thus: *Frater Gaudentius Saybantus ordinis minorum regularis obseruantiæ Sancti Antonij Dei & Apostolicæ sedis gratia, Sacri montis Sion Guardianus, Terræ sanctæ gubernator & custos; ac in partibus orientis Apostolicus Commissarius, salutem in*

The discourse of the Seale is in the page following.

Domino

Figure 13

The design of the seal of the Father Guardian of Mount Sion on Lithgow's pilgrimage certificate. William Lithgow, *The Totall Discourse, Of the Rare Aduentures, and paintefull Peregrinations of long nineteene Yeares Trauayles, from Scotland, to the most Famous Kingdomes in Europe, Asia, and Affrica.* London: Nicholas Okes, 1632, 287.



Figure 14

The design of the tattoo commissioned by William Lithgow. William Lithgow, *The Totall Discourse, Of the Rare Aduentures, and paintefull Peregrinations of long nineteene Yeares Trauayles, from Scotland, to the most Famous Kingdomes in Europe, Asia, and Affrica.* London: Nicholas Okes, 1632, 285.

againe, he girts himselfe therewith. Who then arising, and forth-with kneeling close to the Sepulcher, enclining his head vpon the same; he is created by receiuing three strokes on the shouler, and by saying thrice, *I ordaine thee a Knight of the holy Sepulcher of our Lord Iesus Christ, in the Name of the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghost*; then kisses he him, and puts about his necke a chaine of Gold, whereat hangeth a *Ierusalem* Crosse: who arising, kisses the Sepulcher, and restoring the aforesaid Ornaments, departeth.

From the top of this Monasterie, turney you may the most part of this Citie: whereof much lies waste; the old buildings (except some few) all ruined, the new contemptible. None exceed two stories: the vnder no better then Vaults; the vpper arched aboue, and standing vpon Arches, being well confirmed against fire, as hauing through out no combustible matter: the Roofes flat, and couered with Plaister. Inhabited it is by Christians out of their deuotion; and by *Turks*, for the benefite receiued by Christians, otherwise perhaps it would be generally abandoned.

After a little refreshment, the same day we came (which was vpon Maundie-Thursday) we went vnto the Temple of the Sepulcher, euery one carrying with him his Pillow and Carpet. The way from the Monasterie continues in a long descent, (the East side of *Gihon*) and then a little ascendeth to Mount *Caluary*. Mount *Caluarie* a rocky hill, neither high nor ample, was once a place of publicke execution: then without, but now wel-nigh within the heart of the Citie, whereupon the Emperour *Adrian* erected a Fane vnto *Venus*; but the vertuous *Helena* (of whom our Countrey may iustly glorie) ouerthrew that receptacle of Paganisme, and built in the roome thereof this magnificent Temple, which not onely possesseth the Mount, but the Garden below, together with a part of the *Valley of Carcasses*, (so called, in that they threw thereinto the bodies of the executed) which lay betweene Mount *Caluary*, and the Wall of the old Citie. The Frontispice opposing the South, of an excellent structure; hauing two ioyning doores; the one now walled vp, supported with Columnes of Marble, ouer which a transome ingrauen with Historicall figures; the Walls and Arches crested, and garnished with Floritry. On the left hand there standeth a Tower, now something ruined, (once, as some say, a Steeple, and deprined by *Saladine*, of Bels vnsufferable to the *Mahometans:*) on the right hand, by certaine steps a little Chappell is ascended, coupled aboue, and sustained at the corners with pillars of Marble: below through a Wall, which bounds the East side of the Court, a paire of staires doe mount to the top of the Rocke, (yet no Rocke euident) where is a little Chappell built (as they say) in the place where *Abraham* would haue sacrificed *Isaac*; of much deuotion, and kept by the Priest of the *Abissines*. This ioyneth to the top of the Temple, leuell, and (if I forgot not) floored with plaister. Out of the Temple there arise two ample coupulos: that next the East (couering the East end and Iles of the Chancell) to bee ascended by steps on the out-side: the other, ouer the Church of the Sepulcher, being open in the middle. O! who can without sorrow, without indignation behold the enemies of Christ to be the Lords of his Sepulcher! Who at festiuall times sit mounted vnder a Canopie, to gather Money of such as doe enter: the profits arising thereof, being farmed at eight thousand Sultanies. Each *Franke* payes foureteene, (except he be of some religious Order, who then of what Sect soeuer, is exempted from payments) wherein is included the Impost due at the gate of the Citie; but the Christians that be subiect to the *Turke*, doe pay but a trifle in respect thereof. At other times the doore is sealed with the Seale of the *Sanziacke*, and not opened without his direction: whereat there hangs seuen Cords, which by the Bels that they ring, giue notice to the seuen seuerall Sects of Christians (who liue within the Temple continually) of such as would speake with them, which they doe through a little Wicket, and thereat receiue the prouision that is brought them. Now to make the foundation euen in a place so vneuen, much of the Rocke hath beene hewne away, and parts too low, supplyed with mightie Arches: so that those naturall formes are vtterly deformed, which would haue better satisfied the beholder, and too much regard hath made them lesse regardable.

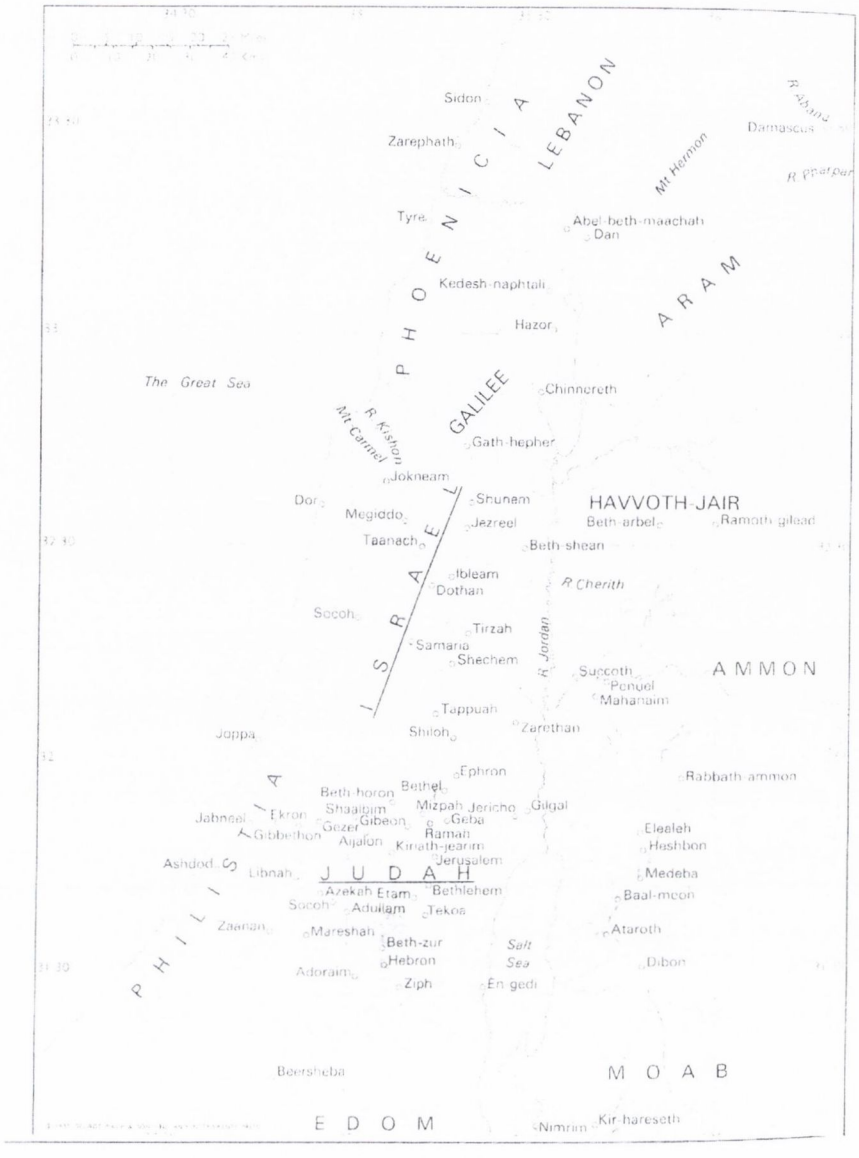
Mount *Caluary*.

Let his friends enioy him, and Heauen where is his glory: as for his Sepulcher, *He is risen, he is not there*. And what then haue his enemies, but what himselfe would not hold, and which could not hold him? Which it hath pleased him to permit to them, that his followers might follow him to heauen in their affections and conuersation. *Col. 3. Phil. 3.* their hearts being both the place of his Sepulcher, where by vertue of his death, our *Old Man mortified* & of his Resurrection, whereby *we liue not, but he liues in vs*. Yet is this complaint iust, because In iustice and superstitions of Christians haue made Infidels, Lords of that holy place. Pilgrimages are good, when we are thereby made Pilgrimes from the world and our selues. Thy selfe is the holyest place thou canst visit, if with faith and repentance made the Lords Temple, which the *Iewish* signified, and to which the Fathers did, and wil men still doe visite these places, by folly peruerted to superstition (as in the former Discourse is obserued) when *Place* hath more place then Grace, or religious immitation of those whose holinesse had made the places esteemed holy.

The roofe of the Temple is of a high pitch, curiously arched, and supported with great pillars of Marble: the out Iles gallered aboue; the vniuersall Fabricke stately and sumptuous. After we had disposed of our luggage in a part of the North-gallery, belonging to the *Latines*, the Confessor offered to shew vs the holy and obseruable places of the Temple: which wee gladly accepted of; he demaunding first if deuotion or curiositie had possest vs with that desire. So that for omitting *Pater Nosters*, and *Aue Maries*, wee lost many yeeres Indulgences, which euery place doth plentifully affoord to such as affect them, and contented our selues with an Historicall Relation. Which I will not declare in order as shewne, but take them as they lye from the first entrance of the Temple. Right against the doore, in the midst of the South Ile, and leuell

Figure 15

Purchas' glosses on Sandys' account of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Samuel Purchas, ed., *Hakluytys Posthumus or Purchas his Pilgrimes* ... 4 vols. London, 1625. Vol. 2, 1311.



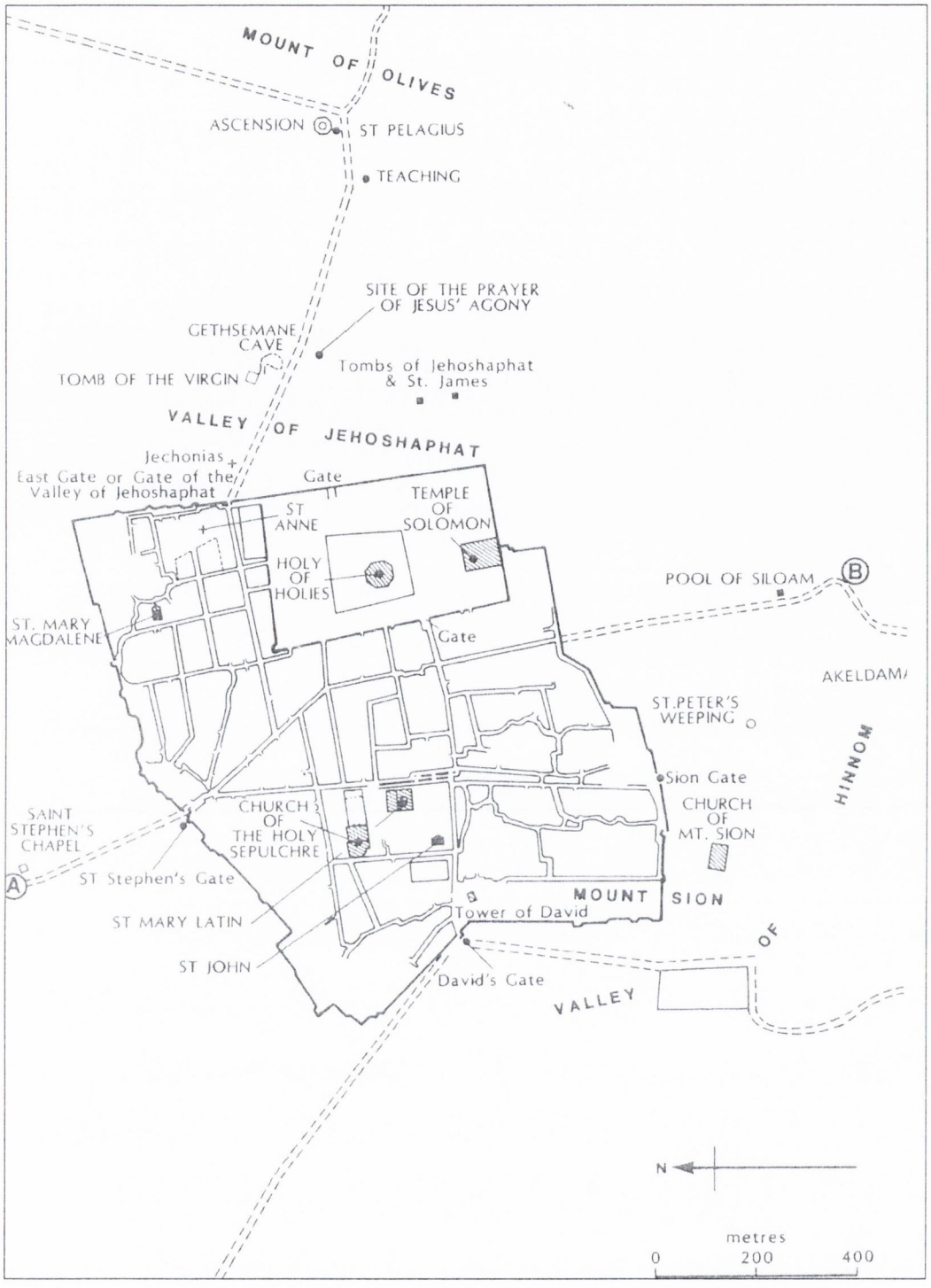
Map 1

Map of Palestine during the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, including Mount Hermon. From John J. Bimson, ed., *Illustrated Encyclopedia of Bible Places: Towns and Cities, Countries and States, Archaeology and Topography* (Leicester: Intervarsity-Press, 1995), 240.



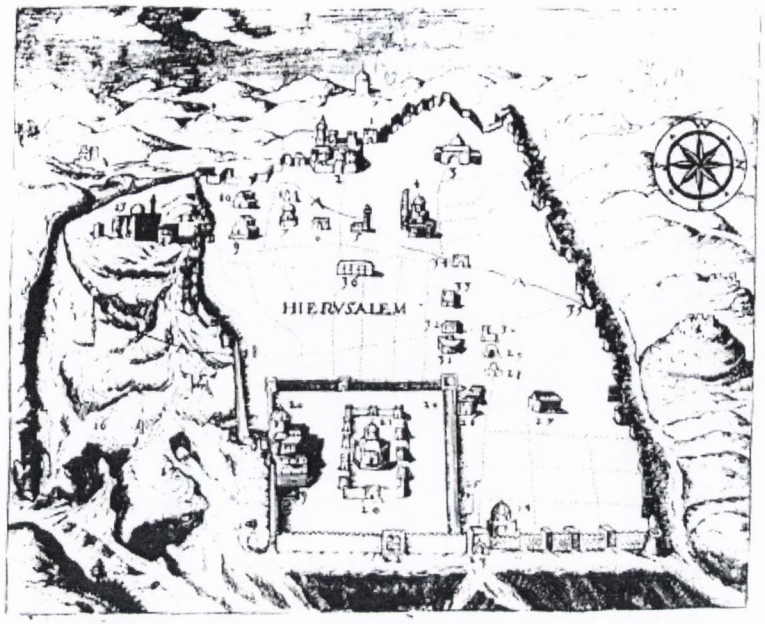
Map 2

Map of Palestine in the time of the Judges, including Mount Tabor. From Bimson, ed., *Illustrated Encyclopedia of Bible Places*, 129.



Map 3

General plan of Jerusalem during its occupation by the Crusaders. From Wilkinson, ed., *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1185*, 25.



1. *The gate of Ioppa.*
2. *The Caſtle of the Piſans,*
3. *The Monaſtery of the Franciſcans.*
4. *The Temple of the Sepulcher.*
5. *A Moſque, once a collegiat Church where ſtood the houſe of Zebedeus.*
6. *The iron gate.*
7. *The Church of S. Marke where his houſe ſtood.*
8. *A Chappell where once ſtood the houſe of S. Thomas.*
9. *The Church of S. Iames.*
10. *The Church of the Angels where once ſtood the pallace of Annas the High Prieſt.*
11. *The Port of Dauid.*
12. *The Church of S. Sauiour, where ſtood the pallace of Caiphas.*
13. *A Moſque, once a goodly Temple there ſtanding, where ſtood the Cœnaculum.*
14. *Where the Iewes would haue taken away the body of the Bleſſed Virgin.*
15. *Where Peter wept.*
16. *The fountaine Siloe.*
17. *The fountaine of the Bleſſed Virgin.*
18. *Port Iherquilino.*
19. *The Church of the Purification of the Bleſſed Virgin, now conuerted into a Moſque.*
20. *The court of Solomons Temple.*
21. *A Moſque, where ſtood the Temple of Solomon.*
22. *The Golden gate.*
23. *The gate of S. Steuen.*
24. *The Church of Anna, now a Moſque.*
25. *The Poole Bethesda.*
26. *Where the pallace of Pilate ſtood.*
27. *Where ſtood, as the ſay, the pallace of Herod.*
28. *Pilats arch.*
29. *The Church of the Bleſſed Virgin ſwouning.*
30. *Where they met Simon of Cyrene.*
31. *Where the rich Glutton dwelt.*
32. *Where the Phariſie dwelt,*
33. *Where Veronica dwelt.*
34. *The gate of Iuſtice.*
35. *Port Ephraim.*
36. *The Bazar.*
37. *The circuite of part of the old City.*

Map 4

Map of Jerusalem. From George Sandys, *Relation of a Journey Begun An: Dom: 1610. Foure Bookes. Containing a Description of the Turkish Empire, of AEgypt, of the Holy Land, of the Remote Parts of Italy, and Ilands Adioyning*, (London: Richard Field for W. Barrett, 1615), 158.

Table 1: Numbers of Travellers arriving in Jerusalem from the British Isles, 1583-1632

Year	Travellers described as...							Total number of travellers from England, Scotland and Ireland
	'Anglus Catholic-us'	'Anglus' or from London	'Anglus heretic-us'	'Scotus'	'Anglus discessit absque confessione' or 'inconfessus'	Anglus discessit absque Sacramentis'	'Hibernus'	
1583	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1599	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
1600	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
1601	0	13[a]	1	0	0	0	0	14
1602	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	2
1603	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1604	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	2
1605	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2
1606	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2
1607	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	3
1608	3	4	0	1	0	0	0	8
1609	0	1	0	0	4	0	0	5
1610	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	7
1611	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	6
1612	0	6	0	1	0	0	0	7
1613	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
1614	0	[2][b]	0	1	0	0	0	3
1615	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
1616	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	2
1617	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
1618	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1619	0	1	0	0	4	0	1	6
1620	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1621	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
1622	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1623	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1624	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1625	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1626	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1627	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1628	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1629	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
1630	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
1631	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1632	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Total 1583-1632	**7**	**47**	**6**	**8**	**12**	**1**	**1**	**82**

Table 1

Note: No travellers belonging to these categories are recorded in the years 1584-1592

[a] "Godifredus Kerbiius" is omitted from Zimolong's transcription but, as stated in note 1, his name is visible in a photograph of the pilgrim register provided by Joan Taylor. Consequently thirteen travellers are to be counted in this entry.

[b] "Joannes Ramsei Anglus" and "Thomas Coriato." Since Thomas Coryate is known to be English, I have included him here.

INTRODUCTION

When there was at last no doubt but what we saw the Holy Land, and had the mountains of Israel before our eyes, the captain commanded that all men should hold their peace, and he with the voice of a herald certified to us that this was that blessed land wherein Jesus Christ, the Son of God, our Lord, was conceived, was born, lived, was crucified, died, was buried, and rose again from His sepulchre on the third day, as we all declare that we steadfastly believe.... So two pilgrims who were priests and monks, and who had good voices, went along the rowing-benches as far as the mast ... and there in union they began to sing with a loud voice the hymn of Ambrose and Augustine,[1] which was taken up by all the other clergy present as it is sung in church, each man singing it according to the notation of his own choir at home. I have never heard so sweet and joyous a song, for there were many voices, and their various dissonance made as it were sweet music and harmony; for all alike sang the same words, but the notes were different and yet sweetly harmonized together .... There were many Latin priests, Sclavonians, Italians, Lombards, Gauls, Franks, Germans, Englishmen, Irishmen, Hungarians, Scots, Dacians, Bohemians, and Spaniards, and many there were who spoke the same tongue, but came from different dioceses, and belonged to different religious orders. All these sang the glorious *Te Deum*, in which even the laity, pilgrims and the crew of the galley alike, joined in, shouting aloud for joy at our good fortune.... It seemed to us that while we sang thus our galley bounded beneath us and sailed faster, ploughing the waves more freely, that the wind filled the sail fuller, and the water, stirred by the wind, sent us along more swiftly.[2]

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[1] The *Te Deum*.

[2] Cum iam nullum dubium esset quin terram sanctam videremus, montes Israel prae oculis haberemus; imperavit patron silentium fieri, et praeconis voce certicavit nos hanc illa esse terram benedictam, in qua filius Dei Jesus Christus Dominus noster, conceptus, natus, conversatus, crucifixus, mortuus, sepultus et tertie [die] de sepulchro resuscitatus est, sicut certissima fide confitemur.... Due ergo de peregrinis sacerdotes et religiosi bene vociferati ascenderunt de transtris ad malum, ... et uniformiter alta voce emissa canticum Ambrosii et Augustini inchoaverunt: Te Deum laudamus; quod caeteri clerici more ecclesiastice prosecuti sunt, cantantes unusquisque secundum notam chori sui. Nunquam audivi tam laetum et suavem cantum. Erant enim voces multae, et ex multiplici dissonantia dulcis quodammodo discantus et harmonia causabatur. Nam omnes eadem quidam verba sonabant, sed notis quadam suavi modulatione dissonabant, et iocundum valde fuit audire, tot clericos simul eundem cantum concinere ex laetitia. Ibi erant clerici latini multi, sclavi, italici, lombardi, gallici, franci, theutonici, anglici, hibernici, ungari, scoti, daci, bohemi et hispani, et multi eiusdum quidam linguae, sed de diversis diocesibus et de diversis ordinibus. Et hi omnes mirabile Te Deum cantabant, quibus etiam saeculares tam galeotae quam peregrini consonabant prae gaudio ad sortem conclamantes.... Videbatur enim nobis sic cantantibus, quod galea nostra resultaret et celerius curreret, mareque liberius sulcaret, ventus quoque vela ipsa copiosius impleret, et aqua vente mota velocius nos impelleret." Felix Fabri, *Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti peregrinationem*, ed. Conrad Dietrich Hassler, 3 vols. (Stuttgart: Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins, 1843), vol. 1, 184. English translation from Felix Fabri, *The Wanderings of Friar Felix Fabri*, trans. Aubrey Stewart, The Library of the

This account of the first sight of the Holy Land by Felix Fabri, a Zurich-born Dominican friar travelling from Ulm in 1483, gives delighted and poignant expression to binaries of harmony and convergence, heterogeneity and unity, communality and individuality which animate many experiences of and writing about the late medieval and early modern pilgrimage to Jerusalem.[3] Fabri represents the singing of the *Te Deum* as joyfully collective without dissolving local identities or particularities of affiliation and liturgical practice. The tensions produced by differences in personality, habits or religious zeal and amplified by the galley's close quarters are temporarily suspended.[4] Variations are not only accommodated but resolved into a harmony which seems to speed the pilgrims toward the holy city of Jerusalem.

Fabri's sprawling, affectionate and sometimes humorous Latin narrative lies outside the English corpus of writing about Jerusalem with which this thesis is primarily concerned, but he highlights here the oppositions and dynamics which are at the heart of that writing. The dialectic between the individual and the communal which this extract highlights is central not only to the nature of the pilgrim's experience but also to the question of narrative authority in the report of that experience. A narrative's aspirations to authority are fulfilled by finding a balance between the singular eyewitness experience as shaped by the individual narrating it and the multiple textual, liturgical or oral traditions which furnish and underpin the claims which the traveller gathers and reasserts for his destination. The point of balance is different in each narrative, and the variety of ways in which it is achieved in individual cases is one of the principal concerns of this thesis. Also of concern are the broader tendencies in this point's relative position between autopsy and tradition over time. In order to evaluate this dialectic between referentiality and allusivity, my focus also shuttles between analysis of the practical, cultural, political or architectural realities encountered by the pilgrim (insofar as these can be reconstructed) and the rhetorical strategies of the narratives themselves.

This thesis traces the ways in which the Franciscan-led pilgrimage in Jerusalem, a devotional practice essentially stable in its patterns and organisation, is

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Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, 2 vols. in 4 pts. (London: Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, 1892), vol. 1, pt. 1, 208-9.

[3] Although this was the first sight of Palestine for most of the pilgrims on board, it was not Fabri's first glimpse, since he had already visited three years earlier. See Chapter 2, n. 6.

[4] For Fabri's account of galley life and the many conflicts which can arise, see Fabri, *Wanderings*, vol. 1, pt. 1, 132-63, especially 139-40, 143-5, 147-8, 151-2 and 154-5.

recounted, ordered and justified over two centuries which witnessed religious schism in Europe and challenges to the legitimacy of pilgrimage, profound political change in the Levant and transformation of the generic conventions of travel writing. More specifically, this thesis focuses on continuity and change in the construction of authority and truth claims in narratives of travel to Palestine published in England, written in English or, in the case of Latin narratives, by English people. It examines the evolution of writing about the city from 1432 to 1632 as ways of constructing authority evolve and the status of the practice of pilgrimage itself undergoes radical change. Its primary materials are narratives of pilgrimage and travel to Jerusalem over this period, in manuscript and printed forms.

Since one of the project's interests is the way in which such narratives adapt and respond to other texts within and beyond the genre of the pilgrimage or travel narrative, relevant material from adjacent or overlapping genres is addressed: the pseudo-Bonaventuran lives of Christ, mystical writings and devotional poetry of the Passion, in the case of the pre-Reformation narratives; in the case of the early modern material, criticisms of pilgrimage in theological treatises and sermons leading up to and following the inauguration of the Reformation, and the literature of advice for travellers. Apologies for the status of Jerusalem, claims for its holy places and the legitimacy of the enterprise of pilgrimage throughout the period are informed by patristic writings: the letters of Jerome, for example, or Eusebius' histories of the life of Constantine and the Church. These form part of the examination in Chapter 1 of the evolution of pilgrimage and the holy places from the early Christian church to the beginning of the fifteenth century, but their influence reappears in material treated in subsequent chapters. Such authorities are important for fifteenth-century pilgrimage narratives and inform later discussions by Desiderius Erasmus, Thomas More and Gregory Martin. Although this might at first appear to be an eclectic grouping of materials, I will demonstrate that writing about pilgrimage and travel to Jerusalem in the period 1432-1632 is responsive to relevant forms of writing beyond its immediate generic boundaries and depends on them for consolidation of its authority.

I will shortly outline the main preoccupations and aims of each chapter of the thesis. First, however, I will set out the contribution which the thesis makes toward confronting four problematic tendencies in existing criticism of travel writing about Jerusalem across the period in question, and will point out the relation of my project to existing approaches to pilgrimage and its literature. The first tendency to be

addressed, treated most fully in Chapter 2, is the dismissal of late medieval pilgrimage narratives as credulous, superstitious, plagiaristic and dully repetitive, lacking gradation and subtlety. Chapter 2 takes in texts from the composition of *The Book of Margery Kempe* to the last publication of a pilgrimage guide in England in 1524, after which the Reformation transformed the way in which writing about pilgrimage was framed by English or Scottish travellers. This pilgrimage writing, which was often anonymous, attracted contemptuous remarks from eighteenth- and nineteenth-century bibliographers and editors. The entry for one late medieval pilgrimage narrative, Harley 2333, in a catalogue first produced by the British Library in 1759, speculated on its composition thus: it was "written as I suppose, by one of those Friers who, in times of Popery, used to inveigle people to saunter, & squander away their time & money in unnecessary Voiages to Jerusalem; leaving these Thieves behind with the Government of their Wives, Families, & Estates; to their great Loss, if not Destruction."[5] In 1857, George Williams, editor of William Wey's fifteenth-century itineraries to Jerusalem and Santiago de Compostela, characterised parts of these as a "record of medieval superstition and barbarous Latinity."[6] In 1893, Gordon Duff introduced his edition of the *Information for Pilgrims* with an overview of late medieval English pilgrimage narratives. He was struck by "their want of originality," referring to their borrowings from other texts as plagiarism, although he also argued that these narratives merited attention because they attested to late medieval pilgrimage practices "at a time when their prestige was beginning to be attacked and was soon to be swept away."[7] Of course, it is often to these commentators that we owe knowledge of the narratives' existence or the availability of facsimiles and, in the case of many pilgrimage narratives, little has been written about them since. Work has been undertaken to rescue Margery Kempe from her dismissal as "an incurable

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[5] British Museum Department of Manuscripts, *A Catalogue of the Harleian Collection of Manuscripts, in the British Museum. [Revised by R. Nares, S. Shaw, and F. Douce.] With Indexes of Persons, Places and Matters [by T. H. Horne]*, 4 vols., vol. 2 (London: 1808-12), 656.

[6] William Wey, *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. From the Original Manuscript in the Bodleian Library* (London: J. B. Nichols and Sons for Roxburghe Club, 1857), ix.

[7] Gordon Duff, "Introduction," in *Information for Pilgrims unto the Holy Land* (London: Lawrence and Bullen, 1893), xi, xvi. Writing in 1914, Clare Howard was no more inclined to disguise her disdain for the motivations of the majority of late medieval pilgrims, suggesting that the pilgrimage provided institutional sanction to a-religious impulses to roam. "It is open to doubt," she suggests, "whether the number of the truly pious would ever have filled so many ships to Port Jaffa had their ranks not been swelled by the restless, the adventurous, the wanderers of all classes." Clare Howard, *English Travellers of the Renaissance* (London: Bodley Head, 1914), 3.

hysteric with a large paranoid trend,"[8] but much more remains to be done to give expression to the complexity of authorial voice, generic and narratorial positioning, and treatment of textual authority and visual observation in other late medieval pilgrimage writings.

Some very impressive work on medieval pilgrimage already exists. Diana Webb and Jonathan Sumption have each written thoughtful histories of medieval pilgrimage within and beyond Europe as a religious practice and social phenomenon, for example.[9] These studies do take English pilgrimage narratives into account, but they tend to mine them for information on routes, travelling conditions and other practical considerations rather than examine their strategies of description and narration. Nicole Chareyron has more recently published a study concentrating on medieval pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Although this pays unprecedented attention to the variety of European pilgrims' responses to and ways of representing Jerusalem and Palestine, it is concerned with reconstructing the medieval pilgrimage as a practice rather than with examining in a sustained manner individual engagements with it.[10] However, literary critics such as Christian K. Zacher, Donald Howard and, most recently, Dee Dyas have turned their attention to pilgrimage. Dee Dyas has written a wonderful account of the *topos* of pilgrimage in medieval literature, but she devotes few pages to narratives of "earthly" or "place" pilgrimage, as she terms it, concentrating instead on literary treatments of spiritual pilgrimage or life as pilgrimage.[11] Christian Zacher, confining his interest to the fourteenth century, has written a highly suggestive study of the growing prominence of *curiositas* as it is manifested in literary treatments of pilgrimage, but, similarly, he chooses not to explore firsthand pilgrim narratives in detail. He does turn his attention to these elsewhere, with thoughtful, if very brief, results.[12] Chapter 2 confronts the tendencies

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[8] Donald R. Howard, *Writers and Pilgrims: Medieval Pilgrimage Narratives and Their Posterity* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1980), 34-5.

[9] Jonathan Sumption, *Pilgrimage: An Image of Medieval Religion* (London: Faber and Faber, 1975; reprint, London: Faber and Faber, 2002); Diana Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West* (New York: I. B. Tauris, 1999).

[10] Nicole Chareyron, *Pilgrims to Jerusalem in the Middle Ages*, trans. W. Donald Wilson (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005).

[11] Dee Dyas, *Pilgrimage in Medieval English Literature 700-1500* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2001).

[12] Christian K. Zacher, *Curiosity and Pilgrimage: The Literature of Discovery in Fourteenth Century England* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976); Christian K. Zacher, "Travel and Geographical Writings," in *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050-1500*, ed. Albert E. Hartung, vol. 7 (New Haven, Connecticut: The Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1986), 2235-54, 2449-66.

to assume that only descriptive treatments or factual digests of pilgrimage narratives are necessary and to emphasise homogeneity in the corpus instead of heterogeneity.

Late medieval pilgrimage narratives have also suffered recently at the hands of commentators on early modern travel writing who zealously advertise the interest of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century pilgrimage writing at the expense of earlier material. Marie Gomez-Géraud, whose work is discussed at greater length below, deftly brings out nuances in Counter-Reformation narratives of travel to Jerusalem, but at the cost of acknowledging subtleties in late medieval ones, which she characterises as "dry."[13] Wes Williams, who is also discussed more fully below, similarly promotes the rhetorical interest and generic complexity of pilgrimage writing of the French Renaissance at the expense of its medieval predecessors, although with more awareness that his choice of specialisation might produce unwarranted bias.[14] With respect to the English tradition, Jonathan Haynes gives the following account of pilgrimage narratives in preparation for his account of the Protestant George Sandys' early seventeenth-century description of Jerusalem:

> pilgrimage narratives are not the place to look for personal impressions, for autobiography – the experience is not personal in that sense. The great majority of narratives take the form of simple testimonial, with no description and no response.... One often feels a tremendous amount of pious emotion between the lines of these narratives, but their inarticulateness refers us to the institution that supports them. As early as the twelfth century personal narratives begin to repeat verbatim descriptions taken from guidebooks.[15]

Chapter 2 argues that the construction of the narrating voice and the means of recording and fixing the memory of the journey to Jerusalem in fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century pilgrimage narratives are neither naïve nor unconsidered. It contends that these narratives show ingenuity and flexibility, even when engaged in imitation of sources, which reward closer examination.

The second tendency addressed in the thesis is the neglect of sustained examination of English ecclesiastical reforms' effects on the pilgrimage to Jerusalem

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[13] Marie-Christine Gomez-Géraud, *Le Crépuscule du Grand Voyage: Les Récits des Pèlerins à Jérusalem (1458-1612)* (Paris: Honoré Champion Éditeur, 1999), 352.

[14] Wes Williams, *Pilgrimage and Narrative in the French Renaissance: "The Undiscovered Country"* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 16.

[15] Jonathan Haynes, *The Humanist as Traveler: George Sandys' Relation of a Journey begun An. Dom. 1610* (Rutherford, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson / Associated University Presses, 1986), 106. Haynes here has in mind early modern as well as medieval pilgrimage narratives.

in the sixteenth century. Accounts of the late medieval pilgrimage or of early modern English travel often refer in general terms to the fact that the Reformation put an end to the practice of pilgrimage, but the precise implications of theological debates for "prototypical" pilgrimages like that to Jerusalem, as opposed to short- or medium-range pilgrimages associated with saints or miraculous images, are rarely addressed.[16] An exception is Gomez-Géraud, although she examines the question in the broader European context rather than focusing on the English context. The international pilgrimages to major shrines and their relation to the English Reformation have never received the nuanced examination that Margaret Aston has given to images, although her study certainly illuminates areas that overlap or abut the pilgrimage.[17] What combination of developments led to the effacement of the pilgrimage? What arguments and rhetorical strategies were employed in the English debates? What was the nature and degree of resistance to the suppression of pilgrimage in the English context? What sorts of criticisms and defences were being offered by orthodox English Catholic commentators on pilgrimage? Chapter 3 seeks to advance more specific answers to these questions.

The third and fourth tendencies are intertwined, and most fruitfully considered together by way of introduction. One is the assumption that English travellers go, in the phrase of Daniel Vitkus, as "anti-pilgrims" to Jerusalem and that their narratives manifest an unprecedented and unqualified scepticism about the pilgrimage and the holy places.[18] This assumption implies that no critical or sceptical responses are manifested in the late medieval period, and that no other response is discernible in the early modern one. The fourth question concerns the critical insistence on an absolute disjunction between late medieval and early modern travel and travel writing to Jerusalem. It is my contention that by considering English and Scottish late medieval and early modern narratives of travel to Jerusalem as a whole, it is possible to break down certain false dichotomies and redress unnecessary disjunctions. For example,

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[16] See, for example, Chapter 16, "The Reformation," in Sidney Heath, *Pilgrim Life in the Middle Ages* (1911; reprint, London: Kennikat Press, 1971), 331-40. My account of the legal status of pilgrims is indebted to Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c. 1400 - c. 1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992). There also, however, there is little space for analysis of the Jerusalem pilgrimage as a specific case. For further discussion see Chapter 3, 192 below.

[17] Margaret Aston, *England's Iconoclasts*, vol. 1: Laws against Images (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).

[18] Daniel Vitkus, "Trafficking with the Turk: English Travellers in the Ottoman Empire During the Early Seventeenth Century," in *Travel Knowledge: European "Discoveries" in the Early Modern Period*, ed. Ivo Kamps and Jyotna G. Singh (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), especially 49, 41, 44-5.

such a scope facilitates recognition of the capacity of the earlier texts for scepticism, evaluation, and subtlety. This capacity may differ in character from its manifestations in early modern accounts, but it is nonetheless undeniably present. Furthermore, the scepticism attributed to early modern travellers is not unqualified or unbroken, as instances of their acquiescence, participation and emotional susceptibility to places or practices of pilgrimage demonstrate. Although the theological controversies of the Reformation and other developments in the culture and literature of travel produce significant changes in attitudes and modes of writing about the journey to Jerusalem, the patterns and institutions of pilgrimage continue to exert a profound influence on Protestant travellers. These patterns and institutions are met with more nuanced, ambivalent and heterogeneous responses by travel-writers than has generally been recognised.

The assertion of the disjunction between late medieval and early modern travel is often founded on the fact that the purposes and contexts within which travellers undertook journeys to Jerusalem had changed. By the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the Englishman's or Scotsman's visit was more likely than in the late medieval period to take place as a diversion from a mercantile expedition. Criticism of Renaissance travel writing, as I have indicated, assumes a concomitant break between the late medieval and early modern modes of writing. Clare Howard emphasised the transformation in reasons for undertaking travel in the first decades of the early sixteenth century:

> While [*Information for Pilgrims*] was being published [in 1498 and 1515], new forces were at hand which were to strip the thin disguise of piety from pilgrims of this sort. The Colloquies of Erasmus appeared before the third edition of *Informacyon for Pylgrymes*, and exploded the idea that it was the height of piety to have seen Jerusalem. It was nothing but the love of change, Erasmus declared, that made old bishops run over huge spaces of sea and land to reach Jerusalem. (C. Howard, 5-6)

During the reign of Henry VIII (1509-47), she argues, travel in pursuit of classical learning, especially at the Italian universities, or for acquisition of the experience and knowledge fitting for an aspiring diplomat replaced the pilgrimage which had been discredited by Erasmus. However, the admonishments in Erasmus' *Colloquies*, first published in 1518, did not immediately or comprehensively dampen the interest in pilgrimage, as is demonstrated by the 1524 printing of the third edition of the

Information for Pilgrims and the publication in 1522 of the pilgrimage of Robert Langton to Santiago de Compostela.[19] Moreover, in half of the early modern narratives of travel discussed in Chapter 4, Jerusalem constitutes the primary end of the journey as it had in the late medieval pilgrimage rather than a node in a larger arc around the Mediterranean, though the point of departure might be in the Levant rather than Europe. Jerusalem, the fulcrum of medieval pilgrimage, remains the focal point for many of these narratives and still occupies a prominent position in the remaining narratives. Samuel Chew, writing more than two decades after Clare Howard, reiterates the notion that the motivations and sensibilities of late medieval travellers were antithetical to those in early modern English narratives on the grounds of the critical faculties brought to bear by them.[20] Donald Howard sees the pilgrimage as a custom which was "dead as an institution in England by the end of the sixteenth century," a view I hope to correct in Chapters 3 and 4 (D. R. Howard, 6). By 1625, Howard believes, "the Jerusalem pilgrimage was a thing of the past, not just in Protestant England where it would have been reckoned a popish custom, but in Catholic Europe too: it had, with its cognate institutions (relics, Crusades), passed out of fashion" (3). Haynes' 1986 exploration of Sandys' *Relation* begins its account of the development of travel literature at the mid-point of the sixteenth century: brief references to the travels of Friar Beatus Odoric and John Mandeville are included to demonstrate the disjunction between medieval and early modern methods of authentication, authorisation and observation (Haynes, 27-39). Conversely, Colin Morris decides to end his history of the Sepulchre of Christ and the Latin West in the sixteenth century, and asserts that by then (he does not specify at exactly what point), "pilgrimage had ceased to exist except as the journey of the Christian through life."[21]

This presumed break between late medieval pilgrimage and early modern travel has sometimes been contested. Boies Penrose's 1955 study, *Travel and Discovery in the Renaissance 1420-1620*, and John Parker's *Books to Build an Empire*, written a decade later, do acknowledge the place of medieval pilgrimage

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[19] Robert Langton, *The pylgrimage of M. Robert Langton clerke to saynt Iames in Compostell, and in other holy places of Crystendome* ... ([London]: Robert Coplande, 1522). It should also be noted that the pieces most astringent in their treatment of pilgrimage, "*Peregrinatio religionis ergo*" and "*De utilitate colloquiorum*," were not included until editions of 1526.

[20] Samuel Clagett Chew, *The Crescent and the Rose: Islam and England during the Renaissance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1937), 76.

[21] Colin Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 374.

accounts in the development of travel and travel writing.[22] Although the pilgrimages of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries "were of but slight geographical consequence," Penrose writes, "the pilgrims did return with a vastly wider mental horizon, which undoubtedly bore fruit in the popular interest in Renaissance exploration" (Penrose, 32). Even Donald Howard acknowledges that the pilgrimage narratives written by medieval travellers continued to interest readers long after the practice was discontinued. John Parker, who begins his bibliographical history of English Renaissance publications on travel and discovery with the ebbs and flows of the English wool trade in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, resists the idea of a fissure between the pilgrimage-related travel writing of the late medieval and early Renaissance periods. He points out that publishers failed to keep pace with the geographical discoveries of the first half of the sixteenth century, continuing to reprint geographical works made obsolete by subsequent expeditions (Parker, 15-6). Furthermore, he argues that the publications of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries reveal a continuity rather than a break with the late medieval pilgrimage:

> As a New World was being discovered in the west, English eyes were still fastened on the east. No English edition of the Columbus *Letter* stood on the shelves beside Mandeville's *Travels* in the 1490s. The eastward-trudging pilgrim was more interesting to most English minds than the voyages of John Cabot and his Bristol companions. Hence, we find W. de Worde publishing in 1498 the anonymous *Informacyon for pylgrymes....* While Cabot and Columbus were ignored by the printers, this pilgrim's guide was republished in 1515 and 1524.... The pilgrim books and medieval encyclopedias that came to the printer were a logical continuation of several centuries of manuscript tradition ....[23]

Peter Holland remarks on a similar bias toward travel eastward rather than westward in the plots of Renaissance plays.[24] One might speculate that the importance given to

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[22] John Parker, *Books to Build an Empire: A Bibliographical History of English Overseas Interests to 1620* (Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1965); Boies Penrose, *Travel and Discovery in the Renaissance: 1420-1620* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1955).

[23] Parker, *Books to Build an Empire*, 17. A similar point is made on p. 23. However, Parker points out that around the mid-point of the sixteenth century, new geographical information was circulating in manuscript, if not in printed form. Parker, *Books to Build an Empire*, 43.

[24] Peter Holland, "'Travelling Hopefully': The Dramatic Form of Journeys in English Renaissance Drama," in *Travel and Drama in Shakespeare's Time*, ed. Jean-Pierre Maquerlot and Michèle Willems (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 166. Cited in William Sherman, "Travel and Trade," in *A Companion to Renaissance Drama*, ed. Arthur F. Kinney (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), 114.

Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Syria and Galilee in the title of Edward Webbe's 1590 travel narrative and autobiography – never matched in the narrative itself, mostly concerned as it is with Webbe's adventures in Russia, the Ottoman dominions in general and France – is indicative of the commercial pull which descriptions of the Levant, especially the territories with biblical associations, continued to exert in the late sixteenth century.[25] Joan-Pau Rubiés and John Elsner state that "the cultural history of travel is best seen as a dialectic of dominant paradigms between two poles, which we might define as the transcendental vision of pilgrimage and the open-ended process which typically characterizes modernity," rather than as a "linear development" from sacred to secular travel.[26] They acknowledge, if only in general terms, that "scepticism was not born simply in the fifteenth century, nor was the 'pilgrimage model' entirely annihilated after the Renaissance" (Elsner and Rubiés, 7).

Scepticism about this putative disjunction was not only asserted but reflected in the scope and criteria of inclusion in two sustained and important studies of pilgrimage writing published at the end of the 1990s. Wes Williams and Marie-Christine Gomez-Géraud both argued for the continuing importance of the tradition of pilgrimage literature in the early modern period. Gomez-Géraud published in 1999 *Le Crépuscule du Grand Voyage,* a painstaking and lengthy investigation of all pilgrimage literature published in Europe between 1458 and 1620. Invoking the mass of printed and manuscript pilgrimage accounts produced in this period in Italian, German, French, Spanish, Latin, Flemish, English, and Portuguese, Gomez-Géraud demonstrates that pilgrimage writing enjoyed a revival in the early modern period.[27] This publishing phenomenon, at odds with conventional assumptions that the practice of pilgrimage had been rendered obsolete by reformers' attacks and the turning of attention to geographical horizons expanding westwards, is one deserving examination and explanation, she suggests. Gomez-Géraud sets about providing such explanation by recourse to multiple methodologies and from several perspectives,

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[25] *The Rare and most wonderfull things which Edward Webbe an Englishman borne, hath seene and passed in his troublesome trauailes, in the Citties of Ierusalem, Dammasko, Bethelem and Galely...* (1590). Webbe is discussed more fully in Chapter 4.

[26] Ján [John] Elsner and Joan-Pau Rubiés, "Introduction," in *Voyages and Visions: Towards a Cultural History of Travel*, ed. Ján Elsner and Joan-Pau Rubiés (London: Reaktion Books, 1999), 5.

[27] A similar point had been made in 1984 in a bibliographical essay treating a narrower period, 1517-1600. Here an "acceleration" of voyages to Jerusalem is identified, although with the proviso that it is not possible to ascertain what proportion of travellers left accounts of their narratives, and whether this proportion remained stable over time. See Stéphane Yerasimos, "Voyageurs Européens en Palestine Ottomane au XVe siècle (1517-1600): Essai de Bibliographie," *Revue d'études Palestiniennes* 11 (1984): 77-8.

ranging from statistical analysis of the relevant publications to consideration of the narratives in relation to Counter-Reformation doctrine and cultures of spirituality. Although she engages with the evolution of pilgrimage within the early church and with late medieval pilgrimage narratives, the narratives of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries are the focus for her closest analysis and most extensive discussion. Over the latter period, she identifies a broadening scope and increasing complexity in narrative engagements with the Jerusalem pilgrimage, as descriptions of it become less concerned with the iterative rehearsal of the holy places and their indulgences and more preoccupied with providing a spatial framework for spiritual meditation. She concludes that the pilgrimage book comes to supplant rather than advertise the physical journey, and that the earthly city of Jerusalem is decentred by the functions that Jerusalem serves as a textual presence and organising template for spiritual exercises.

Gomez-Géraud's work is a comprehensive, learned and valuable survey of early modern European pilgrimage writing, but it leaves some work to be done in the English context. This is partly because of her criteria for inclusion. For the purposes of manageability, she includes within the category of "récits des pèlerins" only narratives which declare themselves from the title onwards to address real pilgrimages to Jerusalem undertaken between 1458 and 1612, or published before 1620, excluding topographies of Palestine and travels in the Levant, no matter how pious the treatment of Jerusalem (Gomez-Géraud, 194-5). This is itself a vast corpus. Even texts falling outside this definition do receive some attention, but are excluded from her statistical analysis and from her most rigorous critical examination. As a result, none of the early modern English or Scottish narratives of travel to Jerusalem is discussed except for Sandys' *Relation*, to which there are some brief allusions.[28] As we will see, such narratives of visits to Jerusalem are so intensely preoccupied with the practices of pilgrimage, with the traditions of the holy places and with evaluating the authenticity

[28] Gomez-Géraud, *Crépuscule du Grand Voyage*, 393, 400, 706. There are some lacunae in Gomez-Géraud's treatment of English material. In a section examining the breakdown of pilgrimage publications according to language, she records the publication of nine English printed pilgrimage narratives between 1458 and 1620. One was published in the period 1511-1520, three in 1601-1610, and five in 1611-1620. The first of these is identifiable as the pilgrimage of Sir Richard Guylforde (discussed in chapter 2), published in 1511 and included in Gomez-Géraud's "Répertoire bio-bibliographique des pèlerins et auteurs de récits de pèlerinage cités dans l'étude" (893-945). I cannot find details of relevant early seventeenth-century English texts in her bibliography, but the most likely explanation is that she is counting Timberlake's *A true and strange discourse of the trauailes of two English Pilgrimes*, published in 1603, 1608, 1609, 1611 (two editions), 1612, 1616 and 1620. See Gomez-Géraud, *Crépuscule du Grand Voyage*, 575.

of these that they deserve to be considered as a kind of pilgrimage writing. Even within the English and Scottish contexts these narratives are sufficiently numerous that a policy of selectivity must be applied; my criteria for inclusion are set out in Chapter 4. Gomez-Géraud's painstaking work and intelligent discussion of the continental pilgrimage narratives of the Counter-Reformation can be usefully juxtaposed with the Protestant English and Scottish material to highlight areas of convergence as well as divergence among visitors to Jerusalem across the Protestant-Catholic divide.

Wes Williams provides an eloquent and ingenious, though less exhaustive, treatment of pilgrimage writing across a similar chronological span. Williams counters the belief implied in the work of critics of medieval pilgrimage such as Zacher and Donald Howard that "pilgrimage is a medieval phenomenon and the pilgrimage narrative a pre-modern form," demonstrating the continuing vitality of pilgrimage writing, mostly in the French tradition, in the Renaissance and calling for "slow, close reading" of this neglected body of work.[29] He characterises pilgrimage writing in the Renaissance as extremely heterogeneous, as constantly threatening to escape, or in fact exceeding, the bounds of the mere report of a journey to a holy place. Discussing at an early stage challenges to complacent conceptions of pilgrimage by Erasmus and Petrarch, and, later, sixteenth-century treatments of and responses to Gregory of Nyssa's arguments against pilgrimage, Williams sees the majority of Renaissance pilgrimage texts as "counter-texts in that they are written with such arguments against travel very much in mind."[30] Both pilgrimage narratives by Catholics and travel narratives by Protestants must and do defend themselves against the arguments in circulation against pilgrimage. Without attempting to synthesise or generalise unduly, Williams traces several different pilgrims' negotiations of the narration of their experience and comments illuminatingly on the iterative character of pilgrimage and the consequences of this for narration. He examines the problem that "pilgrimage has to be about being there for a time, and for a time only; about registering the charge of presence, and then leaving," patiently analysing the variety of ways in which narratives negotiate this necessary transience

[29] For Williams' defence, see Williams, *Pilgrimage and Narrative*, 2-7; for his comments on Howard and Zacher, see p. 28.
[30] Williams, *Pilgrimage and Narrative*, 37-8. For discussion of Petrarch and Erasmus, see pp. 17-38, 126-131; for discussion of Gregory of Nyssa and his part in sixteenth-century debates about pilgrimage, see pp. 94-126.

and, to some degree, by recording resist it (W. Williams, *Pilgrimage and Narrative*, 179-80). My project is rather different from his, addressing as it does English and Scottish writing predominantly by Protestant authors. On the other hand, my work depends upon a similar conviction that the legacy of the medieval pilgrimage had a profound effect on early modern writing about Jerusalem, here in the context of writing in English.

Acknowledging the importance of late medieval pilgrimage for early modern travel in Palestine need not lead to the assertion of an unbroken generic continuity between medieval pilgrimage writing and early modern writing about Jerusalem, or to force false uniformities on them. Philippe Lejeune has counselled against the temptation both to identify the sudden "birth" of a literary genre and to assume its subsequent permanence and timelessness.[31] Instead of identifying and compartmentalising discrete generic categories, it is necessary to acknowledge heterogeneity, constant evolution and synchronic, external influences, but also the possibility of uneven or retrograde development. There were profound transformations in both the culture and writing of travel across the late medieval and early modern periods, as I willingly acknowledge in Chapter 4 and elsewhere. I suggest, however, that the institutions and patterns that determined the late medieval pilgrimage affect the early modern journey as well, and I evaluate their legacy through the early modern narratives. These instances of continuity and evolution in travel writing about Jerusalem from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries have been too rarely admitted, however, and can only be discerned by considering such writing as a whole. Evaluating writing on this subject over the period 1432-1632 also permits a clearer understanding of the nature of innovations and transitions which become apparent.

The quotation from Fabri's *Wanderings* with which this introduction began highlights one dynamic which has preoccupied studies of pilgrimage for 30 years: the capacity of pilgrimage to provide a "liminoid" state in which individual differences are dissolved and *communitas* ("commonness of feeling,") is established. In 1978, anthropologists Victor and Edith Turner argued in a forceful and highly influential study that social status and local rivalries are forgotten on pilgrimage, overwhelmed

[31] Part 4, "Autobiographie et Histoire Littéraire" of Philippe Lejeune, *Le Pacte Autobiographique* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1975), 311-41.

by pilgrims' dislocations from the mundane contexts which otherwise define them.[32] In *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture*, which Simon Coleman and John Eade describe as "possibly the most influential text in the anthropology of pilgrimage," the Turners argued that pilgrims' common purposes are galvanised by "the power ascribed by all to ritual" into *communitas*.[33] Because pilgrimage is a voluntary practice rather than a compulsory rite of passage, it is considered by the Turners as "liminoid," a variant of the model of "liminality" articulated by Arnold Van Gennep in his 1908 *Rites of Passage*. Relevant attributes of "liminality" include "release from mundane structure; homogenization of status; simplicity of dress and behaviour; communitas; ordeal, reflection on the meaning of basic religious and cultural values; ... movement from a mundane center to a sacred periphery which suddenly, transiently, becomes central for the individual ..." (Turner and Turner, 34).

The Turners' study does not concentrate on the "prototypical" pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and thus pays little direct attention to the material under discussion here.[34] Moreover, the Turners acknowledge that the model of *communitas* is less applicable to pilgrimages closer in time and conception to the paradigm of the penitential pilgrimage, which did not dissolve but reinforced an individual's subjection to the judicial system and other constraints at his point of origin.[35] Aspects of liminality treated in *Image and Pilgrimage* are visible in the late medieval pilgrimage narrative, however, especially the emphasis on ordeal,[36] the release from ordinary routine and obligations and rumination on the mysteries of the Passion and incarnation. On the other hand, Fabri's account itself demonstrates certain problems with the *communitas* model as an explanation of the late medieval Jerusalem pilgrimage; although Fabri emphasises the unity with which first sight of the Holy Land is sighted and celebrated, it is a unity in which a keen awareness persists of pilgrims' origins, lay or clerical

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[32] Victor Turner and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1978; reprint with new preface by Edith Turner, New York: Columbia University Press, [1995]).

[33] Turner and Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage*, 13. Simon Coleman and John Eade, "Introduction, in *Reframing Pilgrimage: Cultures in Motion*, ed. Simon Coleman and John Eade (London: Routledge, 2004), 1-4.

[34] By "prototypical" the Turners understand pilgrimages "established by the founder of a historical religion, by his first disciples, or by important national evangelists of his faith." They also offer the categories of "archaic" – syncretic – pilgrimage, and, within Christianity, "medieval" and "modern" pilgrimage.

[35] Turner and Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage*, 39. See Chapter 1 for further discussion of the penitential pilgrimage.

[36] For storms as tests of faith, or as pretexts for the invocation of biblical parallels, see Gomez-Géraud, *Crépuscule du Grand Voyage*, 490-510.

status, and membership of distinct orders.[37] As I have already indicated, the question broached by the Turners of individual identity and *communitas* is fundamental to concerns of this project.

Many modifications of the Turners' theories of pilgrimage have been produced, most notably in a collection of essays edited by John Eade and Michael Sallnow, which shows how different groups of pilgrims draw different meanings from a holy place.[38] In response to the Eade and Sallnow volume, Jennifer Stopford in turn warns that one of the dangers of deconstructing a model like the Turners' is that of "restrict[ing] the validity of broad based definitions." While the essays collected by Stopford do not treat medieval or early modern pilgrimage to Jerusalem, they are relevant to this project in that they

> explore some of the means by which pilgrimage has retained its vitality, relevance and identity over a long period of time. Taken together, they suggest that the continued success of Christian pilgrimage has often been achieved through the combination of a fluid ideology, open to diverse and personalised adaptation, alongside an adherence to supposedly traditional observances and material assemblages.[39]

Stopford's arguments about the pilgrimage's capacity for responsive evolution is borne out by my own study, which follows the way in which devotional experiences and narratives resulting from pilgrimage are transformed between 1432 and 1632 while maintaining relative stability in form and material practices.

The Turners' work claimed attention for pilgrimage as a social as well as devotional practice, offered interpretations which maintained awareness that

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[37] Nicole Chareyron also cites an anonymous early fourteenth-century pilgrimage narrative which reports that the procession between the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Praetorium is arranged according to nationality: "The Guardian puts the representative of the nation of France first, and then all the French two by two, or three by three, as they wish, except that the nobility goes in front. Then he puts the nations of Germany and Spain next, and then all the other nations, so that the pilgrims not mingle together during the pilgrimages. I asked if the English would be put between the nations of Germany and of Spain. The Guardian answered that he did not know, but that he had it all written down. And the pilgrims arranged themselves according to the order prescribed." Chareyron, *Pilgrims to Jerusalem*, 84-5.

[38] John Eade and Michael J. Sallnow, eds., *Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage* (London: Routledge, 1991). Glenn Bowman's article in this volume, "Christian Ideology and the Image of a Holy Land: The Place of Jerusalem Pilgrimage in the Various Christianities" (98-121), represents Jerusalem as "a *multitude* of holy cities - as many as are the religious communities which worship at the site - built over the same spot, operating at the same moment, and contending for hegemony." Bowman's emphasis, "Christian Ideology," 98. This statement is true of late medieval and early modern pilgrimage as well as pilgrimage in 1980s, which is the focus of his work.

[39] Introduction to Jennifer Stopford, ed., *Pilgrimage Explored* (York: York Medieval Press, 1999), xii.

pilgrimage and its supporting structures constantly evolved and responded to new conditions, and acknowledged the ambivalence of "orthodoxy" towards the popular nature of the pilgrimage. Their contribution could not fail to be addressed by subsequent critics and historians. Studies of medieval pilgrimage writing have sometimes refuted or modified the Turners' model; numerous treatments, literary or historical, of pilgrimage since the publication of *Image and Pilgrimage* refer to it.[40] Dee Dyas, in her discussion of *The Canterbury Tales*, remains alert to what John Eade and Michael Sallnow describe as "the maintenance and, in many instances, the reinforcement of social boundaries and distinctions in the pilgrimage context"; Terence Bowers describes the ways in which Margery Kempe's fifteenth-century pilgrimage opens up a space for escape from her domestic identity and the formation of a new one, but also highlights the fact that this formation is predicated on conflict with fellow pilgrims.[41]

It was in the context of collaboration among anthropologists, art historians and literary critics, however, that some of the most stimulating analyses of late medieval and early modern as well as later pilgrimage literature were produced in the form of an essay collection, *Pilgrim Voices* (2003). Edited by Simon Coleman, an anthropologist, and John Elsner, an art historian, it turns its attention to narrative and authorship in this literature, and makes a fruitful start to the work of recuperating the narrative workings of pilgrimage writing.[42] Noting that most work on pilgrimage has taken place in disciplines such as anthropology, archaeology, history or art history (among others), Coleman and Elsner set out to correct the neglect of pilgrimage "as *writing*, and specifically as a form of travel writing," and emphasise "the relation of pilgrimage to the various narratives which it generates and upon which it depends" (Coleman and Elsner, 4). Alongside this sensitivity to the pilgrimage text as both proceeding from and producing other texts, their introduction, along with essays by

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[40] For example, Eamon Duffy, "The Dynamics of Pilgrimage in Late Medieval England," in *Pilgrimage: the English Experience from Becket to Bunyan*, ed. Colin Morris and Peter Roberts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 165-6; Dyas, *Pilgrimage 700-1500*, 174-6; Nicholas Vincent, "Pilgrimages of the Angevin Kings of England," in *Pilgrimage: the English Experience*, ed. Morris and Roberts, 5-7.

[41] Terence N. Bowers, "Margery Kempe as Traveler," *Studies in Philology* 97, no. 1 (2000). [cited 13 April, 2007]. Available from http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&xri:pqil:res_ver=0.2&res_id=xri:lion&rft_id=xri:lion:ft:abell:R00798041:0; Dyas, *Pilgrimage 700-1500*, 175-6; Glenn Bowman, "Christian Ideology and the Image of a Holy Land: The Place of Jerusalem Pilgrimage in the Various Christianities," in *Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage*, ed. John Eade and Michael J. Sallnow (London: Routledge, 1991), 5.

[42] Simon Coleman and John Elsner, eds., *Pilgrim Voices: Narrative and Authorship in Christian Pilgrimage* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2003).

Wes Williams and Alexia Petsalis-Diomidis, pays unprecedented attention to the strategy and underlying purposes in what many have taken to be naïve or stylistically rudimentary reports of pilgrimage experience.[43] My thesis takes on board the calls in this volume to begin the work of thinking of pilgrimage narratives "as *writing*" and in relation to material in adjacent genres. The thesis also extends to a larger corpus of medieval and early modern writing a similar scrutiny of subtleties and strategies employed in rendering pilgrimage experience.

The concentration of the Turnerian discussion on *communitas* within the group of pilgrims has been counterbalanced by equally urgent questions about how the pilgrim's identity functions in relation to the encounter with cultural alterity beyond the pilgrim group – that is, in interaction with the Arab and Ottoman inhabitants and administrators of Palestine, and in representations of those encounters. To what extent can the experience of pilgrimage submerge or disrupt the identities which function at the point of origin as the Turners claim? Edward Said's *Orientalism* and subsequent theoretical engagements over the last three decades with early modern European representations of the peoples of the Levant insist that the identities constructed at the traveller's point of origin cannot be suspended in such acts of writing.[44] It has often been demonstrated that the agendas, aspirations and particular anxieties of the traveller's identity as constructed at the point of departure motivate and determine the nature of the perception and narration of travel, although the experience of travel also modifies or underpins that identity.[45] How does the representation of an experience of pilgrim *communitas* interact with the rendering of contact outside that group? Full engagement with English conceptions of the Mamluk and Ottoman powers in the

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[43] In the case of Anthoine Regnaut's 1573 *Discours du voyage d'Outre-Mer*, Williams outlines ways in which simplicity of style serves the author's claims to mediate his experience of pilgrimage transparently, without alteration or intervention. Petsalis-Diomidis demonstrates that Felix Fabri exploits his first, hasty, under-informed and poorly-remembered pilgrimage in order to represent his second journey to Jerusalem as a culmination which redeems earlier failure. Wes Williams, "The Diplomat, the *Trucheman*, and the Mystagogue: Forms of Belonging in Early Modern Jerusalem," in *Pilgrimage Voices*, ed. Coleman and Elsner, 26-8; Alexia Petsalis-Diomidis, "Narratives of Transformation: Pilgrimage Patterns and Authorial Self-Presentation in Three Pilgrimage Texts," in *Pilgrim Voices*, ed. Coleman and Elsner, 91-6.

[44] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978; reprint, with a new preface, London: Penguin, 2003).

[45] A seminal example is "Marvellous Possessions," Chapter 3 of Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvellous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 52-85. Discussions relating to the traveller in the Levant rather than the New World include the essays in Ivo Kamps and Jyotna G. Singh, eds., *Travel Knowledge: European "Discoveries" in the Early Modern Period* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), especially the Introduction and Daniel Vitkus' article, "Trafficking with the Turk," 35-52; Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), especially chapter 5, "Holy Land, Holy War", 129-67.

fifteenth to seventeenth centuries is beyond the scope of this project, but the nature and motivations of the rhetoric relating to the Muslim, Christian and Jewish inhabitants of Jerusalem and adjoining areas is a thread that runs through Chapters 1, 2 and 4, from the rhetoric of the Crusades, through the anti-Semitism and anti-Islamism of certain fifteenth-century Passion and pilgrimage narratives, to the early modern English discourses relating to the Ottomans and other Muslim peoples of the Levant.

This study is also motivated by an interest in relations among pilgrims and their fellow travellers, recognising that "othering" can be found there also. The motif of division among pilgrims is extremely important in the pre- as well as post-Reformation accounts. The example of Margery Kempe demonstrates the uses to which the representation of division among travellers could be put in the construction of narrative and spiritual authority within a late medieval narrative. After the Reformation, Protestant accounts of participation in the Jerusalem pilgrimage insist on division within the pilgrim party with different motivations and greater frequency. English and Scottish travellers move around, and often towards, Jerusalem in the company of Catholic pilgrims whose motivations are very different from theirs and who endorse much more enthusiastically than they the status of the pilgrimage and attention to holy places and objects as good works. There emerges a tension between form and intention. The Protestant travellers move in a pattern determined by Catholic pilgrimage in the company of Catholic and Eastern Christian pilgrims eagerly venerating the holy sites, but experience, or exert on one another, pressure to maintain a pose of scepticism or indifference.[46] Their narratives negotiate this tension between communality and division and between participation and independence. Authority seems to depend in both cases on approximation toward the latter state rather than the former, and Chapter 4 examines the precise mode of the narratives' negotiations.

So far I have treated the term "authority" as if its meaning were self-evident and stable, but of course its signification is contested and subject to change over time and according to context, both in its relation to "authorship" and independent of it. Much work was undertaken in the 1980s and 1990s to recover and sharpen understandings of the concept in the medieval and early modern periods, with

[46] See, for example, the discussion in Chapter 4 of William Biddulph's criticisms, published in 1609, of Henry Timberlake's 1603 account of a journey to Jerusalem, or Samuel Purchas' marginal glosses on George Sandys' description of Jerusalem in *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, 1625.

substantial studies by Alastair Minnis and Jacqueline Miller, among others; Mary Carruthers' treatment of memory also pays sustained attention to the construction of medieval authority and authorship.[47] Minnis' etymological excavation of the term *auctor*, based on the work done by M.-D. Chenu on the uses of the word in classical and medieval Latin,[48] runs like this:

> According to medieval grammarians, the term [*auctor*] derived its meaning from four main sources: *auctor* was supposed to be related to the Latin verbs *agere* "to act or perform", *augere* "to grow" and *auieo* "to tie", and to the Greek noun *autentim* "authority". An *auctor* "performed" the act of writing. He brought something into being, caused it to "grow". In the more specialised sense related to *auieo*, poets like Virgil and Lucan were *auctores* in that they had "tied" together their verses with feet and metres. To the ideas of achievement and growth was easily assimilated the idea of authenticity or "authoritativeness".[49]

Auctoritas derives from both form and content: it is present in the texture of the language, in its metrical coherence, but also in the content which that language signifies. The definition provided for *auctoritas* by Hugutio of Pisa around 1200 is that it is the quality accorded to statements which are true, authentic, and therefore "worthy of imitation" ("*sententiae digne imitatio*") (Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 190; Minnis, 10). An *auctor*, writes Carruthers, "is simply one whose writings are full of 'authorities,'" although she goes on to demonstrate that the status of *auctor* does not proceed simply from the worth of the *sententiae* but also from the endorsement of readers and commentators, who confer the prestige of *auctoritas* by their use of a text (Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 190-1, 218). Minnis notes that, moreover, "to be 'authentic' [a criterion for *auctoritas*, along with 'intrinsic worth'], a saying or a piece of writing had to be the genuine production of a named *auctor*" (Minnis, 10). The reluctance of late medieval scholars to admit Walter Map's twelfth-century authorship of the *Dissuasio Valerii ad Rufinum* demonstrates that the authority of the text could

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[47] Mary J. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Jacqueline T. Miller, *Poetic License: Authority and Authorship in Medieval and Renaissance Contexts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986); A. J. Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages* (London: Scolar Press, 1984).

[48] M.-D. Chenu, "Auctor, Actor, Autor," *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi [Bulletin Du Cange]* 3 (1927).

[49] Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship*, 10. Cited by Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 190; Miller, *Poetic License*, 31.

be cleaved from its author, and indeed augmented by attributing it to another author. Map's work was consistently identified instead as the work of Valerius Maximus, a historian writing in Rome in the first century, illustrating the point that ancient authors could be more easily imagined and accepted as *auctores* than contemporary ones (Minnis, 12).

Minnis' study of evolving paradigms of authorship is based on academic prologues to the works of *auctores* from the beginning of the twelfth century through the fourteenth. Throughout, it keeps in balance the agency of the human author and that of God, the fundamental efficient cause of all things and thus the *auctor* of all texts, but most obviously scripture. Minnis finds that, gradually, over this period, recognition of the efficacy of the human *auctor* became stronger. He chooses as particularly significant Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum maius*, which, in its provision of a hierarchy of authorities and its willingness not to synthesise but to accommodate contradictory opinions, allows for the individuality and limitation consequent on a human rather than divine *auctor* (Minnis, 157-8, 193).

The material on which Minnis' study depends (and he is very clear in his delineation of the parameters of his investigation, disclaiming ambitions to a "comprehensive 'history' of medieval theory of authorship") is far removed from the pilgrimage writing under examination here in context and purpose of composition and in the training and affiliation of authors (Minnis, 2). He treats academic commentators working in several disciplines, especially scriptural commentary, and emphasises the predominance of particular *auctores* in each discipline (Minnis, 13). Pilgrimage writing, of course, cannot be subsumed into an academic discipline; it does not fit unproblematically into a literary genre either, as I discuss in Chapter 2. It tends not to include the explicit and systematic statements about its own purpose, authorship, composition and form which it is the business of academic prologues to make, and consequently falls far short of their degree of self-awareness regarding function and intention. Furthermore, pilgrimage narratives or guides often lack identifiable authors and, as Minnis writes, "works of unknown or uncertain authorship were regarded as 'apocryphal' and believed to possess an *auctoritas* far inferior to that of works which circulated under the names of *auctores*" (11). The authority that is allowed to a text composed and used outside of established academic disciplines, of unstable or poorly defined generic status, without a named author to which authority can more easily be anchored, must be of a very different order from that of the scholastic and literary

texts which primarily occupy Minnis, Carruthers and Miller. Minnis does not exclude the possibility of such anonymous texts claiming some degree of *auctoritas*, however: it is simply of a much lower order.

In her study of early modern literary authority, Jacqueline Miller also provides useful definitions of authority, and acknowledges that it can be formulated in a multitude of ways. Defining "authority" as "that which can sanction and certify the poetic text," she distinguishes between authority which "resides with the author" and that which is external. In the case of authority located in the author, a number of possible formulations are enumerated:

> The author may accept authority that is conferred upon him; he may simply posit and assert his authority; he may deny or abdicate his authority; he may create an audience that in turn agrees to bestow authority upon him; he may create an audience that claims authority as its own and therefore challenges his. (Miller, 3)

Self-assertion, then, is not the only means of establishing authority: we will see this played out not only in anonymous late medieval pilgrimage narratives but also in seventeenth-century narratives in which the author is a named presence in the text. Authority external to the poet may also be claimed by recourse to multiple sources:

> it may refer to a traditionally accepted system of belief, a fixed principle of order, a recognized figure with authoritative status (God, or a god [Jove], or a goddess [Fame or Nature]), literary conventions or traditions (a genre, or a conventional framework), literary predecessors (Chaucer's "olde bokes" and *auctores*, or the writers on whom Renaissance poets based their theory of imitation), or the structure of the actual or the natural. (Miller, 5)

The last source named in Miller's list, "the structure of the catual or the natural," helps to explicate the construction of authority in pilgrimage narratives. They represent an experience of pilgrimage, purport to reflect an aspect or aspects of the known world and lived experience and seek to guide a future enterprise of pilgrimage. Thus they aspire to acceptance as true, authentic and worthy of imitation: to authority. It is an authority, however, which in the moment of writing or in subsequent transmission becomes detached from an identifiable author. The authority is located in referentiality rather than in the name or person of the writer. In the absence of the stabilising forces of disciplinary prestige and authorial reputation, different modes of establishing veracity and authenticity and justifying a text's purpose and existence

must be found. The exploration of some ways of doing so is one of the burdens of Chapter 2. By the early modern period, an apparatus to justify and define the proper limits of travel and travel writing has evolved and authors are more insistently, visibly attached to journeys and the ensuing narratives, so that authority can be more easily established in these terms. Nonetheless, the difficulty of establishing veracity and authenticity continues to haunt the project of travel writing throughout the period in question, especially in the face of proverbs assuming the licit lies of travellers, discussed in Chapters 3 and 4.

In spite of the difficulties of applying the models of *auctoritas* used by academic commentators to pilgrimage writing, Minnis' discussion and the comments of Carruthers and others have some important consequences for the writing under discussion here. Their illumination of the importance of imitation for the construction of authority, for instance, is relevant to pilgrimage writing, which is often dismissed precisely on the grounds of its imitative quality. Of course, very precise conditions and conventions of attribution and appropriation apply to authoritative scholarly or literary imitation, which are not always met by pilgrim writers as they borrow and imitate. On the other hand, Miller's comments on the challenge of "separat[ing] 'honorable' absorption and assimilation from wholesale adoption and usurpation" as acknowledged by Petrarch, Philip Sidney, Erasmus, George Puttenham and Ben Jonson, among others, demonstrate how very elusive is satisfactory fulfilment of these conditions (Miller, 121-139). The precise nature of borrowing and imitation in late medieval and early modern travel narratives, and of the consequent consolidation or erosion of authority, is examined in Chapters 2 and 4.

Also of direct relevance to travel writing is the distinction illuminated in Minnis' study between the roles of *auctor* and *compilator*. This distinction, by Minnis' account, emerges in the thirteenth century from the composition of compilations of authorities and the literary theory accruing to that practice. There arises in that context a need for differentiation within the authorial agency between the act of asserting one's own opinion, *assertio*, and the act of neutrally rehearsing another's opinion, *recitatio*. Minnis notes that, from the time of Vincent of Beauvais onwards, the possibility of reserving judgment was exploited by the compiler, offering new, less confrontational or engaged possibilities for dealing with authorities. Thinking of the composition of pilgrimage narratives as partaking of the methods of the compiler as well as the author may help to clarify the methods and purposes of

these texts, and to neutralise criticisms of them as plagiaristic, derivative and lacking rigour. By approaching pilgrimage writing with the expectations appropriate to compilation, it is possible to consider it according to terms of composition in which authorial self-assertion is not a convention of the genre. Retrospective application of the conventions of early modern travel writing, in which such assertion is fundamental to claims of veracity, can thus be avoided. It is still important, however, to be alert to the places in which pilgrimage writings break free of the compilational mode and move into a more assertive one.

If the methods of the compiler are of relevance to the composition of late medieval narratives, his vocabulary of differentiation between his own statements and those of the authorities he collects also map precisely onto those of early modern travellers recounting Franciscans' claims for the holy places. John Trevisa, translating Ralph Higden's mid-fourteenth-century compilation, the *Polychronicon*, from Latin in 1387, renders *recitare* as *reherse*, and *affirmare* as *affirme*. The pointed language used to distinguish *assertio* from *recitatio* in English is precisely that used in the defining and controlling statements about the descriptions of Jerusalem and Palestine and the Franciscans' truth claims by William Lithgow, Fynes Moryson and George Sandys, whose narratives are published between 1614 and 1617. These statements are often taken as evidence of the new early modern scepticism and empiricism, but in fact they partake of methods which had been in use for centuries before.

Early modern travel accounts can also resemble compilations in their use of classical quotation. Efterpi Mitsi has recently commented that for George Sandys, in whose narrative citation and translation of classical poets are given special prominence, travel in the Levant is represented as movement not only across space but through time, into the past. Not least because of the prominence of classical citation and translation in Sandys' narrative, his report of the journey is an attempt to mediate between the current state of the territories through which he passes and their classical or biblical histories, which also supply western Europe's most prized cultural or religious legacies.[50] Travel through Hellenistic sites or sites in Asia Minor naturally awakens very different reflections in the early modern humanist from those provoked

[50] Efterpi Mitsi, "Landscape and Translation in George Sandys' *Relation of a Journey*," unpublished conference paper presented at the *International Society for Travel Writing* conference entitled *On the Trail/Tras sus Huellas*, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, September 19-21, 2007.

by Palestine, but this project of mediation is visible in both countries.[51] Indeed, throughout the late medieval and early modern periods the narration of the journey to Jerusalem requires negotiation of temporal distance as well as spatial expanse. The span of approximately 1400 to 1600 years which separates pilgrims or early modern travellers from the gospel events which they commemorate as they visit Jerusalem and its adjoining areas includes profound religious, cultural and political change. All the travellers discussed here believe that the origins of their salvation are located in the events situated in Palestine of Christ's life, death and resurrection. For many of them the association between these events and the land bestows an enduring sanctity and importance on the territory. Whether they recognise it or not, however, the subsequent centuries, and the Constantinian campaign of commemoration and monumentation, the Arab conquest, the crusades and subsequent Muslim rule, latterly by Mamluks and Ottomans, also have profound effects on the state of Jerusalem as late medieval and early modern pilgrims experience it. Some narrators elide the temporal void which separates them from the time of Christ, but many others notice the traces which the intervening history has left on the landscape and assimilate it in different ways to the understanding of the place of the "Holy Land" in Christian belief. Consequently, an engagement with this history, most especially as it pertains to the evolution of pilgrimage, is undertaken in Chapter 1.

Such an engagement is no small task. The network of churches and holy places associated with scriptural events in late medieval and early modern Jerusalem was the result of centuries of slow accretion. The process of sedimentation was complicated by the disruptions posed by conquest and earthquakes as well as rivalry among religions and sects and the consequent attempts to expropriate one another's holy sites. The medieval and early modern forms of the network of holy places were also shaped by the convergence of three major religions on a single city, and by the fluctuating dominance of proponents of these religions, or of sects thereof. The crusades themselves of course left lasting traces on the city and the practice of pilgrimage in the form of monumentation, the framework of indulgences and the circulation of certain kinds of rhetoric about the city and its inhabitants. This chapter addresses these processes and their consequences for late medieval and early modern

[51] See Haynes, *Humanist as Traveler*. Its arguments are summarised in Chapter 4.

travellers in as focused a way as possible, which necessarily results in omissions and abridgments.

The practice of Christian pilgrimage is a legacy of the fourth-century church. Never explicitly enjoined by Jesus according to the gospel evidence, its origins within Christianity are contested, but can most safely be dated to the advent of Constantine to the emperorship and his building campaigns in Palestine in the early fourth century. The prestige of pilgrimage and its status as good work fluctuated and were subject to recurrent challenges, from the late fourth-century epistle of Gregory of Nyssa and the somewhat ambivalent statements of Saint Jerome onwards. Since the validity of pilgrimage as a practice is neither canonical nor self-evident, some discussion of the arguments in its defence and the relation of these to contemporary political, economic and devotional demands and contingencies is appropriate. Chapter 1 accordingly discusses the place of pilgrimage within patristic writings, church councils, and chronicles and other relevant documents.

The criteria of proof and evidence according to which traditions about holy places, structures and objects were forged continuously evolved, but the centuries that passed between the inception of certain traditions and the late medieval and early modern period sometimes witnessed the persistence of a tradition after the rationalising framework had passed away. Since this fact is at the heart of certain attacks on pilgrimage made during the Reformation, an examination in Chapter 1 – however limited – of the early origins of traditions at the holy places illuminates the tensions and anxieties which surface in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and which receive attention in Chapters 3 and 4. As I have already indicated, the instances of scepticism, doubt and correction which are treated in these later chapters are not without precedent in the earlier period, however; this fact is acknowledged in Chapter 1.

An examination of the origins of the traditions of the holy places is as less relevant to the discussion of fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century pilgrimage narratives, which takes place in Chapter 2, as it is to post-Reformation accounts. Chapter 1 traces, for example, the trend of increasing specificity and particularity in identifications initiated by the Constantinian churches and brought to full fruition in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. This process directly determined the density of identifications in late medieval pilgrimages, as well as their patterns and shapes. Alongside the trend of particularisation in identifications there was a proliferation in

reports of the imprints left by Jesus, the prophets and apostles on the earth or stone of Jerusalem and Palestine. There also emerged a tendency to order the movement across the landscape in a way that reflected the chronology of Christ's captivity and passion, which encouraged pilgrims' imaginative and emotional engagements with the holy places and the events commemorated there. This chronological ordering can be usefully considered in relation to the earlier and contemporary literature of affective piety. Imaginative and emotional participation existed in symbiosis with an awareness of the textures, contours and dimensions of the holy places and the attempts to record the planes of the landscape in the text: each intensified the other.

While Chapter 1 sets out the structures according to which pilgrims are accommodated, controlled and guided in Jerusalem, Chapter 2 begins by setting out more specifically the conditions for fifteenth-century travellers to Jerusalem, including the overland routes through Europe and the sea passage from Venice. These practicalities are of great concern for many of the pilgrimage narratives examined in Chapter 2, and constitute a significant proportion of their content. Such narratives have to mediate between very different burdens of description: the pragmatics of travel on the one hand (exchange of currencies, stages on the overland route, the conditions and contract which the pilgrim must strike with the captain of the pilgrim galley at Venice) and, on the other, the devotional content which animates and justifies the pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The ratio between these varies from text to text. Another duality of emphasis is also evident in many late medieval pilgrimage narratives: that between the representation of a completed pilgrimage and the provision of advice for a projected journey. The purposes of such narratives are often multiple. Their strategies for accommodating these requirements are subtle, I contend in Chapter 2, and they manifest a mobility and flexibility in doing so which merits attention.

Chapter 2 concentrates on writing related to pilgrimage in English or by English writers, where the origins of the journey in England or its accomplishment by an English person can be established. The chapter takes as its starting point the account of the Jerusalem pilgrimage in the *Book of Margery Kempe*, although with attention to the comparable passages in the *Revelations* of Bridget of Sweden which influenced Margery's aspirations and provided a model for her own narrative. It examines eight other pilgrimage narratives in English, Latin or a combination of the two languages which narrate a completed pilgrimage or offer advice for a projected

one, although in all of them there is some reference to an accomplished journey. The chapter's end point is the third printing of *The Way to the Holy Lande*, also published as *The Informacion for Pylgrymes*, in 1524. As well as discussing each of these texts in its own right, this chapter examines the relations between Margery's and Bridget's mystical writings about the experience of pilgrimage, the tradition of affective piety, and pilgrimage guides or accounts.

Chapter 2 does not make more than passing mention of the travels of John Mandeville, a choice which merits some explanation. Strictly speaking, *Mandeville's Travels* is to be excluded from consideration by the date (c. 1357) and language of its first composition (French). Of course, the work had an active life throughout the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, frequently copied, printed and translated as it was into English as well as German, Italian, Spanish, Irish, Dutch, Czech and Danish. Although the study of the relation of *Mandeville's Travels* to the pilgrimage writings examined here would undoubtedly be productive, it cannot take place in this thesis. The broad parameters of my discussion require selection and exclusion in order to permit specificity and detail in discussion. The proliferation of versions of the *Travels*, the intricacies of its textual tradition, the continuing controversies over the identity of "Sir John Mandeville" and the contested boundary between fictionality and veracity could not all be adequately addressed here without displacing much material which falls squarely within the parameters I have outlined and which has received much less critical attention.

My discussion of these narratives nonetheless shares concerns with some criticism of Sir John Mandeville and his travels, and exercises the scrutiny of narrative persona, authority and truth claims to which interest in Mandevillean fictionality gave a strong impulse.[52] Chapter 2 pays close attention to fifteenth-century English writings relating to the pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Since many of these contain no attribution of authorship, the discussion of the construction of authority does not involve the identity the author or the authenticity of attribution. Still, however, the manner in which the first-person narrating voice steers, makes claims and signals its control can be evaluated in fruitful ways. The purpose of this chapter is partly recuperative: it contends that it is possible to illuminate diversity and subtlety in the narrators' representations of pilgrimage to holy places, their modes of establishing

[52] For example, Chapter 2, "From the Dome of the Rock to the Rim of the World" in Greenblatt, *Marvellous Possessions*, 26-51. See also Elsner and Rubiés, "Voyages and Visions," 37-9.

authority and fixing the memory of the experience. In the process of this recuperation, it also discusses at repetition of entire or partial pilgrimages, which often appears excessive or perplexing on first sight. Petsalis-Diomidis, to whom I have already referred, has demonstrated that narrating repeated pilgrimages can provide an opportunity to trace the trajectory of a pilgrim's development, the maturing of his or her understanding of the project of the pilgrimage and the deepening of devotion and erudition.[53] Repetition is also intimately related with memory, and with the internalisation of text or experience. Indeed, Mary Carruthers has suggested that even the first pilgrimage to Jerusalem resembles a repeated visit: "pilgrims came not to see something new, but to recollect things well known to them already, their 'dicta et facta memorabilia.'"[54] Chapter 2 thus explores the way in which repetition functions in relation to memorial processes and textual record in late medieval pilgrimage writings.

Chapter 2 also pays heed to the ways in which individual narratives may be seen as responding to influences beyond their own boundaries, or beyond the genre of the pilgrimage narrative itself. Thus I examine the influence of texts in the tradition of affective piety on both pilgrimage accounts and mystical writings; the attention of such texts of affective devotion to the information about relics and holy places available in pilgrimage narratives; the traces of attentiveness to the contours of the holy places in mystical writings, and the way in which Bridget's and Margery's visions seem to have been shaped by their experience of visiting the holy places. The responsiveness of texts to one another often takes the form of some kind of appropriation. The reuses or echoes of existing material which characterise such texts are made the subject of careful examination, so that the choices and subtle effects constituted by such borrowings are illuminated. The examination of responsiveness and influence across generic boundaries also presupposes accurate and useful delineations of genre. Chapter 2 takes on board deconstructions like Lejeune's of the external existence of rigid, discrete genres, evaluating the value of generic definitions and their applicability to fifteenth-century accounts of pilgrimage in the English tradition.

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[53] Petsalis-Diomidis, "Narratives of Transformation," 91-6. For further discussion, see Chapter 2, 166 below.

[54] Mary J. Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 43.

I have already alluded to the fact that the status of pilgrimage as a good work was subject to challenge throughout its history. Chapter 3 examines in detail the forceful resurgence of attacks on pilgrimage from the turn of the sixteenth century, in the writings of Desiderius Erasmus, William Tyndale, Hugh Latimer, among others, and defences of it by Sir Thomas More and, decades later, Gregory Martin. The chapter begins by summarising the arguments of earlier critics of pilgrimage, from Lollard as well as orthodox camps. Some of these criticisms employ a strategy also adopted in criticisms of pilgrimage in the sixteenth century: the redirection of the vocabulary of the shrine, the relic and the pious journey towards an interiorised spiritual engagement and away from the context of pilgrimage to holy places or saints' shrines. As a consequence of this redirection, the imaginative or emotional engagement with Christ, which in Bridget's and Margery's visions is intensified and coloured by experience of the pilgrimage, is severed from material objects and physical places. This chapter explores various manifestations of this strategy, and explores the possibility that it inadvertently draws attention to the devotional potency of what it seeks to displace. Another strand in sixteenth-century criticism depends on attacking the methods of authentication which support the holy places, objects and traditions of the pilgrimage. The pressure to engage with questions of authenticity, although present in late medieval narratives, becomes much more insistent and acute in English accounts of the Jerusalem pilgrimage after the Reformation, however, and the roots of this concern and the way in which it is debated are examined in Chapter 3.

The summary of pre-sixteenth-century criticisms of the pilgrimage demonstrates that such attacks could come from within the bounds of church orthodoxy as well as without, as evinced by the reservations expressed in Thomas à Kempis' *Imitatio Christi*. This continued to be the case even after criticism of pilgrimage became a feature of Reformed belief, as is evident in the criticisms mounted by Erasmus and Jacques Lefèvre. This fact is of importance for the discussions in both Chapters 3 and 4. It complicates the automatic mapping of approval of pilgrimage as a Roman Catholic attitude and the disapproval of the practice as Protestant, and opens up the opportunity for finer shading of Protestant attitudes to pilgrimage and subsidiary practices in Chapter 4. To this end, attention is paid not only to the outright attacks on pilgrimage by Erasmus, but also the awareness of the need to reform and control the practice of pilgrimage as evinced in the defence of pilgrimage by Gregory Martin, the decrees of the Council of Trent and the

instructions issued by Cardinal Charles Borromeo redressing inadequate provision of identification and explanation of relics at shrines.

This is not the place for an attempt at a comprehensive discussion of the Reformation, of course, so the scope of the discussion in Chapter 3 is restricted to the place of pilgrimage and related practices in these theological controversies, and focused on questions of legitimacy, authenticity and criteria of proof and verification. After a discussion of the treatment of these practices in treatises, sermons, humanist dialogues and letters, I examine the changes that took place in the legal status of pilgrimage within the English church from the reign of Henry VIII to that of Elizabeth I. The chapter concludes by considering evidence relating to the enforcement of legal injunctions to suppress pilgrimage and related practices, instances of resistance to this suppression, and the degree of success with which it seems to have been effected.

In spite of the subtleties, ambiguities and contradictions which can undeniably be identified in the attitudes of certain Protestants and Catholics towards pilgrimage, the narratives of travel to Jerusalem written in English in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries very clearly manifest doubts about the claims made for the Jerusalem pilgrimage with frequency and intensity for which there were no precedents in late medieval pilgrimage writing. Whereas participation in pilgrimage in fifteenth-century England – a gesture asserting freedom from the attaint of Lollardy – was a sign of orthodoxy,[55] by the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it came to signify quite the opposite, and participation even in its forms, if not also its beliefs, needed to be narrated defensively and carefully. This fact coincided with new developments in the genre of travel writing which placed greater emphasis on the justification of the author's motives in undertaking travel and demonstration of fitness to resist the temptations and influences to which it exposes travellers. The ways in which such travel narratives establish and defend their author's authority to travel, observe and write in the face of these pressures are the main preoccupation of Chapter 4. The chapter also continues the investigation initiated in Chapter 2 of the mode of constructing the narrative voice, establishing the narrative's claims to authority, bolstering truth claims and imposing textual order on the unruly experience of travel.

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[55] See, for the example of Margery Kempe, Clarissa W. Atkinson, *Mystic and Pilgrim: The Book and the World of Margery Kempe* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1983), 116-20; Rosalynn Voaden, *God's Words, Women's Voices: The Discernment of Spirits in the Writing of Late-Medieval Women Visionaries* (Suffolk: York Medieval Press in association with the Boydell Press, 1999), 43.

The tensions produced by the attacks on pilgrimage by Reformers and other sixteenth-century critics are all the more visible because of the relative stability in the form, structure and commemorations of the Jerusalem pilgrimage in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Franciscans continued to assume responsibility for Christian pilgrims from western Europe in Palestine, and to guide them around the holy places. Exceptions to this arrangement were rare, and attempts to circumvent it could lead to punishment.[56] As a result, English or Scottish travellers of a Protestant affiliation were not necessarily or immediately distinguishable in outward appearance from their Catholic counterparts, although occasional acts of defiance and self-differentiation are triumphantly reported by some of them. Chapter 4 explores the ways in which such gestures of independence are used to bolster their poses of orthodox Protestantism and to disclaim susceptibility to Catholic "superstition." It also pays attention to the persistent delineations, definitions and limitations of involvement by which travel-writers attempt to control the representation of their participation in the pilgrimage.

Notwithstanding these efforts, even formal participation in the pilgrimage compromises the absoluteness of the pose of independence, and fissures in the attitudes of doubt and scepticism are visible in English and Scottish accounts of Palestine. Chapter 4 consequently discusses certain continuities between the travel accounts of the late medieval and early modern periods as far as 1632. In spite of the changes in formulation, emphasis and tone, instances of acquiescence to the Catholic pilgrimage and its late medieval emphases and traditions are reported by early modern travellers. There is a continuity in the employment of the vocabulary of the pilgrimage in certain accounts, and a willingness on the part of certain pilgrims to report their participation in some of the materially-oriented practices of pilgrimage. Philip Edwards has argued for the continuing "amplitude and hospitality" of the vocabulary of pilgrimage in English post-Reformation drama and poetry, persuasively contesting previous arguments that it came to be emptied of the meaning it derived from the pre-Reformation or Catholic place pilgrimage by the early decades of the seventeenth century.[57] I set out the evidence for a similar flexibility and "hospitality" in certain Protestant travellers' uses of this vocabulary. A transmuted sensitivity to the

[56] For example, Timberlake's attempt to enter Jerusalem in defiance of Franciscan protection, and his consequent imprisonment, discussed in Chapter 4.

[57] Philip Edwards, *Pilgrimage and Literary Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 57.

landscape as inscribed and legible is also visible in early modern Protestant narratives. In the place of the marks associated with Christ's movement across the terrain, travellers often identify different physical markers of divine will: the degree of fertility or barrenness of the land, a contested point, is interpreted as a sign of divine approval or condemnation. Such remarks provide opportunities for the rehearsal of Jewish history, the consequences of Christ's sufferings for the land, or the place of the Ottomans in eschatological discourse.

I also examine the way in which these travellers' accounts of their acquisition of relics, tattoos and pilgrim certificates – tokens whose authenticity depends on Franciscan or Eastern Christian authority – are accommodated in their narratives. Although repudiation of such objects constitutes an easy and obvious pretext for the traveller's display of freedom from the taint of superstition, it is not always embraced. In some cases narratives admit to some susceptibility to the efficacy of such objects. I try to tease out the ways in which these augment the authority of the narratorial persona, or are compensated for by it. Relics and other mementoes are also turned to new, secular purposes of evidence and proof, and the paradoxes in these uses are explored. Furthermore, in spite of energetically constructed poses of scepticism or indifference to the idea of the holy place, some Protestant travellers also report experiences of intensified devotion at certain sites in Palestine. Chapter 4 concludes by examining the moments in which such experiences are admitted, as well as the strategies for containing them and reconciling them with Protestant orthodoxy.

CHAPTER 1

THE EMERGENCE AND EVOLUTION OF THE HOLY PLACES TO 1400

INTRODUCTION

Introducing *The Holy Places of the Gospels*, first published in German in 1959, Clemens Kopp noted the existence of "only a few isolated topographical references" in the gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John.[1] These texts, he suggested, "are interested in the story of redemption, not in the landscape." Their writers looked not to the traces of Christ's sojourn on earth but to his second coming. In the first quarter of the twentieth century, Hugues Vincent and F. M. Abel offered alternative explanations for "the terseness of [the gospels'] chorographical particulars."[2] They suggested that the gospels initially assumed an audience intimately familiar with Jerusalem, for whom the movements of Jesus through the landscape were a vivid memory – or oral tradition – which needed no textual fixing, and, moreover, that the effacement of the landscape could not be imagined.[3]

By the beginning of the period with which this dissertation is primarily concerned (1432-1632), however, Jerusalem's landscape was densely populated with sites venerated for their association with the events of the Old and New Testaments (especially the latter), or the lives of the saints. The contrast between the status of place at the beginning of the history of the Christian church and in the fifteenth century invites two major questions. The first is how events in the gospels, whose locations are so ambiguous, came to be fixed in space by Christians so that medieval

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[1] Clemens Kopp, *The Holy Places of the Gospels*, trans. Ronald Walls (Edinburgh; London: Nelson, 1963), xv. First published as *Die Heiligen Stätten der Evangelien* (Regensburg: Friedrich Puster, 1959).

[2] "le laconisme de leurs données chorographiques." Hugues Vincent and F. M. Abel, *Jérusalem: Recherches de Topographie, d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 2 vols., vol. 2: Jérusalem Nouvelle (Paris: Librairie Victor Lecoffre, 1914-26), xxix.

[3] The persuasiveness of this explanation depends to a degree on how the gospels are dated. A dating to before the fall of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. (as provided by J. A. T. Robinson) might support such an explanation. The intimations of the destruction of the temple in Matthew 24:1-2; 15-16 and Luke 21:5-6 and of Jerusalem itself in Luke 21:20-24, among others, make this less likely, however, and subvert claims for the evangelists' confidence in the immutability of the physical fabric of the city. Kermode summarises arguments about the dating of the gospels, concluding that most philologists agree that they are to be dated from 70 A.D. onwards. However, he admits an exception to such datings in the arguments of Robinson, who dates Mark and Matthew to 45-60 C.E, Luke to 57-60 A.D., John to 40-65 A.D. and Acts to 57-62 (383). Robinson also provides a survey of previous dating systems (3-7). Frank Kermode, "Introduction to the New Testament," in *The Literary Guide to the Bible*, ed. Robert Alter and Frank Kermode (London: Collins, 1987); John A. T. Robinson, *Redating the New Testament* (London: SCM Press, 1976).

and Renaissance writers could count off and record the number of steps walked by Jesus between stations along the Via Dolorosa, and even offer cartographic reconstructions of the landscape as it should have looked in Jesus' lifetime.[4] The other question, related but distinct, is how a religious movement whose figurehead and early proponents seemed to feel ambivalent towards the earthly Jerusalem came to consider the places in which Christ acted as holy and worthy of veneration.[5]

It does not necessarily follow that an account of events which lacks topographical specificity must refuse the importance or meaning of place. Although topographical references are few, the narratives of the gospels are not aspatial. The movement of Jesus and the disciples across space towards Jerusalem is charged with foreboding. Robert Wilken argues that, over the course of the Old Testament, there emerges an emphasis on the city of Jerusalem in distinction to the land as a whole, and that this must inform any understanding of the early Christian conception of the holy city and holy land.[6] This process of orientation around the central point of Jerusalem is visible, for example, in the later section of Isaiah (Wilken, 14-7). In chapter 51:2-3, God's promise to Abraham has been restated to pertain specifically to Zion, rather than to a land:

> Look to Abraham your father and to Sarah who bore you; for when he was but one I called him, and I blessed him and made him many. For the LORD will comfort Zion; he will comfort all her waste places, and will make her wilderness like Eden, her desert like the garden of the LORD; joy and

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[4] For a fifteenth-century example of the meticulous recording of paces, see John Poloner, *Description of the Holy Land*, trans. Aubrey Stewart, The Library of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, vol. 6 (London: Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, 1894). As early as the early sixth century, however, Theodosius marks out the dimensions of the holy sites in paces. See Theodosius, "De Situ Terrae Sanctae," in *Itinera Hierosolymitana: Saeculi IIII-VIII*, ed. Paulus Geyer, Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiastorum, vol. 39 (Prague: F Tempsky, 1898), 137-50. For a map of Jerusalem "in Christ's day," see Christian Adrichomius, *Urbis Hierosolimae Quemadmodum ea Christi Tempore Floruit* (Colonia Agrippinae: 1585).

[5] A similar question is posed by Dyas, *Pilgrimage 700-1500*, 47.

[6] Jerusalem is given no great significance at first in God's promise of land to Abraham (Genesis 17: 8). By Robert Wilken's account, Jerusalem is "a town of little importance with a population of not more than a thousand" which "gave no sign of its future glory and grandeur" (9). After David's conquest of the city, however, and his placing of the ark in Jerusalem, Wilken argues, holiness is bound permanently to place for the first time. After the exile to Babylon, a concentration on the city and temple rather than the land emerges with special intensity, claims Moshe Weinfeld; Wilken concurs. Ezekiel represents the land as a territory oriented around Jerusalem, rather than as a region of undifferentiated importance: "Thus says the Lord GOD: This is Jerusalem; I have set her in the centre of the nations, with countries round about her" (Ezekiel 5:5). Moshe Weinfeld, *The Promise of the Land: The Inheritance of the Land of Canaan by the Israelites* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 201-8; Robert L. Wilken, *The Land Called Holy: Palestine in Christian History and Thought* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 9-19. Quotations from the Bible are from the Revised Standard Version unless otherwise specified.

gladness will be found in her, thanksgiving and the voice of song.

The tendency to concentrate and orient God's promise of the land around the city of Jerusalem must inform our discussion of the evangelists' sense of the importance of place. Wilken recognises in the gospels a sense that the climax of Christ's life is predetermined to take place in Jerusalem, as in Matthew 16:21: "From that time Jesus began to show his disciples that he must go unto Jerusalem and suffer many things of the elders and chief priests and scribes, and be killed, and on the third day be raised."[7] Sean Freyne, like Wilken, points out the mixture of condemnation and affection in Jesus' judgment of the city in Luke 13:34-5 and Matthew 23:37-39:

> "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, killing the prophets and stoning those who are sent to you! How often would I have gathered your children together as a hen gathers her brood under her wings, and you would not! Behold, your house is forsaken. And I tell you, you will not see me until you say, 'Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord!'" [8]

The centrality of Jerusalem to the culmination of Christ's teaching and his death and resurrection demonstrates the city's importance in the gospels.[9] However, while it is important to acknowledge the significance of Jerusalem and other precise spatial zones in Jewish tradition, and then in the gospels and early Christian understanding, it

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[7] Wilken, *The Land Called Holy*, 47. On the Mount of Transfiguration, the Gospel of Luke makes the prophets Moses and Elias reveal Jerusalem to be the place of the Messiah's death (9:31), and later has Jesus acknowledge the fact himself: "Nevertheless I must walk today, and tomorrow, and the day following: for it cannot be that a prophet perish out of Jerusalem" (14:33). See also Mark 10:32-34.

[8] Sean Freyne, "From Jesus to Constantine: Jerusalem in Early Christian Piety and Imagination," chap. 3 in *Texts, Contexts and Cultures: Essays on Biblical Topics* (Dublin: Veritas, 2002), 52; Wilken, *The Land Called Holy*, 47.

[9] While Jerusalem serves as the place of culmination for the events of the New Testament, it is not the only city or region involved in Old Testament prophecies whose fulfilment the gospels strive to demonstrate. Place and travel often serve a function in the fulfilment of prophecy, particularly in the gospel of Matthew. For example, Jesus' birth in Bethlehem fulfils Micah 5:2: "But you, O Bethlehem Eph'rathah, who are little to be among the clans of Judah, from you shall come forth for me one who is to be ruler in Israel, whose origin is from of old, from ancient days." The fulfilment is duly reported in Matthew 2:5. Matthew's assertion of the fulfilment of Isaiah 9:1 relies on Christ's travels into Galilee, in which the trajectory of his movement across space corresponds once again to prophecy: "Leaving Nazareth he went and dwelt in Caper'na-um by the sea, in the territory of Zeb'ulun and Naph'tali, that what was spoken by the prophet Isaiah might be fulfilled: "The land of Zeb'ulun and the land of Naph'tali, toward the sea, across the Jordan, Galilee of the Gentiles - the people who sat in darkness have seen a great light, and for those who sat in the region and shadow of death light has dawned." (Matthew 4:13-16). The flight into Egypt and return after Herod's death are described as the fulfilment of Hosea 11:1 ("Out of Egypt have I called my son...") in Matthew 2:14-15, and the puzzling Nazarene prophecy of Matthew 2:23 gives a further example of the significance which geographical origins are held to have in the fulfilment of prophecy. Nathana'el's sceptical remark, "Can anything good come out of Nazareth?" (John 1:46), suggests that great leaders and momentous events can be more easily envisioned originating in some places than in others, and the discussion of origins takes central place in the debate by the people in Jerusalem as to whether Jesus is the Christ (John 7:40-42).

cannot be assumed that the memory of the exact places in which Christ was born, lived, taught and died survived through the centuries before they were marked with monuments by the emperor Constantine in the fourth century. The quelling of the first Jewish revolt by Titus in 70 A.D. and, to an even greater extent, the destruction of Jerusalem at the defeat of the Second Revolt by Hadrian's general Julius Severus in 135 A.D. would have complicated immensely the task of preserving the memory of relations between gospel narrative and place. Awareness of these catastrophes and of subsequent conquests and earthquakes would become a factor in later scepticism about the holy sites' authenticity.[10]

In order to understand the intricate traditions which would appear throughout Jerusalem and Palestine by the fifteenth century, it is helpful to make some acknowledgment of the evolution of both the physical places and the traditions adhering to them. Their early history has been illuminated by scholars and archaeologists including Vincent and Abel, Clemens Kopp, Joan Taylor, E. D. Hunt and P. W. L. Walker, through examinations of the writings of early pilgrims and of Church Fathers such as Origen, Eusebius, Cyril of Jerusalem and Jerome, as well as the material discoveries of archaeologists.[11] Colin Morris, John Wilkinson and others have traced more fully than I can here the evolution of attitudes in the Latin West to

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[10] See, for example, William Lithgow, *The Totall Discourse, Of the Rare Aduentures, and paintefull Peregrinations of long nineteene Yeares Trauayles, from Scotland, to the most Famous Kingdomes in Europe, Asia, and Affrica* (London: Nicholas Okes, 1632), 248.

[11] Most approaches to the places deemed holy have in recent decades made use both of archaeological findings and literary evidence in order to uncover their early history. Kopp, who resided in Palestine both as a private scholar and with the Catholic Görres-Gesellschaft, attempts to understand the processes by which specific sites came to be venerated, often deciding in uncertain examples in favour of continuous traditions and authenticity. He argues that travel classifiable as pilgrimage had begun as early as the second century, citing Melito of Sardis (late second century) and Origen (185-254) as examples of early pilgrims. He alludes in detail to fourth-century patristic texts, including the *De Vita Constantini* and *Onomasticon* of Eusebius, Jerome's *Epistles* and expanded translation of the *Onomasticon*, and the *Catechetical Lectures* of Cyril of Jerusalem, and draws on accounts of pilgrims such as the Pilgrim of Bordeaux (333), Egeria/Aetheria (385), and the Pilgrim of Piacenza (570). Joan Taylor draws on many of the same literary sources as Kopp. However, she interrogates the assumptions which underlie her predecessors' interpretations of the evidence about the early history of holy sites. Taylor also rigorously re-examines traditional uses of patristic texts as evidence for early veneration of the sites now deemed holy. In particular, Taylor interrogates the language of restoration which is used by Jerome, Eusebius (in a letter to Bishop Macarius, ascribed by Eusebius to Constantine) and others to report the claiming and monumentation of holy sites in the fourth century. Brouria Bitton-Ashkelony has studied debates about the legitimacy of pilgrimage in the fourth and fifth centuries. Her introduction gives an excellent overview of the extensive published work on Jerusalem and its holy sites in those centuries and preceding ones. Brouria Bitton-Ashkelony, *Encountering the Sacred: The Debate on Christian Pilgrimage in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005), especially 1-29; E. D. Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage in the Later Roman Empire A.D. 312-460* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982); Kopp, *Holy Places of the Gospels*, xvi; Joan E. Taylor, *Christians and the Holy Places: The Myth of Jewish Christian Origins* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), x-xi, 2-3, 18-47, 92-4, 96-107.

Jerusalem from the city's Byzantine period, through the Arab conquest of the city in the seventh century, up to the Crusades, although some broad trends are sketched out in this chapter.[12]

Also to my purpose is an introductory examination of the way in which the monuments at the holy sites and the practice of pilgrimage changed with the advent of the crusaders and, from the fourteenth century, the Franciscan Custodianship of the Holy Land. Discussions of the relationship between crusade and pilgrimage often dwell on the difficulty of categorizing and defining, individually and in relation to each other, what are very intricate phenomena. Some attention should be paid to the relationship between pilgrimage and crusade, however, since the late medieval pilgrimage bears traces of the activities of crusaders and their chroniclers. The crusades gave an impulse to the emerging doctrine of indulgences; later pilgrims zealously pursued and recorded the remissions available in Palestine. The crusaders also constructed important monuments in Palestine's holy places. Because of later Mamluk and Ottoman policy which allowed restoration of existing Christian religious buildings but not new construction, the crusaders' building enterprise determined to a large extent the monuments encountered by the pilgrims of the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries, although the location, shape and orientation of many of these were often inherited from even earlier structures. The chroniclers of the Crusades forged a rhetoric which justified conquest of Jerusalem and explicated possession by reference to divine will. As Chapter 4 will demonstrate, these attitudes and rhetoric carry through to the Renaissance, and the events of the Crusades and their historical narratives partially inform the way in which the region is viewed by unarmed pilgrims and others in the early modern period.

The Franciscans were installed in Jerusalem as a result of negotiations between the Mamluk Sultan and Jaume II of Aragon and, later, Robert of Anjou, in the first three decades of the fourteenth century. Surviving the transition to Ottoman rule in the sixteenth century, the Franciscan friars also had a fundamental impact on the shaping of the late medieval and Renaissance pilgrimage, as they systematised, schematised and authorised the pilgrimage route, and fixed it and moulded it to the

[12] For a general history with a broad chronological span and a useful bibliography, see Morris, *Sepulchre of Christ*. There is an account of the Persian and then Arab conquests of Jerusalem in Wilken, *The Land Called Holy*, 202-46. For a collection of primary sources relating to the Jerusalem pilgrimage from the fifth to the eleventh centuries, see John Wilkinson, ed., *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades* (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1977).

chronology of the gospels to an unprecedented degree.[13] The acknowledgement of interruption, transmutation and dislocation in these processes will also help to understand the suspicion of some later, more sceptical travellers.

Broad Trends in the History of the "Holy Sites" before the Crusades

Several commentators, such as Hunt and Kopp, state that pilgrimage began with Melito of Sardis in the mid-second century.[14] Taylor points out that Melito had a scholarly purpose in visiting Palestine: to determine the canon of the Old Testament. Although he may have been shown the place of Christ's crucifixion in Aelia Capitolina, "it does not seem to have been his goal to pray there or venerate it" (Taylor, *Christians and the Holy Places*, 310). The evidence for a pre-Constantinian tradition is not conclusive, and can even be interpreted in directly contradictory ways.[15]

The advent of Constantine to the emperorship and the building campaign initiated by him in Jerusalem and Bethlehem marked a turning point for the relation between gospel and place.[16] Some scholars have doubted Constantine's conviction as a Christian.[17] Taylor, however, suggests that the traces of paganism in Constantine's belief were fundamental to the phenomenon of the Christian veneration of holy places: "Constantine brought to Christianity a pagan notion of the sanctity of things and places" (Taylor, *Christians and the Holy Places*, 308). An important component in the Constantinian church's understanding of Jerusalem's holy topography related to

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[13] Béatrice Dansette, "Les Pèlerinages Occidentaux en Terre Sainte: Une Pratique de la "Dévotion Moderne" à la Fin du Moyen Age? Relation Inédite d'un Pèlerinage Effectué en 1486," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 72 (1979): 108-9.

[14] Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage*, 4; Kopp, *Holy Places of the Gospels*, xvii; Morris, *Sepulchre of Christ*, 12.

[15] Hunt recounts the interrogation of the Christian Pamphilus by the Roman governor of Caesarea in 310 by Eusebius, *Martyrs of Palestine* 2:9-13, to demonstrate the "lure of a Holy Land" before Constantine. Wilken uses the same passage to demonstrate the extent to which memories of Jerusalem had been effaced from the consciousness of non-Jews or non-Christians as a result of the city's reinvention as *Aelia Capitolina*. Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage*, 4-5; Wilken, *The Land Called Holy*, 83.

[16] Dee Dyas asserts the profound importance of the events of the fourth century for medieval attitudes to pilgrimage and holy sites, and gives an outline of the development of these with the medieval pilgrimage in mind. Dyas, *Pilgrimage 700-1500*, 37-55. See also the concise discussion of debates about the legitimacy of holy places and pilgrimage in the first four centuries of the church in Gomez-Géraud, *Crépuscule du Grand Voyage*, 29-45. Morris also gives a brisk summary of attitudes in the same period, concentrating on the Holy Sepulchre. Morris, *Sepulchre of Christ*, 1-40.

[17] For concise discussion of Constantine's belief with reference to the studies of Jacob Burckhardt, A. Piganiol, N. H. Baynes and Alistair Kee, see Taylor, *Christians and the Holy Places*, 302-3.

obsolete uses of certain sites. Eusebius, Jerome and his correspondent Paulinus of Nola indicate that the sites of the resurrection and nativity had been reclaimed from their former uses for pagan worship.[18] Constantine and later emperors, however, did not always exploit existing sites of worship and turn them to Christian use. John Wilkinson argues that the development of the holy places under Constantine preserved a strategic continuity with the urban plans of Hadrian:

> Constantine and Eusebius ... determined to continue (in a Christianised form) Hadrian's policy for the city plan of Jerusalem. The first prong of the policy was to leave the Temple site as it was, in ruins .... And the second was to build "churches and buildings in honour of the supreme God," in Eusebius' words, "as the trophies of victory." The city was henceforward to express the victory of Christianity over both paganism and Judaism as Hadrian's city had been designed to symbolize the victory of paganism over the faith of the Jews.[19]

Some commentators have argued that Constantine left the Temple Mount in ruins in order for it to serve as a meaningful absence: it would be an enduring reminder of God's abandonment of the Jewish Temple in favour of a new spiritual covenant with the Christians.[20] However, in the courtyards and sequence of ecclesiastical spaces at the Holy Sepulchre and elsewhere, E. D. Hunt sees a progression towards a point of culmination or intensified holiness which echoes the Jewish Temple's courts of differentiated holiness leading to the Ark of the Covenant: "The worshipper at one of Constantine's Holy Land churches would be meant to find in the surrounding buildings an echo of his own faith, a process of penetrating further into the sacred precinct towards the centre of devotion which it enshrined" (Hunt, 17). John Wilkinson suggests that the Holy Sepulchre was deliberately designed to supersede and replace the Temple of the Lord, as reflected in its description by Eusebius as the "Holy of Holies."[21]

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[18] See p. 51 onwards for a fuller discussion of their rhetoric of restoration.

[19] John Wilkinson, "Christian Pilgrims in Jerusalem," *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly* (1976): 80.

[20] Morris, *Sepulchre of Christ*, 54-5; Sylvia Schein, "Between Mount Moriah and the Holy Sepulchre: The Changing Traditions of the Temple Mount in the Central Middle Ages," *Traditio* 40 (1984): 175.

[21] Wilkinson, "Christian Pilgrims in Jerusalem," 94. The relocation by the sixth-century *Breviarius* of Christ's expulsion of the money-changers to the courtyard before the Martyrium (the Church of the Holy Sepulchre) provides an illustration of the fulfilment of this process of substitution. The *Breviarius Hierosolymitana* is a concise guidebook to Jerusalem which is conjectured by Wilkinson to date from the sixth century. Wilkinson, ed., *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades*, 60.

Constantine's building projects were of great importance for the fixing of gospel episodes in space. After their completion, the sites identified with the gospels proliferated, and the willingness to venerate them intensified. Cyril of Jerusalem, writing in the late fourth century, appealed to the enduring visibility of the newly adorned holy sites as testimonies to Christ's life and work of salvation:

> Gethsemane bears witness, still to the thoughtful almost shewing Judas. Golgotha, the holy hill standing above us here, bears witness to our sight: the Holy Sepulchre bears witness, and the stone which lies there to this day.[22]

However, this is closely preceded by appeals to Christ's miracles which have no physical permanence.[23] The appeal to such sites as "witnesses," then, does not depend upon an archaeological methodology of physical proof, but works by "tradition or by direct revelation" (Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades*, 38). Their function is to "confirm and amplify a belief already accepted, and, so to speak, cry out against the denial of this faith," not to prove the authenticity of the relationship between this belief and the physical place (Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades*, 37). For Colin Morris, the purpose of proof which they serve is directed towards a preoccupation with Christ's humanity: "The holy places asserted the necessity of a theology that acknowledged that Christ was truly man" (C. Morris, *Sepulchre of Christ*, 56-7). They provide concrete markers of the fact of the incarnation; such markers not only commemorate but assert the truth of that mystery.

From the fifth to the ninth centuries, this sense of the holy places as witnesses took on a tendency towards literalism. Morris sees in the narrative of the Piacenza pilgrim, who visited Jerusalem around 570 A.D., "a tremendous desire to handle holy things," and an unprecedented willingness to consider "the actual measurements of the holy places as themselves possessing mystical value" (C. Morris, *Sepulchre of Christ*, 58). This trend seems to have been little affected or abated by the fall of Jerusalem, first to the Persians in 614, and its subsequent surrender in 638, after a

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[22] Cyril of Jerusalem, *The Catechetical Lectures of Saint Cyril, Archbishop of Jerusalem, Select Orations of Saint Gregory Nazianzen, sometime Archbishop of Constantinople*, trans. Edwin Hamilton Gifford, Charles Gordon Browne, and James Edward Swallow, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, ed. Philip Schaff and Henry Wace, 2nd series, vol. 7 (Christian Literature Publishing Company, 1894; reprint, Peabody, Massachussetts: Hendrickson Publishers, 1999), 62-63, Catechetical Lecture 10.19.

[23] The "blind and lame bear witness, and dead men raised to life, and devils saying, *What have we to do with thee, Jesus? we know thee, who Thou art, the Holy One of God.* Winds bear witness, silenced at his bidding: five loaves multiplied into five thousand bear Him witness." Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catechetical Lectures*, 62.

decade-long return to Christian control under Heracleus, to Caliph 'Umar.[24] Physical traces and imprints of Christ's presence and objects deriving miraculous qualities from their contact with him began to be observed and recorded. In his opening remarks on Jerusalem, written in the late seventh century, Adomnan, reporting Arculf's journey to Palestine, attributed the annual rainshower which swept away the residue of the September market fair to the events which had taken place there, but also to the places which still retained their sanctity:

> At this point we must not fail to remark what outstanding worth this elect and renowned city must have in the eyes of the Eternal Father, who will not permit it long to remain filthy, but speedily cleanses it in honour of his Only Son, since the holy places of his Holy Cross and Resurrection are contained within the circuit of its walls. (Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades*, 95)

Adomnan also reproduced the claim from Chapter 33 of Sulpitius Severus' *Sacred History*, written around 400 A.D., that the spot from which Jesus ascended into heaven on the Mount of Olives was marked with his footprints, undiminished by the relic-hunting of pilgrims. The ground, "unused to bear anything human," refused to be covered over, and threw up the flagstones in the face of the builders attempting to lay them in construction of the church.[25]

Underlying these and other similar instances, but most especially the comments on the annual purification of the city and the resistance of the soil of the Mount of Olives to artificial structures of human making, is a desire to see in the landscape physical evidence of its holiness: enduring, material, and inexhaustible signs of Christ's presence. Marie-Christine Gomez-Géraud interprets this as an impulse to read the landscape like a book:

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[24] Moshe Gil, "The Political History of Jerusalem during the Early Muslim Period," in *The History of Jerusalem: the Early Muslim Period, 638-1099*, ed. Joshua Prawer and Haggai Ben-Shammai (New York: New York University Press; Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1996), 6.

[25] Sulpitius Severus, "The Sacred History of Sulpitius Severus," in *Sulpitius Severus, Vincent of Lerins, John Cassian*, ed. Alexander Roberts, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, ed. Schaff and Wace, 2nd series, vol. 11 (Christian Literature Publishing Company, 1894; reprint, Peabody, Massachussetts: Hendrickson Publishers, 1999), 113. Cited by Adomnan, "The Holy Places," in *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades*, ed. John Wilkinson, 100-1. See also p. 95. As further examples, *The Topography of the Holy Land* of Theodosius reported that on the scourging pillar on Mount Sion were visible not only the imprints made by Christ's hands but also "the impression of the whole face, chin, nose, and eyes as if it had been wax." Wilkinson, ed., *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades*, 66, 69. The pilgrim of Piacenza also saw Christ's footprint on a stone in the Praetorium. For English translation, see Wilkinson, ed., *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades*, 84. For Latin text, see Piacenza Pilgrim, "Antonini Placentini Itinerarium," in *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, ed. Geyer, 175.

> On the one hand, stone gives way like snow or wax in order to receive the impression of the Saviour and of his saints; on the other, it hardens like bronze to ensure the permanence of the miraculous image. Thus it receives and preserves the event in an imprint which defies time and surpasses the book. How could the pilgrim, attentive to the work of memory, not pause over the these stones which speak to him and impress on his memory the topography of the salvific acts? This is one of the essential functions of the marvels provided by such petrified images, age-old witnesses to the acts of the Gospels.[26]

Sulpitius Severus' and Adomnan's descriptions of the landscape as having been inscribed by marks of the passage of Christ testify to a view that narrative and place have a symbiotic relationship. The gospels provide the impetus for the veneration of the holy places, and the holy places in turn act as witnesses and advocates for the truth of the events of the gospels.

Another important tendency in the development of writing about the places eventually regarded as holy in Palestine is the shift from the relative fluidity and diffuseness of places in which an event is identified as having occurred towards specificity: from zones to narrowly defined points.[27] Increasing specificity as to location was followed by particularisation within narrative units.[28] Thus, at Golgotha, in addition to the rock of the cross and the site of the resurrection mentioned by Jerome, there later emerged a cluster of distinct zones associated with other

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[26] " Que la pierre s'attendrisse comme neige ou cire pour recevoir l'empreinte du Sauveur et de ses saints, qu'elle durcisse au contraire comme airain pour assurer la pérennité de l'image miraculeuse, elle recueille et garde l'événement en un inscription qui défie le temps et déborde les livres. Comment le pèlerin, si attentif a l'œuvre de mémoire ne s'arrêterait-il pas sur ces pierres qui lui parlent et impriment dans sa mémoire la topographie de la geste du salut ? C'est l'une des fonctions essentielles de ces *merveilles* que constituent les images pétrifiées, témoins immémoriaux des actes des Evangiles." Gomez-Géraud, *Crépuscule du Grand Voyage*, 596-8.

[27] The location of the Nativity in Bethlehem provides a particularly useful example of the increasingly precise anchoring of an event in space. A similar process takes place in relation to the site of the Crucifixion at Golgotha. See the discussions in Kopp, *Holy Places of the Gospels*, 6-34; Taylor, *Christians and the Holy Places*, 100-3, 131; P. W. L. Walker, *Holy City, Holy Places? Attitudes to Jerusalem and the Holy Land in the Fourth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 177.

[28] The commemorations at the Bethlehem basilica complex, for example, began to multiply shortly after Constantine's basilica was built. The tomb of the Holy Innocents is included by the fifth-century *Armenian Lectionary*, which designates the places and readings of the Jerusalem liturgy, although the tradition may be of earlier date. The first mention of Jerome's grave appears in the 570 A.D. narrative of the Piacenza Pilgrim. Kopp, *Holy Places of the Gospels*, 25; Athanase Renoux, ed., *Le Codex Arménien Jerusalem 121. Édition Comparée du Texte et de Deux Autres Manuscrits. Introduction, Textes, Traductions et Notes*, Patrologia Orientalis, vol. 36, pt. 2 (Turnhout: Brépols, 1971), 335; Wilkinson, ed., *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades*, 152.

episodes.[29] As sequences of episodes came to be distinguished, a stronger sense of the relation between narrative and landscape could develop. The building of monuments generally acted as a catalyst for this trend.[30] Textual transmission and translation may also have had an influence on the evolution of associations at the holy sites, as illustrated by the location of the Last Supper and the descent of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost on Mount Sion.[31] In spite of the emergence of a liturgy which organised the commemoration of gospel events so that their chronological and spatial relations were emphasised, pilgrims do not appear to have commented on or responded to unlikely juxtapositions of holy places with any scepticism. Thus, from the fifth century, the house of Caiaphas was identified near the Church of Holy Sion, the site of the descent of the Holy Spirit and the Last Supper. As Kopp points out, it seems unlikely that the early church would have existed comfortably in close proximity to Caiaphas, a bitter enemy (Kopp, 357). It is even less likely that the Last Supper would have taken place there, since Judas could easily have summoned the guards to arrest Jesus there as he left, rather than going with them all the way to Gethsemane (Kopp, 356). However, sensitivity to incongruity does not seem to be a common characteristic among medieval pilgrims.[32]

The mechanisms which originally confirmed the authenticity of certain holy places in time received regular commemoration at holy sites and were themselves witnessed and venerated by later pilgrims: the test of the True Cross of Christ's crucifixion overseen by Helena, mother of Constantine, is one example. *The Topography of the Holy Land* of Theodosius, compiled from several written sources in the early sixth century, states that the finding of the Holy Cross is celebrated on September 14th with services and a seven-day display of the cross itself (Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades*, 71). Sophronius, writing around the time of

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[29] See, for example, Adomnan, who sees the place where the sponge and cup of the apostles are kept, where the lance is kept, the place of the discovery of the cross and that of Abraham's sacrifice. Wilkinson, ed., *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades*, 95-7.

[30] For a discussion of an analogous process of particularisation across time rather than space, see Morris' account of "differentiation" in the Easter celebrations over the course of the fourth century. Morris, *Sepulchre of Christ*, 87-8.

[31] The gospels do not specify the location of the Last Supper, and there is no early tradition associating Mount Sion with the "upper room" (ἀνάγαιον, Mark 14:12- 15 and Luke 27:12) of the Last Supper. Pentecost first came to be associated with this location on Mount Sion. For explanation of the process by which the two locations were conflated, and its possible origins in translation, see Kopp, *Holy Places of the Gospels*, 321-34; Wilkinson, ed., *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades*, 172.

[32] For an exception, however, see the discussion of *The Pylgrymage of Sir Richarde Guylforde Knyght and countrouler vnto our late soueraygne lorde kynge Henry the .vii.* (London: [R. Pynson], 1511) in Chapter 2, p. 165.

the Persian conquest, longs not only for the Wood of the Cross, but also for "the splendid sanctuary, the place / where the Noble Empress Helena / found the Divine Wood" (Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades*, 91). The miracles and powerful relics which proved the authenticity of holy sites were themselves granted spaces in which they might be commemorated and witnessed. Miracles authenticated holy sites and generated minor nodes in the pilgrimage, and the pilgrimage, in turn, endorsed the miracles.

Holy Places, Pilgrimage and Crusade

It has already been remarked that from the fifth century, pilgrims and other authors were emphasising the physical traces of Christ's passage through Jerusalem. With the emergence of indulgences, however, the holiness of a place became not only visible or tangible, but increasingly quantifiable, according to a sacramental system of penance endorsed by the Church. Indulgences would come to constitute a primary concern for late medieval pilgrimage narratives, and later fuel Reformation critiques. There is evidence of an early belief that "remission of sins" was available at the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, since the Council of Chalons refuted the belief in 813 of those who "reckoned they would be purged of their sins by the mere sight of the holy places, not heeding what Saint Jerome said: It is praiseworthy not to have seen Jerusalem, but to have lived well in Jerusalem."[33] This refutation implies belief in the existence of an alternative and subversive paradigm of agency in penitential pilgrimage. If remission of sins were available in a certain holy place rather than after formal reconciliation with the church once a journey specifically imposed as penance was completed, the intercessory and authorising functions of the Church could be bypassed. Eventually the church found a way to institute such remissions without diminishing its authority. A brief discussion of the evolution of indulgence doctrine and its roots in the crusades is important because it provides a mechanism for

[33] "... putent se sanctorum locorum sola visione a peccatis purgari, non attendentes quod ait beatus Hieronimus: Non Hierosolimam vidisse, sed Hierosolimis bene vixisse laudandum est." Canon 45. "Concilium Cabillonense A. 813." In *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Concilia*, ed. Societas Aperiendis fontibus rerum Germanicarum medii aevi, vol. 2, pt. 1 (Hannover: Hahn, 1906), 282. The reference is to Jerome's 58th letter, addressed to Paulinus of Nola. See nn. 51 and 52 below and Hans Eberhard Mayer, *The Crusades*, trans. John Gillingham, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 26; Morris, *Sepulchre of Christ*, 105.

confirming and authorising the sense of intrinsic sanctity or efficacy in the holy place while asserting the authority of the church.

The doctrine of indulgences was closely involved in the evolution of the penitential system of the very early church and the history of the pilgrimage.[34] From the outset, however, the development and definition of the indulgence found a catalyst in Christian preoccupations with the Muslim threat to former and existing Christian possessions, both in the Iberian peninsula and in Palestine.[35] The precise nature and extent of the spiritual rewards and remissions proceeding from the crusade to Jerusalem attract much analysis in studies of Pope Urban II's call for a crusade at the Council of Clermont (November 27, 1095). The confusion about the limits of crusaders' rewards has much to do with the varying reports of Urban's address, but also with the continuing influence of the system of penance and reconciliation to the Church even as the system of sacramental absolution was taking over.[36] Ian Robinson

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[34] The term "indulgence" was used in the discussion of penance long before the doctrinal formulation it now denotes had fully evolved: "the word *indulgentia* was a technical term for an act of imperial favour, a remission of taxes on the birth of a prince, or, with the Christian emperors, an amnesty at Easter-time." Their function as currently understood by the Church is "a remission of the temporal punishment due to sin, the guilt of which has been forgiven." *Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1907-18 edition, s.v. "Indulgences"; "Indulgences," in *Catholic Dictionary of Theology*, ed. H. Francis Davis, Ivo Thomas, and Joseph Crehan et al., vol. 3 (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1971), 86; Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (London: Scolar Press, 1984), 154-176, 214, 227-8; Cyrille Vogel, "Le Pèlerinage Pénitentiel," in *En Remission des Péchés: Recherches sur les Systèmes Pénitentiels dans l'Eglise Latine*, ed. Alexandre Faivre (Aldershot: Variorum; Aldgate, 1994), 115. For a fuller discussion of the evolution of the penitential system from the sixth to the twelfth centuries, see Henry Charles Lea, *A History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences in the Latin Church*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia: Lea Brothers and Co, 1896), vol. 1, 31, 35-6, 130-49; Mayer, *The Crusades*, 25. See also n. 36 below.

[35] See, for example, Urban II's appeal to Catalan nobles in 1089 to recapture the city of Tarragona. Urban II, "Epistola Urbani II papae ad proceres provinciae Tarraconensis de restauratione ecclesiae Tarraconensis," in *Patrologia Latina*, ed. J. P. Migne (Paris: 1841-64), vol. 151, cols. 302-3. Tarragona had first been occupied around 713 by Tariq ibn Ziyad, governor of Tangier. The city was briefly retaken by Louis I the Pious, son of Charlemagne, at the beginning of the ninth century. Despite successful skirmishes by Count Ramon Borrell of Barcelona around 1018, the city was not restored to Christian possession until 1120, by Ramon Berenguer of Barcelona. Derek W. Lomax, *The Reconquest of Spain* (London: Longman, 1978), 33-83. For another appeal by Urban (between 1096 and 1099) which asserted an equivalence between the crusade to Jerusalem and the restoration of Tarragona to Christianity, see Carl Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, trans. Marshall W Baldwin and Walter Goffart (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), 317; Mayer, *The Crusades*, 29.

[36] The penitential system of the early church originally occupied three principal stages: confession, satisfaction by means of public penance and reconciliation to the church. For satisfaction, a penance deemed equivalent to the sin effected the "extinction of sins," so that reconciliation – readmission to communion and forgiveness of the sin's guilt – would be possible. The system of penance came to comprehend minor as well as major sins in the sixth century. Mayer suggests that this change demanded substantial adjustments, from which the modern notion of the indulgence eventually emerged. Once venial sins were included amongst those for which penance had to be undertaken, "harsh tasks and long penances during which the sinner remained excluded from the sacraments were no longer always appropriate, so inevitably there developed a trend towards a milder and a more differentiated system of punishment." A further important change came in the eleventh century, when the sinner had no longer to wait until his penance was completed for reconciliation; he had only to

points out that, before the elaboration of the doctrine of indulgences and the Church's treasury of merits by Hugh of St Victor, Hugh of St Cher, Bonaventure and Thomas Aquinas, "Urban II and the twelfth-century popes ... had no access to a precise terminology in which to frame their grant."[37] Varying interpretations were offered by both contemporaries and historians of the precise extent of the indulgence being offered to crusaders.[38] The offer of the second canon of the 1095 Council of Clermont is quite narrow in its promises, merely offering freedom from imposed penance: "He who out of devotion alone, and not the acquisition of glory or wealth, sets out for Jerusalem with the purpose of liberating the church of God, his journey may be counted in place of all penance."[39] Urban's letter to the Bolognese in the autumn of 1096 offers further definition:

> if any among you travel, not for the desire of the goods of this world, but only those who go for the good of their souls and the liberty of the churches, they will be relieved of the penance for all of their sins, for which they have made a full and perfect confession, by the mercy of Almighty God and the prayers of the catholic church, as much by our own authority as that of all the archbishops and bishops in Gaul, because they have exposed themselves and their property to danger out of their love of God and their neighbour.[40]

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commence the penance to be reconciled through the intercession of the Church, although the completion of penance was still required. Perhaps even more significantly, the absolution by the priest upon confession was now claimed to mark the forgiveness of the sin by God as well as by the Church, although debate as to whether the priest's absolution effected or merely made manifest God's forgiveness persisted until the fourteenth century and beyond. See D. A. Binchy, ed., "The Old Irish Table of Penitential Commutations," *Ériu* 19 (1962): 59; Lea, *A History of Auricular Confession;* Mayer, *The Crusades*, 25.

[37] I. S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 341.

[38] The intricacies of these arguments cannot be addressed here. For discussions of varying interpretations of Urban II's promise, however, see Mayer, *The Crusades*, 31, 33; Robinson, *Papacy*, 344. For various paraphrases or transcriptions of Urban's speech, see "Chronica Monasterii Casinensis," in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores*, ed. Hartmut Hoffman, vol. 34 (Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1980), 475; Fulcher of Chartres, "Historia Hierosolymitana," in *Recueil Des Historiens Des Croisades: Historiens Occidentaux*, ed. Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres, 16 vols., (Paris: Imprimerie National, 1895, Reprint, Farnborough: Gregg Press, 1967), vol. 3, 324; Guibert of Nogent, "Gesta Dei per Francos," in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*, vol. 4, 137-40; Heinrich Hagenmayer, ed., *Epistulae et Chartae ad Historiam Primi Belli Sacri Spectantes: Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088-1100* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1973), 136; Robert of Rheims, "Historia Iherosolimitana," in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*, vol. 3, 729; Ordericus Vitalis, *The Ecclestical History*, ed. and trans. Marjorie Chibnall, vol. 5 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), 16-9.

[39] "Quicumque pro sola devotione, non pro honoris vel pecunie adeptione, ad liberandam ecclesiam Dei Hierusalem profectus fuerit, iter illud pro omni penitentia reputetur." Robert Somerville, *The Councils of Urban II*, vol. 1: *Decreta Claromontensia* (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1972), 74.

[40] "Sciatis autem eis omnibus qui illuc non terreni commodi cupiditate, sed pro sola animae suae salute et Ecclesiae liberatione profecti fuerint, poenitentiam totam peccatorum de quibus veram et perfectam

The emphasis in this letter on the condition of "full and perfect confession" emphasises that no automatic absolution is available in Jerusalem; the stages of sacramental absolution must be adhered to. Nonetheless, popular understanding of the crusading indulgence sometimes exceeded the terms set out by Urban, perhaps encouraged by preachers of the crusade after the council (Mayer, 31).

The various accounts of Urban II's call for a crusade range in conception and phrasing from asceticism to acquisitive ambition. The earliest, in the "Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolymitanorum," probably written between 1100 and 1101, emphasises self-sacrifice and willingness to endure suffering for the sake of Christ, with marked echoes of Christ's warning in Matthew 10:38, "he who does not take his cross and follow me is not worthy of me."[41] The bearing of the cross, not the wielding of lance or sword, is emphasised. The call to follow in the steps of Christ recalls the processional liturgy through which the pilgrim can follow the passion of Christ in Jerusalem.

Later accounts such as that of Robert of Rheims, written around 1107, do not advocate the endurance of persecutions and pains in imitation of Christ, but exhort their audience to avenge the sufferings of Eastern Christians (E. Peters, 27). The version of Urban's speech provided by Baldric of Dol, written around 1108, extends the material emphasis from physical repossession of Palestine to the enjoyment of spoils.[42] This strange apposition of worldly gain and spiritual redemption contrasts with the emphasis on self-abnegation in the "Gesta." In a fourth version of the speech offered by Guibert of Nogent (composed between 1104 and 1108, revised finally in 1111), the themes of revenge for fellow Christians' sufferings and the purification and claiming of the land for Christendom because of Christ's passion appear. Eschatological imperative replaces the chivalric or acquisitive appeal of Baldric or Robert: "if Antichrist finds there [in the East] no Christians (just as at present when scarcely any dwell there), no one will be there to oppose him, or whom he may rightly

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confessionem fecerint per omnipotentis Dei misericordiam et Ecclesiae catholicae preces, tam nostra quam omnium pene archiepiscoporum et episcoporum qui in Galliis sunt auctoritate dimittimus, quoniam res et personas suas pro Dei et proximi charitate exposuerunt." "Epistola Urbani II papae ad Bononienses," in *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 151, col. 483. English translation from Edward Peters, ed., *The First Crusade: The Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres and Other Source Materials*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 44.

[41] "Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolymitanorum," in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*, vol. 3, 122; Rosalind Hill, ed., *The Deeds of the Franks and the Other Pilgrims to Jerusalem* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), fols. 1r-2v.

[42] Baldric of Dol, "Baldrici Episcopi Dolensis Historia Jerosolimitana," in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*, vol. 4, 15.

overcome" (E. Peters, 35). The intermittent appearance of pious sacrifice, bloodthirstiness and greed in the motivations and ambitions ascribed to Urban in versions of this speech demonstrates that the crusade's relation to pilgrimage continues to be unfixed for at least a decade after the speech was delivered.

At its inception, and for some time afterwards, the crusade had no term of its own. In the early phases of the crusades, *expeditio*, *iter in terram sanctam* and *peregrinatio*, among others, were variously used to describe both pilgrimage and crusade.[43] Only in the mid-thirteenth century did a direct counterpart for "crusade" appear in Latin.[44] While Mayer and, more hesitantly, Carl Erdmann see the crusade as "a logical extension of the pilgrimage," Prawer takes the opposite stance (Erdmann, 331-3; Mayer, 14; Prawer, 192). For Prawer, the absence of distinct terms for crusade and pilgrimage is merely a "baffling" and "strange phenomenon of semantics." He concedes that many individuals who participated in a crusade probably thought of it as a "collective armed pilgrimage," but sees the intent (or absence of intent) to possess as marking an important distinction between the enterprises of crusade and pilgrimage.

Although later versions of Urban's speech seem to move away from the pilgrimage-like formulation of the crusade enterprise in the "Gesta," other evidence points to the crusade's debt to the pilgrimage. In twelfth-century manuscripts such as the Ely and Magdalen College Pontificals, English liturgical formulae survive for the taking of the cross; these grew out of ceremonies for the blessing of the pilgrim's staff and scrip, and sometimes co-exist with them.[45] The juxtaposition of the pilgrimage blessing with the crusade blessing is further evidence that the relation between the two

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[43] Circumlocutions such as *negotium Jhesu Christi*, *passagium generale*, *expeditio crucis* were also employed. Mayer, *The Crusades*, 14; Joshua Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: European Colonialism in the Middle Ages* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1972), 192; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades?*, 3rd ed. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 2.

[44] Mayer, *The Crusades*, 14. H. E. J. Cowdrey specifies the Latin terms which emerged in the thirteenth century: *crux*, *crusata*, *croseria*. Diana Webb notices that a legal distinction between a "simple pilgrimage" and a "general passage," or crusade, the one meriting an indefinite *essoin*, or "legal excuse for absence from court proceedings," while the other generall merited a year and a day. Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West*, 163-4. H. E. J. Cowdrey, "Pope Urban II's Preaching of the First Crusade," in *The Crusades: the Essential Readings*, ed. Thomas F. Madden (London: Blackwell, 2002), 18.

[45] James A Brundage, "'Cruce Signari': The Rite for Taking the Cross in England," *Traditio: Studies in Ancient and Medieval History Thought and Religion* 22 (1966): 293. The earliest example of this is the Ely Pontifical, apparently written during the second half of the twelfth century. Of two surviving manuscripts, the formula for the cross appears only in one, "as an afterthought or, more probably, as a recent innovation." The late twelfth-century Pontifical of Magdalen College apparently originated at Canterbury.

enterprises is more than a semantic anomaly.

Canon 45 of the Council of Chalons, already cited, testifies to ninth-century theologians' fears about ascribing an intrinsic purgative power to the places associated with Christ and refutes the availability of an indulgence at holy places. Urban II in the short crusading canon of Clermont and the ensuing letters to Flanders and Bologna had emphasized the goal of liberating the churches in the East, and specifically at Jerusalem, and promised to substitute this for enjoined penance. It placed no efficacy in the places themselves. The chronicle accounts of the speech, however, dwell on the sacred character of the landscape and monuments as transformed by Christ's sojourn. This sense of Jerusalem as a landscape physically transformed by its contact with Jesus is to be identified in some versions of Urban's speech:

> This land we have deservedly called holy in which there is not even a foot-step that the body or spirit of the Saviour did not render glorious and blessed; which embraced the holy presence of he mother of God, and the meeting of the apostles, and drank up the blood of the martyrs shed there.[46]

In Robert of Rheims' words, "This [the holy land] the Redeemer of the human race has made illustrious by His advent, has beautified by residence, has consecrated by suffering, has redeemed by death, has glorified by burial."[47] These accounts resonate with Sulpitius Severus and Adomnan in their conception of a landscape imprinted – even stained and saturated – as a result of Christ's and the martyrs' presence there. Jonathan Riley-Smith sums up the view of Palestine's holiness thus: "The Holy Land was ... itself, rocks, sand, earth and water, a relic.[48]

Norman Housley has argued that the aspiration to Latin possession of the holy places, and then the realisation of that goal, determined a view of Jerusalem as a "*patria communis*" that all Christians were obliged militarily to defend (Housley, "Holy Land or Holy Lands?," 229-30). Housley characterises the Catholic West's

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[46] "Quam terram merito sanctam dixerimus, in qua non est etiam passus pedis quem non illustraverit et sanctificaverit vel corpus vel umbra Salvatoris, vel gloriosa praesentia sanctae Dei genitricis, vel amplectendus apostolorum conventus, vel martyrium ebibendus sanguis effusus." Baldric of Dol, 14. English translation from Peters, ed., *The First Crusade*, 31.

[47] "Hanc redemptor humani generis suo illustravit adventu, decoravit conversatione, sacravit passione, morte redemit, sepultura insignivit." Robert of Rheims, "Historia Iherosolimitana," 729. English translation in Peters, ed., *The First Crusade*, 28.

[48] Jonathan Riley-Smith, "Peace Never Established: The Case of the Kingdom of Jerusalem," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 28, ser. 5 (1978): 93. Cited by Norman Housley, "Holy Land or Holy Lands? Palestine and the Catholic West in the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance," in *The Holy Land, Holy Lands, and Christian History: Papers Read at the 1998 Summer Meeting and the 1999 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. R. N. Swanson (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press for the Ecclesiastical History Society, 2000), 229.

relation to Palestine as full of tensions and paradoxes. "Not the least of [these]," he notes, "was the strenuous assertion of common Christian ownership over space which most Catholics visited either as pilgrims or as Crusaders, both groups by definition temporary in status" (Housley, "Holy Land or Holy Lands?," 229). While such a view of Palestine as a Christian patrimony is clearly discernible in Baldric of Dol's and Robert of Rheims' words, the versions of the *Gesta Francorum* and Fulcher of Chartres' chronicle, by contrast, pay scant attention to the physicality of Jerusalem or Palestine.[49]

The vocabulary used to describe the project of repossessing Jerusalem and Palestine at large evokes certain patristic treatments which claimed that places were made holy from the instant in which Christ manifested himself there, and were then "desecrated" by pagan worship. In discussion of the site of the Resurrection, for example, Eusebius tells us that "impious men (or rather ... the whole race of evil spirits through their means)" covered over Christ's sepulchre and built

> a gloomy shrine of lifeless idols to the impure spirit whom they call Venus, and offer[ed] detestable oblations therein on profane and accursed altars. For they supposed that their object could not otherwise be fully attained, than by thus burying the sacred cave beneath these foul pollutions.[50]

Jerome, writing to Paulinus of Nola (epistle 58), amends but repeats Eusebius' account, replacing Venus with Jupiter on the site of the tomb, and adding a statue to Venus on the rock of the crucifixion.[51] Similarly, Jerome writes in the same letter to Paulinus of the place of the Nativity:

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[49] See "Gesta Francorum," 491-2; Peters, ed., *The First Crusade*, 322-4.

[50] Book 3.36 of Eusebius, "Life of Constantine," in *Church History, Life of Constantine the Great and Oration in Praise of Constantine*, trans. A. C. McGiffert and others, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, ed. Schaff and Wace, vol. 1 (Christian Literature Publishing Company, 1890; reprint, Peabody, Massachussetts: Hendrickson Publishers, 1999), 527.

[51] "Ab Hadriani temporibus usque ad imperium Constantini, per annos circiter centum octoginta, in loco Resurrectionis simulacrum Jovis; in Crucis rupe, status ex marmore Veneris a gentibus posita colebatur: existimantibus persecutionis auctoribus, quod tollerent nobis fidem resurrectionis et crucis, si loca sancta per idola polluissent." ("From the time of Hadrian to the reign of Constantine – a period of about one hundred and eighty years – the spot which had witnessed the resurrection was occupied by a figure of Jupiter, while on the rock where the cross had stood, a marble statue of Venus was set up by the heathen and became an object of worship. The original persecutors, indeed, supposed that by polluting our holy places they would deprive us of our faith in the passion and in the resurrection.") Jerome, Epistle 58 in *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 22, cols. 580-1. English translation in Jerome, *Letters and Select Works*, trans. W. H. Fremantle, G. Lewis, and W. G. Martley, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, ed. Schaff and Wace, 2nd series, vol. 6 (Christian Literature Publishing Company, 1893; reprint, Peabody, Massachussetts: Hendrickson Publishers, 1999), 120.

> My own Bethlehem, as it now is, that most venerable spot in the whole world ... was overshadowed by a grove of Tammuz, that is of Adonis, and in the very cave where the infant Christ had uttered His earliest cry lamentation was made for the paramour of Venus.[52]

Paulinus, in his turn, repeats this, attributing the "desecration" to Hadrian.[53] Taylor directs some scepticism against the implication that these cults, while a deviation from Christian worship, provide a further link in the chain of the site's authenticity. She feels that such passages anachronistically overstate the early importance, as well as the authenticity, of the "holy places." It is not safe, she argues, to proceed to the assumption that these sites were in practice venerated by Christians before their use as pagan shrines. Archaeologists seem to agree that a Hadrianic temple to Jupiter and Venus stood on the general site of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, but are not certain that the temple had been built on the place to which the gospels refer as Golgotha.[54]

Five hundred years later, Robert of Rheims makes Urban speak in similar

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[52] "Bethleem nunc nostram, et augustissimum orbis locum de quo Psalmista canit: *Veritas de terra orta est* (Ps. 84. 12), lucus inumbrabat Thamuz, id est, Adonidis: et in specu, ubi quondam Christus parvulus vagiit, Veneris amasius plangebatur." Note, however, that this quotation about the place of the nativity in Letter 58 to Paulinus of Nola follows qualifications in which Jerome contrasts the continuity of Christians' faith with the insecurity and instability of the places connected with the gospels: "sed non audeo Dei omnipotentiam augusto fine concludere, et coarctare parvo terrae loco, quem non capit coelum. Singuli quique credentium, non locorum diversitatibus, sed fidei merito ponderantur. Et veri adoratores, neque Jerosolymis, neque in monte Garizim adorant Patrem: quia Deus Spiritus est, et adoratores ejus in spiritu et veritate adorare oportet. 'Spiritus autem spirat ubi vult. Domini est terra et plenitudo ejus.'" ("I do not presume to limit God's omnipotence or to restrict to a narrow strip of earth Him whom the heaven cannot contain.... The true worshippers worship the Father neither at Jerusalem nor on mount Gerizim; for "God is a spirit, and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth.") Reference is to John 4:24. *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 22, cols. 580-1. English translation from Jerome, *Letters and Select Works*, 120.

[53] Kopp asserts that this "presupposes ... that in the time of that emperor [Hadrian] the veneration [by Christians] of the place of the Nativity was sufficiently alive to disturb him." Taylor casts doubt on such a conclusion on the grounds of the topographical ambiguity of the early writings and the absence of other evidence for early Christian veneration at the site. She suggests a reverse equation of causality, in which the resonance between the shepherd god Tammuz and Jesus invited Christian appropriation of a pagan site. In the narratives of later pilgrims, such as Felix Fabri's, implicit claims of priority become explicit assertions that Christian veneration predated pagan usage under Hadrian. See Fabri, *Wanderings*, vol. 1, pt. 2, 587-88; Kopp, *Holy Places of the Gospels*, 13; Taylor, *Christians and the Holy Places*, 109.

[54] Taylor, *Christians and the Holy Places*, 113-22; Wilkinson, ed., *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades*, 175. Wilkinson had expressed some confidence in the authenticity of this site in his 1976 article "Christian Pilgrims in Jerusalem" (83). Joan Taylor has more recently modified her opinion of the possible authenticity of the tomb of Christ. Although she continues to argue that the site referred to as "Golgotha" in the Gospel narratives does not match the place where the crucifixion is commemorated in Constantine's complex, she admits that "there is nothing to be said in any absolute or categorical way against the traditional site of the tomb of Jesus being genuine." Joan E. Taylor, "Golgotha: A reconsideration of the evidence for the Sites of Jesus' Crucifixion and Burial," *New Testament Studies* 44 (1998). I am grateful to Sean Freyne for drawing my attention to this article.

terms of pollution: "Sanctum Domini Salvatoris nostri sepulcrum, quod ab *immundis* gentibus possidetur et loca sancta quae nunc inhoneste tractantur et irreventer eorum *immundicis sordidantur*."[55] The versions of Baldric of Dol and Guibert of Nogent also make use of the vocabulary of pollution brought to the holy places by "paganism."[56] In addition to the vocabulary of pollution and cleansing, the violence suffered by native Christians and pilgrims and their dehumanisation and enslavement are frequently invoked. Underlying such vocabulary of defilement and purification are Lamentations and the prophecies of Isaiah and Ezekiel, among other texts, which employ the binary of purity and pollution in order to discuss the granting of the land by God to Israel, its subsequent loss, and the conditions for its restoration. Bound up in such discussions is

> a belief that, in order to dwell safely in the land, it was necessary to fulfill the will of the God who gave the land. The land was thus transformed into a kind of mirror, reflecting the ethical behavior of the people: if the people were in possession of the land, it was a sign that they were fulfilling God's will and observing his commandments. (Weinfeld, 184)

In the view of Steven Runciman, the vocabulary of defilement and pollution used by crusading chronicles to describe the status of the Christian holy places in Jerusalem under numerous Muslim regimes is rather misleading. With the exception of the assaults of Caliph al-Ḥākim (born himself of a Christian mother), which

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[55] Emphasis mine. "The holy sepulchre of the Lord our Saviour, which is possessed by unclean nations ... and the holy places which are now treated with ignominy and irreverently polluted with their filthiness." Latin text from Robert of Rheims, "Historia Iherosolimitana," 728. English translation from Peters, ed., *The First Crusade*, 27.

[56] See Baldric of Dol, "Historia Jerosolimitana," 13; Guibert of Nogent, "Gesta Dei per Francos," 138; Peters, ed., *The First Crusade*, 30. William of Tyre writes in his account of the capture of Jerusalem, "Qui supersticiosis ritibus domini sanctuarium prophanaverant et fidelibus populis reddiderant alienum, id proprii cruoris luerent dispendio et morte interveniente piaculare solverent flagicium." ("those who had profaned the sanctuary of the Lord by their superstitious rites and had caused it to be an alien place to His faithful people [expiated] their sin by death and, by pouring out their own blood, [purified] the sacred precincts.") In an uneasy paradox, the blood of the massacred both pollutes and purifies: "Qui vero urbis purgande curam susceperant, adhibita diligentia et ferventes in opere, partim igne consumptis cadaveribus, partim sepulture traditis prout temporis patiebatur angustia, subito et infra paucos dies urbem reddiderunt expeditam ad solitam eam redigentes mundiciam." ("Those who had undertaken to cleanse the city showed great diligence and zeal in the work. Some of the bodies [of the massacred inhabitants] were burned and others buried, according as the exigency of the time permitted. Quickly, and within a few days, all was finished and the city restored to its usual state of cleanliness.") William of Tyre, *Chronique*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, H. E. Mayer, and G. Rosch, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievalis, vol. 63-4 (Turnhoult: Brépols, 1986), 412, 418. English translations in William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done beyond the Sea*, trans. Emily Atwater Babcock and A. C. Kerry, vol. 1 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), 372-3, 378. For the resonances of Raymond of Aguilers' description of the crusaders blood-shedding in the Temple and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre with Revelation 14:20 and Isaiah 63, see Morris, *Sepulchre of Christ*, 181.

resulted in the total destruction of the structure and tomb of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in 1009, the holy places and the Christians in Jerusalem had suffered little direct persecution during the eleventh century, although the conditions of travel through Anatolia and Syria were at times extremely difficult for European pilgrims.[57] In the first half of this century unprecedented numbers of pilgrims had begun arriving in Jerusalem from the Latin West, due in part to the new availability of a safer overland route and perhaps also thanks to millenarian expectation (C. Morris, *Sepulchre of Christ*, 139-40; Sumption, 115). Of course, there were limitations on Christians' movements around Jerusalem. The area of the temple enclosure had been off-limits since the Muslim conquest of Jerusalem in 638, although it had never been given much importance by Christians during Byzantine rule over Jerusalem. The sudden return of the precinct, and the city at large, to Christian control in 1099 upon the crusaders' conquest had enduring consequences for the holy topography of Jerusalem. Increased mobility and safety for pilgrims was not always the consequence of Christian repossession of Jerusalem. The creation of the Latin Kingdom also curtailed more outlying pilgrimages, such as those to the Sea of Galilee and the Dead Sea, which lay at the fringes of Latin territory and were therefore less secure for pilgrims than they had generally been before Latin rule.[58] In the next section I will discuss more fully the consequences of the Latin conquest for the holy topography of Jerusalem.

Changes to Jerusalem's Holy Topography in the Latin Kingdom

Now that some broad trends and major impulses in the evolution of pilgrimage in relation to the First Crusade have been discussed, it is necessary to examine the

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[57] Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3 vols., vol. 1: *The First Crusade and the Foundation of the Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), 35-7, 75-8. Amnon Linder admits that there was little destruction of Christian structures upon the fall of Jerusalem in 638, but claims that "from that date until the Crusader conquest in 1099 the overriding trend in the history of church buildings in Jerusalem was clearly one of destruction, abandonment and neglect." Furthermore, he details a series of attacks and raids on churches and monasteries in Palestine throughout the eight, ninth and tenth centuries. Nonetheless, the violence under al-Ḥākim appears to have been exceptional rather than typical in the eleventh century. See Amnon Linder, "Christian Communities in Jerusalem," in *The History of Jerusalem: the Early Muslim Period, 638-1099*, ed. Prawer and Ben-Shammai, 139-40; Denys Pringle, "Churches in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem (1099-1291)," in *Ancient Churches Revealed*, ed. Yoram Tsafrir (Jerusalem: Israel Exporation Society, 1993), 29.

[58] John Wilkinson, ed., with Joyce Hill and W. F. Ryan, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1185*, Hakluyt Society Publications, 2nd series, vol. 167 (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1988), 56-8, 66.

consequences of these changes for the holy topography. As we began to see in the earlier development of the holy sites before the crusades, gospel episodes and spatial zones were broken down into units over time. Whether monumentation responded to increasing sub-division of narrative units, or narrative differentiation and specificity were suggested by the forms of commemorative architecture, constitutive elements within gospel stories tended to achieve distinct sites of their own over time.

As one might expect, the advent of the crusaders to Jerusalem and subsequent Latin rule had profound repercussions for ecclesiastical architecture in Jerusalem and Palestine. Denys Pringle has written that there is archaeological evidence for 200 churches "built, rebuilt or simply restored in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries." Renewed restoration of church buildings predates the Latin conquest. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre was rebuilt and dedicated in 1048, along with a few other Orthodox churches, but the rate of restoration and building naturally accelerated after the Latin conquest.[59]

The Temple Mount is exceptional among the Jerusalem holy sites in that there was no fluidity in its identification. Its physical singularity and dominance over the city of Jerusalem, even in a state of dilapidation, assured the preservation of its memory, in spite of recurrent destruction of the structures on it. After 638 and the Muslim conquest of Jerusalem, the Temple Mount was put to use again. At the order of 'Abd al-Mālik the Dome of the Rock, the earliest surviving Muslim building, was built in 691/2 A.D.[60] In much the same way that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre had been built to rival the Temple, the Dome seems to have been built with acute awareness of its relation to the principal Christian monument at Calvary.[61] In contrast to Constantine, the crusaders neither destroyed nor abandoned the temple area when Jerusalem again fell into Christian hands in 1099. Perhaps the decades during which it

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[59] Pringle, "Churches in the Crusader Kingdom," 29. Historians have traditionally accepted William of Tyre's testimony, written a century later, that this restoration was done at the expense and initiative of Constantine IX Monomachus, although Martin Biddle has recently argued that this work should be attributed to Michael IV (1034-41), on the testimony of John Skylitzes, a near-contemporary Byzantine chronicler. See Martin Biddle, *The Tomb of Christ* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1999), 78. For dating of the restoration work to Monomachus' reign, see T. S. R. Boase, "Ecclesiastical Art in the Crusader States in Palestine and Syria," in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. Kenneth M. Setton, 6 vols., vol. 4: *The Art and Architecture of the Crusader States*, ed. Harry W. Hazard (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1977), 75; Bianca Kühnel, *Crusader Art of the Twelfth Century: A Geographical, an Historical, or an Art Historical Notion?* (Berlin: Mann, 1994), 21.

[60] Myriam Rosen-Ayalon, "Art and Architecture in Jerusalem in the Early Islamic Period," in *The History of Jerusalem: The Early Muslim Period, 638-1099*, ed. Prawer and Ben-Shammai, 390.

[61] Rosen-Ayalon, "Art and Architecture in Jerusalem," 390. See also the discussion of Muqaddasī in relation to this in K. A. C. Creswell, *A Short Account of Early Muslim Architecture*, 2nd ed. (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1989), 20.

had been closed to Christians invested the Temple area with a fascination which it had lacked when it was accessible.[62] The Muslim architects of the Dome of the Rock were generally overlooked during the Latin kingdom, with occasional exceptions.[63] The Dome of the Rock, now called *Templum Domini*, was adapted to serve as a place of Christian worship. Adrian Boas claims that the crusaders removed the Dome's brass gilding and left it roofed in lead, perhaps in order to bring about a "degree of parity" between it and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.[64] The Aqṣā mosque, or *Templum Salomonis*, was at first the palace of the Kings of Jerusalem, but in 1128 the king moved to a new residence. The mosque was then given over to the order of the *Pauperes commilitiones Christi templique Salomonici*, or Knights Templar, who had been resident there since 1119 but only recently recognised as a military order (Schein, "Between Mount Moriah and the Holy Sepulchre," 180). The Dome of the Rock had suffered some damage during the crusaders' battle for Jerusalem. A campaign of restoration, redecoration and adaptation began around 1115.[65]

The new availability and prestige of the Temple Mount meant that commemorations which had previously been observed in, or transferred to, other parts of Jerusalem or Palestine were celebrated there after 1099.[66] The associations which had been observed at the Holy Sepulchre did not all return to the Temple Mount without occasional relapse, though. Abraham's sacrifice continued to be remembered at Calvary by early twelfth-century pilgrimage texts such as the Ottobonian Guide

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[62] The buildings' preservation was also certainly due to the scarcity of building materials and of labour, and indeed the Temple area served as the administrative centre of Jerusalem until the reign of Baldwin II, which helped to raise its profile in the consciousness of pilgrims and Franks. Schein, "Between Mount Moriah and the Holy Sepulchre," 179-80.

[63] See Schein, "Between Mount Moriah and the Holy Sepulchre," 181; Wilkinson, ed., *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1185*, 199, 293.

[64] Adrian J. Boas, *Jerusalem in the Time of the Crusades: Society Landscape and Art in the Holy City under Frankish Rule* (London: Routledge, 2001), 110; Creswell, *A Short Account of Early Muslim Architecture*, 33. It is certainly possible, and even likely, that the brass gilding was removed by the crusaders. However, the testimonies to the gilding on the dome date from the tenth century, and so refer to a structure which had already been superseded before the arrival of the crusaders in 1099. It is possible that the later dome of az-Zahīr was not gilded, and thus never stripped by the crusaders, but it seems more likely that Saladin's regilding of the dome was probably a restoration of its pre-1099 appearance.

[65] The bare rock was protected with a marble facing to protect it, suggests Schein, from relic-hunters, or, as Boase argues, to make room for the choir and high altar. The glass wall mosaics were plastered over, then covered with painting and inscriptions which commemorated several New Testament episodes associated with the Temple. Boase, "Ecclesiastical Art in the Crusader States in Palestine and Syria," 86; Schein, "Between Mount Moriah and the Holy Sepulchre," 183.

[66] The slaying of Zachariah, son of Barachia, was remembered with consistency from the beginning of the twelfth century on the Temple Mount (where it had previously been identified by Egeria), while the sixth-century *Breviarius de Hierosolyma* had placed the episode at Calvary. The *Breviarius* had also located Jesus' driving out of the money changers at Calvary, an association which returned to the Temple with the crusaders' conquest; see n. 21 above.

(1099-1103), the narrative of Saewulf (1101-1103) and the account of the Russian, Daniel the Abbot, written 1106-1108.[67]

After their installation on the Temple Mount in the twelfth century, the Templars began to identify the Praetorium to the north of the Temple enclosure.[68] Furthermore, they claimed that on the way to Golgotha Jesus had passed through, and rested in, the Temple enclosure on his way from the Sheep pool, from which he was now thought to have taken the cross. The spot where he had rested was marked by a small dome (the "throne of Jesus"). After 1187, and the withdrawal of access to the Ḥaram area, the route between the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Praetorium shifted to the north of the enclosure (see figure 1). Although fifteenth-century narratives are not very explicit about the detail of pilgrims' routes between the sepulchre and the gate north of the Temple Mount, they seem to follow this route, and it is precisely the route recorded by George Sandys during his visit in 1612.[69] It seems, then, that the crusaders' unprecedented emphasis on the Temple area changed permanently the route of what would become the Via Dolorosa.

The Temple Mount provides several examples of new commemorations. Episodes related to the Temple of the Lord for which the gospels offered evidence included Gabriel's announcement of the birth of John the Baptist to Zacharias, the Presentation of Christ, Christ sitting among the doctors, driving out the money-changers, and forgiving the adulterous woman. The Presentation of the Virgin Mary, attested in the *Protoevangelium of James*, was also remembered there (Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1185*, 41). The cradle of Jesus and the bed of Mary came to be commemorated in a church at the south-eastern corner of the esplanade (Schein, "Between Mount Moriah and the Holy Sepulchre," 188).

The fact that the Temple had never been used by Christians before the crusaders' arrival demonstrates that identifications need not depend on a continuous,

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[67]Wilkinson, ed., *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1185*, 92-3, 94-116, 120-71. The writer may be expressing scepticism with regard to the claim of the Temple by adding that there "is said to be" the altar of Abraham's sacrifice (234). However, the other rival site, the mountain near Neapolis, attracts no such disclaimer (236). In the second half of the twelfth century, it is remembered at the Temple in an Icelandic Guide, but accounts throughout the twelfth century variously place it at Shechem, near Neapolis, Golgotha and the Temple – sometimes simultaneously. See, for example, the "Seventh Guide," written c. 1160, in Wilkinson, ed., *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1185*, 221, 233-7.

[68] This had been located in the Tyropoeon Valley, to the west of the Temple enclosure, until the seventh century. See Wilkinson, ed., *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades*, 168.

[69] George Sandys, *Relation of a Journey Begun An: Dom: 1610. Foure Bookes. Containing a Description of the Turkish Empire, of AEgypt, of the Holy Land, of the Remote Parts of Italy, and Ilands Adioyning* (London: Richard Field for W. Barrett, 1615), 193-5.

or even an early, tradition. Indeed, it may have been easier to project identifications into the past after the interval of Muslim occupation, during which Christian veneration would have been prohibited. The recent Christian conquest may have presented the opportunity to create new commemorations without too much consciousness of novelty. The temple area duly became part of the processional liturgy. On pilgrimage and on feast days such as Palm Sunday and the Presentation of Jesus in the Temple, Christians headed directly for the Temple Mount from the Holy Sepulchre (Schein, "Between Mount Moriah and the Holy Sepulchre," 185).

Several other new Christian holy sites, or sub-division within holy sites, emerged after 1099. At Mount Sion, Saewulf and the *German Guide* tell of the composition of the Apostolic Creed, and Saewulf and Theoderic identify the marble table of the Last Supper, never previously recorded (Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1185*, 107, 118, 108, 297). At Bethlehem, Jerome's chapel, where he is imagined to have translated the Bible, begins to be mentioned in 1129.[70] The stone that had supported Christ's head in his tomb, which Saewulf tells us had been taken to Bethlehem by Jerome, "is frequently to be seen in the Manger" (Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1185*, 108). The table at which Mary and the Wise Men dined was also visible, as were the graves of Paula and Eustochium (Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1185*, 93).

Although the structure of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre had undergone violent attacks and renovation, its transformations through time and in the Crusader era adhered in large part to the axis and outline of the Constantinian plan, so that the sites assigned to the Resurrection and the Crucifixion did not move from their "discovery" in the fourth century. However, the material continuity of the stone tomb at the Church on Calvary, so precious because it had contained the body of the Saviour and witnessed his resurrection, had been interrupted by the destruction of the aedicule, and indeed much of the church, by Caliph al-Ḥākim in 1009, although sections of the walls of the aedicule seem to have survived. After the attack by al-Ḥākim, the Rotunda was rebuilt with the addition of an apse on its eastern side. Three chapels were also added to the south east of the rotunda, dedicated to John, to the

[70] Kopp, *The Holy Places of the Gospels*, 25. I have not been able to find a twelfth-century reference so far, but Kopp is citing Bellarmino Bagatti, *Gli Antichi Edifici Sacri di Betlemme. In Sequito agli Scavi e Restauri Praticati dall Custodia di Terra Santa*, Publicazioni dello Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, vol. 9 (Jerusalem: Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, 1952), 162, to which I have not been able to gain access.

Trinity, and to St. James (Boase, 76). The Constantinian Martyrium leading east from the Resurrection was never rebuilt. However, a colonnaded portico was erected, with Golgotha at the south-eastern corner, and three apses projecting from the eastern wall, to conform with the traditional eastern orientation of church architecture (see figures 2 and 3).[71] Little or no acknowledgment is made by pilgrims in the eleventh century or later of the destruction of the original tomb by al-Ḥākim. The replica seems quickly to have been taken for the original stone.

The crusaders' renovations of the church served to place even more emphasis on the eastern wall, to balance the rotunda to the west (see figure 4).[72] The open Golgotha courtyard was replaced by a basilica, and the eastern apse of the Byzantine rotunda was replaced by an archway. This emphasised the axis between the Tomb at the west and the high altar at the east, and provided a further counterbalance to the western orientation of the Constantinian structure (Boase, 76-77; Kühnel, 21-22). In both Byzantine and crusader renovations, there seems to have been a desire to temper the original plan's emphasis on a single holy place, the holy sepulchre, and to absorb it into a larger space governed by the traditional orientation of churches and demands of liturgy. The stripping and crowning of Christ and the division of his garments began to be recorded with consistency in the first crusader narratives, such as that of

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[71] Kühnel, Crusader Art, 21. The Constantinian orientation towards the western end, though unusual in eastern churches, is matched by the orientation of several early churches built in Rome. The change in orientation seems to have begun in the fifth century, as evinced by the building in 417 of the eastern-oriented Santa Agatha in Ravenna. However, exceptions occurred in building as late as the ninth century, and with greater frequency in Italy. Churches in the east, according to Bond, usually observed an eastern orientation, such as S. Sophia in Constantinople. T. D. Atkinson suggests that the change began in the late fifth century, during the papacy of Leo I, who expressed distress at "some Christians [who] think it is so proper to [worship the rising sun] that, before entering the blessed Apostle Peter's basilica ... they turn round and bow themselves towards the rising sun and with bent neck do homage to its brilliant orb." While it is possible that this sermon was not itself the cause of the change in orientation, it does reflect some anxiety that a design of western orientation did not adequately control the kind of worship undertaken in it. The systematic orientation of churches towards an altar at the east post-dates the Constantinian structure at the site of the Lord's tomb and crucifixion, but is reflected in the restoration project of the eleventh century. See F. M. Simpson, *A History of Architectural Development*, The Architects' Library, 3 vols. (London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1905), vol. 1, 179-80. For the trend of change to an eastern orientation, see T. D. Atkinson, "On the Orientation of Christian Churches," The Church Quarterly Review 128 (1939): 271-2; F. Bond, *Introduction to English Church Architecture*, 2 vols. (London: Oxford University Press, 1913), vol. 2, 959. See also Sermon 27 of Leo the Great, The Letters and Sermons of Leo the Great, Bishop of Rome, ed. Charles Lett Feltoe, trans. Charles Lett Feltoe, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, ed. Schaff and Wace, 2nd series, vol. 12 (Christian Literature Publishing Company, 1895; reprint, Peabody, Massachussetts: Hendrickson Publishers, 1999), 140.

[72] An inscription on the chapel of Calvary recording dedication on July 15, 1149 is often taken to reflect the date of renovations to the whole church, but Biddle has argued that it refers only to the chapel and that the work on the general structure was completed in the 1160s. Biddle, *The Tomb of Christ*, 92-8.

Saewulf (Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1185*, 102). It seems likely that the sudden appearance of these identifications was encouraged by the building of three apses at the eastern end of the building, which accommodated the three identifications.

The End of Latin Rule in Jerusalem

The city of Jerusalem fell to Saladin I in 1187, although Christian pilgrims were still permitted to enter the city after a three-year truce was agreed between Richard Lion-Heart and Saladin in September, 1192.[73] A phase of "re-Islamization" by the Ayubbids quickly followed, during which many Christian buildings were expropriated and put to Muslim use.[74] Modifications made by the crusaders to Umayyad buildings were also reversed: the stonework and mosaics of the Dome of the Rock were restored, and the marble with which the Rock had been covered to protect it during Latin rule was removed, "so Islam was restored there in full freshness and beauty."[75]

The crusader holdings in Palestine and Syria continued to be eroded throughout the thirteenth century. Jerusalem briefly returned to Christian hands with the 1229 treaty of Jaffa, in which Sultan al-Mālik al-Kāmil handed over the city, but not outlying districts, to Frederick II Hohenstaufen. The walls were not to be rebuilt and the Temple Mount was to remain under Muslim control under the terms of the agreement (Mayer, 235-6; F. E. Peters, 366-8). Jerusalem returned to the control of the sultan of Egypt upon the lapse of the treaty ten years later, although the rivalry between the Ayubbid factions of Damascus and Cairo gave the Latins some leverage in negotiations, allowing them to maintain a presence in Jerusalem for a few years afterwards (Mayer, 256). However, after the 1244 sack of Jerusalem by Khwarazmian

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[73] Mayer, *The Crusades*, 149; F. E. Peters, *The Holy City in the Eyes of Chroniclers, Visitors, Pilgrims and Prophets: From the Days of Abraham to the Beginnings of Modern Times* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1985), 360.

[74] The residence of the former Latin patriarch, for example, was turned into the Ṣalāḥiyya Khānqāah, a convent for Ṣūfī mystics, in 1189; the Church of St Anne was in 1192 turned into a theological college, the Ṣalāḥiyya Madrasa; the Church of St Mary Magdalen was also converted into a theological college, the Maymūniyya Madrasa, in 1197. Michael Hamilton Burgoyne and D. S. Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem: An Architectural Study* ([London]: World of Islam Festival Trust for the British School of Archeology in Jerusalem, 1987), 48-9.

[75] See Ibn Al-Athīr's and 'Imād ad-Din's accounts of the reconquest of Jerusalem in Francesco Gabriele, ed., *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, 2nd ed. (New York: Dorset Press, 1989), 145-6, 164, 168-9.

forces, then allies of Ayyubid ruler of Egypt as-Salih, who had themselves been displaced by Mongol invaders from their territories along the lower course of the Oxus / Āmū Daryā, river, the crusaders never again managed to assert a presence in the city. When the Mamluks, the slave warrior class, wrested control from their former masters, the Ayubbids of Egypt, in 1250, Jerusalem also came under control of the new rulers in Cairo. The Mamluks then forced the crusaders from their last stronghold at Acre in 1291.[76] Until 1244, the Latin church had maintained its dominance over the holy sites of Jerusalem, thanks to diplomatic accords between western princes and Saladin, and then later Ayubbid leaders.[77] After the Mamluks took control, however, the rights of Eastern churches to maintain a presence and to officiate in the holy places were restored, eroding the Latin monopoly.

James Parkes, Joseph Drory and Saul Colbi all refer to the difficulty of conditions for Christians living with the "fanaticism" and "bigotry" of the Muslim conquerors.[78] While Colbi and Drory seem to view as flimsy the legal right of the Mamluks to expropriate sites of Christian worship, the Mamluk policy may have been more systematic and less arbitrary than they suggest.[79] The status of the Christian holy

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[76] Norman Housley, *The Later Crusades: 1274-1580* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 16-7.

[77] Oded Peri, *Christianity under Islam in Jerusalem: The Question of the Holy Sites in Early Ottoman Times*, The Ottoman Empire and its Heritage: Politics, Society and Economy, vol. 23 (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 42.

[78] Joseph Drory represents as very bleak the existence of the Christians under the Mamluks. He alludes, without citing specific examples, to "many reports of persecution and harassment – seizing shrines, blackmail, and charges of bribery – techniques used by the Muslims to humiliate the Christians and embitter their lives." Drory claims that the Mamluk sultans were more sympathetic to Eastern Christians than to Latin Christians. Saul Colbi's account is similar to Drory's, emphasising revenge exacted on Christians in Palestine for confrontations between Mamluk and European powers in Egypt and throughout the Mediterranean. "There were times during the long Mamluk ascendancy," writes Colin Morris, "when the underlying hostility between Christian and Muslim powers disrupted the precarious balance. The most dramatic was the capture and sack of Alexandria [by Peter of Cyprus] in 1365, which led to the imprisonment of the Mount Sion Franciscans at Damascus and the closure of the church of the Holy Sepulchre for a number of years. This may have been the background to the misfortunes of Isolda Parewastel of Bridgwater in Somerset, who had visited the Holy Places for three years, 'and has there been stripped and placed head downwards on a rack and beaten.'" Morris is citing Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West*, 186. Saul Colbi, *A History of the Christian Presence in the Holy Land* (London: University Press of America, 1988), 70-1; Joseph Drory, "Jerusalem during the Mamluk Period (1250-1517)," in *The Jerusalem Cathedra: Studies in the History, Archaeology, Geography and Ethnography of the Land of Israel*, ed. Lee I. Levine (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi Institute, 1981), 209; Morris, *Sepulchre of Christ*, 306; James Parkes, *A History of Palestine from 135 A.D. to Modern Times* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1949), 143. For an account of financial exactions and dangers faced by Dominican and Franciscan pilgrims and missionaries, see Andrew Jotischky, "The Mendicants as Missionaries and Travellers in the Near East in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries," in *Eastward Bound: Travel and Travellers, 1050-1550*, ed. Rosamund Allen (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004).

[79] Colbi, *The Christian Presence in the Holy Land*, 70; Drory, "Jerusalem during the Mamluk Period," 210. Drory adds: "The most common argument used by Muslim zealots against building non-Muslim sanctuaries was that they were 'new.' Backing such a claim was the fictional document of the covenant

places under Muslim rule was defined in the so-called "Covenant of 'Umar." This "is a detailed list of restrictions and disabilities that must be obeyed by non-Muslims who wish to enter the *dhimma* pact offered by Islam," whereby Christians and Jews were treated as minorities with legally enshrined protections of religious rights (Peri, 52). While Oded Peri, like Drory and others, acknowledges that the letter of the Caliph 'Umar is fictional, he argues that "what really matters here is not the issue of authenticity, but rather the fact that the 'covenant of 'Umar' is the authoritative statement of the *sharī'a* regarding the status of *dhimmis* in Islam."[80] Peri, unlike most historians of the Christian presence in Jerusalem under Muslim governance, points out that this covenant enshrined certain rights as well as restrictions for Christians and Jews. Under it, the religious buildings contained within the definition of the covenant were guaranteed, at least in theory, certain rights of protection and preservation. Peri points out that "the law securing these rights is formulated as a contractual obligation imposed by God Almighty on Muslims as a whole," although it was not always scrupulously observed (Peri, 53).

The narratives of Latin Christian pilgrims offer conflicting portraits of Muslim attitudes towards Christianity and the Christian holy places. In an abbreviated Latin recension of Ludolph von Suchem's itinerary of the Holy Land (undertaken between 1336 and 1341), the author or editor tells us that

> [the Saracens] honour and venerate Christ, who, according to [their] prophet, was conceived by the Holy Spirit, born of the Virgin, crucified by the Jews, but in fact not dead, but assumed [into heaven] without the passion. But nevertheless they also deny that he is the son of the Father, and also say that in that vault [of the Temple] he taught and worked many miracles.... They also

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of Omar which, among other restrictions upon the rights of non-Muslims in the Muslim state, allowed them to use only places of worship which had existed at the time of the Arab conquest, in the seventh century. Any building erected after the covenant of Omar was considered 'new,' and existed only as an act of grace. If the ruler so wished, it could be destroyed without further ado." While commentators now seem to agree that the covenant attributed to 'Umar is not his work, its authenticity does not seem to have been disputed by Muslims, Eastern or Latin Christians during the Mamluk or early Ottoman rule of Jerusalem. See Peri, *Christianity under Islam in Jerusalem*, 52-3.

[80] Peri, *Christianity under Islam in Jerusalem*, 52-3. Here Peri summarises the restrictions in relation to religious structures as follows. "The 'Covenant of 'Umar' (in fact, the *sharī'a*) legalizes only those *dhimmi* religious buildings which had been in existence at the time of the Muslim conquest. *Dhimmis* therefore may keep and use their old places of worship, but they are not allowed to establish new ones. When necessary, *dhimmis* may repair and restore their legally recognized places of worship provided that they do not make additions or effect substantial changes to their original construction. Furthermore, *dhimmis* are required to open their churches and monasteries to Muslim visitors, and to offer accommodation to Muslim travellers. In addition, *dhimmis* are warned against using their places of worship to provide sanctuary to anyone or anything detrimental to Muslim and Islam."

> read books of both Testaments and yet those according to their rite; but, of all books, they prefer the Koran of Mahomet.[81]

However, the recension used by Aubrey Stewart for his English translation (which probably dates to around 1350) does not include this comment on the status of Jesus Christ in Islam, and comments that the Georgian chapel of the sepulchre is poorly lit, "and is altogether without honour and respect, for the Saracens have as much respect for Christ's sepulchre as Christians have for a Jewish synagogue."[82] Nevertheless, Ludolph expresses surprise that the bodies of Godfrey and Baldwin of Burgoyne are allowed to rest undisturbed by the Saracens, despite the humiliations which they had inflicted upon them.[83] Niccolò da Poggibonsi, writing around 1350, gives a positive account of Muslim responses to the sepulchre:

> There are many Saracens, both men and women, who have great devotion, and many who come here from Syria, and the land of Egypt, and from the city of the Sultan [Cairo], which is six days' journey away over desert; and they still come from many provinces, and there are those who come here out of devotion, and those who come here because they wish to see what the Christians adore.[84]

While these Muslim travellers probably travelled to Jerusalem to see the Dome of the Rock, not the Church of the Sepulchre (and perhaps this is what Niccolò meant), Niccolò also seems to suggest that visits by Muslims to the Sepulchre might have had the character of devotion rather than mere curiosity.

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[81] "Et Christum, quem ipsi secundum prophetam conceptum de Spiritu Sancto, natum de Virgine, a Iudeis crucifixum, sed vere non passum sed sine passione dicunt assumptum, honorant et venerantur. Sed tamen eciam Patris filium negant esse, quem eciam dicunt in illa cripta docuisse et multa miracula fecisse. Ideo illam criptam dicunt tam sanctam, quod nec Iudeus nec christianus dignus sit ipsam conspicere.... Eciam legunt libros utriusque Testamenti et hos tamen secundum ritum suum ; sed Alcoran Magumeti preferunt cunctis libris." Ludolph von Suchem, "De Itinere Terre Sancte," *Archives de l'Orient Latin* 2 (1883): 351.

[82] Of course, since Muslims do not believe that Christ ever occupied the sepulchre, this does not necessarily imply any lack of respect for Christ himself. Quotation from Ludolph von Suchem, *Description of the Holy Land and of the Way Thither, Written in the Year A.D. 1350*, trans. Aubrey Stewart, The Library of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, vol. 12 (London: Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, 1895), 105. Unless otherwise stated, references to the narrative of Ludolph von Suchem refer to Stewart's edition.

[83] "for in Lombardy, when Christians quarrel, they cast one another's rotten corpses to the dogs." Ludolph von Suchem, *Description of the Holy Land*, 103-4.

[84] "È molti Saracini e Saracine, che ànno grande devozione, e molti ne vengono di Soria, e di Terra d'Egitto, e della città del Soldano, ch'è di lungi sei giornate per diserto; e ancora vengono da molte provincie, e chi ci viene per devozione, e chi ci viene per vedere che adorano I Cristiani." Niccolò da Poggibonsi, *Libro d'Oltramare di Fra Niccolò da Poggibonsi*, ed. Alberto Bacchi della Lega, 2 vols. (Bologna: Commissione per i testi di lingua, 1968), vol. 1, 58-9.

These narratives indicate that the Virgin Mary held a high place in Muslim estimation. The church of Saint Mary at the traditional place of her birth, the house of Anna and Joachim, several pilgrims remark, has been taken over to be used as a mosque.[85] Associations with the Virgin Mary are particularly prized among expectant Muslim mothers:

> The Virgin Mary crossed this wilderness [south-west of Jerusalem] with the child Jesus, when she fled from Judaea from before the face of Herod, and all along the road whereby she is believed to have passed there grow dry roses which in these parts are called roses of Jericho. The Bedouins gather these roses in the wilderness and sell them to pilgrims for bread; moreover, the Saracen women are very glad to have these roses by them, and when about to be delivered they drink the water which has been poured over the roses, and declare that they are most useful during pregnancy.[86]

There is clear evidence of joint Muslim and Christian veneration of certain places, especially sites related to the Virgin Mary. The tomb of the Blessed Virgin is revered by Muslims who, Niccolò tells us, "believe that in the sepulchre is the body of the Virgin Mary; and one day, when I was saying mass over the sepulchre, and I saw there many Saracens come not to adore the mass, in which they have no faith, but they made great reverence towards the sepulchre."[87] Examples are also to be found outside of Palestine, as in Ludolph's description of Sinai, where he says that Muslim guides and camel drivers, as well as Christian pilgrims, seek a glimpse of the relics of Saint Catherine, and that all visitors coexist without conflict (Ludolph von Suchem, *Description of the Holy Land*, 88). Similarly, Ogier d'Anglure, commenting on the fountain which sprang up when the Christ child scratched the soil on the flight into

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[85] Ludolph von Suchem says that that the painting depicting "all the story of Anna and Joachim and the Blessed Mary's birth" is preserved there, although he tells of an old Muslim woman who takes the figure of Joachim for Mahomet, "and the painting of the trees for paradise, wherein Mahomet kissed girls." Ludolph von Suchem, *Description of the Holy Land*, 100.

[86] Ludolph von Suchem, *Description of the Holy Land*, 191. The tradition of the Virgin's help to pregnant or nursing mothers is also attested in the seventeenth century.

[87] "I Saracini ci àno grande devozione, e credono che nella sepoltura sia il corpo della Virgine Maria; e un dì, quand' io dissi sopra la sepoltura la messa, e io ci vidi molti Saracini venire adorare, nonne alla messa, chè non ci ànno fede, ma alla sepoltura facevano grande riverenzia." Niccolò da Poggibonsi, *Libro d'Oltramare*, vol. 1, 184-5. The location of the sepulchre of the Virgin Mary in Jerusalem is attested by the sixth-century *Breviarius de Hierosolyma*, and specifically in the Valley of Jehosophat by fifth- and sixth-century Coptic narratives of the Dormition. For a summary of the arguments for and against such an identification, see Stephen J. Shoemaker, *Ancient Traditions of the Virgin Mary's Dormition and Assumption* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 98-107.

Egypt, tells that the Saracens call it the fountain of Saint Mary, and that "many people bathe in the fountain out of devotion, Christians and Saracens alike."[88]

In spite of these suggestions of reasonably peaceful coexistence, there can be little doubt that there were concerns in the Latin West about the economic and therefore political consequences of pilgrimage to Jerusalem and traffic in Mamluk territories. Pilgrims' expenditure of large sums of money in Palestine and the frequent combination of pilgrim traffic with merchant trade had led both ecclesiastical and secular rulers to insist that licenses be sought by prospective travellers. Indeed, it had been suggested that by banning pilgrimage to Jerusalem, the Mamluk sultanate could be deprived of a valuable source of income.[89] In the absence of such a prohibition, the requirement of a papal license to travel to Palestine could restrict any activity or trade which might prove profitable to the Mamluks.[90] Diana Webb elucidates the authority for such communication:

> In chapter 71 of the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, Innocent III prohibited dealings with the infidel and imposed a four-year moratorium on the sending of ships to the Holy Land while Christendom mustered its forces for a new Crusade. These provisions were echoed by Gregory X at Lyons in 1274, where the moratorium on shipping was extended to six years. Popes thereafter periodically reaffirmed the anathema on those who flouted the trade embargo. These declarations did not specifically mention pilgrims, but it did not escape notice that illicit commerce could be carried on under the guise of pilgrimage and that pilgrims themselves contributed to Muslim prosperity (as

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[88] "Illec se baignent moult de gens par devocion, tant chrestiens comme sarrazins." Ogier d'Anglure, *Le Saint Voyage de Jherusalem* [1395] (Paris: Librairie de Firmin Didot, 1878), 58.

[89] "The Dominican writer Guillaume Adam, an early advocate of economic warfare, calculated in 1317 that the sultan received thirty-five *gros tournois* every time a pilgrim visited the Holy Land, and he suggested to John XXII that this was a good reason for forbidding pilgrimages to the Holy Land altogether. 'Pilgrims are the only people who freely assist the Saracens without having to fear excommunication.'" Sumption, *Pilgrimage*, 188.

[90] Friar Felix Fabri explains that any pilgrims travelling without papal license may be absolved by the Franciscans at Jerusalem. He gives the following reasons for the excommunication:

> The cause ... is that after the Christians were driven out of the Holy Land some bad Christians, even of the Latin Church, remained behind therein, and associated themselves with the Saracens, swearing allegiance to them. Some also of those who left that country returned thither again to these men and became their subjects, and afterwards sailed to Christian lands and brought from thence ironwork and arms whereof the Easterns were in need. Seeing this, the Pope excommunicated all those who stayed behind in the Holy Land with the Saracens, or who made common cause with them. He also excommunicated those who carried arms and other needful things to them. Moreover, he excommunicated the land itself, so that whosoever should enter it without his leave might be anathema, seeing that he could not dwell therein without consorting with infidels and heretics.

Fabri, *Wanderings*, vol. 1 pt. 1, 248.

commentators had been aware already in the eleventh century). (Webb, 86)

A dispensation made for a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre in 1329 by Pope John XXII to Otto de Cauqualis, a "priest and professor of laws" born in Palestine and resident in Narbonne, reveals awareness of the imbrication of pilgrims' economic transactions in the tensions between Christian Europe and the Mamluk governors: "He is granted licence to visit the Holy Sepulchre and other holy places there, with six companions, taking with them those things without which they cannot complete the journey, but nothing else to the profit or advantage of the enemy."[91] Although the concerns which underlie this formula for the licensing of pilgrims are very different from those which predominate during the Reformation, this dispensation provides further evidence that concerns about the enterprise of pilgrimage do not suddenly emerge in the sixteenth century but recur throughout the earlier history of the pilgrimage.

The Franciscan Custodianship of the Holy Land

The Arrival of the Franciscans in Palestine

Notwithstanding such concerns about the economic consequences of pilgrims' journeys to Palestine, the first half of the fourteenth century witnessed the establishment of the Franciscan friars in Jerusalem. This fact, the gradual enlargement of Latin Christian possessions and rites of officiation and the increased numbers of pilgrims suggest that a more positive account than those made by Drory, Colbi and Parkes of the relations between the Mamluks and Latin Christians may be offered.[92] At the beginning of the fourteenth century, Jaume II of Aragon began negotiations with the Mamluk sultan at Cairo, Sultan al-Mālik an-Nāṣir Muḥammad, to re-

[91] John XXII, *Lettres Communes de Jean XXII*, ed. G. Mollat, 16 vols. (Paris: 1904-47), vol. 5, n. 44281. Cited by Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West*, 104.

[92] Most of the material on this period is from sources written or edited by Franciscans, which are often concerned to establish the legal right of the Franciscans to possessions in Palestine. They must therefore be considered in the light of struggles with the other Christian sects in Jerusalem which intensified in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. However, some material on the Franciscan custodianship, such as the articles by Schein which examine the effacement of Old Testament associations and the concentration on the Passion in late medieval pilgrimage, is also published in publications concerned with Jewish studies.

establish a Latin presence in Palestine (Dansette, 108). The embassies, of which six are recorded in the first three decades of the fourteenth century, sought to establish the right of Christian citizens to visit the holy sites without hindrance, as well as confirming certain agreements regarding trade and the fate of captives.[93] In 1322, Jaume also sought, and secured, permission for the presence of twelve Catalan Dominican monks to serve in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.[94] The Dominicans were swiftly replaced by Franciscans, a substitution which commentators have been unable to explain (Dansette, 108; Golubovich, 1st ser., vol. 3, 309).

Even more important for the Latin presence in Palestine were the relations of the same sultan of Cairo with Robert of Anjou and his wife, Sancia of Aragon (Dansette, 109). The correspondence between the sultan and Robert on the subject of the holy places has been lost (Dansette, 110; Golubovich, 1st ser., vol. 4, 40-1). However, the bulls of Clement VI dated 21 November 1342, *Gratias agimus* and *Nuper carissimae*, bear witness to the right granted by the sultan for the Franciscans to maintain a presence and to officiate in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and the right to possess the Cenacle (the Upper Room of the Last Supper), the chapel of the appearance of the Holy Spirit to the apostles and of St Thomas on Sion (Golubovich, 1st ser., vol. 4, 52-6). There are allusions in travel narratives, such as that of James of Verona, to Franciscans present and officiating in several other holy places, although no official documentation relating to the agreements has been found. According to these, the Franciscans were allowed to hold services in the basilica in the Valley of Jehosophat at the sepulchre of the Virgin Mary and the Grotto of the Nativity in Bethlehem by 1335, and they possessed the Church of the Nativity by 1345.[95] Lands

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[93] Housley points out that in the 1320s and early 1330s, a period which overlaps with that during which Jaume II's negotiations were being conducted, "crusade planning was at its height," although it was dominated by the French during this period. Jaume II did not restrict himself to diplomatic tactics. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, he offered ships, soldiers and equipment to the Mongol Ilkhan Ghazan, whose victories over the Mamluks at Homs and Damascus in 1299 and 1300 renewed optimism about the recoverability of Palestine in the West. Housley, *The Later Crusades*, 20, 23, 26.

[94] Girolamo Golubovich, *Biblioteca Bio-Bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente Francescano* (Florence: Quaracchi, 1906-1923), 1st ser., vol. 3, 233-4. In the same embassy Jaume requests the return of the true cross, the chalice consecrated by Christ at the Last Supper, and the body of St. Barbara (234). Golubovich relies mostly on documents preserved in the Archive of the Crown of Aragon in Barcelona, which incorporates the Royal Archive founded in 1318, and on documents from the same archive as edited in Finke's *Acta Aragonensia.*

[95] The right of Franciscans to officiate in the basilica in the valley of Jehosophat is first mentioned in the narrative of James of Verona, dated to 1335 by Golubovich. However, Golubovich believes that this right had probably been granted in 1333, citing unnamed "later writers." Ludolph von Suchem mentions that the place "where God was made man" is in the hands of the Latins at the time of his journey, between 1336 and 1341. Niccolò da Poggibonsi, who began his journey in 1346, indicates that the Franciscans had been given possession of the entire basilica during his stay in Jerusalem:

adjoining the Cenacle were acquired between 1335 and 1357, according to several deeds of sale in Arabic which Golubovich says are preserved in an archive of fermāns, or decrees, in the convent of Saint Saviour in Jerusalem.[96] After the installation of the Franciscans in Palestine come the first references in pilgrims' narratives to the indulgences available there for the non-crusading pilgrim. At some point after the crusades had driven forward the doctrine of indulgences and helped to associate them with the arduous journey to Jerusalem, partial and plenary remissions became associated with certain holy places. Narratives throughout the later fourteenth century share the preoccupation with indulgences and outline the authority for them. The narratives of James of Verona (dated c. 1335), Niccolò da Poggibonsi (who began his journey in 1346) and Thomas Brygg (1392), and some anonymous fourteenth-century narratives edited by Golubovich, among others, include detailed lists of indulgences available at the Holy Places in which Pope Silvester is consistently claimed to have granted them at the request of Helena and Constantine.[97] Since the doctrine of indulgences had not evolved by the fourth century, this attribution is spurious; the origins of the pilgrimage indulgences remain obscure.

In his 1906 account of the history of the stations of the cross, Herbert Thurston attempted to define the basis for indulgences in Palestine (Thurston, *The Stations of the Cross*, 166-9). He finds that Francesco Suriano, the *Custos* of the Holy Land for two two-year stints at the end of the fifteenth century and in the second decade of the sixteenth, had attempted to find the original fourth-century bull issued by Silvester (of course without success), but that Francesco had determined that three of the

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"Returning to the church of Bethlehem, today the Friars Minor of Saint Francis hold it, which Medephar, Sultan of Babylonia, gave to them, and the Friars entered it, while I was in Jerusalem." ("Essendo tornati alla chiesa di Bethelem, la quale tengono oggi i frati minori di santo Francesco, che ce la donò Medephar, soldano di Babillonia; e'frati c'entrarono, quando io era in Ierusalem.") Golubovich, *Biblioteca Bio-Bibliografica*, 1st ser., vol. 4, 33-7; Ludolph von Suchem, *Description of the Holy Land*, 95; Niccolò da Poggibonsi, *Libro d'Oltramare*, vol. 1, 236.

[96] Golubovich, *Biblioteca Bio-Bibliografica*, Ser. 1, vol. 4, 59-73. Golubovich seems to be using the word "fermān" or "firman" loosely, to refer to any decree issued under Muslim rule. Strictly speaking, this is a Turkish word, derived from the Persian, which refers specifically to an order issued by an Ottoman sultan. See Dansette, "Les Pèlerinages Occidentaux en Terre Sainte," 112, 115.

[97] See Thomas Brygg, "Itinerarium in Terram Sanctam," in *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, vol. 2 (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1884); Jacques de Verona, "Liber Peregrinationis," *Revue de l'Orient Latin* 3 (1895); Ogier d'Anglure, *Le Saint Voyage de Jherusalem* [1395], 13. See also the anonymous "Peregrinationes tocius Terre Sancte" in Golubovich, *Biblioteca Bio-Bibliografica*, 1st ser., vol. 5, 347-55, especially 350. For references to Niccolò da Poggibonsi as an early recorder of these indulgences, and for a comparative chart of the indulgences in late fourteenth and fifteenth-century narratives, see Bellarmino Bagatti, "Introduction," in *Niccoló da Poggibonsi's Voyage beyond the Sea*, ed. Bellarmino Bagatti, Publications of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, vol. 2, pt. 2 (Jerusalem: Franciscan Press, 1945), xxiii, xli-xlvii; Herbert Thurston, *The Stations of the Cross: An Account of their History and Devotional Purpose* (London: Burns and Oates, 1906), 168-9.

indulgences had a different source: a late fifteenth-century grant by Pope Sixtus IV of plenary indulgences for the chapel of St Helena by Golgotha, for the chapel of St Thomas on Mount Sion, and for the chapel of St Mary Magdalene at Bethany (Thurston, *The Stations of the Cross*, 167). Not until July 17, 1561, and the issuing of a bull by Pope Pius IV, says Thurston, did the other indulgences at the holy places receive papal acknowledgement (Thurston, *The Stations of the Cross*, 170). However, the bull as reproduced by Quaresmius in his *Elucidatio Terrae Sanctae* (1616-1639) does not wholeheartedly endorse the claim of St Silvester's grant, nor does it found its confirmation of indulgences exclusively upon this.[98] The bull interjects "ut creditur" into the claim that Silvester offered "indulgences and remissions of sin," and confirms the indulgences as granted "by any of the Roman Popes, our predecessors, and the aforesaid See, and also its legates, as much in writing as by uttered decree, as much in kind as in form."[99] In spite of the fact that the majority of indulgences of "Silvester's grant" did not receive (even qualified) papal confirmation until the 1620s, late medieval pilgrims zealously enumerate the indulgences at the holy places and confidently name Silvester's authority.

Changes to the Pilgrimage: Chronology and Imaginative Participation

Colin Morris terms the Franciscan pilgrimage of the fourteenth, fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries "a well-organized and remarkably persistent new pattern of pilgrimage," the consequence of a convergence of factors: "the settlement of a community of Observant friars on Mount Sion, who formed a close link between the developing piety of the West and Jerusalem; a planned tour of visits, which did not change much in two centuries; an insatiable demand for indulgences; and the organization for pilgrims of Venetian maritime traffic to the East" (*Sepulchre of Christ*, 301). He sees the Jerusalem pilgrimage as both influenced by and influencing the devotional culture of the Latin West, a relation which it is my concern to tease out here and in the chapter to come. Morris writes,

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[98] Franciscus Quaresmius. *Historica theologica et moralis Terrae Sanctae elucidatio: in qua pleraque ad veterem praesentem eiusdem terrae statum spectantia accurate explicantur* (Antwerp, 1639), 423. The bull was principally concerned to transfer the privilege formerly accorded to the monastery at Mount Sion, which had been seized by the Ottomans in 1551, to the Church of St Saviour.

[99] "per quoscumque Romanos Pontifices praedecessores nostros & Sedem praedictam, vel eius Legatos, tam in scriptis quam vivae vocis oraculo, tam in genere quam in specie." Latin text in Quaresmius, *Elucidatio Terrae Sanctae*, p. 423.

> Travellers, if not numerous, were influential. Many of them were nobles, senior clergy, or learned friars, well placed to shape the thinking of the societies in which they lived. Voyagers began to produce literary accounts of their experiences on a scale totally without previous parallel. The visiting of shrines was conducted on a programme, providing a regulated experience which helped to form all who came on the Jerusalem pilgrimage, even to those who continued their travels elsewhere. All this helped to shape a pilgrim culture that pervaded the spirituality, liturgy, and art of Western Europe, and the character of Christian devotion, and continued with remarkable persistence for a long period. (C. Morris, *Sepulchre of Christ*, 307-8)

Pilgrimage narratives of the period of Franciscan custodianship, especially in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, receive much more attention from critics than narratives of the crusader era; they are also far more numerous. There are two principal critical approaches to these narratives. One school, represented by critics such as Schein and Dansette, sets the late medieval narratives against twelfth-century pilgrimage narratives, noting shifts in emphasis and identification which differentiate them from accounts of the Latin Kingdom period. The other school, including Nina Miedema, comes at pilgrimage narratives from research of devotional texts such as the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* ascribed to Bonaventure (fourteenth century), the *Vita Christi* of Ludolph of Saxony (fourteenth century) and the *Imitatio Christi* of Thomas à Kempis (early fifteenth century).[100] These two approaches produce two very different reactions to the pilgrim narratives of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Commentators on the pilgrimage such as Dansette and Schein, encountering the increasingly formalised and standardised guided pilgrimage of the Franciscan custodianship after the informally and individually organised pilgrimages of the Latin Kingdom period, are struck by the emergence of a chronological tendency in the pilgrimage. Although long before the fourteenth century the Jerusalem liturgy had organised the movement across space according to chronology, particularly at the Easter commemorations, it also disrupted the spatial correspondence to narrative on occasion. For example, the later Paris manuscript of the fifth-century Armenian

[100] Nina Miedema, "Following in the Footsteps of Christ: Pilgrimage and Passion Devotion," in *The Broken Body: Passion Devotion in Late Medieval Culture*, ed. A. A. MacDonald, H. N. B. Ridderbos, and R. M. Schlusemann (Gröningen: Egbert Forsten, 1998).

Lectionary orders the commemoration of the agony at the top of Mount Olivet, with the reading of Luke 22:39-46, but then, in a different place on Mount Olivet (the "place of the Disciples"), it provides for the reading of Mark 14:33-42, which again remembers the agony, before calling for Matthew's account of the same episode, plus the betrayal and arrest (Matthew 26:36-56) at Gethsemane itself (Renoux, 275-7). By contrast, the Franciscan-led pilgrimage offered a tour following a real-time chronology in which the events of the Passion could be imagined as taking place throughout the year, not just when a visit coincided with the Easter liturgy. Dansette sees the transformation of the pilgrimage in the following terms: "It is precisely in this area, it seems, that the new character of these texts emerges from the fourteenth century onwards: the organisation of the perambulations of pilgrims so that they are guided step by step along the 'path of Christ.'"[101] Dansette sees an indirect link between the devotional texts of Bonaventure, Ludolph and Thomas à Kempis and the form of the pilgrimage. She believes, however, that the pilgrimage is a literal imitation of Christ, rather than one shaped by the devotional strategies of the textual *imitatio Christi* with its connotations of striving after a moral example: "at the Holy Places, what the Franciscans offer to pilgrims is not so much the Imitation of Christ which forms the basis of Franciscan spirituality, but more a 'walk in the footsteps of Christ,' a means of conversion and penitence, a 'following of Christ,' executed in the most realistic way."[102] This is most obviously manifested in the emergence of the way of the cross. In the fifteenth century, however, the influence of the literature of affective piety starts to manifest itself in English accounts of pilgrimage, as Chapter 2 will demonstrate.

Sylvia Schein also sees an increasing emphasis after the arrival of the Franciscans on the places associated with Christ's passion:

> Under the influence of the Franciscans this "geography" consisted primarily of the recital of the Passion and the Crucifixion, followed by the life of the Virgin, both based on the Gospels and the Apocrypha .... Concurrent with this process of intensifying focus on the narratives of the New Testament, the

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[101] "C'est là précisément, nous a-t-il semblé, que se fait jour le caractère nouveau de ces textes à partir du XIVe siècle: l'organisation des pérégrinations des pèlerins conduits pas à pas sur les 'traces du Christ.'" Dansette, "Les Pèlerinages Occidentaux en Terre Sainte," 111.

[102] "Aux Lieux Saints, plus que 'l'Imitation du Christ' qui constitue pourtant le fond de la spiritualité franciscaine, c'est davantage une 'marche à la suite du Christ', moyen de conversion et de pénitence, que les Frères Mineurs proposent aux pèlerins, une 'sequela Christi', comprise dans son sens le plus réaliste." Dansette, "Les Pèlerinages Occidentaux en Terre Sainte," 112, 115.

> traditions of the Old Testament were fading. Increasingly, Jerusalem appeared in the narratives of pilgrims to be linked almost exclusively with the New Testament, and the Franciscans then carried out what might be called a baptism of the holy places.[103]

Schein relates this concentration on the gospels to the context of increasing anti-Semitism and, particularly, hostility towards the Jews of Jerusalem, arguing that the emphasis on the Passion in the Franciscan pilgrimage not only resonated with characteristically Franciscan devotional practices but also emphasised for pilgrims the participation of the Jews in the crucifixion (Schein, "La Custodia Terrae Sanctae Franciscaine," 371). This is clearly borne out by one of the late medieval English pilgrimage narratives discussed in Chapter 2, in which highly affective contemplation of the site of the crucifixion accompanies advocacy of anti-Semitic reprisal, and even seems to stimulate it.[104] The increasing specificity and particularisation in the pilgrimage sites, which have been traced throughout this chapter, facilitate the imaginative recreation of narrative segments of the Passion. Indeed, it is possible that they evolved in order to serve such a demand. Christiane Deluz concurs with these accounts of an increasing emphasis, from the fourteenth century onwards, on the places of the gospels, but asserts that Old Testament associations are not forgotten, although more readily and frequently acknowledged in the narratives of clerics than lay pilgrims.[105]

Miedema, by contrast to Dansette and Schein, approaches the Franciscan pilgrimage not from the point of view of the pilgrim narrative tradition but from research on Passion devotion (Miedema, 73). Like Dansette and Schein, she notes that in the late Middle Ages "the increasing popularity of texts known under the title *Meditationes vitae Christi*, in which the reader is invited to visualise every station of the Passion through meditation at home, ... seems to be paralleled by the popularity of pilgrimages to Jerusalem" (Miedema, 76). She notes that narratives of physical

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[103] "Sous l'influence des franciscains cette 'géographie' est surtout le récit de la Passion et de la Crucifixion, suivi par la vie de la Vierge, tous deux basés sur les Évangiles et les Apocryphes.... Parallèlement à cette focalisation sur les récits du Nouveau Testament, les traditions de l'Ancien Testament vont en s'estompant. Jérusalem apparaît progressivement, dans les récits des pèlerins, comme liée presque uniquement avec le Nouveau Testament et les franciscains procèdent alors à ce qu'on peut appeler un baptême des lieux saints." Sylvia Schein, "La Custodia Terrae Sanctae Franciscaine et les Juifs de Jérusalem à la Fin du Moyen-Age," *Revue des Études Juives* 161 (1982): 370.

[104] See Chapter 2, 173.

[105] Christiane Deluz, "Pèlerins à Jérusalem à la fin du Moyen-Age," *Social Compass* 36, no. 2 (1989): 167.

pilgrimages, while they did not correspond to the scrupulous chronology of the *Meditationes* and similar texts, influenced the more chronological textual guides for "spiritual pilgrimages" which would become popular in the Low countries in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries (Miedema, 84-9). Miedema is somewhat perplexed by and disapproving of the departures from chronology in the pilgrimage to Rome and especially Jerusalem, in contrast to the chronological sequence possible in "spiritual pilgrimage," that is, pilgrimage carried out in the imagination but structured spatially. "A spiritual pilgrimage could lead to a meditation on Christ's Passion which was even more detailed and sincere than a pilgrimage in the normal sense of the word." The value judgment implicit in Miedema's comparison of "spiritual" and "physical" pilgrimages fails to make proper acknowledgment of the extent of practical constraints on pilgrimage in Jerusalem. Miedema notes that "the strict rules of the Franciscan guides did not allow the pilgrims to wander in Christ's footsteps all on their own," as if these rules were arbitrary and authoritarian (Miedema, 79). Although she indicates that, for "practical reasons," the feasibility of a chronological pilgrimage was limited under the Franciscan custodianship, she does not acknowledge that these reasons were of any importance or urgency. In fact, under Mamluk rule the official religious minorities in Jerusalem found themselves facing substantial, if relatively stable and well-defined, limitations on their religious observances. Christians were prohibited from loud or public expression or performance of non-Muslim religious belief and practice, such as the use of bells or the wearing of crucifixes (Peri, 53). Thus the Franciscans' pilgrimage from the Holy Sepulchre in reverse order along the way of the cross to the Praetorium outside the city walls on Mount Sion at daybreak moved the public procession out of the city before it became crowded, and judiciously avoided offence or confrontation (Dansette, 121).

While a comparison of guides produced during the Franciscan custodianship with those written during the twelfth century does tend to point up a marked tendency towards chronology in the Franciscan pilgrimage, the imaginative and chronological features of the pilgrimages of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are anticipated in some crusader-era narratives. John of Würzburg, writing in about 1170, demonstrates a clear interest in chronology, organising the account of the holy places according to the sequence of events in the life of Christ (albeit with some exceptions) (Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1185*, 244-73). He begins at the Temple, and although his account of the Temple includes, in succession, such temporally distant events as the

Presentation of the Virgin Mary, Christ's driving out of the money changers, the angel's promise to Zacharias regarding the conception of John the Baptist, and the murder of Saint James, the sequence used later in the narrative, particularly during the Passion, Resurrection, Ascension and Pentecost, is carefully chronological (Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1185*, 245-52, 254-67). He first mentions the Church at Mount Sion in relation to the Last Supper, going on to describe the places at the base of the Mount of Olives where the agony and betrayal took place (Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1185*, 255-6). John then returns to Mount Sion to describe the Praetorium (although he skips ahead to mention that Christ appeared to the disciples in "The Galilee" in Sion church), moves on to Golgotha for the crucifixion, and to the Holy Sepulchre (Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1185*, 256-63). He discusses the appearances of Christ to the disciples after the resurrection,[106] then describes the place of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives, and returns to the Church of Sion to describe the place in which the Holy Spirit descended on the day of Pentecost. Admittedly, John is not claiming to have visited the holy places in a chronological order, but he demonstrates a willingness to organise the description of the holy places according to a narrative sequence, anticipating the chronological pilgrimage of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Nor is imaginative recreation of the Passion, another aspect stressed as characteristic of the Franciscan pilgrimage by Dansette, Schein and others, without precedents in the Latin Kingdom period. "The Holy Places as Told by Theoderic" (1158-1164), like the description of John of Würzburg, arranges the description of the holy places relating to events from Palm Sunday to the betrayal in a loosely chronological order (Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1185*, 296-302). Although there are more interruptions to the chronology than in John of Würzburg's account, Theoderic's introduction to this section reveals that he sees a chronologically organised narrative experience of the holy places as facilitating an imaginative participation in Christ's suffering, even if such a sequence is incompletely realised: "now we think it right to arrange our subjects in the order of Christ's sufferings, who

[106] The chronology is once more disrupted here, since this is inserted into the middle of the description of the Holy Sepulchre. This interruption of the chronology is probably due to the copying from Fretellus, who follows a brief description of the tomb with discussion of the post-Resurrection appearances, as Wilkinson points out. Wilkinson, ed., *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1185*, 260, n. 3. John appears to have copied the entire section, then returned to the Holy Sepulchre to elaborate.

by his grace grants us to suffer with him, that together with him we may reign" (Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1185*, 296).

As these crusader-era examples demonstrate, interest in reconciling the chronologies of pilgrimage and narrative and the tendency to allude to imaginative participation in pilgrimage are not exclusively post-crusader phenomena. Moreover, there are striking instances of resonance between fourteenth-century narratives and their much older predecessors. Sulpitius Severus' fifth-century account of the earth's resistance to paving-stone at the place of the Ascension on Mount Olivet is reprised by Ludolph von Suchem (Ludolph von Suchem, *Description of the Holy Land*, 112). Ludolph also describes the possession of the Holy Land in terms which closely resemble Moshe Weinfeld's account of the post-exilic sense of the possession or loss of the land as an index of the successful obedience of a people of God's command, discussed above (Weinfeld, 184). Ludolph writes,

> Not only is it now scourged in the time of the Christians, but from old times it has been many times inhabited by divers peoples, and many times lost and retaken by them, as may be read in many histories and in the Bible. Yet Jesus Christ, not unmindful of His glorious Passion, hath corrected the Christians therein with the rod of fatherly chastisement; so that now, when the sins of the Christians shall have been ended, and He hath been pleased to restore the land to us, He will have preserved all their places, cities, villages, castles and shrines, as one may say, unhurt to this day. (Ludolph von Suchem, *Description of the Holy Land*, 3)

The inheritance of God's covenant with Abraham is explicitly claimed for the Christians, and the enjoyment of the possession of the Holy Land is represented as consequent on the full realisation of God's commands, and the end of Christians' sins. There is not, as Dansette and Schein imply, such discontinuity between Franciscan-era narratives and traditions which precede them.

In their divisions of pilgrimage narratives, Schein and Dansette represent fourteenth- and fifteenth-century narratives as a unified group of texts whose nature is determined by the Franciscan custodianship, and apply to the entire corpus generalisations which are more fully justified by the late fifteenth-century

narratives.[107] It is true, nonetheless, that in fourteenth-century texts there are some interesting innovations. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre begins to be described in terms which emphasise the consequence of the Passion – the redemption of the sinner – rather than simply reporting the historical event. Perhaps this draws on treatments of the passion from outside the pilgrimage genre. A Latin pilgrimage narrative written by an English Franciscan travelling in 1345 emphasises the sacrificial aspects of Christ's death on the cross when describing Calvary:

> [There is] the place where the cross was erected on which Jesus, in his suffering, expired, into which men put their heads, up to their shoulders, where the son of the Father was sacrificed, who, as John the Evangelist says, interceded with God on our behalf and is a propitiation for our sins. There the wounded body of Christ poured out blood, whose rivulets flowed over the rock, descending from there to the earth and it appeared to onlookers as if the rock cracked in the middle, allowing the blood of Christ to trickle on the skull of the head of the first-formed [Adam]. There Jesus, like that noble bird the pelican, participating in the suffering of the death of its chicks, whom the serpent had poisoned with his venom, opened his side with his face/beak, and, letting flow the warm blood of its heart over its chicks, revived them. He [Jesus] by the warm blood of his most gracious heart through the opening in his side, opened by the dreadful lance of the soldier, saved *Adam* the first father and his sons, of old poisoned by the venom of the serpent.[108]

The narrative of Niccolò da Poggibonsi, written around 1350, invites imaginative participation with both Christ and the Virgin Mary: "This is a devout house, which no man can leave, without weeping more bitterly when parting than when entering ....

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[107] See in particular Dansette's bibliography, which includes narratives from the early fourteenth century but is dominated by late fifteenth-century narratives. Dansette, "Les Pèlerinages Occidentaux en Terre Sainte," 128-33. Colin Morris reproduces Franco Cardini's comment that these centuries are "a homogeneous moment, within which a systematic study of the scope of Western pilgrimages can be undertaken with good results." Franco Cardini, "Pellegrini medievali in Terra Santa," *Rivista della Storia d'Italia* 93 (1981): 5-10. Cited by Morris, *Sepulchre of Christ*, 308.

[108] "Locus ubi crux Jhesu extitit erecta patens est ... ubi immolabatur patri filius, qui, ut dicit Johannes ewangelista, postulat pro nobis apud Deum et est propiciacio pro peccatis nostris. Ibi corpus Jhesu wulneratum vere fluxit sanguinem, cuius rivi super rupem descendentes eam rupit ad terram et apparet intuentibus qualiter rupes crepuit per medium cedens Christi sanguini stillanti super craneum capitis prothoplasti. Ibi Jhesus, ut illa nobilis avis pellicanus, morti pullorum compaciens, quos serpens toxicaverat suo veneno, que latus eius aperit rostro suo, sanguinem calidum cordis sui super pullos suos effundens, vivificat. *Adam* primum patrem et filios suos, veneno serpentis antiqui venenatos, sanguine calido cordis sui gratissimi per aperturam lateris sui, dira lancea militis perforati, sanavit." "Itinerarium cuius Anglici Terram Sanctam et alia loca sancta visitantis" in Golubovich, *Biblioteca Bio-Bibliografica*, 1st ser., vol. 4, 452.

Let each man think what a thing it is to stand in the place where was the Son of God living and dead; in the place where his mother stood with such sorrow, who saw placed in the most holy tomb her most precious son."[109] This anticipates the highly emotional and participative engagements of later pilgrims such as Margery Kempe, discussed in the next chapter. As Thurston points out, however, in spite of the elements of imaginative recreation and fixation on the detail of the physical suffering of Christ in these fourteenth-century texts, the chronological pilgrimages of the *via crucis* and *via captivitatis*, identified by Dansette as characteristic of the Franciscan-led pilgrimage, do not crystallise until the fifteenth century.[110]

The proliferation of holy sites which has been discussed in this chapter continued apace in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, even as other holy places were withdrawn from Christian use by Ayubbid and Mamluk rulers and turned to Muslim veneration, such as the Dome of the Rock, the Sepulchres of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob at Hebron and the house of Anne and Joachim. The anonymous Franciscan's Latin *Itinerarium* (1345) mentions the place where Christ rested while carrying the cross, and where Simeon was made to carry it for him, neither of which is mentioned in narratives before the fourteenth century.[111] These are noticed as tangential identifications at the Holy Sepulchre, rather than as part of a sequence of sites which are linked to provide a commemoration of Christ's carrying of the cross, although this would emerge in such narratives as "The Way to Jerusalem," dated by Samuel Purchas, its editor, to about 1425.[112] The gravitation of associations towards a

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[109]"Quella si è casa divota, chè mai non si sa partire niuna persona, che più forte piange alla partita, che alll'entrata .... Ogni persona pensi, che cosa è stare dove stette il Figliuol di Dio vivo e morto; dove stette la sua Madre con tanto Dolore, che vidde mettere in quella santissima sepultura il suo prezioso Figliuolo." Niccolò da Poggibonsi, *Libro d'Oltramare*, vol. 1, 65.

[110] Thurston, *The Stations of the Cross*, 21. Along the "via captivitatis," Dansette says, the pilgrims "meditated on the arrest and the trial of Jesus by the Jews." ("Les pèlerins méditaient sur l'arrestation et le procès juif de Jésus.") The "via crucis," a phrase which she notes is used in a pilgrimage narrative of 1480, included "the trial by the Romans and the carrying of the cross." ("Le procès romain et le portement de la Croix ....") Dansette, "Les Pèlerinages Occidentaux en Terre Sainte," 119.

[111] "Itinerarium cuius Anglici," Golubovich, *Biblioteca Bio-Bibliografica*, 1st ser., vol. 4, 451. Ludolph von Suchem also mentions the place where Jesus rested. Ludolph von Suchem, *Description of the Holy Land*, 107.

[112] "The Way to Jerusalem [1425]," in *Hakluytys Posthumus or Purchas his Pilgrimes Contayning a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells by Englishmen and Others...* ed. Samuel Purchas, 4 vols., vol. 2 (London: 1625). Similarly, late fifteenth-century narratives such as that of William Wey organise the places where Simeon was compelled to carry the cross, where Jesus told the women not to weep for him, where Veronica cleaned his face with a cloth, where Mary fainted at the sight of her son's suffering as a sequence between the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the House of Pilate. However, the *via captivitatis* is still not an obvious coherent unit in the pilgrimage, even in the English narratives of the later fifteenth century: the episodes of arrest, judgement, and imprisonment by the Jews are organised according to spatial rather than narrative clusters, to Gethsemane, Sion and the

pattern which corresponds to the chronological sequence of the gospel events brings pilgrimage narratives closer to the literature of affective piety, a development which is discussed more fully in Chapter 2.

New and interesting identifications appear elsewhere. At Bethlehem Ludolph von Suchem records the place where Jerome studied and translated Hebrew and Greek into Latin, which had not appeared in crusader narratives, to my knowledge, although he places it a mile away from the Church of the Nativity, within which it would come to rest as little as a decade later, with the narrative of Niccolò da Poggibonsi.[113] The stone blocking the entrance to the sepulchre of Christ appears in the church at Sion, having been transported there by angels (Niccolò da Poggibonsi, vol. 1, 129). There is also some doubling, with multiple locations of the altar of Abraham's sacrifice or doubled identifications of Galilee.[114] Ludolph von Suchem introduces a legend concerning the thirty pieces of silver for which Jesus is betrayed and with which the field of blood is purchased, tracing their movement through the possession of Abraham's father, Terah, in Mesopotamia, the Ishmaelites, the brothers of Joseph, Joseph himself, and the queen of Sheba, among others, never dispersed until after the death of Christ (Ludolph von Suchem, *Description of the Holy Land*, 110). Niccolò da Poggibonsi notes that the existence of four pillars at Calvary which "are always damp, summer and winter, and the story is told that they bewail the passion of Jesus Christ" (Niccolò da Poggibonsi, vol. 1, 86-7). The editor of this narrative, Bellarmino Bagatti, takes the phrase "the story is told" as a sign of hesitancy as to the veracity of the claim.

Mount of Olives. William Wey, *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. From the Original Manuscript in the Bodleian Library*, ed. George Williams (London: J. B. Nichols and Sons for Roxburghe Club, 1857), 60-1.

[113] Niccolò da Poggibonsi, *Libro d'Oltramare*, vol. 1, 228. See also *The Way to the Holy Lande* ([Wynkyn de Worde], 1524), fol. C3v.

[114] The first, a small village on the Mount of Olives, is that "often mentioned in scripture, wherein the disciples dwelt together," of which Jesus is recorded as saying in Matthew 26:32, "But after I am risen again, I will go before you into Galilee." However, of the Sea of Galilee, he says "It was beside this sea that Jesus appeared to his disciples after his resurrection." This does not seem to be an absent-minded duplication, for Ludolph mentions in the description of the village on Mount Olivet that there is also another Galilee "far distant." Ludolph von Suchem, *Description of the Holy Land*, 112-3, 127.

Evaluation and Authentication

Although tentative in Niccolò's case, the willingness to evaluate the traditions at the holy places critically is a striking development in these fourteenth-century narratives. Ludolph von Suchem acknowledges the possible scepticism with which his narrative may be greeted, something rare if not altogether absent in earlier narratives: "at this present day I could put in yet more, which I pass over because of ignorant cavillers and scoffers, lest I should tell anything which they could not believe, and for which I should be held by them for a liar; for to ignorant cavillers and scoffers, who are not worthy to know anything at all, everything seems incredible and passing belief" (Ludolph von Suchem, *Description of the Holy Land*, 2). Ludolph's fears of sceptical reception implies that cold scrutiny, even doubt, is being applied by readers to such narratives. Ludolph applies scrutiny of his own to the stone of the sepulchre: it is composite rather than of a single piece, he reports, although he attributes this to a layer of protective stone rather than to the tomb's destruction by al-Ḥākim in 1009. With this observation he refutes the authenticity of relics of the tomb in other churches: "For this reason I do not believe that there is in any church a piece of the true stone of Christ's sepulchre; for with the exception of those places whereof you have heard, it is and ever has been kept most carefully guarded" (Ludolph von Suchem, *Description of the Holy Land*, 2).

These remarks on the objections of sceptical readers and indications of a personal judgement on the authenticity of relics help to create the impression of an individual narrative voice, rather than of an "impersonal" narrative iteration of existing pilgrimage guides. Of course, this is not without precedent in pilgrimage narratives of the twelfth centuries, and in fact the late seventh-century narrative of Adomnan confidently evaluates the claims made by the pilgrim Arculf, reconciling them with the gospels and the writings of Jerome. Nevertheless, narrative self-assertion is undertaken in an unusually pointed manner by Niccolò da Poggibonsi:

> But in order that none of my physical fatigues be lost, and that no one may be tempted to claim for himself the labours which I undertook for this book, nor that it may be claimed that anyone had undertaken it apart from me, Niccolò da Poggibonsi, he who wishes to find my name, and that of my father, reading,

letter by letter, from the first illuminated letter of each Chapter, from the one which starts here below, will find my name.[115]

Far from resigning himself to the partial selection and transmission of his narrative, Niccolò attempts to create a mechanism to resist them in the very structure of his narrative, and to avoid the separation of his observations from the account of the sufferings endured by him in order to attain them. The comments about plagiarism, assertion of authorship and doubtful reception in these fourteenth-century narratives signal an early awareness of the issues of authority and veracity which preoccupy the texts discussed in Chapters 2, 3 and 4.

Conclusion

The identification of places as the sites of Old and New Testament events was neither automatic and self-evident nor arbitrary. Sometimes associations came about because of specificity in the narrative regarding the places in which they were set. In some cases, it might be claimed that identifications resulted from the survival of the authentic memory of the event in oral tradition. In these cases, the evolution of identifications at holy sites (many of which are inherited by the late medieval and early modern pilgrimage), and the rhetorical uses to which writers put them show up evolving notions of evidence and proof. Where tradition preserved an identification after its mode of proof had passed out of fashion, the claim for a holy place could clash with new criteria of authentication. Late medieval narratives also often reproduced incongruities in earlier claims with little concern. Such disjunctions between the context in which traditions were formed and the criteria of proof which travellers applied fuelled the scepticism of early modern Protestant (and some late medieval and early modern Catholic) travellers, a fact which is addressed in succeeding chapters. Political and military circumstances, geological upheavals, doctrinal and devotional changes and architectural developments over fifteen centuries also left traces on the holy landscape of the city. They influenced

[115] "Ma acciò che la mia fatica corporalmente niente sia perduta, e che niuna persona il dette travaglio, che io ebbi per lo detto libro, a sè nolle riputi, nè che possa dire che l'abbia fatto altro che io, frate Nicolò de'frati minori di Poggibonzi, chi il mio nome e di mio padre vorrà trovare, la prima lettera miniata del Capitolo che da ora innanzi si comincia, leggendo, lettera per lettera, mio nome troverrà ...." Niccolò da Poggibonsi, *Libro d'Oltramare*, vol. 1, 3-4.

identifications, determined monumentation, affected the relative emphasis of some sites over others and dictated the order or lack of order within the pilgrimage route, some in a more enduring manner than others.

Even in this necessarily limited examination of the emergence and evolution of the holy sites, it is evident that there is a substantial shift from the topographical ambiguity of the gospels to the proliferating and intricate inscription of meaning on the fourteenth-century landscape. From associations of unified episodes with broad areas, the Jerusalem and Bethlehem churches developed schemes of significance which were extremely specific, meticulously sub-divided along axes of space and of time. The Constantinian building campaigns acted as a powerful catalyst to this process but it continued long afterwards. As well as stabilising and authenticating existing traditions, these churches perhaps suggested new associations of gospel with place by their forms and ornamentation. The increasing particularisation which is evident over the centuries might also be the result of an increasing desire to particularise and to imagine every detail of the events in a distinct place, perhaps as a result of developments in devotional practice and the literature of affective piety from the twelfth century onwards. In cases in which associations migrated across the city, their translocations reveal that the physical contours, natural or architectural subdivisions of places or even the prestige bestowed on sites by former, discontinued uses could generate or foster identifications with scriptural or apocryphal events. The multiple factors and impulses which determined identifications of scriptural event with place demonstrates how complex was the formation of claims for the holy places. This would make them vulnerable to the scepticism of later travellers, a fact which is discussed in due course.

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, with the advent of the crusaders, a transformation was visible not only in the holy topography, but in the way in which the practice of pilgrimage itself was viewed – and temporarily superseded. In some chronicles, the crusade was envisioned as self-denying imitation of Christ, borrowing heavily from pilgrimage patterns. In others, the pilgrim's motivation gave way to other imperatives: of chivalry, eschatology, revenge, acquisitiveness. The function of the pilgrimage in earlier penitential systems provided a starting point for development of the crusading indulgence and the doctrine of remission of sin, although these would undergo much definition and development over the decades following Urban's initial preaching of the cross. Eventually this would feed back into the pilgrimage, as the

remissions available in Jerusalem and beyond provided a strong attraction and fascination for non-crusading pilgrims. The crusaders' coming had other profound consequences for the ways in which non-crusading pilgrims experienced the holy places, as Romanesque architectural and sculptural styles married with existing Byzantine or Umayyad structures. Long-standing hierarchies of religious sects and rights to holy places were disrupted. New holy places were added to the schedule of holy places worthy of commemoration, and Christian histories created for buildings of Muslim origins.

This pattern of Latin appropriation of Umayyad and Byzantine structures was to a significant extent reversed with the loss of Jerusalem to Saladin in 1187. From that point onwards, crusader structures were adapted for Muslim use, and, from 1244, the Temple Mount became once more inaccessible. While the fall of the Latin Kingdom of course produced a dramatic loss of autonomy for the Western European pilgrim to Jerusalem, and meant that the Latin clerics' domination of the holy places to the exclusion of the Eastern Christians came to an end, the differences between pilgrimage narratives of the Latin Kingdom era and of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries should not be exaggerated. Developments such as the emphasis on Christ's suffering, particularly in descriptions of the Holy Sepulchre, were already being signalled in twelfth-century narratives, and it is also possible to find crusader-era narratives which pay attention to the chronology of Christ's life and passion in their descriptions of Palestine. The circumstances of Ayyubid and Mamluk rule over Jerusalem, however, and particularly the restrictions on religious minorities, did produce changes to the way in which the pilgrimage was carried out. Furthermore, certain areas ceased altogether to be available to Christian pilgrims.

The eventual establishment of the Franciscan friars on Mount Sion and their assumption of control over and responsibility for all Latin pilgrims to Palestine did result in some standardisation of the pilgrimage, as it became an activity necessarily undertaken in groups rather than on an individual basis. The impact of this should not be overstated, since the elaborate Jerusalem liturgies already in evidence from the fifth century demonstrate that movement around the holy sites had been a communal and choreographed practice for centuries. Nevertheless, it is possible to trace in these fourteenth-century narratives developments which would facilitate the highly particularised, sometimes strongly affective pilgrimage narratives of the fifteenth- and early sixteenth centuries: an elaborate and proliferating sequence of stops on Christ's

path towards Golgotha; a concern to visit certain clusters of holy places in chronological order, and the assiduous enumeration of the spiritual rewards available in Palestine. In the narratives which the Franciscan pilgrimage generated, it is also possible to see concerns emerging about how an author controls the fate of his or her narrative, and how he or she evaluates and proves the claims made for the holy places.

CHAPTER 2

ENGLISH NARRATIVES OF PILGRIMAGE TO JERUSALEM, 1432-1524

INTRODUCTION

This chapter concentrates on English writing about pilgrimage produced between 1432 and 1524, which in many places bears marks of the conditions and conceptions of pilgrimage and holy places whose evolution was traced in Chapter 1. That examination outlined a tendency towards standardisation and particularisation of identifications at the holy sites, and gradual orientation of the pilgrimage pattern along the narrative trajectory of the gospels. The focus shifts in this chapter from a survey of the patterns and status of pilgrimage to closely-focused analysis of a corpus of pilgrimage narratives produced in an English context. The starting point of 1432 is taken from the commencement of the second scribe's work on Margery Kempe's *Book*, since the date of the first scribe's work is unknown.[1] Its end point is the third printing in 1524 of *The Way to the Holy Lande*, the third edition of a text first published as *The Informacion for Pylgrymes vnto the Holy Londe*.[2] After this the publication of pilgrimage narratives was suspended in England and only resumed, in a much changed form, in the 1590s; Chapter 3 examines the doctrinal debates and publications about pilgrimage which took place in the interim. This chapter examines eight other pilgrimage narratives in English, Latin or a combination of the two produced in the period 1432-1524 which narrate a completed pilgrimage or offer advice for a projected one, although in all of them there is some reference to an accomplished journey.[3] I have studied as many writings relating to realised

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[1] Margery Kempe, *The Book of Margery Kempe: The Text from the Unique MS Owned by Colonel W. Butler-Bowdon*, ed. Sanford Brown Meech, vol. 1, Early English Text Society, original series, vol. 212 (London: Oxford University Press for the Early English Text Society, 1940; reprint, 1961).

[2] *Informacion for pylgrymes vnto the Holy Londe* ([London]: [Wynkyn de Worde], [1498]); *The Way to the Holy Lande* ([London]: Wynkyn de Worde, 1524). *Informacion for pylgrymes* and *The Way to the Holy Lande* are different editions of an essentially unchanged text. There are minor differences in spelling and abbreviation. The page sequence of the only surviving copy of the *Information* is disrupted, though complete. Because of this disruption, page references throughout refer to the 1524 edition, in which this has been corrected. The general similarity in titles among pilgrims' accounts makes reference and differentiation complicated. I refer to this text as the printed *Information for Pilgrims,* or *Information*, from this point onwards. It should not be confused with the MS "Ynformacion," to which it is not related.

[3] The other main texts are the "Pageant of the Birth Life and Death of Richard Beauchamp Earl of Warwick K. G. 1389-1439," [15th century], British Library, London, Cottonian MS Julius E.IV; "Peregrinaciones Totius Terrae Sanctae," late 15th century, British Library, London, Harley MS 3810, fols. 87r-97r; *The Pylgrymage of Sir Richarde Guylforde Knyght and countrouler vnto our late*

pilgrimages to Jerusalem of English composition, in English and in Latin, as I have been able to locate.[4] By undertaking a study of the pilgrimage writing set out here, I hope not only to demonstrate the diversity of ways of representing the experience within the English tradition, but to attend to traces of interaction and influence among these texts.

The tendency towards standardisation of the pilgrimage outlined in the last chapter has implications for this chapter's parameters of selection. I focus here on narratives written in English or by English people, but these share material and conventions with narratives produced throughout Europe. The authority of the Franciscans over all pilgrims from western Europe meant that the pilgrimage pattern which evolved under their guardianship over the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries strongly influenced virtually every pilgrimage narrative written in the period. This fact, along with a tendency to copy existing texts, contributed to a conspicuous consistency in the writing produced by pilgrims from across Europe in spite of differences of nationality and religious status. My concentration on pilgrimage writing produced in English or by English writers should not obscure this fact, which provides the impetus for Josephie Brefeld's attempts to reconstruct a prototypical guidebook, a source from which narratives by pilgrims from a multitude of countries, including England, Germany, France, Italy, even Bohemia, might have derived.[5] The international character of pilgrimage and pilgrimage writing in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries provides both difficulties and opportunities for a project like mine. It offers a body of similar or related texts so large as to defy comprehensive and

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soueraygne lorde kynge Henry the .vii. (London: [R. Pynson], 1511); "The Stasyons of Jerusalem," 15th century, Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Ashmole 61, fols. 128r-136r; Richard Torkington, *The Oldest Diarie of Englysshe Travell: Being the Hitherto Unpublished Narrative of the Pilgrimage of Sir Richard Torkington to Jerusalem in 1517*, ed. W. J. Loftie (London: Field and Tuer, 1884); "Way to Jerusalem," vol. 2, 1230-45; *Information for Pilgrims;* William Wey, "Itineraries to Jerusalem [1458, 1462] and Santiago de Compostela [1456]," Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Bodley 565, fols. 1r-105v. The edition of the *Warwick Pageant* used here is *Pageant of the Birth Life and Death of Richard Beauchamp Earl of Warwick K. G. 1389-1439*, ed. Viscount Dillon and W. H. St John Hope (London: Longmans, 1914).

[4] I have not been able to consult one of the versions of "The Stasyons of Jerusalem" in Huntington Library MS HM 144 or the pilgrimage narrative identified as having come to light in a 1999 Christies auction in Catherine Delano-Smith, "The Intelligent Pilgrim: Maps and Medieval Pilgrimage to the Holy Land," in *Eastward Bound*, ed. Allen, 130. Other texts which do not describe a realised voyage, such as the list of place names and indulgences which occupies two pages of Bodley 1414 and the itinerary to Venice, Rome and Jerusalem which occupies folio 120^{v} of Huntington Library MS EL 26.A.13, are also excluded. "Peregrinationes totius terrae sanctae" in Harley 3810, which contains no reference to an individual iteration of the Jerusalem pilgrimage but shares material with a pilgrimage narrative examined here, does inform my discussion.

[5] Josephie Brefeld, *A Guidebook for the Jerusalem Pilgrimage in the Late Middle Ages: A Case for Computer-Aided Textual Criticism* (Hilversum, Netherlands: Verloren, 1994).

detailed treatment. In pursuit of the prototype guide, Brefeld started by examining 100 Jerusalem pilgrimage accounts, written (for the most part) between 1300 and 1525, in seven different languages: a formidable undertaking. She quickly realised, however, that selection was unavoidable and her computer-aided analysis dealt in detail with 18 of these, written in five languages (Brefeld, 64-5). Exhaustive treatment of European narratives is equally impossible within the scope of this thesis. Since this is the case, and since the pilgrimage narratives in English or by English writers manifest much interrelation among themselves and have received little attention as a corpus, they occupy my attention here. I freely acknowledge, however, that much work remains to be done about their relation to their European counterparts.

On the other hand, the wealth of material and the penetration of pilgrimage texts' influence beyond cultural and linguistic boundaries within Europe means that comparison beyond the English tradition, even on a necessarily limited and selective basis, can be very productive. I refer here to exceptionally interesting narratives produced outside of England. Most notable is the *Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti peregrinationem*, already mentioned in the introduction, of Friar Felix Fabri.[6] This narrative surpasses in length and detail its counterparts among pilgrimage narratives, filling three tomes in Hassler's Latin edition and four in the *Palestine Pilgrims Text Society* English translation. The *Evagatorium*'s copiousness, instinct for the telling detail, embrace of anecdote, and reflection of Fabri's wide preparatory reading on the subject of Jerusalem produce a fascinating counterpoint to the terser narratives produced in the English context. The contextual information it provides can help to illuminate the English narratives which are roughly contemporary, although it needs to be used carefully since Fabri's text is motivated and subjective, like any other, and his experience unique. Fabri admits to manipulations of timing and rationalises the discrepancies which he knows to exist between his and others' accounts of the same journey.[7] Since it is composed quite late

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[6] Fabri (1441/2-1502) was born in Zurich, became a friar of the Dominican Monastery at Ulm and, two years after his return from his second pilgrimage, served as provincial of Germany, composing a *Historia Suevorum*. Hugh William Davies, *Bernhard von Breydenbach and His Journey to the Holy Land 1483-4: A Bibliography* (London: J. & J. Leighton, 1911), v.

[7] In his comments on the narrative commissioned by Bernhard von Breydenbach, Fabri notes that Breydenbach's narrative is a more compact version of his own. "Ibi videbitur clare de omnibus antedictis, videbit etiam brevibus verba alia, quae ego multis expressi, et concordantiam ipsius peregrinatorii et mei evagatorii inveniet, demto, quod ego ex industria, coactus ratione, quandoque mutavi dies, dicens: hoc factum tale die, quod ipse alia die factum dicit, in quo nulla vis aut discorantia, cum etiam apud evangelistas hoc factum fuisse constet legenti scripturas." Fabri, *Evagatorium*, vol. 2,

in the period under scrutiny in this chapter (1432-1525), and does not appear to have circulated in England in that time, it is probably not a direct influence on the English narratives under examination here. Its value is as a point of comparison rather than as a potential source.

Fabri's text does give information about the composition of one narrative, the pilgrimage account of Bernhard von Breydenbach, which is a direct source for an English account discussed here, and deserves attention for that reason too.[8] Breydenbach (d. 1497) was Dean of Mainz from 1484, and travelled in the same party as Felix Fabri in 1483-4. His account of the journey to Jerusalem was the first printed pilgrimage narrative to include woodcut illustrations; these were made by Erhard Reuwich, who also travelled with them (H. W. Davies, i). The pilgrimage account was widely published in the very late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, with translations into German, French and Spanish. It clearly circulated among an English readership, too, since *The Pilgrimage of Richard Guildford* (published in 1511) borrows heavily from it.

The third non-English work relating to Jerusalem which I discuss in some detail demands consideration as a direct influence on two of the English narratives treated here. The *Revelations* of Saint Bridget of Sweden provide a model for Margery Kempe's writings and consitute an authority for William Wey's mid-fifteenth-century *Itineraries* to Jerusalem. There are several reasons for situating an examination of Bridget in a prominent position in this chapter even though her *Revelations* do not fall within its chronological bounds. Sylvia Schein emphasises the importance of both the *Revelations* and Margery's *Book* because they are the first narratives of pilgrimage to Jerusalem by women since the late Antique period and the narrative of Egeria.[9] Wey's appeal to Bridget for justification of the project of

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18. ("There [the reader] will find clearly set forth all that I have said before; he will find what I have expressed in many words put into few, and will find a duplicate of my book of pilgrimage and wandering, with the exception that sometimes I have been forced by the plan of my work purposely to alter the days, saying, 'This was done on such a day,' whereas he says that it was done on another day; wherein there is no violence or discrepancy, seeing that when we read the Scriptures we find the same thing to have been done by the Evangelists." English translation from Fabri, *Wanderings*, vol. 1, pt. 2, 629.)

[8] Bernhard von Breydenbach, *Sanctarum peregrinationum in montem Syon ad venerandum Christi sepulcrum in Jerusalem. atque in montem Synay ad divam virginem et martirem Katherinam ...* (Mainz: 1486).

[9] As context, Schein provides a fascinating summary of evidence for pilgrimages to Jerusalem by women, some of them by Englishwomen and some made in the context of crusade, from the sixth century to the late Middle Ages. Her treatment of Bridget and Margery's accounts as unproblematically "autobiographical" is subject to correction, however, in view of the mediation which took place during

pilgrimage provides another reason and is considered more fully below. Bridget's influence on Margery Kempe and the importance of her book as a model to be emulated and even, as Sarah Beckwith argues, surpassed, also merit detailed consideration in a study of authority in pilgrimage writing.[10] There are also more broadly-defined reasons for consideration of Bridget's influence on the English context. The Birgittine order had attained considerable prestige in England by the period in question. The marriage of Philippa, daughter of Henry IV, to Eric XIII of Sweden may have opened a channel for Bridget's influence into the English court.[11] Henry V himself laid the foundation stone for the order's Syon Abbey in 1415. The Abbey attracted substantial financial support from the king, and, Nancy Bradley Warren argues, served a function in bolstering the Lancastrian claim to both English and French thrones.[12] Indeed, Warren claims that, "thanks to her revelations regarding the Hundred Years War, which were seen to favour the English claim to the French throne, Saint Birgitta was regarded, like Saint George, as 'an archetypally English saint'" (Bradley Warren, 315). The later inclusion of an English life of Bridget in Pynson's *Nova Legenda Anglie* (1516) offers further evidence that Bridget would soon come to be adopted as English, if she had not been already (Johnston, 81). The existence of seven whole or partial fifteenth-century translations of the *Revelaciones* into English, as well as numerous Latin texts in English libraries, also gives some sense of Bridget's influence in fifteenth-century England (Cumming, xvi-xix). Book Seven, which contains the majority of the material relating to Bridget's pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1371, is translated in two of these: British Library MS Julius F.II, not yet edited, and British Library MS Claudius B.I, edited by Roger Ellis.[13]

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their composition. Sylvia Schein, "Bridget of Sweden, Margery Kempe and Women's Jerusalem Pilgrimages in the Middle Ages," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 14, no. 1 (1999): 44, 47-50.

[10] Margery refers explicitly to "Bridis boke." See Kempe, *Book*, 39. For discussion of the competitive aspect of Margery's relation to Bridget, see p. 115 below and Sarah Beckwith, *Christ's Body: Identity, Culture and Society in Late Medieval Writings* (London: Routledge, 1993), 107.

[11] William Patterson Cumming, "Introduction," in *The Revelations of St Birgitta*. Early English Text Society, original series, vol. 178. (London: Oxford University Press, 1929), xxix.

[12] In fact, the foundation charter was phrased so that the Abbey would receive 1000 marks annually from the Exchequer before any payments to Henry's "heirs, successors" or "others whomsoever." Warren argues that the original choice for a Syon abbey near the royal manor at Sheen, "so closely associated with Richard II," "symbolically forged a connecton with Richard II, eliding his father Henry IV's usurpation of the throne." Nancy Bradley Warren, "Kings, Saints, and Nuns: Gender, Religion, and Authority in the Reign of Henry V," *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 30 (1999): 315-6. See also F. R. Johnston, "The English Cult of St Bridget of Sweden," *Analecta Bollandiana: Revue Critique d'Hagiographie* 103 (1985): 78, 89.

[13] Bridget of Sweden, *Bridget of Sweden. The Liber Celestis of St Bridget of Sweden*, ed. Roger Ellis, vol. 1: *Text*. Early English Text Society, original series, vol. 291 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987). Ellis dates the Claudius manuscript and translation to c.1410-20. Unfortunately the second

After a brief discussion of the physical and economic conditions and diplomatic relations which affected western European pilgrims' journeys to and within Palestine, this chapter turns to the place of the Jerusalem pilgrimage in the writings of Bridget of Sweden and Margery Kempe. The mode of composition of Bridget's *Revelations* and the adaptations and modifications which take place in its translation into Middle English are examined. Then Margery's own biography, mode of composition and authorisation, and her relation to Saint Bridget are discussed. The place of the Jerusalem pilgrimage within her spiritual career is explored, along with the impact of this experience and of an intimacy with the contours of the holy places on her visions. The influence on Margery's visions of the tradition of affective piety has already received much critical attention, but I also examine the importance of the holy places and the contemporary state of Jerusalem for writings in this tradition, such as the fourteenth-century pseudo-Bonaventuran *Meditaciones Vite Christi*. Then comes a detailed discussion of pilgrimage narratives and guidebooks. A short discussion of the validity of generic classification initiates the discussion. Succinct introductions to each of the eight narratives and, where possible, their authors and circumstances of production are provided, before a thematically-oriented examination begins of the narratives in relation to one another. This wider examination is oriented towards questions of authority, the construction of the narrating voice and the texts' sense of their own purpose in relation to the enterprise of pilgrimage and memory.

Conditions for Travellers

In the fifteenth century, the structures which had been established in the previous century continued to sustain and determine the pilgrimage from Western Europe to Jerusalem. The Franciscans still guided all Latin Christian pilgrims around the holy places. According to H. F. M. Prescott, the powers of the Friars Minor to negotiate for Christian pilgrims upon their arrival were extended over the course of the fifteenth century. Early in the fifteenth century Venetian and Genoese consuls, based at Jerusalem, met pilgrim galleys at Joppa and procured a safe-conduct for each pilgrim from the *amīr* at Ramleh. By the late fifteenth century, however, there was no longer

volume of this edition, which was to provide a description of the manuscript and its relation to Latin sources and other Middle English versions, has not appeared.

such consular presence for any of the western European powers in Jerusalem, and the Franciscan Father Guardian of Jerusalem had taken over this role.[14] From their arrival at Joppa, then, and throughout their sojourn in Palestine, they were under Franciscan guidance, although (with certain exceptions) only those in orders stayed in the Franciscan convent on Mount Sion, lay people staying either in the dilapidated Hospice built for pilgrims in the Muristan area near the Holy Sepulchre in the 1330s, in the more modern, late fifteenth-century hospice in Mamilla, outside the walled city, lodging in the house of the head dragoman or even in the private houses of Jews or Syrian Christians.[15]

Before considering in detail the narrated experience of fifteenth-century travellers in Jerusalem, it is necessary to give some thought to the conditions that they faced between leaving home and sighting Joppa.[16] Early in the fifteenth century, English travellers such as Margery Kempe seem to have been diverted from a direct course through France to Venice, at first by civil unrest in France and, later, by the Anglo-French wars.[17] Once travellers had made it to Italy, they had to consider the

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[14] H. F. M. Prescott, *Jerusalem Journey: Pilgrimage to the Holy Land in the Fifteenth Century* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1954), 101-2. Prescott believes that this change increased the difficulty and length of negotiations of safe-conduct: "Probably as a consequence of this lack of consular representation, which in fact reflected the changed political equilibrium of the Levant, the whole business of the entry of the pilgrims was the subject of prolonged and acrimonious negotiations between the galley captains and the Saracens, the captains endeavouring to keep for themselves as much as they could of the pilgrims' contract money, the Saracens trying to exact as high a price as possible" (102). Prescott's study is based on pilgrimage narratives, mostly of the fifteenth century. It is only lightly referenced, giving, for example, neither a source nor a precise date for the departure of the consuls. (By 1458, and William Wey's first pilgrimage to Jerusalem, the Franciscans had taken up this function.) Prescott generally relies heavily on Margaret Newett's more meticulously referenced investigation of the Venetian pilgrimage trade in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, which serves as introduction to her edition of Pietro Casola's 1494 voyage to Jerusalem. However, Prescott's account is useful for its synthesis of European pilgrimage narratives and for its anecdotal content. See M. Margaret Newett, "Introduction," in *Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the Year 1494*, ed. M. Margaret Newett, Historical Series (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1907); Wey, *Itineraries*, 57.

[15] Prescott, *Jerusalem Journey*, 117-9, 123; Sylvia Schein, "Latin Hospices in Jerusalem in the late Middle Ages," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 101, no. 1 (1985): 84-6, 91-2. Schein states that in this hospice, probably built on the site of the original Hospital of St. John, were accommodated most of the Latin pilgrims to Jerusalem from its inception until the 1480s. Then, "the law forcing the Latin pilgrims to stay together in one hospice had either been abolished or relaxed, and the pilgrims were allowed by the city's authorities, after registration, to lodge outside the Muristan hospice." Over the next few decades, she goes on, pilgrims gradually abandoned the hospice, which appears to have closed by the early 1500s. A new hospice outside the city walls, in Mamilla, accommodated pilgrims from the 1460s.

[16] Only a brief consideration of these conditions is possible here. For a more comprehensive discussion, see Chapters 1, 2, 3, and 4 ("Evagari et Discurrere per Mundum ..."; "All Roads Lead to Venice," "Venice in Splendid Dress"; "Five Weeks in a Galley") in Chareyron, *Pilgrims to Jerusalem*, 1-67.

[17] These circumstances, speculates Anthony Goodman, were responsible for the roundabout route taken by Margery Kempe through the Low Countries on her outward and return journeys, although he notes that the "availability of shipping in East Anglian ports [in that direction], consequent on close

consequences of other political tensions. A protracted war between Venice and the Ottomans increased the perils of the Mediterranean sea passage between about 1463 and 1479, with keen fear of the Ottomans persisting even after its resolution (Newett, 82-3). The Venetian Senate reiterated its ban on the carriage of merchandise on pilgrim galleys between 1403 and 1405 to limit the cause for, or losses resulting from, attacks by the Genoese navy. (Newett, 53)

The Venetian registers of pilgrim galleys to Joppa indicate a decline in numbers over the fifteenth century. While between two and four galleys generally departed per year in the first half of the century, only one or two per year are recorded as leaving in the second half.[18] According to data collected by Eliyahu Ashtor, the numbers carried on these galleys varied between a few dozen and 170. These figures include only galleys specifically dedicated (at least in theory) to transport pilgrims. According to Margaret Newett's research in the registers of Venice's Great Council and Senate, the latter attempted in 1398 to prohibit the transportation of non-Venetian pilgrims, since this could lead to long delays, exploitation, and discomfort for pilgrims, and interfered with the efficient carriage of merchandise. Nevertheless, the consent of the Senate to numerous exceptions are recorded, particularly for wealthy noble pilgrims, and the repetition in 1401 of the decree prohibiting the combination of activities suggests that it had not always been obeyed hitherto.[19]

The second autumnal departure for Jerusalem must have become unsustainable in the mid-fifteenth century, since it appears to have ceased from 1451 (Newett, 78). In certain years during the fifteenth century, the pilgrim galleys did not sail at all: in 1449, when tensions with the Sultan of Egypt impeded such travel, and during the four-year war between Venice and the Ottomans from 1499 to 1503 (Newett, 76, 103). The decline appears to have continued in the sixteenth century. By 1518, the registers of the *Senato Mar*, which governed maritime matters from the second half of the fifteenth century, show that one galley, rather than two or three as in earlier years, was considered sufficient to transport the pilgrims arriving in Venice (Newett, 108-9).

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economic ties" was a significant factor. See Anthony Goodman, *Margery Kempe and her World*, The Medieval World (London: Longman, 2002), 156-7; Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West*, 92.

[18] See Eliyahu Ashtor, "Venezia e il Pellegrinaggio in Terrasanta nel Basso Medioevo," *Archivio Storico Italiano* 143, no. 2 (1985): 203-4, 213-4; Duffy, "Dynamics of Pilgrimage," 142.

[19] Newett, "Introduction," 45-50. For attempts on the part of the Venetian authorities to avoid abuse and exploitation of pilgrims by shipowners throughout the fifteenth century, see Newett, "Introduction," 39-112.

By the end of the sixteenth century, concludes Newett, "the annual voyage was abandoned; no pilgrim ship sailed any more from Venice after the Corpus Domini, and the Prior of Mount Sion gave up going to Jaffa [Joppa] to meet the pilgrims and conduct them to Jerusalem, as had been the custom from time almost immemorial."[20] Pilgrims continued to travel to Palestine, but their numbers were divided among overland routes by way of Constantinople and sea passages from other Italian and European ports such as Marseilles (Newett, 113).

The costs of pilgrimage to Jerusalem for Englishmen far exceeded those of any of the other major Christian pilgrimages (Duffy, "Dynamics of Pilgrimage," 141; Sumption, 204). Accordingly, of the pilgrims whose passage is recorded in the fifteenth century, relatively few seemed to be English.[21] Sumption summarises the expenses included in the pilgrimage package traditionally contracted at Venice: "The fare included food and board throughout the journey as well as in the Holy Land itself; the ship-owner, who was generally the master as well, paid all tolls and taxes, and met the cost of donkeys and pack-horses, guided tours of Jerusalem, and special expeditions to the Jordan."[22] This passage ranged in price from approximately 15 or 20 ducats for a priest to 60 ducats for a wealthy traveller dining with the shipmaster, the average fare increasing in the later fifteenth century (Ashtor, 216). Santo Brasca, a wealthy Milanese pilgrim travelling in 1480, recommended that the pilgrim take at least 150 ducats for the entire journey: 100 to travel safely and eat well, and 50 in case of illness or emergency.[23] These expenditures were perceived as having potentially

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[20] The account of Fynes Moryson, who arrived in Jerusalem in early 1596, is consistent with this. He notes that safe-conduct and the protection of a soldier was sought instead from the Subasi of Ramleh for the journey between Joppa and Jerusalem. Fynes Moryson, *An itinerary ... containing his ten yeeres trauell through the twelue dominions of Germany, Bohmerland, Sweitzerland, Netherland, Denmarke, Poland, Italy, Turky, France, England, Scotland, and Ireland ...* (London: John Beale, 1617), pt. 1, 215; Newett, "Introduction," 112.

[21] Colin Morris says, "the greater distance that had to be covered, and the relative accessibility of Compostela as a goal for English pilgrims, discouraged large-scale travel to Palestine." He makes a brief discussion of recorded visits by Englishmen, particularly the wealthy, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. See Colin Morris, "Pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages," in *Pilgrimage: the English Experience*, ed. Morris and Roberts, 141-2. The predominantly local character of English late medieval pilgrimage is emphasised by Duffy, "Dynamics of Pilgrimage," especially 165-6.

[22] Sumption, *Pilgrimage*, 189. Felix Fabri reproduces the twenty articles of his contract with Master Peter Lando, which range from the date of departure and provision of food to a stipulation that pilgrims should not be rushed nor hindered in their visits. Most fifteenth-century pilgrims seemed to agree on the need to supplement the food and wine included in this fare, which was of poor quality. See Fabri, *Wanderings*, vol. 1, pt. 1, 87-90; Prescott, *Jerusalem Journey*, 53-4.

[23] Cited by Prescott, *Jerusalem Journey*, 31. Sumption makes the following estimate of the relative cost: "A pilgrim who intended to visit Jerusalem in the style that befitted his station might expect to pay at least a year's income." Sumption, *Pilgrimage*, 206.

negative consequences for the domestic economy. English royal licenses throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries betray their concern to limit the removal of large amounts of silver and gold from the kingdom for the purchase of passage and protection from enemy states on long distance pilgrimages. Diana Webb transcribes such a license, issued on December 10, 1466, to Reginald West, a knight,

> who proposes soon to set out for the court of Rome and other foreign parts, and thence for the Holy Land, there, God willing, to fulfil his vows, provided that he take with him nothing prejudicial to us or our kingdom of England, whether silver or gold in bullion or in coin, other than his reasonable expenses, with one or two silver and gilded cups for use on the aforesaid journey, beyond our town of Calais.[24]

The costs of the sea voyage were increasing and the dangers of the journey to Joppa persisted in the fifteenth century. The position of western Christian pilgrims in Palestine continued to be unsettled. In theory, they could expect the same protections which had applied in the fourteenth century, discussed in the previous chapter. As in the previous century, however, the consistency of these protections was imperfect, whether because of willful neglect or the weakness of Mamluk authority in Palestine. Correspondence from the Franciscans in Jerusalem to Rome, Milan and Florence in the 1440s and 1450s refers to persistent harassment, the poverty of the Christians residing in Palestine, and the poor state of their buildings there.[25] Agustino Contarini had made a loss on the 1479 expedition because he was forced to pay a large sum to mollify Mamluk officials whom a fellow Venetian had offended the previous year.[26] Prescott rehearses the references in narratives of fifteenth-century travellers to skirmishes between Christians and local Arabs (Prescott, 190-3). The articles

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[24] Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West*, 194. A similar concern with the removal of currency by pilgrims is voiced by Reason in ll. 128-131 of Passus IV of William Langland's late fourteenth-century *Vision of Piers Plowman*:

> And alle Rome renneres for robberes of biyonde
> Bere no silver over see that signe of kyng sheweth—
> Neither grave ne ungraven gold neither silver –
> Upon forfeture of that fee, whoso fynt hym at Dovere ....

William Langland, *The Vision of Piers Plowman: A Critical Edition of the B-text Based on Trinity College Cambridge MS B.15.17*, ed. A. V. C. Schmidt, 2nd ed. (London: J. M. Dent, 1978; reprint, London: Everyman, 1995), 59.

[25] Bruno Figluolo, "New Evidence Relating to the Condition of Christians in the Holy Land towards the Middle of the Fifteenth Century," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 5, no. 1 (1996).

[26] Sumption finds this reported in "Voyage de la Saincte Cyté de Hierusalem," in *Recueil de Voyages et de Documents pour Servir à l'Histoire de la Géographie*, ed. Ch. Schefer, vol. 2 (Paris). Sumption, *Pilgrimage*, 191.

governing the behaviour of Christians in Jerusalem, recorded by Felix Fabri, outline numerous occasions for confrontation between Christian pilgrims and the Muslim inhabitants, suggesting a state of continuously high tension. However, the twenty-third article attests to the respect accorded to Christians in matters of religious practice: "Let the pilgrim especially beware of laughing to scorn Saracens who are praying and practising the postures required by their faith, because they cannot bear this at all. For they themselves refrain from molesting or laughing at us when we are at our prayers."[27] The consequences of infringing the injunction to exercise reciprocal respect are set out in a fifteenth-century manual for travellers to the Eastern Mediterranean and North Africa: "Yet in Surre moste ye be wer to speke or dispice eny thynge of Mamentrie the Sarasynes p*ro*ffite for yef men do they moste renneye or be ded and the same yef a man ... be founde in eny of her temples."[28] During the last decades of the fifteenth century, relations between the Franciscans and Mamluks were positively warm, according to Prescott.[29] Indeed, it was in the early 1480s that repairs were finally permitted to the roof of the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem, long in danger of collapsing.[30] Margery Kempe, travelling rather earlier, in 1414, reports good treatment by Muslims in Jerusalem, although Margery's fellowship with the poor, the religious and the foreign is perhaps as much a narrative device to throw into relief her neglect by fellow English pilgrims as a recollection or report of fact.[31]

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[27] "Caveat summopere peregrinus, ne Sarracenos orantes et gestus sui cultus exercentes irrideat, quia hoc omnino non possunt sutinere. Nam et ipsi cavent, ne nos in orationibus nostris impediant, nec derideant." Fabri, *Evagatorium*, vol. 1, 217. English translation from Fabri, *Wanderings*, vol. 1, pt. 1, 254.

[28] "Advice for Eastern Travellers," British Library, London, Cottonian MS Appendix VIII, fols. 108v-112v, fol. 111v.

[29] The *amīr* of Jerusalem, Yeshbek al-faqîh, "had once been an exile in Syria, where the prior of Mount Sion had been one of the few who had dared to show him friendship." Prescott continues, "the emir never forgot the debt, but when he became [Sultan] Qâ'it Bey's trusted counsellor, 'gave the religious into the charge of a great friend of his among the nobles of Jerusalem.'" Prescott, *Jerusalem Journey*, 189. Prescott is citing "Le Voyage de la Saincte Cyté de Hierusalem."

[30] Prescott makes a detailed discussion of the timing and subvention of the repairs. Prescott, *Jerusalem Journey*, 144-5.

[31] "Þe Sarazines mad mych of hir & conueyd hir & leddyn hir abowtyn in þe cuntre wher sche wold gon." Kempe, *Book*, 75.

Visions of Pilgrimage: Saint Bridget of Sweden and Margery Kempe

In discussions of figures such as St. Bridget and Margery Kempe, terms such as mystic, visionary and prophetess are used without consensus on their definition. Rosemary Voaden distinguishes between the terms "mystic" and "visionary" by appeal to Augustine's hierarchy of the kinds of vision: intellectual, spiritual and corporeal (Voaden, *God's Words*, 9-19). In her definition, the mystic experiences a vision of the intellectual kind in which, following the *via negativa* espoused in the late fifth- or early sixth-century writings of the possibly Syrian author identified with Dionysius the Areopagite, he or she aspires to the removal of sensual elements in encounters with the divinity. Such a vision is "unmediated [and] uncommunicable." If not perfectly understood, it is unintelligible to the person who experiences it, but it holds no danger of misinterpretation, and thus does not require the endorsement and authorisation of a spiritual director. This definition seems to exclude works which seek to give expression to mystical experience except as they confine themselves to a statement of the inexpressibility of the encounter with God. The visionary's experience, on the other hand, is composed of a spiritual vision phrased in terms of sensory experience and requires validation by a spiritual director. Within Voaden's paradigm, the intellectual vision (as enjoyed by mystics) is placed above the spiritual (that enjoyed by visionaries), which in turn ranks above corporeal intellection (Voaden, *God's Words*, 10-15). She suggests that the prevalent exclusion of women from Latin literacy and the monastic and university environments in which theological and mystical texts were available precluded the expression of their religious experience as intellectual visions.[32] In her model, the dissemination of vernacular texts in the Franciscan tradition of affective piety, with its emphasis on Christ's humanity and the application of sensory experience, emotion and imagination to meditation on the life and Passion of Christ, provided women (as well as laymen) with a vocabulary for religious expression in the form of the spiritual vision, with a framework of external support, endorsement and control by a male spiritual director

[32] Voaden, *God's Words*, 14. For arguments that female literacy in Latin was more widespread than is commonly acknowledged, see Laurie J. Churchill, Phyllis R. Brown, and Jane E. Jeffrey, "Women Writing Latin: An Introduction," in *Women Writing Latin: from Roman Antiquity to Early Modern Europe*, ed. Laurie J. Churchill, Phyllis R. Brown, and Jane E. Jeffrey (New York: Routledge, 2002); Melissa Furrow, "Unscholarly Latinity and Margery Kempe," in *Studies in English Language and Literature: "Doubt Wisely." Papers in Honour of E. G. Stanley*, ed. M. J. Toswell and E. M. Tyler (London: Routledge, 1996).

(Voaden, *God's Words*, 13). Voaden thus defines both Bridget and Margery as visionaries.[33] Voaden's discussion is useful insofar as it draws attention to the distinction between religious experience conforming to the *via negativa* and visions influenced by affective piety, and notices the particular constraints on female mystics and certain trends in female religious experience.

The use of "visionary" and "mystic" in her strictly differentiated way is, however, by no means predominant or uncontested, and the fixing of these terms is rendered more difficult by the long life and ongoing evolution of mysticism within Christianity: "the paradoxical intersection of the timeless and time implied in the mystery of the Incarnation," writes Bernard McGinn, "is nowhere more evident than in the ways in which 'timeless' mystical consciousness of God's presence has been conditioned by changes and developments in the church and in society at large."[34] The problem of definition is also complicated by the late emergence of the terms in the vernacular, and of the use of the term "mystic" as a noun.[35] Clarissa Atkinson does not follow Voaden's separation of the visionary from the mystic, confidently defining

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[33] Voaden considers the disclosure of their visions to be a form of prophecy, "in that the visionary is enjoined to share the experience with others, that the visions reveal matters previously hidden, and that the purpose of the visions is to affect human faith or human behaviour." F. R. Johnston similarly considers Bridget "a prophetess rather than a mystic," whose "moral purpose" and language recall those of the Old Testament prophets. See Johnston, "The English Cult of St Bridget of Sweden," 76. Voaden, *God's Words*, 15.

[34] Bernard McGinn, *The Presence of God: A History of Western Christian Mysticism*, 4 vols., vol. 1: *The Foundations of Mysticism* (London: SCM Press, 1991), 15. On the difficulty of definition, see also Louis Bouyer, "Mysticism / An Essay on the History of the Word," in *Understanding Mysticism*, ed. Richard Woods (New York: Doubleday, 1980; reprint, London: The Athlone Press, 1981), 42-3. Cited by Mark A. McIntosh, *Mystical Theology: The Integrity of Spirituality and Theology* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), 42-4. Bouyer traces the use of the term μυστικός (from "μύω," "to close") through its early "biblical, liturgical and spiritual" uses, all proceeding from "the notion" – fundamental to Origen's biblical exegesis – "that the whole Bible, and the whole history of God's people, find their final significance and, as it were, their key in Christ alone." This meaning, in Bouyer's view, is transposed to sacramental contexts: to "insist on [the reality of the Eucharist], which is Christ himself with all his inalienable attributes, and also on the fact that this reality is still in some way veiled." It also carries into liturgical uses, relating to the enactment of the mystery of Christ by the members of the church. He also locates in Origen the origin of the use of μυστικός to refer "to a certain way of knowing God, directly and as it were experimentally," insisting on the strong relation between the exegesis of scripture as mystical and the "ineffable mode of experimental knowledge of divine things." Mysticism "is always the experience of an invisible objective world: the world whose coming the Scriptures reveal to us in Jesus Christ, the world into which we enter, ontologically, through the liturgy, through this same Jesus Christ ever present in the Church."

[35] Louis Dupré points out that "mystic" was not used as a noun until the sixteenth century. According to the *OED*, use of the term to describe the nature of spiritual encounters with the divinity or the people experiencing them does not appear in English vernacular usage until the seventeenth century, although "mystic" appears in Wycliffe's Bible of 1382 in translation of the Latin "*mysticus*," expressing the nature of a sacred mystery, or mystery of the faith. Uses of the term "visionary" which approach Voaden's are not attested in English until even later, in the second half of the seventeenth century. Louis Dupré, "The Christian Experience of Mystical Union," *The Journal of Religion* 69, no. 1 (1989): 2; *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd edition, s.v. "mystic."

Margery and, implicitly, her model Bridget as a mystic, but also referring to them as "visionary women" (C. W. Atkinson, 35-6, 39-52). The definition of mysticism used by her is that of "an immediate knowledge of God attained in this present life through personal religious experience," which embraces both the pseudo-Dionysian tradition, in which sense, experience and reason are to be excised from the encounter with God, and religious experience in which sense, emotion and reason are employed to reach union with God (C. W. Atkinson, 39-40). Rosemary Woolf argues that Passion meditation, which makes use of the senses in a spiritual manner, can operate in a variety of ways in relation to intellectual vision. This point she illustrates with reference to the writing of St. Bernard and the tradition which followed, including Walter Hilton, Richard Rolle and the author of the *Cloud of Unknowing*:

> It is clear from a comparison of the *Incendium Amoris* with the English Epistles that Rolle considered Passion meditation to be a stage which the learner in contemplation made use of and then left behind: he therefore does not describe it in his own experience but recommends it to beginners. But to St. Bernard meditation on the Passion was, as it were, a gateway to contemplation of the Divinity, and was therefore never left behind, but constantly passed through on every mystical journey, and returned to for refreshment after the arduous experience of a more direct communication.[36]

Caroline Bynum Walker also makes use of the term "mystic" in an argument which insists upon the importance of precisely the sort of sensual vocabulary which Voaden argues should be excluded from the category of "mysticism," and does so by referring to a body of literature that is primarily concerned with female religious experience.[37] McGinn employs what he acknowledges to be a deliberately broad definition of mysticism: "the mystical element of Christianity is that part of its beliefs and practices that concerns the preparation for, the consciousness of, and the reaction to what can be described as the immediate or direct presence of God," although he does not accept that all visions experienced are mystical.[38]

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[36] Rosemary Woolf, *The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 160-1.

[37] Caroline Bynum Walker, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1987), 151-86.

[38] "If all experiential accounts of visions and auditions from the celestial realm, no matter *whom* they involve (God, Christ, Mary, angels, saints), and *what* they teach (messages about reform of the church, or about future events, doctrinal disputes, etc.), are to be considered mystical, then the mystical element in Christianity is in danger of losing connection with what most mystics themselves have claimed to be essential, that is, a special consciousness of the presence of God that by definition exceeds description

The question of categorisation of experience as mystical is complicated by the potentially distorting mediation of the mystical consciousness by writing: McGinn pays attention to the way in which mystical experience, which "defies conceptualization and verbalization," is transmuted in the act of writing, taking shape in a "host of models, metaphors or symbols" and finding utterance in sensual or visual vocabularies which approximate but can not reproduce the mystical encounter itself (McGinn, *The Foundations of Mysticism*, xvii). Bynum Walker, exploring the use of the vocabulary of "tasting or savoring God" in medieval mysticism, also notes that "an inner, glorious, wordless moment, described in highly affective language to a sister or a confessor, easily became a vision or an apparition or a miracle as it was retold" (151). Steven Fanning points out that Margery Kempe also makes use of the ineffability *topos* in her reluctance to set down her experiences in writing.[39] Louis Dupré takes this further, acknowledging not only the "limits of written expression" in mediating mystical union, but wondering whether the concept of "experience" is sufficient to describe the encounter with the divine: "Consciousness here merely seems to reverberate at the impact of the ontological reality that surpasses it" (Dupré, 3, 5). Mark McIntosh interprets the development of mysticism from the writings of Pseudo-Dionysius around 500 A.D. to thirteenth- and fourteenth-century mystics like Richard Rolle, Angela of Foligno and Henry Suso in a way that resists Voaden's differentiation between the mystic and the visionary. He shows the many turns taken by mystical theology over this period and its ongoing negotiation between individual and corporate ascent towards God; between experience and negation of experience as ways of understanding the encounter with the divine; between what he describes as "a preoccupation with interior states of the self" and "a focus on the divine stimulus of those states."[40] Encounters with the divine which by their very nature tend to resist and exceed perception and articulation throw up substantial problems of terminology and interpretation. My discussion does not aspire to recuperate the nature of the divine encounter as experienced (or defying experience) by the mystic. Instead I concentrate on the precise ways in which this encounter is mediated in the text in relation to the

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and results in a transformation of the subject who receives it." Bernard McGinn, *The Presence of God: A History of Western Christian Mysticism*, 4 vols., vol. 3: *The Flowering of Mysticism: Men and Women in the New Mysticism (1200-1350)* (New York: The Crossroad Publishing Company, 1998), 26-7; McGinn, *The Foundations of Mysticism*, xvii.

[39] Steven Fanning, *Mystics of the Christian Tradition* (London: Routledge, 2001), 128.

[40] Chapter 2, "Mystery and Doctrine: The Historical Integrity of Spirituality and Theology," McIntosh, *Mystical Theology*, 39-89.

mystic's experience of the divine and ineffable in the holy places, which, by their nature, invite a highly concrete and physicalised engagement.

I will refer to Bridget and Margery as mystics in my discussion, since the *Revelations* and Margery's *Book* are both concerned in several places with their immediate and transformative encounters with God, with the mysteries of the Incarnation and the Passion. However, since their place in this study is to demonstrate the effect of the experience of pilgrimages undertaken through physical space in shaping the encounter with God and its expression, it is useful to take account of the visual and affective emphasis in the encounters with the Son recognised by Voaden in the visions of both women. Moreover, Voaden's account of visions encourages sensitivity to the complexity of the process of the texts' creation in the cases of both Bridget and Margery. The recording of the encounter with God is a process of negotiation between the mystic, the confessor and the scribe. In Bridget's case, this is further complicated by the translation from Swedish to Latin, and, for our purposes, from Latin into Middle English.

Bridget of Sweden

Saint Bridget was born in 1302/3 at Finstad, near Uppsala, to a powerful family: her father, Birger Persson, was *lagman* or governer of Upland (Cumming, xxiii). She was married at the age of thirteen to Ulf Gudmarsson, *lagman* of Nericia, a province of middle Sweden. She bore eight children, and served from 1336 in the royal household of King Magnus and Blanche de Namur.[41] Although accounts of her life report that she experienced visions in which Christ and the Virgin Mary spoke to her as early as the age of seven, and allude to the early continency of the marriage, it was not until after the death of Ulf in 1344 that Bridget underwent her spiritual conversion and fully embraced a religious life (Cumming, xxiii; Obrist, 227-8). Under the spiritual guidance and with the scribal and editorial help of several spiritual directors, namely Mathias of Linköping, the Cistercian prior Peter Olavsson of Alvastra, Peter Olavsson of Skänninge and Alfonso of Jaén, Bridget gave expression to her revelations, which ranged from intimate visions of Christ's passion and nativity to denunciations of

[41] Barbara Obrist, "The Swedish Visionary," in *Medieval Women Writers*, ed. Katharina M. Wilson (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1984), 227.

corruption within ecclesiastical and secular structures and interventions in temporal and papal politics (Voaden, *God's Words*, 77-8). The *vita* written shortly after Bridget's death describes the several phases of the complex process by which her revelations were mediated and recorded:

> the words that were given her from God she wrote down in her mother tongue with her own hand when she was well and she had us, her father confessors, make a very faithful translation of them into Latin. She then listened to the translation with her own writing, which she herself had written, to make sure that not one word was added or subtracted, but was exactly what she had heard and seen in the divine vision. But when she was too weak she would call her confessor and another scribe specially appointed as secretary, whereupon with great devotion and fear of God and sometimes in tears, she spoke the words in her native language in a kind of tense, ecstatic trance as if she were reading from a book; and then the confessor dictated these words in Latin to the scribe, and he wrote them down there in her presence. When the words had been written down she wished to hear them and she listened very carefully and attentively.[42]

The intention of Bridget to undertake a pilgrimage to Jerusalem frames almost the entire period in which her life was fully devoted to God. She was first instructed to depart while returning from the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, begun in 1341, but to await a further vision at Rome, where she arrived in time for the Jubilee of 1350, before setting off for Jerusalem (B. Morris, 93, 118). However, not until 1371, near the end of her life, did she receive the promised vision. Book Seven recounts that Bridget received a preparatory vision of the Virgin Mary:

> I am the Queen of Heaven. Because you love me with a love so immense, I therefore announce to you that you will go on a pilgrimage to the holy city of Jerusalem at the time when it pleases my Son. From there you will go to Bethlehem; and there I shall show you, at the very spot, the whole manner in

[42] Isak Collijn, ed., *Acta et processus canonizacionis beate Birgitte*, Svenska Fornskriftsällskapets Samlingar, 2nd series, vol. 1 (Uppsala: 1924-31). Cited and translated by Bridget Morris, *St Birgitta of Sweden* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1999), 3*n*.

which I gave birth to that same Son of mine, Jesus Christ; for so it has pleased him.[43]

Finally, on the feast of Saint Urban and the martyrs (May 25), Christ appeared to her saying, "Prepare yourselves now to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem to visit my sepulchre and the other holy places that are to be found there. You will leave Rome when I tell you."[44]

In Book 5, God addresses a vision to Bridget. He recounts a parable in which, upon being told by his servant that his field is ready for sowing, a master replies that the ground must not be sown until the stubble has been loosened by wind and rain. To occupy him in the meantime, the master lists five places in which five objects are to be sought by the servant, where "everyone who goes to them shall have fivefold fruit if only he comes pure and empty of pride and warm with charity."[45] In the first is a vessel, both "closed and not closed, small and not small, luminous and not luminous, empty and not empty, clean and not clean."[46] It goes on to describe the other four places by means of five paradoxes: in the second place (Bethlehem), a lion was born;[47] in the third (Calvary), there was a lamb;[48] in the fourth (the garden of the sepulchre), a serpent;[49] in the fifth (Mount of Olives), an eagle.[50] The first "place" is

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[43] "Ego sum regina celi, et quia tu me diligis tam immenso amore, ideo annuncio tibi, quod tu ibis in sanctam ciuitatem Iherusalem peregrinando, quando placuerit filio meo. Et inde ibis ad Bethleem ibique ostendam tibi in loco proprio totum modum, qualiter ego peperi eundem filium mueum Ihesum Christum quia sic placuit ei." Latin text from Bridget of Sweden, *Revelaciones, Book VII: The Pilgrimage Book.* (Julia Bolton Holloway), 6 January 2005 [www.umilta.net/bk7.html, cited 11 April 2005]. Book 7.1. English translation from Bridget of Sweden, *Birgitta of Sweden: Life and Selected Revelations*, ed. Marguerite Tjader Harris, trans. Albert Ryle Kenzel (New York: Paulist Press, 1990), 160.

[44] "Parate vos iam ad peregrinandum in Iherusalem ad visitandum sepulchrum meum et alia loca sancta, que ibi sunt, et recedetis de Roma, cum ego dixero vobis." Bridget of Sweden, *Revelaciones*, Book 7.16. English translation from Bridget of Sweden, *Revelations*, 168.

[45] "Omnis, qui ad illa accesserit, habebit quintuplicem fructum, si tamen mundus venerit et vacuus a superbia et feruens caritate." This and Latin quotations in next five notes are all from Book 5.13, misnumbered in the online text as Book 5.113. English translations from Bridget of Sweden, *Revelations*, 154-5.

[46] "In primo loco fuit vas clausum et non clausum, vas paruum et non paruum, vas luminosum et non luminosum, vas vacuum et non vacuum, vas mundum et non mundum."

[47] "In secundo loco nascebatur leo, qui videbatur et non videbatur, qui audiebatur et non audiebatur, qui tangebatur et non tangebatur, qui agnoscebatur et incognitus fuit, qui tenebatur et non tenebatur." ("... seen and not seen, heard and not heard, touched and not touched, known and not known, held and not held.")

[48] "In tercio loco fuit agnus tonsus et non tonsus, agnus vulneratus et non vulneratus, agnus clamans et non clamans, agnus paciens et non paciens, agnus moriens et non moriens." ("... shorn and not shorn, wounded and not wounded, calling and not calling, suffering and not suffering, dying and not dying.")

[49] "In quarto loco ponebatur serpens, qui iacuit et non iacuit, mouebatur et non mouebatur, audiuit et non audiuit, vidit et non vidit, senciebat et non senciebat." ("... that lay and did not lie, moved and did not move, heard and did not hear, saw and did not see, felt and did not feel.")

expounded at length: Mary is closed to the devil but not to God; small in her conception of her own lowliness but great in her love for the Godhead; empty of sin but full of goodness; luminous because of her soul's approximation to "the full perfection of light that my Son fixed himself in her soul" but not luminous in a worldly sense because of her contempt for wealth and honour; clean because no trace of uncleanness could be found in her but unclean because she came of the fallen race of Adam, although she was conceived without sin. The four places which follow are used to highlight aspects and paradoxes of Christ's humanity and divinity at different phases in his life on earth.[51]

While this is a symbolic vision, and the visiting of these places is imagined in metaphorical terms, it does not operate only on the symbolic plane. It ends by phrasing the spiritual rewards to be gained at these places in terms redolent of the earlier crusading indulgences of the popes:

> Therefore, he who comes to these places pure and with a good and perfect will, shall see and taste how sweet and pleasant I, God, am. And when you come to these places, I will show you more.[52]

While at first the places mentioned in the riddle seem simply to provide a spatial scheme for the series of paradoxes elaborating the divinity and humanity of Christ, the revelation ultimately disrupts the allegory, and insists upon the veneration of these places as literal rather than conceptual *loci*.

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[50] "In quinto loco fuit aquila, que volauit et non volauit, que et venit in locum, vnde numquam recessit, que requieuit et non requieuit, que innouabatur et non innouabatur, que gaudebat et non gaudebat, que honorabatur et non honorabatur." ("... that flew and did not fly, that came to a place and never left it, that rested and did not rest, that was renewed and not renewed, rejoiced and did not rejoice, that was honoured and not honoured.")

[51] At Bethlehem, Christ was "seen and held in his humanity; but in his Godhead, he was invisible and unknown." At Calvary, the vulnerability and suffering of Christ's humanity and the immortality and impassibility of the Godhead are emphasised. In the garden of the sepulchre, Christ's humanity was confined and lay immobile, but his Godhead could be subject to no such confinement. On Mount Olivet, the Son ascended like an eagle into heaven, where his Godhead had always been present, and the renewal and rest experienced by him in his humanity contrasted with the immutability of the Godhead. The use of the five locations, each accommodating five paradoxes (although one of them refers to Mary, as the vessel, rather than to a holy place), recalls certain features of the medieval mnemonic schemes studied by Mary Carruthers. The fivefold scheme of five spaces evokes the fivefold division into *loci* in Thomas Bradwardine's "De Memoria Artificiali" (c. 1335) while the use of the (predominantly) architectural spaces as the framework recalls various architectural mnemonics, from the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* to Bradwardine's scheme. Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 71-5, 281-2.

[52] "Ergo, qui ad ista loca venerit mundus cum bona et perfecta voluntate, habebit videre et gustare, quam dulcis et suauis sum ego Deus. Itaque, cum veneris ad ista loca, ostendam tibi plura." Bridget of Sweden, *Revelaciones*, Book 5.13. English translation from Bridget of Sweden, *Revelations*, 156.

Indeed, in Book 7 itself, the value of both pilgrimage and crusade in the remission of sins is stated more than once. Christ hints at his vexation at the failure of kings and princes to initiate attempts to reclaim the holy land:

> To these things that you have now seen and to the other things that I endured, the world's princes are not attentive; nor do they consider the places in which I was born and I suffered. For they are like a man who has a place designated for wild and untamed beasts and where he sets loose his hunting dogs and takes delight in gazing at the dogs and the wild things as they run.... [The princes of the earth and the prelates of the churches and all states of the world] gaze at earthly delights with greater eagerness and pleasure than at my death and my passion and my wounds. Therefore, I shall now send them my words through you; and, if they do not change their hearts and turn them toward me, they will be condemned along with those who divided my clothing and, over my garment, cast lots.[53]

In the chapter heading, Christ's sufferings and the places in which they took place are balanced, although the emphasis of this speech as a whole is on the moral conduct of secular and ecclesiastical governors.[54] While this is not quite an exhortation to crusade, it does carefully link an active remembering of Christ's sacrifice to consideration of the places in which it occurred, much as the contemplation of the five aspects of God's humanity and divinity in the riddle of the *Liber Quaestionum* is explicitly linked to the visual apprehension of the places in which they are located. Furthermore, the willingness of Bridget's sinful son Karl to fight for the recapture of the Holy Land is revealed by the Virgin Mary to have been an important element in

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[53] "Hec enim, que tu vidisti nunc, et alia, que ego sustinui, principes mundi non attendunt nec eciam loca considerant, in quibus ego natus et passus sum. Quia ipsi similes sunt homini habenti locum designatum pro bestiis feris et indomitis, in quem dimittens canes venaticos delectatur in aspiciendo cursum canum et ferarum. Sic per simile principes terre et prelati ecclesiarum et omnes status mundi auidius et libencius aspiciunt delectamenta terrena quam mortem et passionem meam et vulnera mea. Ideo mittam eis adhuc per te verba mea. Qui nisi mutauerint corda sua et ea conuerterint ad me, condempnabuntur cum illis, qui partiti sunt vestimenta mea et super vestem meam miserunt sortem." Bridget of Sweden, *Revelaciones*, Book 7.16. English translation from Bridget of Sweden, *Revelations*, 191.

[54] The chapter heading reads, "nolunt habere in memoria nec recordari talium dolorum et passionis sue neque volunt considerare illa sacra loca Terre Sancte." Bridget of Sweden, *Revelaciones*, Book 7.16. ("[T]hey will not keep in their memory and recall in their heart these his sorrows and his passion and ... they will not consider those sacred places of the Holy Land." English translation from Bridget of Sweden, *Revelations*, 190.)

his escape from both purgatory and hell.[55] Pilgrimage to relics is also endorsed in a vision of Christ speaking to Bridget in Book 7:

> My heart's supreme delight is to bestow – according to their will, their faith, and the toils of their journey – everlasting rewards on all those who visit the places and honor the relics of my saints, namely, of those who have been glorified by miracles and canonized by the supreme pontiffs.[56]

When Bridget first enters the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Christ appears to her, confirming that she has been cleansed of her sins as at baptism, and that the souls of certain of her relatives have been released from purgatory because of her "labours and devotion" in travelling there.[57]

While Christ confirms the importance of remembering and caring for the holy places in several visions, Bridget herself never appears to pay much attention to the dimensions or decoration of the holy places in their current state, a fact noticed by Schein ("Women's Jerusalem Pilgrimages," 51). Nevertheless, in spite of the apparent indifference to the physical fabric of the holy places, her experience of the holy sites is detectable in more than one instance. Her vision of the Nativity, which takes place by the manger in the church at Bethlehem, reflects the contours of the grotto of the Nativity in its non-scriptural description of the site as "spelunca," or cave.[58] Bridget's

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[55] "ideo gaudium et honorem perpetuum optinebit et specialiter pro illo ardenti desiderio, quod habuit, peregrinandi ad sanctam ciuitatem Iherusalem et pro eo, quod desiderauit feruenter vitam suam libenter bellando exponere, vt Terra Sancta reduceretur ad dominium christianorum ad hoc, vt illud gloriosum Dei sepulchrum in debita haberetur reuerencia, si ad tantum opus sufficiens extitisset." Bridget of Sweden, *Revelaciones,* Book 7.13. ("He will therefore obtain everlasting joy and honor, especially for his burning desire to make a pilgrimage to the holy city of Jerusalem, and for the fact that he fervently longed to risk his life willingly in warfare so that if he had been a match for so great a work, the Holy Land might be restored to the dominion of Christians to the end that the glorious sepulchre of God might be held in due reverence." English translation from Bridget of Sweden, *Revelations*, 186.)

[56] "Summa delectacio cordis mei est omnibus visitantibus loca sanctorum meorum et honorantibus reliquias eorum, scilicet qui miraculis glorificati sunt et a summis pontificibus canonizati, retribuere eterna premia secundum voluntatem et fidem et labores visitancium ea." Bridget of Sweden, *Revelaciones,* Book 7.16. English translation from Bridget of Sweden, *Revelations*, 162.

[57] "Quando intrastis templum meum dedicatum sanguine meo, sic mundati estis ab omnibus peccatis vestris, sicut si tunc leuati essetis de fonte baptismatis.... Nam omnes, qui veniunt ad locum istum cum voluntate perfecta se emendandi iuxta meliorem conscienciam suam nec volentes recidiuare in priora peccata, hiis omnia peccata priora totaliter dimittuntur et augetur eis gracia proficiendi." Bridget of Sweden, *Revelaciones,* Book 7.14. ("When you people entered my temple, which was dedicated with my blood, you were as cleansed of all your sins as if you had at that moment been lifted from the font of baptism.... For all who come to this place with a perfect will to amend their lives in accord with their better conscience, and who are not willing to fall back into their former sins, will have all of their former sins completely forgiven; and they will have an increase of grace to make progress." English translation from Bridget of Sweden, *Revelations*, 187-8.)

[58] The setting of Jesus' birthplace in Bethlehem is clearly acknowledged in Matthew 2:2 and Luke 2:4-7, but the precise location is unstable in the early tradition, especially if considered in relation to the information given in Luke 2:4-7, that is, that the birth took place in the city of Bethlehem, in a manger at an inn. Justin, born in Neapolis/Nablus in 100 AD, locates the birthplace in a manger within a cave

visions while in Palestine are closely linked to and determined by physical place, since the visions of the nativity, the adoration of the shepherds and the wise men take place in the grotto of the Nativity, the vision of the passion has Mount Calvary as its location, and the vision in which Mary confirms her dormition and assumption occurs at her sepulchre in the valley of Jehosophat.

Moreover, the visions which occur at these holy places are exceptional among Bridget's revelations. Bridget Morris points out that in visions of the passion elsewhere in the *Revelations* (Book 1.10, Book 1.27 and Book 4.70), the vision is narrated by Mary, rather than witnessed in unmediated fashion by Bridget herself (B. Morris, 134-5). Bridget's vision of Christ's passion at Mount Calvary, by contrast, is recounted in the first person, beginning, "While I was at Mount Calvary, most mournfully weeping, I saw that my Lord, who was naked and scourged, had been led by the Jews to his crucifixion."[59] Similarly, Bridget's account at Bethlehem of the nativity is not of Mary's account of the birth, but of her own visual apprehension of the event: "When I was at the manger of the Lord in Bethlehem, I saw a Virgin, pregnant and most very beautiful, clothed in a white mantle and a finely woven tunic through which from without I could clearly discern her virginal flesh."[60] The vision at Calvary dwells on the emotions and gestures of the participants; the vision at Bethlehem notices textures of clothing and the surfaces of the stable of the nativity. This recalls a similar tendency in the narration of the same event in the pseudo-Bonaventuran *Meditaciones Vitae Christi*, whose own uses of the holy places are

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in his *Dialogue with Trypho the Jew*. Origen (writing in 248, frequently resident in Palestine from 216) is the first author beyond the New Testament to locate the place of the Nativity unambiguously inside Bethlehem, and concurs with Justin Martyr in adding the non-canonical detail of the cave setting. Justin Martyr, "Dialogue with Trypho," in *Apostolic Fathers, Justin Martyr, Irenaeus*, ed. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson and rev. A. Cleveland Coxe, The Ante-Nicene Fathers : The Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325, 10 vols., vol. 1 (Christian Literature Publishing Company, 1885; reprint, Peabody, Massachussetts: Hendrickson Publishers, 1995), 237; Taylor, *Christians and the Holy Places*, 107; Walker, *Holy City, Holy Places?*, 177. Chapter 51, Origen, "Origen again Celsus," in *Tertullian, Part Four; Minucius Felix; Commodian; Origen, Parts First and Second*, ed. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson and rev. A. Cleveland Coxe, The Ante-Nicene Fathers, vol. 4 (Christian Literature Publishing Company, 1885; reprint, Peabody, Massachussetts: Hendrickson Publishers, 1995), 418.

[59] "Ad montem Caluarie dum essem mestissima plorans, vidi Dominum meum nudum et flagellatum ductum per Iudeos ad crucifigendum." Bridget of Sweden, *Revelaciones*, Book 7.16. English translation from Bridget of Sweden, *Revelations*, 188.

[60] "Cum essem ad presepe Domini in Bethleem, vidi quandam virginem pregnantem pulcherrimam valde, indutam albo mantello et subtili tunica, per quam abextra eius carnes virgineas clare cernebam." Bridget of Sweden, *Revelaciones*, Book 7.21. English translation from Bridget of Sweden, *Revelations*, 202.

discussed in greater detail below.[61] Although the visual emphasis of these passages is exceptional in Bridget's narrative as a whole, it is not without literary precedent. Dee Dyas notes that Jerome's eulogy of Paula also represents her as visualising the nativity and crucifixion of Christ at the Churches of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem and of the Nativity at Bethlehem (Dyas, 52). Bernard of Clairvaux's twelfth-century Third Sermon for Christmas Day also makes eloquent use of the material circumstances and conditions of Christ's birth to give expression to the paradox of the Incarnation.[62]

If the emphasis of the Latin text of Bridget's *Revelations* on the holy places seems delicate and understated, it is more markedly suppressed in the Middle English translation in Book Seven of British Library MS Claudius B.i. In general, there is a tendency towards abbreviation in this translation. This abbreviation results in the removal of much meticulous recording of place and date of many visions, which had probably been designed to augment the verifiability and authenticity of the revelations in the Latin edition prepared by Alfonso of Jaén for the canonisation process. By these omissions, the Middle English translation at times obscures the propriety of vision to the place or time at which it occurs. Information such as the location of Christ's declaration to Bridget of full remission of sins at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the timing of Bridget's vision of Mary at her sepulchre on the feast of the Virgin's birthday is curtailed or suppressed.[63] The omissions of the translation often result in the obscuring of the material and corporeal aspects of Bridget's visions. In Chapter 21 in the Latin version, for example, Bridget sees "the afterbirth, lying

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[61] Compare the physical, corporeal detail in the *Meditaciones Vite Christi*'s account of the moments just after the nativity: "Et ubere de celo pleno, a Spiritu Sancto edocta, cepit lauare siue linire ipsum per totum cum lacte suo. Quo facto, inuoluit eum in uelo capitis sui et posuit eum in presepio. ("And, guided by the Holy Spirit, she began to wash and anoint Him all over with her milk, from breasts filled by heavenly intervention. Which done, she wrapped him in her veil and placed him in the cradle.") The fourteenth-century *Meditaciones* were attributed to Bonaventure but probably written by John de Caulibus, a Franciscan based in the Tuscan friary of San Gimignano in the 1360s, writes Stallings in her introduction. Johannis de Caulibus, *Meditaciones Vite Christi olim S. Bonauenturo attributae*, ed. M. Stallings-Taney, Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio Mediaeualis, vol. 153 (Turnhoult: Brepols, 1997), ix-x, 31. See also p. 122 onwards.

[62] "When the Son of God was about to be born into this world, it was His privilege to choose whatever season He pleased. And the choice He made was of the most disagreeable, who had scarcely the swaddling clothes in which to wrap Him, and no cradle wherein to lay Him but the manger. Nowhere can I find any mention of furs for His use, although the necessity was undoubtedly great. The first Adam covered himself with garments of skins; the second Adam is wrapped in poor swaddling clothes." Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermons on the Nativity*, trans. "A Priest of Mount Melleray" (1921; reprint, Chulmleigh, Devon: Augustine Publishing, 1985), 143. See also Woolf, *The English Religious Lyric*, 144-5.

[63] Bridget of Sweden, *Liber Celestis*, 470, 488. For Latin text, see Bridget of Sweden, *Revelaciones*, Book 7.2, 7.26.

wrapped very neatly beside [Jesus]," but this is omitted entirely from the Middle English text.[64] Christ's endorsement in Book 7 Chapter 4 of the veneration of relics in general, and of the authenticity of the relics of St Thomas at Ortona in particular, is substantially abridged in the Claudius manuscript, and it appears once again to avoid the fleshly detail of the Latin. While the Middle English version communicates the idea that the authenticity of the relics has been confirmed by the miracles associated with them and through the canonisation by the popes at Rome, it omits the following arguments:

> For, in truth, whether they are fresh or moldering, whether they have turned into dust and ashes or not, the bodies of my saints are most certainly my treasure. But you may ask, since Scripture says, "Where your treasure is, there your heart is," how then is my heart with that treasure, namely, with the relics of the saints? I answer you: my heart's supreme delight is to bestow – according to their will, their faith and the toils of their journey—everlasting rewards on all those who visit the places and honor the relics of my saints.[65]

The effects of this omission are contradictory. The translation seems to shy away from contemplation of the consequences of death for the physical body, much as the removal of the detail of the afterbirth omits the byproducts of birth. However, the omission of the second sentence, which voices then refutes scepticism towards the veneration of relics on scriptural foundation, may simply be an attempt to withhold information which might arouse suspicion in the reader. Perhaps, then, acknowledgment of the possibility of the decay of saints' bodies is not omitted because of a squeamish sensibility; it may stem instead from the desire to suppress the physical imperfection and impermanence of the relics of saints, thus endorsing their veneration. I am not aware of contemporary criticism of pilgrimage based on the incongruity or sordidness of saints' relics to which the translator may have been responding, but by the 1520s and 1530s, this had become one of the grounds for

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[64] "Vidi eciam pellem secundinam iacentem prope eum, inuolutam et valde nitidam." Bridget of Sweden, *Revelaciones*, Book 7.21. English translation from Bridget of Sweden, *Revelations*, 202.

[65] "Nam vere corpora sanctorum meorum, siue putrida sint vel recencia, siue conuersa sint in cinerem et puluerem siue non, ipsa sunt certissime thesaurus meus. Sed querere poteris: Cum loquitur Scriptura 'Vbi thesaurus tuus, ibi est cor tuum,' quomodo ergo est cor meum cum thesauro isto, scilicet cum reliquiis sanctorum? Respondeo tibi: Summa delectacio cordis mei est omnibus visitantibus loca sanctorum meorum et honorantibus reliquias eorum [...] retribuere eterna premia secundum voluntatem et fidem et labores visitancium ea." Sweden, Revelaciones, Book 7.4. English translation from Bridget of Sweden, *Revelations*, 162.

attacks on pilgrimage, and it is possible that the omission is motivated by an anticipation of such discomfort.[66]

The changes made from the Latin text are not restricted to abbreviation. There is also a systematic translation from Bridget's narration in the first-person voice, where it occurs in the Latin text, to an external narrator. For example, Chapter 7 reports that "Michi indigne persone oracioni vacanti videbatur, quod mater Dei michi peccatrici loqueretur hec subsequencia verba [...]."[67] In the Middle English version, however, it becomes, "þe mother saide to þe spouse, ..." (Bridget of Sweden, *Liber Celestis*, 475). In Chapter 15, and Bridget's vision of the death of Christ, this circumvention of her subjectivity is even more pronounced. In the Latin, Bridget begins thus:

> Ad montem Caluarie dum essem mestissima plorans, vidi Dominum meum nudum et flagellatum ductum per Iudeos ad crucifigendum. Qui diligenter ab eis custodiebatur. Vidi quoque tunc foramen quoddam excisum in monte et crucifixores in circuitu paratos ad operandum crudelitatem. Dominus autem conuersus ad me dixit michi: "Attende tu, quia in isto foramine petre infixus fuit pes crucis mee tempore passionis."[68]

The Middle English not only adjusts the first-person voice, but also changes the agent:

> Criste shewed in þe monte of Caluerri to þe spouse, wepinge and heui, þe maner of his dyinge on þe crosse. He bad her take hede to one hole þat was kut of þe stone in þe hille, for in it was festned þe fote of þe crosse, in time of his passion .... (Bridget of Sweden, *Liber Celestis*, 479-80)

Although Bridget is bidden by Christ in the Latin text to observe closely the hole in which the cross is to be set, the vision is not initiated by him: Bridget sees the naked and bloody figure of Christ of her own accord. In the Middle English version, her active observation of the scene is omitted.

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[66] See Chapter 3, 221 to 222.

[67] Sweden, *Revelaciones,* Book 7.7. "It seemed to me, unworthy person that I am, that while I was absorbed in prayer, the Mother of God spoke to me, a sinner, these following words ...." English translation from Bridget of Sweden, *Revelations*, 168.

[68] Sweden, *Revelaciones,* Book 7.15. "While I was at Mount Calvary, most mournfully weeping, I saw that my Lord, who was naked and scourged, had been led by the Jews to his crucifixion. He was being guarded by them diligently. I then saw too that a certain hole had been cut into the mount and that the crucifiers were round about and ready to work their cruelty. The Lord, however, turned toward me and said to me: 'Be attentive, for in this hole in the rock the foot of the cross was fixed at the time of my passion.'" English translation from Bridget of Sweden, *Revelations*, 188.

Even in the rare instances in which the Middle English translation does preserve passages in Bridget's first-person voice, they are absorbed into a framing device. Chapter 21, Bridget's vision of the nativity, as we have already seen, begins thus:

> Cum essem ad presepe Domini in Bethleem, vidi quandam virginem pregnantem pulcherrimam valde, indutam albo mantello et subtili tunica, per quam abextra eius carnes virgineas clare cernebam.

The Middle English version contains Bridget's speech as a quotation by the narrator, interfering with her direct address to the reader. It also deemphasises once again the corporeal appearance of the object of her vision, removing the description of Mary's flesh: "The spouse saide þus: 'When I was in Bedlem I sawe one maiden with child, þe fairest þat euir I saw, clede in one white mantill, and one smale kirtill'" (Bridget of Sweden, *Liber Celestis*, 485).

Rosemary Voaden has argued that Bridget's success in achieving credibility for her revelations was a consequence of her conformity to the discourse of the *discretio spirituum* in the *Revelaciones* and in Alfonso's *Epistola solitarii*, which "constructs Bridget within the discourse as an ideal visionary, one who meets all the standards in authority, knowledge, and behaviour" (Voaden, *God's Words*, 108). Voaden goes on to say that

> the effect is to make her body vanish, so that she is effective in the public sphere as a powerful voice, uttering the words of God. In the *Revelaciones*, Bridget's self-fashioning reinforces Alfonso's construction of her. Her facility with the discourse of *discretio spirituum* is demonstrated in relation to authority, knowledge and behaviour. She accepts the restrictions imposed by *discretio spirituum*, depicts herself as passive and compliant, and therefore is empowered as a divine instrument.

Nevertheless, the Middle English translation goes much further than the Latin translation in emptying the *Revelations* of Bridget's presence and in removing traces of her agency and subjectivity in such visions as those of the Nativity and the Passion in Book 7. A comparison of the Middle English and Latin texts demonstrates the extent to which these lingered in the Latin text, and prepares us for the discussion of Margery Kempe. The translation throws into sharper relief the representation of Margery, who is a much more insistent and troubling presence in her narrative than Bridget in either the Latin or Middle English versions of the *Revelations*.

MARGERY KEMPE

Sections of the chronology of Margery Kempe's life and hints about her social position can be gleaned from her *Book*, and are supplemented by surviving town records. Margery was born in Bishop's Lynn (now King's Lynn) around 1363.[69] Her marriage at the age of about twenty to a "worschepful burgeys," John Kempe, and prompt conception of her first child are established in the first chapter (Kempe, *Book*, 6). Fourteen pregnancies followed, including at least one after Margery had first conceived a desire to live chastely (Kempe, *Book*, 48, 115). Margery represents herself as ambitious and materialistic before her conversion, coveting fashionable clothes and seeking to distinguish herself as a brewer and then a miller, although success eluded her in both enterprises (Kempe, *Book*, 9-11). Surviving municipal records attest to the repeated tenure by her father John Brunham of the mayorship of Lynn. This position of social superiority Margery admits to exploiting in order to resist her husband's attempts to temper her pride.[70] Margery was first prompted to live as God's servant when a comforting vision of Christ cured her of madness provoked by the strain of an unconfessed sin. However, she continued to seek worldly recognition and prosperity until a glimpsed vision of the joy of heaven persuaded her to abandon these. The achievement of her long-sought freedom from the sexual obligations of marriage is probably datable to 1413, since she specifies that John gave his consent to it on a Friday, Midsummer's Eve, which fell on that day in that year (Windeatt, 3).

Shortly after this, Margery embarked on a series of travels and pilgrimages within England and to Jerusalem by way of Constance and Venice, returning *via* Rome and Assisi, where she stayed for several months. A subsequent pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, described in much less detail than the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, was followed by more peregrinations within England, which provided occasions for examinations of her orthodoxy at Leicester and York. Her travels were

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[69] Windeatt estimates this to be her date of birth on the basis that she describes herself as "abowtyn iii score 3er of age" at the time of her journey to Wilsnack and Aachen, which, Windeatt and Hope Emily Allen agree, is unlikely to have taken place in any year other than 1433. See Kempe, *Book*, 346; Barry Windeatt, "Introduction," in *The Book of Margery Kempe* (Harlow: Longman, 2000), 2.

[70] Kempe, *Book*, 9; Windeatt, "Introduction," 2. For a discussion of the way in which Margery's bourgeois social identity shapes her religious identity, see David Aers, "The Making of Margery Kempe: Individual and Community," in *Community, Gender and Individual Identity: English Writing 1360-1430* (London: Routledge, 1988), 76-83.

interrupted by an eight-year interval of illness and a period caring for her husband, who had been seriously injured in a fall and suffered senility in his final days. The shorter second book, begun in 1438, describes her renewed journeying. Her son, employed in the merchant trade, has married a German woman, and Margery hints at a suppressed longing to travel once more:

> Hys modyr being in a chapel of owr Lady thankyng God of þe grace & goodness þat he schewyd to hir sone & hauyng desyr to sen hym ȝyf sche myth, a-non it was answeryd to hir mende þat sche xulde seen hem alle er þan sche deyid. Sche had wondyr of þis felynge how it xulde be so as sche felt, in-as-meche as þei weryn be-ȝondyn þe see & sche on þis halfe þe see, neuyr purposing to passyn þe see whil sche leuyd. (Kempe, *Book*, 223)

Her presentiment is fulfilled when her son and daughter-in-law travel to Lynn to visit her, but, upon her son's death, she sets off with her daughter-in-law for Ipswich to see her onto her ship home. After delivering her daughter-in-law to the port, she is "moved in her spirit" to travel to Germany also, and does so, against the wishes of her daughter-in-law and her confessor. On this journey, she visits the relic of the holy blood at Wilsnack, and travels to Aachen to see the Virgin Mary's smock and other relics. Her narrative concludes with a perfunctory resolution of the tension between Margery and her confessor, who is very angry at her disobedience in travelling overseas, but soon placated, with divine help.

The surviving fifteenth-century manuscript, once belonging to the Carthusian house of Mount Grace in Yorkshire and rediscovered in 1934, is a copy, made by a scribe called "Salthows."[71] The creation of Margery's *Book* is as complex as that of Bridget's *Revelaciones*, and the distribution of authority and agency between Margery and her scribes has exercised many commentators on the text.[72] The first partial transcription of Margery's feelings, taken down in a mixture of English and German by an unnamed layman, was almost incomprehensible for four years to the second

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[71] For the reasoning in favour of this being a copy, see Sanford Brown Meech, "Introduction," in *The Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. Meech, xxxiii.

[72] For a summary of the main arguments, see Voaden, *God's Words*, 110-5. Voaden remarks, "*The Book of Margery Kempe*, in marked contrast [to the *Revelaciones* of Bridget of Sweden and other hagiographic texts] does not present a carefully edited seamless structure, conforming to a prototype of hagiography or visionary narrative.... in *The Book of Margery Kempe*, the story of the book perpetuates the ambiguities and inconsistencies of the whole narrative. The second scribe makes no secret of his mixed feelings about Margery. It is suggestive that he is never identified, and that his qualifications, beyond the fact that he is a priest, are never given" (112-3).

scribe, who attempted to decipher it. Only after Margery prayed to God to give him grace to understand it could he decode the manuscript, and this process is described as a collaborative one: "þe preste, trustyng in hire prayers, be-gan to redyn þis booke, & it was much mor esy, as hym thowt, þan it was be-forn tyme. & so he red it ouyr be-forn þis creatur euery word, sche sum-tym helpyng where ony difficulte was" (Kempe, *Book*, 5). The long Proem, written by this second scribe, an unnamed priest, describes the clerical and divine license for the text, although it also admits that the scribe's willingness to undertake the task was undermined by spiteful gossip and criticism of Margery. Margery had resisted encouragement from "worthy & worshipful clerkys" to write of her feelings and revelations, "for sche was comawndyd in hir sowle þat sche schuld not wrytyn so soone." Not for twenty years after her first revelations did she begin the writing process, and only "whan it plesyd ower Lord, [and] he comawnded hyr & chargyd hir þat sche xuld don wryten" (Kempe, *Book*, 3). The deferral of the writing of the book emphasises the obedience of the mystic to God's will.

Margery never addresses the reader in the first person in the book, a mechanism which works to intensify the impression of Margery's self-effacement and humility. Margery's speech is frequently reproduced in direct quotation by the narrative voice, however, and Voaden points out that the negative reception of Margery's record of her visions is due partly to the fact that she is "an insistently physical presence" in her Book.[73]

This "physical presence" is thrown into relief by comparing Margery to the female mystics who influenced her. Margery's engagement with the examples of earlier female mystics is acknowledged by Sylvia Schein and in Voaden's more recent essay on Margery's pilgrimages, which also emphasises the opportunities provided by her journeys to learn about and absorb the influence of female visionaries such as

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[73] Voaden, *God's Words*, 108. See also Sarah Beckwith, "A Very Material Mysticism: The Medieval Mysticism of Margery Kempe," in *Gender and Text in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. Jane Chance (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996), 199. In 1936 Father Herbert Thurston saw a "hysterical temperament revealed in every page of the narrative portions" of Margery's book; this is echoed in Donald Howard's description of Margery as "an incurable hysteric with a large paranoid trend." Beckwith explains such negative responses to Margery's *Book* as arising from " a notion of absence, negativity, apophasis, as the only means of access to God." Margery's insistent physical presence in the text is epitomised by her willingness in reciprocation and imitation of Christ's love for her, to " be leyd nakyd on an hyrdil, alle men to wonderyn on me for þi loue, so it were no perel to her sowlys, þei to castyn slory and slugge on me" Kempe, *Book*, 184; Voaden, *God's Words*, 121. See Herbert Thurston, "Margery the Astonishing," *The Month* (November, 1936). Cited by Hope Emily Allen, "Prefatory Note," in *The Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. Meech, lxv. See also Howard, *Writers and Pilgrims*, 34-5.

Angela of Foligno, Marie d'Oignes, Dorothy of Montau and others.[74] Pilgrimage is a chance to gain knowledge of and emulate other women mystics as well as engage in an *imitatio christi*.

The strongest influence on Margery is Bridget of Sweden. The parallels between Bridget and Margery are numerous and not simply those to which their shared status as female mystics would predispose them, such as the controls of confessors and spiritual directors and the processes of ratification of their narratives by amanuenses.[75] Margery referred directly to Bridget's revelations as one of the texts with which she was familiar, although, as Atkinson points out, it is far from clear exactly what form this book could have taken or, as Melissa Furrow argues, in what language she may have encountered it.[76]

Margery follows Bridget in many fundamental aspects of her devotion, albeit with modifications. Both women were greatly preoccupied by the episodes of the Nativity and the Passion, although Margery's vision of the former, unlike Bridget's, is not stimulated by the visit to Bethlehem, but takes place in England, apparently before her pilgrimage (Kempe, *Book*, 18-9). Margery's pilgrimage, like Bridget's, was ordained to her in a vision, and her departure was deferred:

> Thys creatur, whan owyr Lord had forȝeuen hir hir synne as is wrete be-forn, had a desyr to se þo placys wher he was born & wher he sufferyd hys Passyone & wher he deyd, wyth oþer holy placys wher he was in hys lyus, & also after hys Resurrexyon. As sche was in þese desyres, owyr Lord bad hir in hir men ii ȝer er þan sche went þat sche schuld gon to Rome, to Iherusalem, & to Seynt Iamys. (Kempe, *Book*, 32)

The deferral of Bridget's pilgrimage (like the deferred writing of Margery's book) is presented as a token of her submission to the will of Christ as communicated in her visions; permission for the journey is finally given by the Virgin Mary in reward for the immensity of Bridget's love for her (Book 7.1). The reasons for Margery's delay, on the other hand, are financial: she does not have the resources to make the journey and must clear her husband's debts before she is free to depart. The clearing of this

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[74] Schein, "Women's Jerusalem Pilgrimages," 50-1; Rosalynn Voaden, "Travels with Margery: Pilgrimage in Context," in *Eastward Bound*, ed. Allen, 179, 184, 186-7, 189.

[75] For lists of further parallels between the lives of Bridget and Margery, see Schein, "Women's Jerusalem Pilgrimages," 51; Windeatt, "Introduction," 13.

[76] Atkinson, *Mystic and Pilgrim: The Book and the World of Margery Kempe*, 34; Furrow, "Unscholarly Latinity and Margery Kempe," 241.

debt is a condition of Margery's release from sexual duties to her husband John, so that her escape from the matrimonial obligations which interfere with her spiritual life is reiterated at her departure. Both women's departures from Jerusalem are also ordained in visions: Bridget is encouraged to return to Rome by the Virgin Mary, in harmony with her desire, while Margery is dissuaded by Christ, while in Palestine, from returning to Jerusalem, to which she is drawn "for þe great grace & gostly comfort þat sche felt whan sche was þer" (Kempe, 75; Bridget of Sweden, Book 7.26).

Notwithstanding these parallels, Margery's construction of her relation to her fellow travellers diverges significantly from Bridget's. Although the narrative of Bridget's pilgrimage concentrates on her visions, it makes it clear that the pilgrimage is a communal enterprise. Christ addresses not only Bridget but her travelling companions when he guarantees her remission of sins at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, as does Mary when she counsels the party to return to Rome (Book 7.14, 7.26). While Bridget travels with her spiritual directors Alfonso, Prior Peter of Alvastra and Magister Peter of Skänninge, Margery has to navigate relationships with a series of male religious authorities (Kempe, *Book*, 60-102; B. Morris, 122). There is a lacuna in Margery's *Book* regarding her confessor on pilgrimage: the priest who becomes displeased with her soon after setting out because of her wish to abstain from meat disappears from the narrative, leaving Margery to choose confessors in succession. On that pilgrimage alone she makes a complete confession of all her sins, from childhood to that moment, to two different confessors.[77] The lack of a single confessor for the whole journey gives Margery greater autonomy than Bridget but makes her more vulnerable. Margery's reliance on frequent confession and communion motivates her to seek confessors with determination.[78]

The travelling plans and the spiritual rewards within Bridget's party appear to be serenely shared by all, although her travelling companions are not named in Book 7, nor are their interactions with Bridget described. In contrast, Margery's co-existence with her fellow pilgrims is a recurring preoccupation of her narrative. It is often oppositional in character, in need of constant definition. Admittedly, several religious

[77] Janette Dillon, "Holy Women and their Confessors or Confessors and their Holy Women? Margery Kempe and Continental Tradition," in *Prophets Abroad: The Reception of Continental Holy Women in Late-Medieval England*, ed. Rosalynn Voaden (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1996), 122; Kempe, *Book*, 63, 83.

[78] "The dependence of women visionaries on orthodox male clerics for their authority to speak can produce an obsessive devotion to confession." Dillon, "Holy Women and their Confessors," 121.

men take seriously her weepings and her visions.[79] However, throughout the journey, her English travelling companions harass her, refusing to serve her, eat with her, return money of hers given to their keeping or let her speak of religious matters (Kempe 62-6). These travellers are preoccupied with anything but the spiritual purpose of the pilgrimage, providing a pretext for Margery to demonstrate the exceptional religious fervour with which she undertakes her pilgrimage. In parody of the white garments which God had ordered her to wear, they cut her garments to the knee and "dedyn her don on a whyte canvas in maner of a sekken gelle, for sche xuld ben holdyn a fool" (Kempe 62).

Terence Bowers argues that the significance of the actions of Margery's fellow travellers is transformed by the context of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem:

> [Margery's companions'] actions replicate those of Christ's persecutors. Their abandonment of Kempe recalls the Jews'abandonment of Christ. Their verbal and physical abuse of her recall how Jesus was treated: in particular, their rending of her clothes and dressing her as a figure of mockery recall how the Roman soldiers mocked Christ at his crucifixion. Even small details take on a charged significance in the Holy Land: thus Kempe's call for water, which her countrymen deny her, recalls Christ's words from the cross. (Bowers, 28)

While Bridget's acceptance as a mystic is predicated upon her unobtrusiveness within the *Revelations*, Margery's vocation to Christ depends upon her startling visibility, her failure to be absorbed into a group of her peers. However, as we will see, the particular pose of imitation is only a temporary device. Just as external responses to Margery are divergent, multifarious, never unanimous, her self-positioning in relation to Christ is permanently in flux.

Margery's divergences from Bridget's example, to which I have already referred, demonstrate that her relationship to Bridget does not consist only of emulation. Sarah Beckwith argues that Margery's relation to Bridget also contains elements of competition, citing Margery's vision of the sacrament moving like a dove beating its wings (Beckwith, *Christ's Body*, 107):

> Whan þe Sacre was don, þis creatur had gret merueyle of þe steryng & mevyng of þe blyssed Sacrament, desyring to se mor Sacreys & lokyng yf it wold don so

[79] At Constance, an English friar, Master of divinity and papal legate; at Jerusalem, the Franciscan guides and at Rome, "a Dewcheman, a good clerke, & a wel lernyd man, hily beloued, wel cheryshyd, & myche trostyd in Rome, [who] had on of þe grettest office of any preste in Rome." Kempe, *Book*, 63, 73, 82.

> a-ȝen. Þan seyd owyr Lord Ihesu Crist to þe creatur, "þow xalt no mor sen it in þis maner, þerfor thank God þat þow hast seyn. My dowtyr, Bryde, say me neuyr in þis wyse.... For I telle þe forsoþe rygth as I spak to Seynt Bryde ryte so I speke to þe, dowtyr, & I telle þe trewly it is trewe euery word þat is wretyn in Brides boke, & be it xal be knowyn for very trewth." (Kempe, *Book*, 47)

This competitive dynamic does not displace Bridget to make way for Margery, however. Instead, authority flows in a circuit among Christ, Bridget and Margery. Christ, through Margery's vision, confirms Bridget's spiritual authority. Margery derives authority from being equated with Bridget in the privilege of intimate conversation with Christ, but also from receiving Christ's confidence about Bridget and by being privileged to receive visions which Bridget never achieved.

Margery's relationship to Christ himself consists of several roles, not only the role of imitation which Bowers argues is evoked in Margery's suffering at the hands of her persecutory companions. For example, like Bridget, Margery's meditations construct her as participating in the Nativity, although the two women's visions of the Nativity are quite different from one another. Margery gained access to the Virgin Mary and the Christ child as a servant to Mary, procuring clothes, bedding and food for the mother and child, and swaddling the baby.[80] Saint Bridget's experience, however, took the form of direct witness, not participation. As Bridget Morris points out, the ordering of the vision of the nativity after that of the passion in Bridget's revelations made for "a poignant reminder of the reduced pleasure of the Virgin at the foreknowledge of the Passion."[81] Similarly, awareness of the Passion tempered

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[80] For an account of the roots of meditation on the Nativity and its role in devotion to Christ's humanity, see Woolf, *The English Religious Lyric*, 143-5. Woolf locates the precedent for a participative form of meditation "in which the meditator actually imagines himself present in the scene" in Aelred of Rievaulx's twelfth-century *Letter to his Sister*. In this letter Aelred suggests not only the imagination of presence but also of active participation in the Nativity: "wait until Mary goes up to Bethlehem, and run after her with meek devotion, come forward and do whatever service you can. And when the fair baby is cradled in an ox-stall, burst out into a song of gladness with Isaiah and say: 'Unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given.' And then, with all reverence, clasp some part of the sweet stall where your young husband lies, and letting love overcome shame, press your lips to the tender feet of Christ, kissing them with all your heart many, many times before you cease." In Aelred of Rievaulx, *A Letter to his Sister*, ed. Geoffrey Webb and Adrian Walker (London: A. W. Mowbray, 1957), 34.

[81] Morris, *St Birgitta of Sweden*, 135. Woolf notes that "Whilst meditations on the Passion could, at the cost of incompleteness but without indecorum, exclude recollection of the Divinity, whose glory and impassibility would have broken the mood of grief and suffering, the Nativity could not fittingly be treated in this limited way, and therefore both poetic and visual treatments of it usually in some way demonstrate the nature of the Child.... The Nativity in its poverty and lack of worldly comforts may already foreshadow the pain of Crucifixion, or the security of the Christ-Child cared for by its mother may instead point a contrast with the Cross." Woolf, *The English Religious Lyric*, 149.

Margery's joy while swaddling the baby: "sche swathyd hym wyth byttyr teerys of compassyon, hauyng mend of þe scharp deth þat he schuld suffyr for þe lofe of synful men" (Kempe, *Book*, 19). This redoubles the sense of emulation: Margery imitates Bridget's own partaking in the Virgin's suffering as well as the Virgin herself.

David Aers speculates that Margery's identification with the Virgin Mary, focussed on the infant Jesus and on the care for his body after the crucifixion, permitted "transcendence of the clerically induced guilt about her own sexuality, allowing the imaginary identification with a mother who remains a virgin," and offered "an image of the one sphere in which the woman obviously controls males" (Aers, "Making of Margery," 104-6). Hope Phyllis Weissman also sees the identification with the Virgin Mary as reintegrating Margery's identity, which has been fragmented by the conflict between her sexual and spiritual beings. Locating the origins of Margery's spiritual malaise in the trauma of childbirth and her status as a sexually active mother and wife, Weissman explores the significance of language and figures of motherhood in the visions at Calvary. Weissman explains Margery's experience at Jerusalem as a catharsis of this first traumatic birth:

> At Jerusalem Margery is reenacting her own harsh labor of childbirth, the labor unto madness, and almost unto death, with which her *vita* begins. By reexperiencing the pains of labor at the scene of Christ's passion, Margery confesses to and atones for the "great sin against her Lord," the sin of female sexuality, which labor in childbirth punishes.[82]

In addition to the cathartic reenactment and reapplication of the pains of Margery's own labour, Weissman identifies imitation by Margery of the piercing of the Virgin's heart by the sword of sorrow. At the Passion, Mary and, in this account, Margery suffer the pains spared the Virgin at her delivery of Jesus Christ. Thus, Margery

> cancels both the sin and the legacy of shame. For by reexperiencing her labor pains at the scene of the Virgin's Compassion, Margery demonstrates her passage beyond Eve's biological maternity to achieve a maternity suprasexual and faultlessly pure.

Indeed, one might go so far as to suggest that Margery seeks to take the part of the Virgin in these visions. While in Margery's earlier participation in Christ's Nativity

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[82] Hope Phyllis Weissman, "Margery Kempe in Jerusalem: *Hysterica Compassio* in the Late Middle Ages," in *Acts of Interpretation: the Text in its Contexts 700-1600. Essays on Medieval and Renaissance Literature in Honor of E. Talbot Donaldson*, ed. Mary J. Carruthers and Elizabeth D. Kirk (Norman, Oklahoma: Pilgrim Books, 1982), 215.

she aids the Virgin, who is the protagonist of the scene, the mourning Virgin, John and Mary Magdalene are here given only a passing mention, leaving Margery more space in which to act out a grief which closely recalls the Virgin's (Kempe, *Book*, 68).

The exercise of devotional identification is somewhat more complicated, however, than Weissman admits. The language which Weissman believes signals a reenactment of the pangs of labour exceeds the limits of a vocabulary specific to childbirth: "sche fel down & cryed with lowde voys, wondyrfully turning & wresting hir body on euery side, spredyng hir armys a-brode as yf sche xulde a deyd, & not cowed kepyn hir fro crying" (Kempe, *Book*, 71). This passage from the *Book* evokes particularly vividly Rolle's description of the Virgin Mary's suffering in his *Meditations on the Passion*, phrased from the viewpoint of Christ on the cross: "þou saw hyre folewe after among þe gret prees; os a womman owt of hyre-selue hyre handys sche wrong; wepynge and syschynge hyre armys he caste; þe watur of hyre eyen dropped at hyre feet; he fel in dede swowne, ofter þan onys, for sorewe of þe peynes þat to hyr herte smyten."[83] In the spreading of Margery's arms, as if near death, however, there is also a hint of the imitation of Christ's crucifixion.[84]

Furthermore, Weissman's emphasis on the mimetic relation to the Virgin obscures another important identification experienced by Margery at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Margery visited

> þe chapel þer owyr blyssed Lord aperyd to hys blysful Modyr on Estern Day at morwyn first of all oþer. & sche stode in þe same place þer Mary Mawdelyn stode whan Crist seyd to hir, 'Mary, why wepyst þu?' (Kempe, *Book*, 75)

Margery's visit to the site of Christ's apparition to his mother is to a general zone, delimited by the walls of the chapel, and lacks a sense of conscious imitation, unlike the visions at Calvary. However, the record of Margery's standing posture on the precise spot of Mary Magdalene's meeting with Christ, in combination with an

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[83] Richard Rolle, *Yorkshire Writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole an English Father of the Church and his Followers*, ed. C. Horstmann, 2 vols., vol. 1 (London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co., 1895), 86. This comes from "Text I" of the "Meditations on the Passion," preserved in Camb. Univ. MS. Ll. i. 8. The other version, "Text II," is preserved in four manuscripts: Bodl. MS. E Musaeo 232, British Library MS Cotton Titus C xix, Camb. Univ. MS Addit. 3042 and Upsala MS C 494. Notes to "Meditations on the Passion" in Richard Rolle, *The English Writings*, ed. and trans. Rosamund S. Allen, The Classics of Western Spirituality: A Library of the Great Spiritual Masters (London: SPCK, 1989), 90. Barry Windeatt points out in the annotations to his translation of Margery's *Book* the coincidence between Margery's vision of Christ crucified and Rolle's *Meditations on the Passion*. Margery Kempe, *The Book of Margery Kempe*, trans. B. A. Windeatt (London: Penguin Books, 1994), 313, n. 10.

[84] "At Calvary, with the onset of her cries, Margery both identifies with Christ and simultaneously gives birth to him." Beckwith, "A Very Material Mysticism," 209.

allusion to the Magdalene's weeping, an action so closely associated with Margery herself, could be taken to suggest mimicry and close identification. Margery's laments at the foot of the crucified Christ also cast her in the role of either the Virgin or Mary Magdalene, as does her great weeping at the stone on which Christ was laid after the crucifixion.[85]

The difference in emphasis on imitation at the sites of the apparitions to the Virgin and to Mary Magdalene may also be seen as a response to the architectural organisation of space in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. William Wey's first itinerary to Jerusalem, which post-dates Margery's itinerary by approximately forty years, identifies the chapel in which Christ's appearance to the Virgin took place, but observes a more narrowly defined space in which the appearance to Mary Magdalene is commemorated: the latter is recorded by Wey, and by several other writers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, at two stones in the pavement marking the respective positions of Christ and Mary. In response to the contours and organisation of the Church of the Sepulchre, Margery thinks of the apparition to the Virgin as occupying a zone as delimited by the architectural unit of the chapel, while the appearance to Mary Magdalene is thought of in terms of a narrower, more specific location: the space occupied by a person standing.[86] Like the propriety of the matter of

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[85] Kempe, *Book*, 70-1. Margery's later marriage to the Godhead and the ensuing conversation cast Margery in several roles in relation to God, in quick succession: "Dowtyr, thow desyrest gretly to se me, & þu mayst boldly, whan þu art in þi bed, take me to þe as for þi weddyd husbond, as thy derworthy derlyng, & as for thy swete sone, for I wyl be leuyd as a sone schuld be louyd with þe modyr & wil þat þu loue me, dowtyr, as a good [wife] owyth to loue hir husbonde." Kempe, *Book*, 90. While Bridget maintains a fairly consistent identity as the spouse of Christ, Margery adopts identities on a provisional basis, moving from one relation to another around the stable, central object of Christ. "The multiplication of the role of the love object – Christ as lover, son, husband, father – undoes the social codification of desire by its incestuous simultaneity," says Beckwith. Beckwith, "A Very Material Mysticism," 211. Beckwith does not see this as constituting effective resistance to or subversion of these social codes, however. Margery is "unable to attempt to break the mold of [her] subjection" (212). It is hardly surprising that none of the constructed roles available to Margery as a woman is independently adequate to express her intimacy with the Godhead, since none of these has been able to provide her with a satisfactory social position. These roles provide a vocabulary for the expression of Margery's relation to God, but are doomed to insufficiency as metaphors by their literal inadequacy. Perhaps Margery's inability or unwillingness to adhere to one of these roles expresses a dissatisfaction with religious experience that must be expressed in terms of analogy. Rosemary Woolf points out, however, that such "fluctuation" between the relations of the meditator to Christ as sister and spouse has a precedent in the Song of Songs itself. Woolf, *The English Religious Lyric*, 189.

[86] The apparent priority of the first apparition, which has no scriptural foundation, over the second, which has its source at John 20:17, is bemusing at first. Woolf gives Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda Aurea* (c. 1260) and the *Meditaciones Vitae Christi* as the source for the apparition to the Virgin. "Nevertheless," she points out, "the absence of this appearance in the gospels led to some hesitation in the use of the theme: both Jacob of Voragine and Ludolf the Carthusian, in the *Vita Jesu Christi*, point out that it is no more than a reasonable and fitting belief ...." The *Legenda Aurea* reasons thus: "The third apparition was to the Virgin Mary and is believed to have taken place before all the others, although the evangelists say nothing about it. The church at Rome seems to approve this belief, since it

a vision to its location, the acknowledgment of the church's distinct spaces in Margery's narration of her visit suggests that her visions are informed by and responsive to architecture and monuments at the holy places, in spite of superficial indifference to them. Evidence of Margery's apprehension of the physical features of the holy sites also appears after the narration of her return to England: the marble stone of the unction which she sees in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre forms part of Margery's subsequent conception of the deposition during her Passion visions, described in Chapter 80 (Kempe, *Book*, 193).

Even if Weissman's claims for Margery's achievement at Jerusalem of a "maternity suprasexual and faultlessly pure" are somewhat overstated, it must be acknowledged that the pilgrimage brings about three important changes in the nature of Margery's devotion. Her completion of the pilgrimage enables her to adopt the white clothing which had been recommended to her by Christ when she had first wanted to go on pilgrimage (Kempe, *Book*, 32, 80). The Bishop of Lincoln, lacking the courage to grant Margery permission to adopt such garb, had urged her to wait "tyl ȝe come fro Ierusalem þat ȝe be bettyr preuyd and knowyn" (Kempe, *Book*, 35). The subsequent issuing of her white raiment marks the social recognition of the religious calling available in the successful completion of a pilgrimage. Secondly, it is during the vigil in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, on first arrival in Jerusalem, that Margery first experiences her roarings, which continue for several years (Kempe, *Book*, 68). Thirdly, only after the pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the journey to Rome are accomplished is Margery invited to marry the Godhead.

According to Anthony Goodman, the Holy Land chapters are marked by a degree of organisation and attention to the holy places which is absent from Margery's other pilgrimages (Goodman, 215). Voaden recognises the probable influence of the Franciscans on Margery's experience of Jerusalem, both before and after the event: they "both generated the pilgrims' initial expectations, through the

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celebrates a station at the church of Saint Mary on Easter Sunday. Indeed, if this is not to be believed, on the ground that no evangelist testifies to it, we would have to conclude that Jesus never appeared to Mary after his resurrection because no gospel tells us where or when this happened. But perish the thought that such a son would fail to honor such a mother by being so negligent! Still it may be that in this case the evangelists kept silence because their charge was only to present witnesses to the resurrection, and it would not be proper to have a mother testifying for her son.... Christ must first of all have made his mother happy over his resurrection, since she certainly grieved over his death more than the others." Woolf credits Bridget's *Revelations* with popularising and authorising the belief in this appearance. Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan, 2 vols., vol. 2 (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1993), 221-2; Woolf, *The English Religious Lyric*, 138-9.

influence they had on affective piety, and then confirmed those expectations through the inevitably selective nature of their tour" (Voaden, "Travels with Margery," 186, 187, 190). By undertaking a comparative study of Margery's various pilgrimages, Voaden demonstrates the extent of the Franciscans' influence and the particular character of the visit to Jerusalem. Of her travels outside of Palestine, Voaden writes that, "shorn of the formal structure of her Jerusalem pilgrimage, [Margery's] northern European pilgrimage heightened her identification with the sufferings of Christ in a way less influenced by Franciscan devotional praxis than by her own sense of vulnerability in a hostile environment, subject to the kindness and curses of strangers."

Voaden's essay substantially advances the formerly sparse discussion of Margery's travels in the light of late medieval pilgrimage practices, arguing that her travel on pilgrimage enabled her to encounter unfamiliar kinds of piety, and provided pretexts for the trial and manifestation of her own devotion. She also recognises, on the other hand, the "marked ... lack of interest in her physical whereabouts," and the fact that "what she records is her response to the sights, not the sights themselves" (Voaden, "Travels with Margery," 185) Thus Margery shares Bridget's apparent indifference to the appearance of the holy sites as she encounters them, scarcely referring to what is materially visible there. However, the propriety between the narrative of visions and the places in which they occur demonstrates that space is differentiated and meaningful for her: she weeps over the Passion, which she recreates imaginatively in great detail, at the church of the Holy Sepulchre and, at the Virgin's tomb, is counseled by the Virgin Mary not to feel shame for her weepings. The traditional pilgrimage tour presented in fifteenth-century pilgrimage guides and accounts is detectable in the vigil in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and in the reverse-chronological movement from there towards Sion, past the places of Mary's swoon and Christ's falls. It also leaves traces on subsequent visions, furnishing props for her later visions of the Passion, for example. The pilgrimage route underlies Margery's narrative, as it focused and intensified Bridget's, although neither woman shares the proccupation of pilgrimage guides or accounts with the dimensions, distances and structures of the pilgrimage sites.

The Tradition of Affective Piety

Dee Dyas' examination of pilgrimage in medieval English literature carefully distinguishes between three kinds of pilgrimage: interior pilgrimage of the kind undertaken by monks or anchorites, moral or "life" pilgrimage (that is, a commitment to obedience to God in daily life, and scrupulous avoidance of the seven deadly sins such as Margery strives for), and "place pilgrimage," the primary concern of this thesis. Dyas comments that an "oscillation between emphasis on a relationship with God which is independent of place, and a desire to establish holy places where the presence of God may be experienced in a particular fashion" may be observed in the Old Testament as well as in the Christian tradition (particularly when "place pilgrimage" emerges in the fourth century), and that these compete long before as well as throughout the Middle Ages (Dyas, 6). Dyas challenges the idea that "life pilgrimage" is an outgrowth, into metaphor, of the "place pilgrimage." She insists on the primacy of the idea of life on earth as exile from God in the Old Testament and in the early Christian church and the later emergence of "place pilgrimage"; Christian Zacher concurs (Dyas, 14-20, 37-47, 194; Zacher, *Curiosity and Pilgrimage*, 43). Philip Edwards complicates the question of the place of the pilgrim's quest in the early church by referring to the Epistle to the Hebrews, particularly 11:13-14. "The drift of the epistle is to present the new covenant of Christianity as a spiritual replacement of existing physicality.... [In the use of the image of the παρεπίδημοί, *peregrinus*, or pilgrim,] truth drew its strength from the language of what it despised and sought to replace" (Edwards, 6-11).

The interior pilgrimage and the place pilgrimage need not always compete with one another, however, and the disagreements about priority and differentiation attest to the fact that one is interwoven with the other. I have already referred to the ways in which Margery and Bridget's experiences of the holy places are influenced by texts in the Franciscan and Cistercian traditions of affective piety, revealing the boundary between the interior and the place pilgrimage to be somewhat porous. The accounts of Margery's and Bridget's visions at the holy places share the tendencies of these texts to make use of imaginative detail not only as regards emotional response and gesture, but also physical setting, material objects and textures in contemplation

of such events as the Nativity and the Passion. They reintroduce such devotional devices to the contexts in which the place pilgrimage occurs.

A rationale for the diligent use of such imaginative resources in religious meditation is given in Nicholas Love's *Miroure of the Blessed Life of Christ*, a fifteenth-century translation of the *Meditaciones Vite Christi* already mentioned. Love's preface explains and justifies elaboration on the detail provided by the gospels for Christ's life:

> it is to be vnderstoode and taken as for a pryncypall & generall rule of dyuerse imagynacions that folowe after in this boke, that the discrybinge of speches, or dedes, of God, of heuen, & of Aungelles, or other ghostly substaunces, be onely writen ... as a deuoute ymagination and liknesse styringe simple soules to the loue of God, & desire of heuenly thinges.[87]

Such elaboration is justified with reference to John 21:25:

> all those thinges that Iesus did were not writ*en* in the gospell: wherefore we beinge stirred to deuocion, imagine, and thinke diuers wordes & deedes of him and other the whith [*sic*] we finde not expresly written, so that it be not against our faith. (N. Love, *Miroure*, 8)

The *Miroure* has as its intention that "by those thinges that be visible, and that a man naturally knoweth, he may be stired and rauished to loue and desire ghostly inuisible thinges that he naturaly knoweth not." In a similar way, the responses of love and compassion appear to be intensified at moments in which Margery and Bridget visit and apprehend the very spots at which the events of the gospels occurred, even if the narratives appear superficially to be relatively indifferent to the holy places. In Love's terms, interpolation and elaboration of the speeches and settings of the events of the gospel are to aid the meditator's approximation to Christ by way of his humanity. This rationale for interpolation also helps to explain and justify the non-canonical identifications among the holy places shown by the Franciscans at Jerusalem and recorded by pilgrim narratives and guides.

Since the influence of the literature of affective piety is particularly pronounced where the narratives coincide with a visit to a pilgrimage site, it is worth examining more closely the relation of some writings in the tradition of affective piety of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as well as some earlier examples, to the

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[87] Nicholas Love, *The Miroure of the Blessed Life of our Lord Savioure Iesus Christe* ([Douai?]: [1609]), 7.

practice of pilgrimage. In many cases, particularly in the earlier texts, a good case could be made that the interest in the visual detail of the manger at Bethlehem or the places associated with the Passion is independent of any pronounced interest in the practice or places of pilgrimage. The thrust of Bernard of Clairvaux's Third Sermon for Christmas Day, mentioned above,[88] is not to exhort the listener to visit Bethlehem, but to outline the scale of Christ's sacrifice and to divert him from concerns of the world and the flesh. Aelred of Rievaulx's advice to participate in the action in the scenes of the gospels as conjured in meditation is directed to his sister, a cloistered nun who, by virtue of her position, is unlikely ever to undertake a journey to the settings of these scenes themselves. Indeed, rather than advocating such a journey, Aelred counsels his sister to "go to your most inward cell with Our Lady Mary" to await the Annunciation.[89]

In other, later texts in the tradition of affective piety, however, including those which might be thought to influence Margery and Bridget, there are clear signs of interest in the holy places themselves. In recounting the three Maries' approach to Christ's grave, for example, the *Meditaciones Vite Christi* describes their journey in terms which echo the place pilgrimage, although the Maries' Easter pilgrimage does not map perfectly onto that followed by fourteenth- and fifteenth-century pilgrims, who followed a reverse-chronological order. Recollection of the event that makes each place significant is carried out in tandem with intimate emotional and physical engagement:

> When [Mary Magdalen and the other two Maries] came with out the gate of the Citie, they called to mind the afflictions and pains of their Master, and in all places where any notable thinge had been done to him, or by him, they lingered, and kneeling down, kissed the earth, giving groans and sighs .... [They remember both canonical and non-canonical places and episodes of the *Via Dolorosa* in a loosely chronological order.] And then with great lamentation and a flood of tears, falling down on their faces, they worshiped and kissed the cross, which was reddened with the precious blood of God.[90]

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[88] See n. 62 above.
[89] See n. 80 above.
[90] "Dum ergo fuerunt [Maria Magdalena et alie Marie] extra portam ciuitatis reuocabant ad memoriam afflicciones et penas Magistri sui, et in omnibus locis in quibus contra ipsum notabiliter uel per ipsum factum fuerat aliquid aliquantulum subsistebant; genuflectentes et osculantes terram, gemitus et suspiria dantes et dicentes: .... Et tunc magno clamore et inundacione lacrimarum procidentes in facies

The *Meditaciones* is also interested in relative distances between the holy places. It explains Christ's fatigue in carrying the cross by reference to the distance of Calvary from the city, and specifies the length of the journey of the Virgin Mary and her company from Jerusalem to Mount Olivet as one mile.[91] The sense of the physical contours of the city of Jerusalem and its surroundings informs the *Meditaciones*; indeed, it is in certain places more explicitly preserved than in the pilgrimage accounts of Bridget and Margery.

The *Meditaciones* also occasionally interrupts the interpolated historical account to refer to relics which might aid imaginative recreation, an effect which is accentuated in Nicholas Love's translation:

> the boorde [was] foure-square and made of diuers boordes ioyned together, and as men doe say that haue seene the same at Roome in the Church of Lateranensis, it beareth the breadthe of two armes lenghte at euer square or corner, or somwhat more, so that the disciples sitting rounde in this maner, and our Lorde Iesus amongst them they mighte reach into the middest, and all eate of one dishe .... Thus far we may imagin of the maner of their first sittinge downe to the boorde."[92]

A similar interruption of the past-tense narrative with present-tense description is to be found in Richard Rolle's *Meditations on the Passion* (Text I). In the course of an extended meditation on Christ's sufferings, he says, "Swete lord Ihesu Cryst, I thanke þe for of peynes þat þou soffred for vs, and for þe swete blod þat þou bledde for vs, whan þou were so sore betyn and bownden to þe pyler, þat ȝyt it is sene þe blood on þe pyler" (Rolle, *Yorkshire Writers*, 84). The current state of the physical object is called to the service of the meditation on the passion and the affective response to Christ.

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suas adorauerunt et osculate sunt crucem, adhuc precioso sanguine Domini rubricatam ...." Johannis de Caulibus, *Meditaciones Vite Christi*, 302.

[91] Johannis de Caulibus, *Meditaciones Vite Christi*, 338. Felix Fabri gives the distance as "three good Italian miles," which in proportion to conversions made elsewhere in his narrative is slightly less than three quarters of a German mile. Fabri, *Wanderings*, vol. 1, pt. 2, 488. In the *Meditaciones*, note is made of other distances between locations in Palestine, also, such as that between Jerusalem and Bethlehem. Johannis de Caulibus, *Meditaciones Vite Christi*, 30.

[92] Love, *Miroure*, 444. This diverges slightly from the final sentence of the Latin: "Erat autem ut creditur quadra, de pluribus tamen tabulis quam ego uidi Rome in ecclesia Lateranensi, et eam mensuarui. Est autem in uno quadro duorum braachiorum. Et trium digitorum et plurium, uel circa: ita quod omnes in uno catino comedere poterant.... Sed attende quod dupliciter potes hic meditari: uno modo, ut sedeant, ut dixi; alio, ut stent recti." ("But note that you can meditate on this in two ways: firstly, with them sitting, as I said; secondly, with them standing upright.") Johannis de Caulibus, *Meditaciones Vite Christi*, 244.

Guidebooks and Travel Accounts: English Pilgrimage Literature of the Fifteenth Century

The examples just examined demonstrate that although the principal purposes of mystical and meditative texts may not be to provide representations of the contours, dimensions or structures of the holy places, the texts are responsive to the physical characteristics of the places in which events of Christ's birth and passion took place. The following section turns to the texts for which these matters are of primary interest: those concerned with providing narration of a pilgrimage already accomplished, or guidance for a projected journey to Jerusalem. The narratives are first introduced chronologically, as far as possible, with a précis of authorship, content and style. While most of the texts are explicit about their date of writing and/or travelling, some of the texts contain no date either of travel or composition. Where it is not possible to establish a time period for the writing of the text itself, the date of the writing of the manuscript or publication is used. Questions of dating are addressed more fully in discussions of particular texts. Afterwards comes a more general discussion of the ways of constructing the narrative voice, establishing authority, and fixing the memory of the experience of pilgrimage in written form. I examine the motivations of pilgrims, their claims for the places they visit and the merits of the journey, and the purposes they seem to imagine for the written record of the pilgrimage.

Awareness of the issues which arose in discussion of the writings of these mystical or meditative texts is carried over into analysis of pilgrimage narratives, although there is no doubt that their line of approach to the holy places and their objectives are quite different. My separation of the writings of Margery Kempe and Bridget of Sweden from the texts considered in the following section assumes the existence of meaningful generic distinctions. I accept, and employ in the structure of this chapter, three broad generic categories within writing about pilgrimage and holy places: firstly, mystical writings about the holy places such as those of Margery Kempe and St Bridget; secondly, texts of a devotional and meditative kind which make some use of the landscape of Jerusalem like the *Meditaciones Vite Christi*; and, thirdly, kinds of writing which are primarily concerned with a particular or projected future experience of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, like the texts I am about to analyse. However, this chapter is concerned less to enforce divisions than to demonstrate the

material that is shared between texts across groupings, and the ways in which these texts influence one another.

Generic typologies within this third category of pilgrimage literature immediately raise difficulties. Philippe Lejeune has commented on generic definition that it is easily "led not only to say what the genre is, but also what it *ought* to be to be what it is," so that "description becomes normative."[93] When individual examples are scrutinised, their forms are more complex and heterogeneous than rigid categorisations would admit. "'Typological' theories," Lejeune comments, "are themselves incapable not only of explaining but also of describing variability through history, and merely perceive genres in their real manifestations as degradations or hybrids of rare, pure essences."[94] J. G. Davies' two attempts at a typology of pilgrimage literature provide examples of the problems involved in such an enterprise. He first proposed seven categories: itineraries, pilgrim-diaries, *libri indulgentiarum*, maps, aids to devotion and their use, guide books and travel accounts.[95] His second attempt extended the categories to nine, adding letters and canons to the list.[96] In both cases, Davies admits the difficulty of attempting a typology, conceding that "these nine types are, of course, not discrete; they could and did merge into one another" (J. G. Davies, "Pilgrimage and Crusade Literature," 2). His willingness to foreground questions of generic classification rather than those of the authenticity of the purportedly non-fictional narrative is useful, since it makes it possible for readers to escape the obsession with originality and veracity which often preoccupies criticism of pilgrimage in order to consider the gestures of generic belonging of a pilgrimage text and its structure. However, on consideration of this typology in relation to fifteenth-century English examples of pilgrimage literature, it becomes clear that they are not very well accommodated by it.[97] The categories proposed by Davies and

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[93] "le critique va être amené non seulement à dire ce qu'est le genre, mais ce qu'il *doit* être pour être ce qu'il est. Devoir être et être se confondent, et la description devient normative." Lejeune, *Pacte Autobiographique*, 322.

[94] "Les théories 'typologiques' sont, elles, incapables non seulement d'expliquer, mais même de décrire la variabilité historique, et elles ne perçoivent les genres réels que comme des dégradations ou des mélanges de quelques rares essences pures." Lejeune, *Pacte Autobiographique*, 329.

[95] J. G. Davies, *Pilgrimage Yesterday and Today: Why? Where? How?* (London: SCM Press, 1988), 19-42.

[96] J. G. Davies, "Pilgrimage and Crusade Literature," in *Journeys toward God: Pilgrimage and Crusade.*, ed. Barbara N. Sargent-Baur, Medieval Institute Publications, vol. 30 (Kalamazoo: Western Michigan University, 1992), 1-13.

[97] Wes Williams comments on the inadequacy of such categories in relation to Renaissance pilgrimage literature, and acknowledges that they may not fully accommodate the medieval texts either. Williams, *Pilgrimage and Narrative*, 14-5.

others that most immediately concern us here are the itinerary, pilgrim's diary, guidebook and travel account.[98] The first is useful as a shorthand term. The itinerary, in Davies' system, refers to "a list of stations en route and a record of the mileage between them" (J. G. Davies, "Pilgrimage and Crusade Literature," 2). Davies notes that they may appear as units within larger narratives. In the second category of pilgrim's diary, he includes "rather stark road-books" such as the text written by a pilgrim from Bordeaux, dating to 333 A.D.,[99] which he sees as sources for guidebooks, or as embryonic "full-length travel accounts."

So far, and as long as Davies admits the relations between categories, his system is satisfactory. However, his definitions of "guidebook" and "travel account" do not adequately address the frequent entanglements of the two groups of writing. When "all the information distributed between the several types of literature surveyed so far [the itinerary or pilgrim diary, libri indulgentiarum, and aids to devotion] is brought together in a single work," Davies says, a *guidebook* is produced, "a further type in its own right, more comprehensive than any of its predecessors" (J. G. Davies, "Pilgrimage and Crusade Literature," 6-7). As an example of such a comprehensive text, he gives the *Information for Pilgrims* (first published 1498), on the strength of its extensive practical advice, itineraries, lists of indulgences, and word lists; all this he states was "of course in the vernacular" (J. G. Davies, "Pilgrimage and Crusade Literature," 9). Davies does not remark that the printed *Information* is not presented entirely in the vernacular but also in Latin.[100] "Word-lists," by which Davies means *lexica*, do not always give definitions in the vernacular: in William Wey's text, the equivalents of the Greek words in the lexicon are given in Latin, not English (Wey, *Itineraries*, 140-2). Davies admits a general debt of the printed *Information for Pilgrims* to *The Itineraries of William Wey*, the first-person account of journeys undertaken by Wey in 1458 and 1462, but does not specify that the practical advice which forms the substance of the *guide* material is taken verbatim from Wey's book.[101] Furthermore, while he acknowledges that the printed *Information* is based on

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[98] Donald Howard proposes divisions according to the categories *log*, *guide*, and *narration*, but attempts no definition of these. Howard, *Writers and Pilgrims*, 18-9.

[99] For the text, see Bordeaux Pilgrim, "Itinerarium Burdigalense," in *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, ed. Geyer, 25.

[100] Several sections of the pilgrimages in Palestine, as well as a list of the stations at Rome and two short digressions, "de breuitate et vanitate huius mundi" and "nota de significacione singulorum membrorum ecclesie," are in Latin.

[101] Gordon Duff also notices this debt, and notes that a few additions were made to Wey's advice by the author/editor of the printed *Information*. Duff, "Introduction," xiii.

a single journey undertaken about a decade before the first edition's publication, Davies does not adequately explain how it ceases to be a travel account and comes to deserve the title of a guidebook. He also neglects to explain or acknowledge certain eccentricities in the text. The transition from the first-person account of travel to the instructive imperative (which coincides perfectly with a transition from Latin to English) is incomplete, so that in the latter sections of the narrative, traces of the first-person narration survive: for example, "In proximo die lune velabamus apud aragosiam" (fol. E1^{v}). Not only does the printed *Information*, which Davies categorises as a type of the guidebook, depend explicitly on a first-person travel account, parts of such a narration are still embedded within it, unadapted and untranslated. This state of imperfect translation in terms both of language and narrative voice was not addressed when the text came to the press in 1515 under the title *The Way to the Holy Land* or again in 1524. The suspension of the narrative between two voices, two languages and dual functions of narration and instruction apparently concerned neither the publisher of all three editions, Wynkyn de Worde, nor its readers, who continued to consume the editions of the text. Davies' definition of the guidebook is useful, however, because it draws attention to the composite nature of these texts, and of the writer's function as *compilator* as well as author.

Davies' definition of the travel account does not present the case for the independence of the two genres of "guidebook" and "travel account" any more persuasively. He states that "inevitably these reports were personal, as contrasted with the impersonality of the guidebooks" (J. G. Davies, "Pilgrimage and Crusade Literature," 10). It is true that in certain travel accounts, such as that of Niccolò da Poggibonsi, the authorial persona is emphatically self-assertive.[102] Others which state, however, that the author is also the traveller, such as William Wey's *Itineraries*, are not very conspicuously "personal" at all. As I will discuss at greater length below, Wey's text is keenly preoccupied with its function as a guide for future pilgrims, but it also seems designed in many places to conceal its authorial subjectivity, and to remove emphasis from the individual experience of pilgrimage. When Jean Richard, by contrast, refers to internal categories within pilgrimage writing, he assumes the overlap rather than independence of travel account and pilgrim guide, noticing that

[102] See Chapter 1, 79.

single texts often include both.[103] Richard also notes a division within the first-person accounts of an individual voyage between those in which the travelling-narrating voice is self-assertive, and those in which it is concealed (Richard, 23). His discussion also suggests a further category, in which the journey of an individual is emphasised (in distinction from a travel guide), but is narrated in the third person, such as Adomnan's account of the holy places as seen by Arculf, or the chaplain's account of Sir Richard Guildford's pilgrimage, in which the narrator also participated (Richard, 32).

The rigidity of Davies' classificatory systems is not supported by fifteenth-century English narratives, which often seem to see themselves as guide as well as pilgrimage, recalling as well as anticipating or generating experiences of travel. The ubiquity of borrowed material within and across Davies' categories gravely complicates the task of classification, since texts in different categories may have more in common than two in the same. Dogmatic use of such a system of classification brings dangers of obscuring the connections, shared material and shared motives which exist among kinds of pilgrimage writing structured and framed in various ways. It also holds the danger that, in its quest for clear classification, it represents as aberrant what I see as an often fundamental and fertile characteristic of pilgrimage narratives: mobility and flexibility in the narrating voice, rather than a rigid and uniform adoption of a first-, second- or third-person persona.

The Pageant of the Birth, Life and Death of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick

The *Pageant* provides an example of the kind of pilgrimage narrative recognised by Richard, in which the narrator is not the traveller, but in which the narrative seeks to report an individual's pilgrimage rather than to compose a guide for future travellers. The *Pageant* is exceptional among the pilgrim texts considered in this chapter in several respects. Firstly, the narrative is concerned not only to represent a particular journey, but also to give an account of the defining moments of the Earl of Warwick's

[103] Jean Richard is also concerned with generic typology of medieval travel writing, but his concern is not so much to distinguish among kinds of pilgrimage literature as to differentiate them from crusade and other voyage literature. Jean Richard, *Les Récits de Voyages et de Pèlerinages*, 2nd ed., Typologie des Sources du Moyen Âge Occidental (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996), 18-9*n*, 23, 48-9.

life as a whole. So, while it refers to several extended journeys, it is not exclusively concerned with these. The account of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem is part of a project to present and illustrate the gallantry, military prowess and political prestige of its aristocratic protagonist.

Richard, fifth earl of Warwick, was born in 1381, succeeded to the earldom in 1401, and was made a knight of the Garter, probably shortly after the battle of Shrewsbury (1403). The Earl was to serve as Captain of Calais from 1414 under Henry V (1413-22) and as Lieutenant of France and Normandy from 1437, dying in France in 1439.

The manuscript of the *Pageant*, Cottonian MS Julius E.IV, was executed in the late 1480s on the estimate of the text's editors, and probably commissioned by his daughter, Anne, Countess of Warwick. Anne heads a genealogy at the end of the manuscript, along with her husband, Richard Neville.[104] The *Pageant*, which measures 11" by 8", is written on vellum. It includes line drawings, often with much attention to armorial detail, of important events in the Earl's life, including birth and deathbed scenes. These are paired with text in English which explains the illustrations, provides dates of events and the names of those figured within them, and asserts the significance and prestige of the actions commemorated within the drawings. Of the *Pageant's* 28 leaves, almost one fifth are concerned with the pilgrimage.

The Earl of Warwick travelled to Jerusalem in 1408, by way of Paris, Lombardy, Rome and Venice. In Venice he was received by the Doge, Michele Steno, and other nobles, and the Senate included him among the aristocratic travellers to whom exemption from the prohibition of pilgrim travel on traffic galleys was to be granted.[105] On fol. 5r, the *Pageant* shows the Earl leaving the English coast, dressed as a pilgrim in a simple hat and knee-length, loose cloak.[106] He holds the traditional pilgrim's staff although he is at no time shown barefoot, unlike the pilgrim figured on the first page of the second edition of the printed *Information for Pilgrims*.[107] The next illustration relevant to the pilgrimage, fol. 8v, shows the "Patriarkes depute"

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[104] Viscount Dillon and W. H. St. John Hope, "Introduction," in *Pageant of the Birth Life and Death of Richard Beauchamp Earl of Warwick K. G. 1389-1439*, ed. Viscount Dillon and W. H. St. John Hope (London: Longmans, 1914), 4-5.

[105] Dillon and Hope cite as their source the Venetian State Papers for August 5, 1408. See Dillon and Hope, "Introduction," iv.

[106] See Figure 5.

[107] See Figure 6.

(perhaps a representative of the Franciscan Father Guardian) greeting the Earl and his retinue just outside a gate "at Jerusalem." His ship is visible just off the coast, close by, eliding the distance between the seaport of Joppa and the city of Jerusalem (approximately thirty miles).[108] Fol. 9r shows Richard at the Holy Sepulchre in company of a man identified in the caption as the "patriarch" of Jerusalem, although it is more likely to have been the Franciscan Father Guardian.[109] The caption reads, "Here shewes howe he offered in Jherusalem at our Lordes Sepulcre and his Armes were set vp on the north side of the Temple and there they remained many yeres after, as pylgrymes that longe after came thens reported." Humility and wealth are combined in the details of the image. Richard is represented kneeling in submission, but at the moment of the bestowal of a donation, an act of patronage. He wears the simple travelling habit of the pilgrim, but is also shown with a richly worked collar, denoting his wealth. Not the unruly hired ass usually employed by pilgrims but a substantial mounted retinue waits for him outside the sepulchre. The Earl's shield has been affixed to the wall, asserting his nobility. Not only does Richard leave a memento of his visit, but the text commemorates the act of commemoration, and attests to the survival of the marking long after its placement.

The father guardian's consent was also granted for the Earl "to commune in deu fourme with the hethen people and specially with the greet astates if the caus required" (*Warwick Pageant*, fol. 8v). Such license, like the license to travel on Venetian traffic galleys, was exceptional, and presumably granted because of the Earl's social status: among Fabri's list of twenty seven articles issued by the father Guardian to regulate pilgrims' behaviour, seven seek to restrict pilgrims' interaction with the Muslim inhabitants of Palestine (Fabri, *Wanderings*, vol. 1, pt. 1, 248-55). Fol. 10^{r} shows Richard at dinner with "Sir Baltirdam," the Sultan's Lieutenant. The two men show great cordiality toward one another, but this turns out not to constitute a transcendence of Christian-Muslim antipathy as first implied; in an adjacent room in the illustration Baltirdam, who has revealed himself to believe in the superiority of the Christian faith, is shown talking privately to Richard. The caption states that Baltirdam "in secret wise tolde hym [Richard] that in his herte thowe he durst nat utter

[108] See Figure 7.
[109] See Figure 8.

his concept; yet he feithfully beleved as we do. Rehersyng by ordre the articles of our feith."[110]

As in the case of Bridget and especially Margery, the pilgrimage to Jerusalem provides a pretext for self-definition and self-assertion. In this case, however, the cultivation of the memory of the journey is posthumous, and seems designed to bolster the prestige of the pilgrim's daughter, the Countess of Warwick. While Margery's pilgrimage coincides with economic and sexual independence, and supplies the occasion for visions which invite her imagined participation in the events of the gospels, the Earl's pilgrimage provides repeated opportunities for the recognition of his superior faith and his nobility and political position by other powers, both Christian and Muslim. It could be argued, however, that while the pilgrimage section of the *Pageant* purports to be concerned with the pilgrimage to place, the physical journey and the appearance of the cities and holy places along the way rather than with an interior, spiritual experience, the religious experiences of Margery reveal a more intimate knowledge of the holy topography. The Earl's pilgrimage is a gesture of prestige, a pilgrimage over an idealised and abstracted terrain, characterised by distinction and differentiation rather than participation in a collective religious act.

"The Way to Jerusalem"

"The Way to Jerusalem," a first-person account in Middle English couplets of a multiple pilgrimage, was printed in 1625 in *Purchas' Pilgrims*.[111] The poem is not dated, nor is its authorship specified, although the editor Samuel Purchas in his brief introduction states that the manuscript was from the library of Robert Cotton, and was written about two centuries earlier. It comes after chronicles of the crusades from the Council of Clermont in 1095 to the fall of Acre in 1291 by Robert of Rheims, Fulcher of Chartres, William of Tyre, Mathew Paris and Thomas Walsingham. Purchas tries

[110] See Figure 9.

[111] "Way to Jerusalem." First published in Samuel Purchas, ed., *Hakluytys Posthumus or Purchas his Pilgrimes Contayning a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells by Englishmen and Others* ... 4 vols., vol. 2 (London: 1625), 1230-45. From this point onwards I quote from the 1905 Maclehose edition, that is, "The Way to Jerusalem [1425]," in *Hakluytys Posthumus or Purchas his Pilgrimes Contayning a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells by Englishmen and Others*, ed. Samuel Purchas, 20 vols., vol. 7 (Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, 1905), vol. 7, 527-72.

to salvage some honour from English participation in the crusades, but ends by lamenting the savagery and waste which they produced:

> I haue summed the Acts of almost two hundred yeares, with such expense of Christian bloud and treasure abroad and such convulsions and confusions of Religion and ciuill Affaires at home as I know not to haue beene effected by any one particular cause since the World stood, the pretence being not the Monarchie of the World, but of a little Region, and that vnder the colour of Religion. (Purchas, vol. 7, 525-6)

Purchas regrets the spilling of non-Christian blood through the Crusades, although somewhat more grudgingly than the loss of Christian life: "Riuers and Seas of *Ethnike*, (yet humane) bloud hereby [were] shed, of Turkes, Aegyptians, Persians, Chorasmians, Tartars, and so many other Asian and African Nations, not to mention the Christian, Armenian, Syrians and all the subiects of the Eastern Empire ...."

The material on the crusades serves as the basis for a later attack on the contemporary Roman church. The transition between the crusade chronicles and the critique of Rome, in Purchas' phrase, is one "from ... Martiall Actions and Passions to ... high studious contemplations" (Purchas, vol. 7, 526). In order to give relief to the mind between acts, Purchas situates here "The Way to Jerusalem" by a "Musical Pilgrime." However, he carries forward the impression of suffering into his introduction to the fifteenth-century narrative: "[its] old English Rithmes may perhaps allay those former conceits of cryes, shriekes, wounds, deaths, desolations." Although Purchas represents the poem as a pleasant interlude, he sets it in a context of unease and devastation: the poem "tels the holy wares so farre fought, and so deere bought in these holy Warres" (Purchas, vol. 7, 527). This establishes a continuity, emphasised in his punning, between the objects of pilgrimage ("holy wares") and the practices of crusade ("holy wars"). The motif used by Purchas of the Holy Land as an object in financial transaction resonates with preoccupations with monetary exchange in the practices of pilgrimage and veneration of the holy places and relics in many early modern narratives of travel to Jerusalem, as Chapter 4 will demonstrate.

E. S. de Beer, commenting on the poem in 1944, believes Purchas' estimate of its dating to c. 1425 to be quite accurate.[112] Neither de Beer nor C. F. Beckingham,

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[112] De Beer noticed a reference on p. 541 to the author's travelling companions: from Rome, a Walter Meddeford, and from Venice, a prior of the Hospital of St John in London. The first he identifies as Walter Medford, Dean of Wells from 1413 to 1423, who had received license to go on pilgrimage in

author of the relevant section of *The Purchas Handbook*, has been able to find this manuscript, or even any corroboration of its presence in the Cotton collection. Beckingham suggests that it may have been lost in a fire in 1731.[113] The poem, approximately 1700 lines long, describes the author's journey to Santiago de Compostela, with a diversion through Portugal and southern Spain, although brief notice is taken of the towns along the way, except for the pilgrimage centres of Santa Maria de Guadalupe near Cáceres, and Montserrat near Barcelona. It proceeds then to Rome and Jerusalem. It introduces itself as a guide for travellers, combining itinerary, political survey and guide to currencies.[114] The Palestine pilgrimages described by "The Way to Jerusalem" are conventional, matching many of the holy places described by the other fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century pilgrimage accounts of English origin. Although no two pilgrimage narratives examined here match one another in the sequence of holy places exactly, this one shares shorter sequences of visits with Wey's *Itineraries*, the *Information for Pilgrims*, and the pilgrimages of Richard Guildford and Richard Torkington, all discussed below. It is also a full account, noticing details which other texts omit. In the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, for example, the poet notices the chapels of Our Lady and John the Evangelist, of John the Baptist and of the angels, which often go unnoticed in contemporary English texts.[115] "The Way to Jerusalem" includes holy sites of a wide geographical spread, taking in the pilgrimages to Egypt and Damascus as well as Galilee. Of course, it covers the holy places associated with Christ's teaching in Jerusalem, his passion, resurrection and ascension, as well as sites relating to the lives of the Virgin and the disciples after Christ's ascension. However, it pays less attention than other narratives

late 1421, and whose will, containing a mention of a journey abroad, was proved in 1423. He finds in the Calendar of Close Rolls a reference to a Prior of the Hospital of St. John, William Hilles, receiving license "to take abroad with him some clothing for his suite." De Beer believes that it is possible that the author was travelling in 1422 or 1423. Unfortunately, de Beer "[leaves] aside the language and the literary character of the piece, with which I am not competent to deal; and the section relating to Palestine and Egypt." E. S. De Beer, "An English XV-Century Pilgrimage Poem," *Notes and Queries* 137 (1944): 244-5.

[113] C. F. Beckingham, "North and North-east Africa and the Near and Middle East," in *The Purchas Handbook: Studies of the Life, Times and Writings of Samuel Purchas, 1577-1626: With Bibliographies of his Books and of Works about him*, ed. L. E. Pennington, Hakluyt Society Publications, 2nd series, 2 vols., vol. 1 (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1997), 231*n*.

[114] "Here beginneth the way that is marked, and made wit Mount Joiez from the Lond of Engelond unto Sent Jamez in Galis, and from thennez to Rome, and from thennez to Jerusalem: and so againe into Engelond, and the namez of all the Citeez be their waie, and the maner of her governaunce, and namez of her silver that they use to be alle these waie." "Way to Jerusalem," 527.

[115] "Way to Jerusalem," 554. The chapel of the Virgin Mary and Saint John the Evangelist is also noted in Wey's *Itineraries* and the pilgrimage of Richard Guildford; the chapels of John the Baptist and the Angels are noticed only by Wey and this metrical pilgrimage.

to the conditions and restrictions faced by Christian pilgrims in a city under Muslim rule. Its account of the Temple refers to partial indulgences available at the site of the Virgin's presentation, the place of her marriage to Joseph, and the presentation of Christ ("Way to Jerusalem," 555). It fails to acknowledge, however, that the Temple is inaccessible to Christian pilgrims, a fact which other narratives emphasise, often referring to a point from which the indulgences may be gained visually, or describing holy places only on its perimeter.[116] It also takes little account of the contemporary appearance of the churches and monuments at the holy places.

The Itineraries of William Wey to Jerusalem, A.D. 1458 and A.D. 1462

William Wey's *Itineraries* recounts his three pilgrimages, once to Santiago de Compostela in 1456, and twice to Jerusalem in 1458 and 1462. Of Wey himself only a little is known, most of it to be gleaned from the manuscript of these pilgrimage narratives, MS Bodley 565.[117] It was accompanied by a map *de terra sancta*, which still survives, also in the Bodleian Library. At the beginning of his narration of the first journey to Jerusalem, Wey states that the year of the journey was 1458, that he is a bachelor of theology, and a fellow of Eton college (Wey, *Itineraries*, 58). At the beginning of his second itinerary to Jerusalem, he states that he made the repeat journey in 1462, in his 55th year, placing his date of birth to c. 1407 (Wey, *Itineraries*, 82). The list of bequests included at the beginning of the manuscript indicates that he had entered the monastery of the *boni homines* at Edington, in Wiltshire, which followed the Augustinian rule.[118] The last line of the manuscript (in a different hand)

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[116] Compare William Wey's recognition of this fact: "Inde parum est locus ubi habentur omnes Indulgencie que sunt in illis locis ad que peregrini non possunt intrare; videlicet, ad domum Pilati, ad templum Domini, ad templum Salamonis, ad domum in qua beatissima Maria fuit nata, et ad portam auream. Ad nullum istorum locorum possunt peregrini habere ingressum." ("Not far from there is the place where may be obtained all the indulgences which are attached to the places into which the pilgrims cannot go; namely, the house of Pilate, the temple of the Lord, the temple of Solomon, the house in which the most blessed Mary was born, and the Golden Gate. To none of these places can pilgrims gain entry.") Wey, *Itineraries*, 36.

[117] The itineraries are contained in a small vellum quarto codex of 105 leaves, measuring 9¾ by 7½ inches, with rubrication from fol. 3r to fol. 102r. A description is given in Falconer Madan and H. H. E. Craster, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, vol. 2, pt. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922), 323-4.

[118] George Williams, "Introduction," in *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. From the Original Manuscript in the Bodleian Library*, ed. George Williams (London: J. B. Nichols and Sons for Roxburghe Club, 1857), xxx.

gives the date of his death: November 30, 1476. Wey appears in the records of Exeter College, Oxford, where, according to Alfred Brotherstone Emden's *Biographical Register of the University of Oxford*, he stayed from 1430 until 1441.[119] Among the Eton college records mentioning Wey is a letter from Henry VI which specifically exempts Wey from the stipulation that absences of more than 6 weeks from Eton will result in forfeiture of fellowship (G. Williams, iii-iv). Emden records further bequests by Wey beyond his own monastery: manuscripts bequeathed by him included works by John Chrysostom, Jerome, Berengaudus, and his own sermons. These were destined for Eton, Exeter College, and Syon Monastery, a Brigittine establishment near London (Emden, 2029).

No edition of the *Itineraries* has been published since George Williams' edition for the Roxburghe Club in 1857, except for partial publications of the shorter itinerary to Santiago de Compostela. Apart from the introduction in this edition, there is little comprehensive discussion of Wey's *Itineraries*, although it is frequently mined for its material on the practicalities of the voyage by commentators on other pilgrim accounts, and noticed by historians of the stations of the cross (Thurston, *The Stations of the Cross*, 46-53, 60). Williams' short essay is not itself a very encomiastic introduction, referring, as I have already indicated in my introduction, to the "medieval superstition and barbarous Latinity" of sections of the *Itineraries* (G. Williams, ix). The *Itineraries* is the fullest and formally most heterogeneous and iterative of the English narratives. It is worth considering whether the perplexing repetitions and careful circling of his text over similar material might be purposeful or meaningful, and, furthermore, to tease out some of the suggestions of generic awareness of certain features of the text, and hints of consciousness of its purpose and projected use; I do so below.[120]

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[119] Alfred Brotherston Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, 3 vols., vol. 3 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957-9), 2028-9.
[120] See pp. 152 to 156 and 167 to 169 below.

"THE STASYONS OF JERUSALEM"

"The Stasyons of Jerusalem" is an English metrical description of the holy places at Jerusalem, running to 850 lines.[121] It is preserved in MS Ashmole 61, on folios 128^{r}-136^{r}. Lynne S. Blanchfield describes MS Ashmole 61 as a "devotional miscellany,"[122] containing several romances, instructive, meditative and satirical verses and lyrics, verses and narratives on the Passion, some of which are unique texts.[123] The scribal dialect is identified as proceeding from Leicestershire.[124] Blanchfield believes "The Stasyons" to have been written in the last ten years of the fifteenth century.[125] The scribe of the manuscript, who signs himself "Rate," has been very tentatively identified by Blanchfield as possibly being related to the Rate family of Leicester, members of the Corpus Christi guild (Blanchfield, "The Romances in MS Ashmole 61," 79-86). Blanchfield, whose doctoral thesis is exclusively concerned with the manuscript, represents Rate as a highly engaged scribe, ready to adapt and modify the material he is copying, particularly the devotional texts, and who is characterised by "a bewildering mixture of muddle-headedness and conscious intent" (Blanchfield, "Rate Revisited," 65, 68).

"The Stasyons of Jerusalem," one of the items signed by Rate, is listed by Blanchfield as one of the unique texts contained in the manuscript, although another version of the poem is recorded in Huntington Library HM 144, dated to the end of the fifteenth century. This has not been edited and few details are provided as to the text in Dutchke and Rouse's guide to medieval and Renaissance manuscripts in the

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[121] "The Stasyons of Jerusalem" is the title given to the poem in the manuscript, and emphasises its resemblance to works, such as the *Stacions of Rome*, which set out the holy places and the indulgences available in that city. The term "station" does not occur in the body of the poem. See "Stasyons of Jerusalem," in *Altenglische Legenden: Neue Folge*, ed. C. Horstmann (Heilbronn: Verlag von Gebr. Henninger, 1881), 355-66.

[122] Lynne S. Blanchfield, "The Romances in MS Ashmole 61: An Idiosyncratic Scribe," in *Romance in Medieval England*, ed. Maldwyn Mills, Jennifer Fellows, and Carol M. Meale (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1991), 66.

[123] For a complete and "corrected" list of the contents, see Lynne S. Blanchfield, "Rate Revisited: The Compilation of the Narrative Works in MS Ashmole 61," in *Romance Reading on the Book: Essays on Medieval Narrative Presented to Maldwyn Mills*, ed. Jennifer Fellows, et al. (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1996), 216-7.

[124] Angus McIntosh et al., *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval England* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1986). Cited by Blanchfield, "The Romances in MS Ashmole 61," 65. Blanchfield gives the following *caveat*: "Localization on purely linguistic grounds should be treated with caution, but in the case of MS Ashmole 61, it proved a useful starting-point which appears to have produced external corroborative evidence."

[125] The paper on which the text is written has been dated on the basis of its watermarks to between 1479 and 1488. Lynne S. Blanchfield, "'An Idiosyncratic Scribe': A Study of the Practice and Purpose of Rate, the Scribe of Bodleian Library MS Ashmole 61" (PhD Thesis, University College, Wales, 1991), 4-5.

Huntington, except that it includes interpolations from the *Magnificat* in Lydgate's *Life of Our Lady* as well as from the Vulgate.[126] The account in Rate's book "may have been first-hand or else written in the tradition of imitative pilgrimage narratives" (Blanchfield, "Rate Revisited," 215). C. Horstmann, who edited the only printed edition of the poem, notes that the manuscript of the pilgrimage is in many places corrupted and imperfect.[127]

The poem is narrated in the first person in couplets, apart from the first 38 and last 8 lines, which make use of quatrains. The narrative begins at Venice, describing some of the relics visible there and along the sea journey to Joppa, such as the chapel near Famagusta where Saint Katherine of Alexandria is said to have been born (ll. 68-72). The indulgences available there are duly recorded. The conventional stopping points and holy places in Jerusalem and Palestine are included, including Bethlehem, Jericho and the Dead Sea. It concentrates on sites related to the New Testament but notices a conventional selection of Old Testament associations such as Jonah's departure from Joppa and tombs of the prophets. The tour of Jerusalem concludes by giving thanks to God for the grace to observe the holy places.[128] In the light of its resemblance in terms both of structure and content to the pilgrimages which are habitually discussed by commentators on the fifteenth-century pilgrimage, such as the pilgrimages of William Wey, Richard Guildford and Richard Torkington, it is perplexing that it is rarely noticed, particularly since it appears to share a common source with the English proem to Wey's *Itineraries*, a fact which I discuss in greater detail in due course.

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[126] See C. W. Dutschke and R. H. Rouse et al., *Guide to Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Huntington Library* (Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery / Digital Scriptorium), 2003 [http://sunsite3.berkeley.edu/Scriptorium/hehweb/HM144.html, cited 16 August 2005].

[127] For example, lines 809-40, treating the holy places at Bethany and the first section of the poem's conclusion, are mistakenly included after line 736, after the visit to Bethlehem and the birthplace of John the Baptist ("Stasyons of Jerusalem," 356). Since line 809 immediately follows a line which introduces the place where Lazarus was raised to life, it seems likely that this is a textual corruption, although it is worth noting that the original order (Bethlehem – birthplace of John the Baptist – Bethany) is precisely that taken in both *Information for Pilgrims* and the *Pilgrimage of Sir Richard Guildford*, roughly contemporary texts. In fact, the corruption exceeds that acknowledged by Horstmann, as Blanchfield points out: "After line 735 in ["The Stasyons of Jerusalem"] Rate skipped the next 72 lines and copied the end passage (lines 808-27) and the concluding prayer (828-39). Realizing his omission, he copied the missing portion (736-807) after the end of the poem, unmarked, adding his own stanza of closing prayer." The manuscript also repeats the lines, "And now ye shall here the metyng / Betwyx oure lady and hyr derlyng," probably provoked by the common ending of lines 672 and 688 with the word "souke"/"sowke." Although Blanchfield appears willing to entertain the possibility that Rate is responsible for the composition of this verse pilgrimage, her account of disruptions in the line sequence assumes that he is the copyist rather than the composer. Blanchfield, "'An Idiosyncratic Scribe,'" 94.

[128] Cf. *Pilgrimage of Richard Guildford*, G4v.

"For the Ynformacion of that most blessed viage to the Holi Citee of Hierusalem"

This English vernacular pilgrimage narrative, preserved in two manuscripts edited by Josephie Brefeld in 1985 and referred to in her discussion by its *incipit*, "For the ynformacion of that most blessed viage...," is impossible to date exactly.[129] Brefeld dates it to between 1480 and 1526 on the basis of a reference to the 1480 destruction of Otranto by the Ottomans in the pilgrimage narrative and a reference in one of the codices (Queen's College, Oxford MS 357) to a public execution which took place the seventeenth year of Henry VIII's reign later.[130] Peter Kidd thinks that this copy of the manuscript was probably inscribed at some point during the 1530s.[131] I think that the *terminus ante quem* of the journey itself, rather than its inscription, could be almost a decade earlier. The narrative refers to the presence of the Knights of St John on Rhodes, which must date it to before 1522 (MS "Ynformacion," 152*n*). It also distinguishes between what it calls "Saracens," "Arabions" (Bedouin Arabs) and "Turks" in the return journey. On the basis of the reference to "Saracen" rather than "Turkish" governance from the point of the pilgrims' arrival in Joppa, I conjecture that the journey may have taken place before the conquest of Mamluk territory by Selim I and the consolidation of Ottoman rule over Jerusalem in 1516-7.[132] In both codices, the MS "Ynformacion" is to be found with the offices to be said at the holy places, prayers to be made at the place of the Ascension, and brief histories of Jerusalem (MS "Ynformacion," 135). The codices are quite different in appearance, however. The vellum Queen's College, Oxford manuscript (quarto format, 5.9" by 3.7") is rubricated and illuminated while Harley 2333, a duodecimo manuscript on paper, is bare and functional in appearance. Brefeld suggests that the narrative

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[129] "An Account of a Pilgrimage to Jerusalem [For the Ynformacion of that Most Blessed Viage to the Holi Citee of Hierusalem]," ed. Josephie Brefeld, *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, 101 (1985). Brefeld's edition is based on Queen's College, Oxford MS 357 (fols. 8r-43v), but makes reference to British Library Harley MS 2333. In order to distinguish this from the printed *Information for Pilgrims*, discussed below, I refer to it here as the MS "Ynformacion." A detailed although provisional bibliographical description of the Queen's manuscript and its contents by Peter Kidd, formerly of the British Library, is "pre-published" online at while the catalogue is being readied for publication. See www.queens.ox.ac.uk/library/ms/descriptions/357.pdf

[130] MS "Ynformacion," 135. Note that on the fourth page of his bibliographical description, Peter Kidd reads the regnal year in this reference as "xxii", making it the year 1530 or 1531.

[131] See page 4 of Kidd's online description.

[132] Compare the account of the arrival in Joppa in Torkington's narrative, which specifies that both Ottomans and "Sarrasyns" receive the pilgrims at Joppa on arrival in 1517. The Guildford pilgrimage specifies that the lords who meet the pilgrims at Joppa in 1506 are "Mamolukes," or Mamluks. *Pilgrimage of Richard Guildford*, fol.11r; Torkington, *Pilgrimage*, 23.

straddles the boundary between the pragmatic guide for the traveller and the devotional guide for the "spiritual pilgrim" (MS "Ynformacion," 136). Although Brefeld contends that there is little response to the demands of *curiositas* in the MS "Ynformacion" in the form of "mileages, prices, beliefs and customs of the 'heathens' [etc.]," there is sufficient interest in both outward and return journey, in the convenient times to take ship from Venice to Joppa, advice on the acquisition of bedding and provisions to suggest that the account of Jerusalem does not imagine an exclusively devotional use for itself.

Information for Pilgrims

Some reference has already been made to some of the inconsistencies and multiplicities of authorial positioning and function in the *Information for Pilgrims*. The 1498 edition, printed in quarto format in sixes, and the 1515 and 1524 editions, in octavo, constitute, at 60 and 40 pages respectively, volumes of a slimness and compactness suited to being taken on a journey. Their physical format is thus consistent with the emphasis on practical information: itineraries, currency exchanges, provisions to be made for the sea passage from Venice, as well as wordlists, primarily of numbers, greetings, food, common commands and inquiries in Greek, Turkish and Arabic ("moreske") towards the end of the text.[133]

The identities of the pilgrims whose pilgrimage occupies the central part of the book remain obscure.[134] However, the text does not seek to remove details which point to the specificity of a single pilgrim experience, beginning, "In the seuen and twenty day of the moneth of June there passed fro Venyse vnder sayle out of the hauen of Venyse at the sonne goynge downe certayne pylgrymes towarde Jherusalem in a shyppe of amarchauntes of Venyce called Johan Moreson. The patron of the same

[133] Although Wey also includes wordlists in Greek and Hebrew corresponding to both Latin and English, this does not seem to be the source for *The Information for Pilgrims*. Wey's lists meld divine and pragmatic vocabularies, including the Greek for "eggs," "pork," "hens," and "geese" as well as "Holy Ghost," "Temptation," "Incarnate," "Grace" and the constituent parts of the Hail Mary and Our Father, while the lists in *Information for Pilgrims* are of an exclusively pragmatic cast.

[134] Zacher suggests that the author could be the "mayster Larkes" to whose description of Jerusalem readers of *The Pilgrimage of Robert Langton* are directed. He also notes that "Calendar references in the pilgrimage narrative suggest that the journey occurred in 1481, 1487, or 1492." Zacher, "Travel and Geographical Writings," 2249. See Langton, *The pylgrimage of M. Robert Langton*.

shyppe was called Luke mantell."[135] However, the individual pilgrim's experience is not included in the lists of pilgrimages in and around Jerusalem. The descriptions of the holy places are concise, briefly outlining the events which make them significant, giving a sense of the direction and span of movement from one to another, and paying attention to the indulgences available in each place, but without reference to a subjective experience or response. Until the end of "Pylgremages of flume Jordan," and including the following title, "Pylgrymages in Nazaret," these are in English, but the description of Nazareth and all descriptions that follow are in Latin, as is the account of the return journey, as far as Venice. As I have already indicated, the editor and printers of this text appear to be unworried by its unfinished state, its suspension between two formulations of narrative voice and two languages.

Inserted after the return to Venice, and before the wordlists, are a dozen lines in Latin treating the brevity and vanity of this world. They exhort the reader to contemplate the sepulchres of the dead and, remembering the dust to which all flesh returns, to recognise the vanity of worldly striving and the impermanence of the material world (fol. C5^{v}). Donald Howard emphasises this section's position at the conclusion of the pilgrimage account and sees it as expressing the "real concerns that lay behind the institution [of pilgrimage]" (D. R. Howard, 24). The position of this text is puzzling, though, since it does not come at the very end of the text, where it might provide a sobering counterweight to the pragmatic advice of the pilgrimage narrative and its preoccupations with monetary exchanges, contracts with the patron of the pilgrim galley, and food provision. In its actual position, it provides a brief meditative pause before the text resumes such concerns in the word lists. A further departure from the pragmatic mode appears at the end of the text. After a list of the indulgences available at Rome is included a "Nota de significatione singulorum membrorum ecclesie." This short text gives a brief exposition of the symbolism of the parts of the church. It asserts the moral import of movement through space, interpreting the church door as signifying faith, and the movement of the priest from the right hand of the altar to the left as a reminder of Adam's expulsion from Paradise to the vale of tears. The inclusion of this matter suggests that service to the pilgrim's need to navigate practical, commercial obstacles on the way to the holy places co-

[135] *Information for Pilgrims*, fol. B1v. As already noted, because there is a major disruption to the correct order of the leaves in the 1498 edition, I cite by reference to the foliation of the 1524 edition. I have not been able to see the 1515 edition.

exists with a keen awareness of the moral resonance of the spaces and architectural structures and divisions of the churches and chapels at the destination. The transcendent truths which motivate the pilgrimage are thus recollected at the end of the practical advice and integrated with it.

The Pilgrimage of Sir Richard Guildford

The Pilgrimage of Sir Richard Guildford gives an account of the pilgrimage of Sir Richard, a knight of the Garter like the Earl of Warwick (invested 1500) and master of the ordnance to Henry VII, who died while in Jerusalem.[136] The pilgrimage was undertaken in 1506 but the account of it was not published until 1511. It is a small quarto in sixes, like the *Information for Pilgrims*, from the press of Richard Pynson. Only one copy seems to have survived. The position of the narratorial subject and its relation to the pilgrim who gives his name to the title are unclear. The authorship of this narrative is a matter of some disagreement. The entry for Sir Richard Guildford in the 1890 edition of the *DNB* asserts that it was written by his unnamed chaplain, a fellow pilgrim; the question of authorship is not taken up at all in the 2004 edition.[137] The source for this assertion is probably Sir Henry Ellis' introduction to his 1851 edition of the pilgrimage narrative.[138] Ellis does not specify why he believes the narrator to be a chaplain, but the narrator's consistent references to Sir Richard as his master certainly indicate a subordinate position. Nicole Chareyron states that the first section was written by Sir Richard and the narrative finished after his death by an anonymous scribe, but a reference to the hospitality enjoyed by the party in the course of the outward journey, for example, long before Sir Richard's death, places Sir Richard's servant as the narrator at that early point.[139] It is written in the first person,

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[136] *DNB*, 2004 ed., s.v., "Sir Richard Guildford."

[137] *DNB*, 2004 ed., s.v. "Sir Richard Guildford." James Gairdner's 1890 entry for Sir Richard is available in the electronic archive linked to Sean Cunningham's entry in the online version of the 2004 edition, but has no URL of its own. The link can be found at http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11723.
The narrative is also attributed to the chaplain in Edward Godfrey Cox, *A Reference Guide to the Literature of Travel: Including Voyages, Geographical Descriptions, Adventures, Shipwrecks and Expeditions*, vol. 1: *The Old World* (Seattle: University of Washington, 1935), 201.

[138] Sir Henry Ellis, "Introduction." In *The Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde to the Holy Land, A.D. 1506*, ed. Sir Henry Ellis, Camden Society Publications, vol. 51 (London: J. B. Nichols, 1851), v.

[139] The party is entertained by cousins of Sir Richard's wife, "Jerom and Augustyn Panyson" [Pallavicino?]: "which two gentylmen be nyghe cosyns vnto mayster Vaux and to my lady Guylforde,

and if a transition in authorship and narration takes place, it is not signalled in the narrative. It is possible that the narrator wrote the account to honour the deceased Sir Richard, at whose expense he probably travelled. However, Sir Richard's presence on the pilgrimage is not very conspicuous as rendered in the narrative, receiving only a handful of brief references (*Pilgrimage of Richard Guildford*, fols. A3r, B6r, E4v-5r).

The descriptive content of the *Pilgrimage* is substantially similar to that in the printed *Information for Pilgrims*, often following a similar order within a sub-section of a pilgrimage, such as that in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. However, the overall order of pilgrimages in Palestine is different in each case, and it does not appear to have been copied from the *Information*. The narrative does borrow a significant amount of material from the account of Bernhard von Breydenbach's pilgrimage in 1483-4.[140] Fabri, who travelled with him on his second pilgrimage, recounts that Breydenbach commissioned Martin Roth, Dominican friar, doctor of Divinity, regent of the school of Heidelberg, to write the narrative of his pilgrimage.[141] With the difference that Roth, unlike Guildford's amanuensis/narrator, probably did not travel to Jerusalem himself and ventriloquises for Breydenbach while the Guildford narrator speaks in his own – unnamed – voice, there is a certain propriety in the *Guildford* narrator's choice of source material, since in both cases the pilgrimage is narrated by a different man from that for whom the pilgrimage account is named.

The Pilgrimage of Richard Torkington

The Pilgrimage of Sir Richard Torkington, narrated by the traveller himself after a journey undertaken in 1517, was never published until Loftie's edition in 1884. Torkington had been a parson at Mulberton in Norfolk from 1511, but few other details are known.[142] The narrative survives in two manuscripts acquired by the British Museum in 1871: MS. Addit. 28,561 and 28,562. Addit. 28,561 is a manuscript on paper in duodecimo format dating to the sixteenth century; Addit

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made grete honour, feestis, and cheere vnto my M. Guylford that myght not be amended ...." See Chareyron, *Pilgrims to Jerusalem*, 225; *Pilgrimage of Richard Guildford*, fol. 3r.

[140] The relationship of influence is explored more fully below.

[141] Fabri, *Wanderings*, vol. 1, pt. 2, 438-9, 629. Cited by Davies, *Breydenbach: A Bibliography*, vi.

[142] W. J. Loftie, "Introduction," in *The Oldest Diarie of Englysshe Travell: Being the Hitherto Unpublished Narrative of the Pilgrimage of Sir Richard Torkington to Jerusalem in 1517*, ed. W. J. Loftie (London: Field and Tuer, 1884), ii.

28,562 is a copy made in 1812.[143] Loftie believes the sixteenth-century manuscript to be a copy of the original because certain errors in the manuscript appear to be misreadings by a copyist of his source text, and, in some cases, are unlikely to have been made by someone familiar with Palestine, narrating his own journey. Large sections are carefully copied with only minor spelling variants from the narrative of Richard Guildford's pilgrimage. Torkington's choices of adherence to or variation from the source text are illuminating for what they reveal about the process of copying, and the way in which the narrator sees the material appropriated from another pilgrim's narrative as capable of rendering his own journey. As we will see, dismissal of this and similar texts as mere "plagiarism" are anachronistic, and fail to take account of certain subtleties in the manner of re-use and appropriation.

Authorial Voice and Narratorial Positioning

I have already alluded to certain ways in which fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century pilgrimage narratives resist classification into rigid generic categories: in the apparently casual, unworried transition from third- to first-person narration in the printed *Information for Pilgrims*, for example.[144] Wes Williams, preparing the ground for his study of pilgrimage writing in the Renaissance, considers the question of genre, proposing and then partially retracting a view of medieval pilgrimage narratives as conformable to the kinds of generic categories which we have seen J. G. Davies proposing:

> Categories which are said to have bound medieval pilgrimage writing together cannot hold under the combined pressures of confessional polemic and expansionist trade [in the early modern period]. Perhaps they never could; the period just before the ones we study so often seem less complex. (W. Williams, *Pilgrimage and Narrative*, 16)

In this section, I pursue further this question of generic categorisation and its relation to authorial and narratorial positioning. I examine the variety of formulations of the

[143] British Museum Department of Manuscripts, *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the years MDCCCLIV-MDCCCLXXV*, vol. 2 (London: William Clowes, 1877), 507.
[144] See pp. 128 and 141 above.

relationship between traveller, narrator and author, and scrutinise the way in which claims of authenticity and veracity are established according to those formulations.

A strong first-person voice does not always appear in the narratives upon which the identifying marks of the author have been most firmly stamped, or in the context of anecdotal material relating to the traveller's personal experience of the pilgrimage. In spite of the lack of a sense of a personal engagement with the contemporary landscape of Jerusalem and the conditions faced by pilgrims, for example, in "The Way to Jerusalem" the narrative voice is emphatically present. It begins with an invocation in the first person of the Trinity and the saints:

> In the Name of the Fader that seteez in trone,
> And of Jhu his oonly blesset Sone,
> And of the Holy Gost, this blesset Trinete,
> And also of our Ladie S. Marie:
> And of all the Seintez of the Court of Heven,
> I make this mynde wit mylde Steven:
> Wich way I went I schall you telle,
> And how by the waie I dide dwelle. ("Way to Jerusalem," 527)

Although here the first-person voice is used to harness the narrative to a devotional purpose and to celestial authority, elsewhere the reminders of the narrator's arrival in, or perception of, a place and the promises of disclosure or veracity frequently serve the simple purpose of supplying a rhyme or filling the metrical line. For example:

> What Tounez, and Castellez we sailet by,
> Of alle that Land telle schall I.
> Pyrane a Castell, Umago a Cite,
> Cite Nove a nother is hee.
> Parenter also a nother Cite hit is,
> Usthall a Chapell, and a n'Abbay I wis. ("Way to Jerusalem," 543)

> Under that Hull trust thou me,
> There rennethe the Rede See. ("Way to Jerusalem," 566)

Other features of this text, such as the concentration on the availability of indulgences and the promise of the reader's acquisition of them, which are discussed more fully below, suggest that this poem imagines itself as a guide for future pilgrims, as does the direct address to the reader. However, the insistence on the narrator's own

experience of the pilgrimage, and the prominence of the first-person voice (much more intense than in some other accounts whose authors are identified), asks that we also consider it as a travel account. The poem thus claims to narrate only on the basis of the traveller/narrator's own eye-witness. After Bethany,

> Ther ben pilgrimagez many mo,
> But I saw non of alle thoo:
> And therfor I make non mention,
> But of the places that I have gon.... ("Way to Jerusalem," 561)

It does rely on verbal authorities, but flags them as such: the phrase "That is the voice in that Countraie" or "Thuse in that Lond hit hath the voise" occasionally follows the identification of a gospel association ("Way to Jerusalem," 556, 563). This emphasis on personal experience and direct observation is not, of course, incompatible with the appropriation of the material of other accounts. Nor is it incompatible with fiction: as Christian Zacher points out, the narrator of *Mandeville's Travels* is similarly keen to separate what has been witnessed at first hand from marvels recounted at second hand (Zacher, *Curiosity and Pilgrimage*, 143-5). Nevertheless, there is clearly a perceived need to delineate the origin of the information, and to distinguish eye-witness from textual sources. Like the academic compilers of textual authorities studied by Minnis, the narrator reserves varying degrees of endorsement for different kinds of evidence or witness and signals that he is doing so, but eye-witness enters the hierarchy of authority to join the textual sources.[145]

The first-person voice is also strong in the *Stasyons of Jerusalem*. Like "The Way to Jerusalem," it begins with an invocation to God: "God, that shipe both heue*n* & helle, / To þe, lord, I make my mone, / And giue me gr*a*ce þe sothe to telle / Of þe pylgrymeage þat I haue gone!" ("Stasyons of Jerusalem," ll. 1-4). The desire to tell the truth is flagged in the opening sentence, and posited as dependent on divine aid. The acknowledgment of reliance on divine grace is taken up again in the conclusion, which is worth quoting at some length:

> Now haue we told*e* all þ*at* we haue sene,
> So god me saue fro sorow & tene!
> And all þe cause þ*at* I can*e* seye,
> Is, to teche a man þe weye.

[145] See the discussion of Minnis' study of *auctoritas* in academic prologues in the Introduction, 20 to 22.

What pylgryme þat theþer wylle go,
I praye god saue hym to & fro
And gyfe þem grace so to do,
The heuens blys þei may come to.
Now, lord god all-myȝtye,
Thou grante vs grace þat it so be,
That we be redy to come to þe
When þat oure saulys schall partyd be!

* * *

Jhesu, þat fore vs dyȝed *on* þe rode tre,
Saue vs all fore þi pyte!
Be þe vertu of þi holy crosse
Latte vs neuer in synne falle,
So þat we be redy thorow þi grace
To comme to þi Joys eternalle!
When we schall out off þis werld wende
God, grante vs fore þi holy grace
Off þe, lord, to haue in mynd,
Fore to behold þi blyssyd face!

("Stasyons of Jerusalem," ll. 827-48 by Horstmann's numbering)

In Horstmann's corrected edition, the concluding prayer lasts for 22 lines, but in the manuscript, the first twelve lines of the prayer are separated from the final ten by 72 lines, mistakenly copied there, relating to the visit to Jordan and the Dead Sea.[146] In the quotation immediately above, the point of separation is marked by asterisks. The final invocation was probably added or improvised to give a sense of finality when the scribe realised that he had concluded prematurely with lines 827-38. He added the lines which he had skipped, and then wrote another prayer (lines 839-48). In this case, then, the redoubling of the strongly personal, pious valediction may proceed from a formal demand for conclusion rather than from an outpouring, spontaneous or considered, of religious sentiment. Taken together or separately, however, the concluding lines are interesting in their redirection of attention from the physical pilgrimage to man's life as pilgrimage. A deployment of the modesty *topos* limiting

[146] See n. 127 above.

the narrator's ambitions to showing the way to Jerusalem is turned into a prayer for successful negotiation of the quest for heaven. Although in lines 827-34, the narrator and the pilgrim, or guide and reader, are kept separate, they are brought together in the "we" of lines 835-8, united in the common goal of salvation. The final ten lines, 839-48, continue with this use of the first person plural, and with the *topos* of life as pilgrimage, with the prospect of death phrased as a physical movement, a journey toward the contemplation of Christ. The author thus integrates the place pilgrimage with the life pilgrimage and insists on their intimate relation.

The narrator of the *Pilgrimage of Richard Guildford* makes use of many kinds of authority: experiential, verbal, textual, iconographical. Because of an unforeseen extension to the period of their stay in Jerusalem, the pilgrims in Sir Richard's party had the opportunity to revisit places they had already seen and to visit sites for which there had not been time in the original projected pilgrimage. In introducing these further places, the narrator, like that of "The Way to Jerusalem," carefully distinguishes between what he has witnessed himself, and what he reports through the authority of others:

> Here foloweth a lytell declaracion of some other holy places and sondry other thinges within the holy londe wherof some we vysyted and some we passed by lacke of tyme ... whan we mette eche reported vnto other as we had founden and sene and so I put that part of my vysytacion as well as others into this lytell remembraunce. (*Pilgrimage of Richard Guildford*, fol. F4r)

The narrator offers a similar *caveat* for the Temple, although he has to extend the allowed sources to textual authorities and hearsay rather than other eye-witnesses, since no Christians can enter: "I sawe not this Temple within but I wryte as I herde therof there and sawe by wrytynge" (fol. F3^{v}). His source is probably the widely printed and translated account of Breydenbach's 1483-4 pilgrimage. The narrator of Breydenbach's narrative claims to have entered the "porticus salomonis," that is, the Aqṣā mosque, in spite of the difficulty of gaining admission as a Christian, but not the Dome of the Rock ("the temple of Solomon") itself.[147] The relationship between eye-

[147] Breydenbach, *Peregrinationes*, fol. 17v. Note the instability in nomenclature between the crusader period and the late fifteenth century. During the Latin Kingdom, the mosque al-Aqṣā was known as "Templum Salomonis" and the Dome of the Rock as "Templum Domini." Wey seems to follow this usage, although his account of the buildings in the Haram enclosure is vague. Breydenbach is referring to the Dome of the Rock as "Templum Salomonis" and to al-Aqṣā as "Porticus Salomonis." The "Stasyons of Jerusalem" and the MS "Ynformacion" seem to take the entire enclosure as the "Temple

witness and authorship is not straightforward, however. Fabri gives this telling account of the composition of the pilgrimage narrative:

> a perspicuous account is given by the oft-mentioned magnificent Lord Bernard of Braitenbach, who, sparing no expense on the proper composition of his Itinerary, or Book of his Pilgrimage, procured that venerable teacher, enlightened theologian, and graceful orator, Father Martin Roth, of the Order of St. Dominic, who has written the book of the travels of the aforesaid lord in an ornate and cultured style.[148]

Fabri thinks of Breydenbach as "giving" the account ("*luculenter tractat ... Braitenbach*"), presumably in note form, although Roth writes it ("*composuit*"), infusing it with his "style"("*ornato et compto stilo*") (Fabri, *Evagatorium*, vol. 1, 353). In this case, the acts of travelling and narrating are given to two different agents, as are the acts of discussion and composition. Such cooperation in the act of writing, such participation by a composer who was not an eye-witness, are treated by Fabri without a sense of transgression. The Guildford narrative, in its gestures towards the differentiation of eye-witness and textual authority, though, seems to feel a need for disclosure of the perimeters between them. Under scrutiny, the original eye-witness recedes further from the page of the Guildford narrative, since Roth writes in the first person on Breydenbach's behalf, on Breydenbach's instigation and presumably with Breydenbach's notes or recollections as material, but is not himself an eye-witness of the pilgrimage.

While the Guildford pilgrimage narrative often uses the first person plural to describe the collective movements of the pilgrimage party, it does not hesitate to use the first-person singular voice to express amazement, for example, at the Corpus Christi processions at Venice "where was the most solempne procession that euer I sawe" (fol. A5^{v}). Sir Richard's illness is mentioned at Ramleh, where he and another pilgrim, John Whitby, the Prior of Gisburn, were so ill that camels had to be hired for them. Sir Richard and the Prior died at Jerusalem within a day of one another, and were buried at Mount Sion. The narrator devotes the following lines to this event:

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of Solomon." Fabri remarks on the confusion, and calls the Dome of the Rock "Templum Domini," but notes that ignorant Christians call it "Templum Salomonis."

[148] "luculenter tractat saepe dictus magnificus dominus Bernhardus de Braitenbach, qui nullis parcens sumtibus pro ordinata compositione sui peregrinalis sive itinerarii induxit venerabilem magistrum, illuminatum theologum et ornatum rhetorem, videlicet patrem Martinum Roth, Ordinis Praedicatorum, quod praefati domini itinerarium ornato et compto stilo composuit." Fabri, *Evagatorium*, vol. 1, 353. English translation from Fabri, *Wanderings*, vol. 1, pt. 2, 629.

> And this same sonday at nyght aboute .i. or .ii. of the Cloke at after mydnyght my M. syr Ric*hard* Guylford whom god assoyle disceased and was had the same mornynge to mount Syon afore day.
>
> And the same Monday our Ladyes Euyn the Nativite all the Pylgrymes come to mou*n*te Syon to the buryenge of my sayde Master Guylforde where was done by the Freres as moche solempne seruyce as myght be done for hym etc. And this was the .vii. daye of Septembre etc. (*Pilgrimage of Richard Guildford*, fols. E4v-5r)

Although his emphasis on the fullness of the friars' funeral service does imply a concern for his master's soul, this is a surprisingly concise narration of the death of the man for whom the narrative of the pilgrimage is named. The mourning is equally short; the pilgrimage resumes the same afternoon, after the burial. The relation of the narrative to its ostensible protagonist stands in contrast to that in the *Warwick Pageant*; the pilgrimage, rather than the pilgrim, animates and preoccupies the narrative.

The MS "Ynformacion," like many others under discussion here, straddles the boundary between the first-person narrative of a completed pilgrimage and the guide which imagines the future accomplishment of the pilgrimage. The "Ynformacion" accommodates its twin purposes of report and guidance by shifting between the first-person singular and the first-person plural. The narrator acknowledges that "ne I nor none of my feloshippe ded visyte any off thees last forwriten hooly places," referring to sites in Syria and Egypt (MS "Ynformacion," 151). However, the first-person plural is more commonly used in the present tense to encompass not only the narrating voice's own particular experience of pilgrimage but that of pilgrims to come:

> And as I understond in the tredying off us first in the Hooly Land wee have plenarie remission. (MS "Ynformacion," 137)
>
> And there comenly wee tari about ii or iii or iiii daies, haveng daily mete ynough for oure money of the Saressons. (137-8)
>
> And when wee be uppon this gloryus hooly hille of Mont Olyvete alle the holi citee of Hierusalem with Temple Salamon apperith openli and fulle feire unto oure ees. (139)

The future tense is also used, not, as one might expect, in direct address to the reader, but still in the first person plural so that the narrative voice seems to imagine itself as a participant in the readers' pilgrimages to which it may give rise: "And than wee schal bee conveyed to lande communely syngeng *Te Deum* or *Veni Creator*" (137).

The construction of the narrating voice in Wey's *Itineraries* is perplexing, partly because it distinguishes the advice for travellers from the account of a completed journey in unexpected and unusual ways. In the place of clear delineation of the first-person voice from the imperative or third-person voice, it makes use of repetition and structural devices to assert the distinction between account and guide. This produces a structure and linguistic make-up which are very complicated in comparison to the other fifteenth-century English pilgrimage texts. The memorial function of its structure is considered later, but the construction of the narrator in these iterations is relevant here. A brief list of contents is given in figure 10. Repetition in this list is to be expected, to a certain extent, of the text of a pilgrimage undertaken more than once, but the repetition in the text exceeds the repetition of the journey. The places to be visited are enumerated four times in the text, while Wey visits them only twice. The repetition between sections five and seven is least puzzling, since the proem acts as a summary, and is amplified, not simply repeated, in the Latin list of places to be visited on pilgrimage. Of course, the repetition of content in the account of Wey's second journey, section ten, is also easy to explain, since it is describing an experience of pilgrimage undertaken afresh.

What is particularly bemusing is that Wey's account of his own first journey (section eight) reproduces, at length and almost verbatim, the information included in section seven, part 8, on the holy places to be visited, as the examples below will demonstrate. Paradoxically, the language of much of the description in both instances carefully emphasizes the presence and location of holy places or relics and the possession of their attributes, with the site or item as subject of the sentence, rather than the pilgrim who apprehends and reports them: the verbs "*esse*," "*iacere*" and "*habere*" (as opposed to "*videre*," "*adspicere*," "*contemplari*") preponderate. The passive voice is frequently used in both cycles of narrative. The following use of the impersonal passive is fairly typical, appearing without change in both accounts of the pilgrim's movement towards the hole in which Christ's cross was placed in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre: "Adhuc circumeundo venitur ad finem australem

summi altaris."[149] Such changes as are visible here have more to do with punctuation and phrasing than with modification of the contents. There are occasional changes which gesture to Wey's own experience, however, such as the following, in which *requievimus* replaces *requiescunt*:

> De Ramatha ad novam portam sunt duodecim miliaria; ibi est una domus magna et una cisterna, ibi requiescunt peregrini et manducant et bibunt.[150]

> Sic equitantes venimus ad Novam Portam xii miliaria a Ramis: ibi requievimus et manducavimus de hiis que nobiscum portamus, et aquam habemus de magna cisterna.[151]

From the third-person plural present, describing pilgrims in general, to the first-person plural perfect, referring to Wey's own party, is merely a matter of a few letters. In the following quotation, minor changes in verb forms effect the transformation from pilgrimage guide to first-person pilgrimage account, but not all verbs are even modified:

> Notandum est quod est oportunum venire cum primis ad locum ad eligendum cameram et ad habendum aquam friscam: item est oportunum emere a custode hospitalis storiam ad ponendum inter vos et terram et super eam iacendam quod non sunt ibi lectisternia. Dormite in hospitali predicto, prima nocte venit gardianus fratrum et facit ibi missam celebrari.[152]

> Notandum quod est opportunum venire cum primis ad locum ad eligendum cameram et ad habendum aquam friscam: item erit oportunum emere a custode hospitalitatis storiam ad ponendum inter nos et terram ad super eam dormiendum, quia non sunt ibi lectisternia. Dormito in hospitali predicto

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[149] "Still circling, one comes to the south end of the high altar." Wey, *Itineraries*, 68.
[150] "From Rama [Ramleh] to *Nova Porta* it is twelve miles; there is a large house and a cistern, and there pilgrims rest and eat and drink." Wey, *Itineraries*, 32.
[151] "Thus, riding on horseback, we came to *Nova Porta*, 12 miles from Rama [Ramleh]: there we rested and ate from that which we had brought with us, and we had water from the great cistern." Wey, *Itineraries*, 58.
[152] "It should be noted that it is convenient to be among the first to come to the place to choose a room and to have fresh water: also it is convenient to buy a reed mat from the guardian of hospice to put between you and the earth and to lie on top of it because there are no beds there. Sleep in that hospice; the first night the guardian of the friars comes and celebrates mass there." Wey, *Itineraries*, 31.

prima nocte mane xxiii. die Junii venit gardianus Fratrum ante diem, et facit dici unam missam.[153]

Here the imperative "*dormite*" ("sleep") gives way to a strangely constructed ablative absolute, "*dormito*" ("having slept"), and the perfected account is not fully translated into the past tense. This second form signals narration of a concluded, individual experience rather than an open, endlessly realizable command in a guide for pilgrims. The addition of the reference to a mass is fairly typical; the significant additions to Wey's own itinerary generally relate to the celebration of masses witnessed by him, or, occasionally, to meals taken; details which pertain to his own particular, unrepeatable experience of Jerusalem. In both cycles of description, in contrast to the narration we have encountered in "The Way to Jerusalem," the structures exclude the need for reference to the pilgrim's firsthand apprehension of the holy place. Where one might expect a distinctly personal account, Wey is repeating a narrative which seemed in the first place written to conceal its subjectivity.

The time and work required to render successive and similar versions in a patient, deliberate script, combined with such careful, conservative, even trivial emendation, invite us to consider the hypothesis that the repetitions are meaningful in some way. To elucidate this, some attention needs to be paid to the relationship of scribe and author in the manuscript. The editor asserts, without stating his reasons, that Wey was probably also the scribe of the manuscript (G. Williams, vi). It is certainly not impossible: the hand that records Wey's date of death at the end of the manuscript is distinguishable from the hand that wrote the itineraries, which could be from the second half of the fifteenth century. Towards the end of the second itinerary, however, there is a section entitled "Of doubts raised in [that] land and their resolution, by master William Wey."[154] This section is itself a repetition, with modifications, of an earlier section also in the second narrative beginning, "On the twenty-fifth day [of July] we waited in Jerusalem, and at that time I had certain doubts about those things, which were resolved in that land."[155] Both sections concerning

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[153] "It should be noted that it is convenient to be among the first to come to the place to choose a room and to have fresh water: also it is convenient to buy a reed mat from the guardian of hospice to put between us and the earth and to lie on top of it because there are no beds there. Having slept in that aforesaid hospice the first night, the twenty-third of June, came [*sic*] the guardian of the friars and has [*sic*] mass said there." Wey, *Itineraries*, 58.

[154] "De dubiis motis rerum in terra et eorum solucionibus, per magistrum Willelmum Wey." Wey, *Itineraries*, 126.

[155] "Et xxv die exspectavimus in Jerusalem, et tunc habui dubia certa de illis, que sunt in terra ista soluta." Wey, *Itineraries*, 97.

dubia set out and answer queries regarding certain curiosities *in terra sancta.* Perhaps these were both written out by Wey, the first to record his own individual transition from doubt to understanding, and the second framing the useful information for a more general audience. However, this attribution of authorship, in conjunction with the emendation of the repeated material, hints that perhaps someone was involved in the editorial and scribal process after Wey himself. The involvement of someone else seems even more likely if we contrast the section title naming "master William Wey" with the other references to Wey's authorship, which are expressed in the first person: "Ego Willelmus Wey." The editors of the Bodleian catalogue of manuscripts speculate that this manuscript is "probably [the work] of a scribe under Wey's superintendence at Edington" (Madan and Craster, 323-4).

If it is the case that someone besides Wey was involved in the production of the manuscript, several possible explanations present themselves as to the repetition in the text. One possibility is that the text was conceived of as we find it in the manuscript and written out thus by Wey, then exactly copied by the scribe, with perhaps the occasional interjection such as that specifying Wey's authorship of the "doubts." A second is that Wey, after writing his own account of his itineraries, conceived and undertook a second distinct project: a guide to the Holy Land which would provide pragmatic advice on currencies, provisions, and places to visit, as well as reasons to undertake the pilgrimage, drawing on the material he had already written in his own account. The scribe, finding these two, separately conceived texts in the same place, either mistook them for, or saw their potential as, one unified text. He then copied them in sequence, or made the necessary changes to fit them together. A further possibility is that the scribe's involvement in the creation of the text we think of as Wey's exceeded the functions of copyist or editor, and that the advice to pilgrims, lists of holy places, glossaries and phrasebooks were added by him, with copying and emendation where appropriate of the information in Wey's first-person itineraries. Many other permutations of the author-scribe relationship are also possible, and many more interventions in the process of its production could be imagined. The manuscript yields insufficient clues to exclude or uphold any one of these, however. Given the relative consistency of the hand in which all the materials relating to Jerusalem are written and the polished appearance of the manuscript, it appears that each section was thought by someone, whether scribe or author, to have the right to exist in the text, and to belong to a coherent whole, in spite of the

extensive repetition, in the spirit, perhaps, of compilation rather than unitary composition. In that case, the imagined use and function of a section of writing (either giving advice to a prospective traveller, or narrating a personal experience of pilgrimage) must have priority for the manuscript's creator over the avoidance of repetition of content. It is also possible that the repetition simply serves to insist on the fact of the achievement of Wey's journey, since it emphatically draws attention to the distinct existences of the achieved journey and projected future pilgrimage.[156] Where the imagined uses of a particular text are multiple, near or exact repetition of content is nothing to be avoided. Indeed, such repetition removes the need for rhetorical devices to differentiate accomplished and projected travel.

The pilgrimage text's sense of its dual purposes, to record the experience of the perfected journey and to beget and inform future pilgrimages, can produce a strange bifurcation in the content of the narrative, as it does in the case of Wey's *Itineraries*. It looks at once forward and backward, contemplating the accomplishment of the journey and imagining its repeated realisation by other travellers. The substance of a pilgrim's experience is in one sense unrepeatable: the timings, the meals, the accidents of the journey constitute a particular and individual pilgrimage. In another sense, however, his experience is part of a devotional practice which is constantly being renewed, with an established form which repeats itself even as the actors change. Wey's text and others acknowledge a long and enduring tradition of writing about Christian pilgrimage to Jerusalem, giving voice to a particular experience, and then laying claim to their own functions in that tradition.

Re-use and Appropriation

We have already encountered Jonathan Haynes' use of the "verbatim" repetition of material from guidebooks to support his description of pilgrimage narratives as fervent yet "inarticulate," a description that is motivated by a desire to illuminate what is new and interesting in early modern narratives such as George Sandys' *Relation of a Journey*.[157] This kind of appropriation attracts the opprobrium of Gordon Duff, who

[156] I am grateful to Professor Cormac Ó Cuilleanáin of the department of Italian, Trinity College, Dublin for suggesting this explanation.
[157] See Introduction, 6; Haynes, *Humanist as Traveler*, 106.

classifies it as plagiarism: "one is at once struck on reading the accounts of these pilgrimages with their want of originality. Each successive writer plagiarised freely from his predecessors" (Duff, xi). While the narrative of Richard Guildford's journey borrows from Breydenbach, "and many of the more personal observations are lifted bodily from the same source," Torkington, Duff states, is "a worse offender," "plagiarising" in turn from the Guildford narrative. Wes Williams, in a recuperative gesture, claims that such copying, the reiteration of words and deeds already enacted by others, is "the essence of the experience" for many travellers to Jerusalem.[158] The experience of reading as well as of travel was brought to bear on the writing relating to pilgrimage, and the boundaries between the new text and its generic predecessors remained permeable. Mary Carruthers comments in *The Book of Memory* "that the medieval understanding of the complete process of reading does not observe in the same way the basic distinction we make between 'what I read in a book' and 'my experience'" (Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 169). The understanding which she posits of medieval reading and memorial practices emphasises the ideal of readers' engagement with a text, their breaking down of that text into units, their internalisation and reconstitution of the matter in the memory. Her stress on the process of rumination on the text, both in the sense of lingering contemplation and in its suggestion of an active, absorptive, physiological as well as mental engagement, brings about a view of reading in which "'what I read in a book' *is* 'my experience', and I make it mine by incorporating it (and we should understand the word 'incorporate' quite literally) in my memory." In this view, the expectation that one might divorce what one has read from the way in which one experiences, and recounts experience, is artificial; indeed, such a conception might invite accusations of neglect. This offers the possibility of a fresh interpretation of borrowing in pilgrimage writing, one that avoids reductive assumptions that such appropriation is plagiaristic or uncritical.

Most of the texts under discussion in this chapter are connected to others by repetition of similar material, whether because of direct influence or use of a common source. The material held in common often pertains to indulgences. "The Way to Jerusalem" resembles, with some differences, fourteen lines from "The Stacions of

[158] Williams, *Pilgrimage and Narrative*, 53. As I have acknowledged in Chapter 1, this process is not always without anxiety: Niccoló da Poggibonsi's narrative vigorously resists such a fate for itself. For further discussion of appropriation as participation, see pp. 162-2 below.

Rome" as recorded in the early fifteenth-century MS Cottonian Caligula A.II, including lines establishing the Trojan ancestry of Romulus and Remus.[159] The purpose of "The Stacions of Rome" is to establish Rome as the preeminent site of indulgences.[160] While "The Way to Jerusalem" omits this claim, it borrows the following lines in the description of Rome:

The Duches of troye þat sum tyme was,
To Rome she come with grete pres;
Of hyr came Romyrus &Romulus
Of whom Rome ys cleped ȝyt ywys.
Hethen hit was, & cristened nowȝt
Tylle petyr and paule hadee hit bowȝt,
With golde, syluere, ne with good,
But with here flesh & her blode,
For þer þey suffrede bothe dethe,
Here sowles to save fro þe qweþe.
In Rome Y shalle ȝou steuene
And honyred kyrkes fowrty and seuen;
Chapelles þer ben many mo,
Tenne þowsand & fyfe; also
A-bowte þe walle to & fowrty,
Grete towres þre hondredde & syxty,
Fowr & twenty gret ȝates þer be

The Duke of Troye that Eneas hight
To Rome he come wit gret myght.
Of him come Remus, and Romulus,
After hom callet is Ruse.
Hethen hit was, and christen nought,
Tille Peter and Paule had hit brought.
In Rome was some tyme I wene,
CCC. Parishe Chirchez and sevene:
Chapelez ther ben mony also,
ii C. and fife ther too.
About the wallez milez ii and xl.
And Towers a M. and sixty.
iiii. and xx. Grete yatez ther be,
Principale over alle other in that Cite.
("Way to Jerusalem," 541)

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[159] "The Stacions of Rome" also exists in a version in the Vernon MS, fol. 314, which is datable to the 1370s, but this version is lacking eight of the lines shared by "The Way to Jerusalem" and the Caligula A.II version. See "The Stacions of Rome," in *The Stacions of Rome and The Pilgrims Sea-Voyage*, ed. Frederick J. Furnivall, Early English Text Society, original series, vol. 25 (London: Early English Text Society, 1867).

[160] He þat wylle hys sowle leche,
Lysteneth to me, and Y wolle ȝou teche.
Pardon ys þe sowle bote,
At grete Rome þer ys þe Rote:
Pardon, yn frensh a worde hit ys,
Forȝeuenesse of synnes y-wys.
"The Stacions of Rome," in *Religious, Political and Love Poems*, ed. Frederick J. Furnivall, Early English Text Society, original series, vol. 15 (London: Early English Text Society, 1866; reprint, 1903), 113.

Pryncypalle ouur o þur, y tell þe.
("The Stacions of Rome," 113)

Since there are substantial differences in the figures included in the two versions, as well as some variations in syntax and phrasing, it not obvious that the one is the direct source for the other, although editorial intervention during the publication of the manuscript by Purchas is also possible. The fact that the numbers involved in the rhyme scheme are identical in both versions while those situated in the middle of the line are subject to change shows how rhyme adds to the stability of transmission. "The Way to Jerusalem" diverts "The Stacions of Rome" from its purpose of claiming primacy as the "root" of all pardon, lodging its borrowings instead in a poem preoccupied above all with the Jerusalem pilgrimage and its indulgences.

"The Stasyons of Jerusalem" and the English verse proem in William Wey's *Itineraries* share a few lines which also refer to the relationship between the pardon available at Rome and Jerusalem.[161] In these shared lines there is an attempt to contest the kind of claim to supereminence made in "The Stations of Rome." Both insist that Rome could not dispense its pardons were it not for the salvation enacted at Jerusalem:

For all þe pardone þat is in Rome
There is þe well, & thens it come.
There is more pardone, I telle þe,
Than is all þe water in þe se
Or gresse or grauell onne þe ground
Or sterrys be in þe sky so rounde
Or motys be in þe sone,
Sen þe werld was fyrst begone; ...
And all his grace & mekyll more
Was purchast in a fote of square:
It passyd not a fote in bred,
What man wyll mete it with a threde.
("The Stasyons of Jerusalem," ll. 357-72)

Ther ys more pardon in that hylle
Than eny Crystyn man can telle;
For all the pardon that ys at Rome
Ther ys the well, and thens hytt come.
The morteys ys a fote of brede,
Hoo wyll mete hyt wt a threde.
(Wey, *Itineraries*, 10)

[161] This is noticed by Zacher, "Travel and Geographical Writings," 2247.

Although the Wey version compresses the inexpressibility *topos* which describes the pardon available at Calvary, the shared material suggests that these belong to the same tradition. It is possible that the "Stasyons," written at the end of the fifteenth century, is making direct use of Wey's, which must have been written between 1462 and his death in 1476.

A comparison, in turn, of Wey's *Itineraries* with the *Information for Pilgrims*, first printed in 1498, yields evidence of the later text's borrowings. Substantial sections of the *Information* are copied from Wey, such as the changes of money between England and Rome and the advice on provision for travellers.[162] Although the flyleaf of the MS of his itineraries attests that Wey had willed that "thes afore wret [the goods belonging to the replica chapel, including his *Itineraries*] be nat alyened fro the chapel of the Sepulke, nether fro the holy monastery of Edyngdon," the information contained in the book seems to have circulated beyond the monastery. A further section of the *Information* is apparently based on a first-person Latin pilgrimage narrative which does not survive independently, to my knowledge.[163]

The late fifteenth/early sixteenth-century volume in which the MS "Ynformacion" is to be found, British Library MS Harley 2333, contains material shared with a guide for pilgrims, "Peregrinaciones terrae sanctae," in British Library MS Harley 3810.[164] After this pilgrimage guide, continuing on the same page, fol. 94^{r}, Harley 3810 includes an *ordo*, or liturgical directions, for pilgrims, describing the prayers and hymns appropriate to certain holy places. This often matches a fuller, rubricated *ordo* for pilgrims in Harley 2333 in content (although sometimes abbreviated) and sequence, beginning with the prayers to be said at Bethlehem. Indeed, the last lines of the *Peregrinaciones* itself coincide closely with the lines of the "Ynformacion" which sum up the pilgrimages in Palestine and precede the description of the return journey:

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[162] This use of Wey was noticed by Duff. "Whether this was really written by Wey, or copied by him from another writer, it is impossible to say, but until an earlier source has been found we must give him the credit of its compilation." Duff, "Introduction," xi-ii.

[163] I have already noted that the printed *Information* straddles the artificial boundaries between guide and travel account: see p. 128 above. The name of the pilgrim and narrator are lost.

[164] British Library Harley MS 3810 is a two-volume collection containing a variety of material, English and Latin, in several hands, ranging from devotional to medical material. Brefeld dates the pilgrimage guide to the later fifteenth century, noting that a letter written in the same hand is dated 1472, and that the watermarks corroborate a dating from the latter part of the century. Brefeld, *Guidebook for the Jerusalem Pilgrimage*, 121-2.

> Also there is the citte of Antioche in which blessed Peter was yntronyzat. And many other places ar there abowt bi Surream that nowadaies of Cristian pilgremes ar nott vysited. And ne I nor none of my fellowshippe ded visyte any off thees last forewriten hooly places. (MS "Ynformacion," 151)

> It*em* p*er* [v]nas dietas? ult*r*a est Ciuitas Antiochie in qua beatus petrus ibi fuit i*n*tronizat*us* in qua sunt q*ua*mplures ecc*lesi*ae et est ciuitas magna et fort*is*. // Multa alia loca su*n*t per Soriam q*u*ae a c*r*istianis modernis no*n* su*n*t co*g*nita. ("Peregrinaciones Totius Terrae Sanctae," fol. 94r)

Within the *ordo*, Harley 3810 follows Harley 2333 in the sequence of sites treated, from Bethlehem to Mount Syon and beyond, but it is incomplete, since Harley 2333 continues with prayers, antiphons, and responsorials for holy places beyond Syon. In many details of phrasing Harley 3810 also coincides with the Latin itineraries within William Wey's manuscript, although without repeating them exactly. For example,

> It*em* duo lapides albi sup*er* q*ui*b*us* stetit c*ristus* qua*n*do data fuit ei se*n*tenci*am* suae mort*is*. Et isti lapides sunt super uno arcu. It*em* scola beate m*a*riae virgine in qua p*ri*mo didicit littoras qua*n*do erat puella. It*em* dom*us* pilati in qua crist*us* fuit duct*us* ligat*us* accusat*us* verberat*us* et morti adiudicat*us*. ("Peregrinaciones Totius Terrae Sanctae," fol. 88v)

> videntur duo lapides albi coloris, super quos Christus stetit quando judicatus erat ad mortem; tunc prope est scola beate Marie, in qua didicit litteras et scripturas. Item per illam portam ex alia parte vie est domus Pilati, in qua Christus fuit flagellatus, coronatus, et ad mortem judicatus.[165]

This similarity in phrasing, combined with the differences in order of sites and degree of detail (Wey tends to be more loquacious), suggests that Wey and the author of the *Peregrinaciones* were working from similar, but not identical, sources.

A similar tendency to adaptation is visible in the pilgrimage of Richard Torkington. Even before his narrative reaches Joppa, Torkington has begun to copy from *The Pilgrimage of Richard Guildford.* Both narratives inform us that at Crete music, tournaments, and exercise of arms on horseback, written law, armour, oars and rowboats were first devised (*Pilgrimage of Richard Guildford*, fol. B3r-v; Torkington,

[165] Wey, *Itineraries*, 61. For another example of coincidence between Wey and Harley 3810, see n. 196 below.

19). Torkington supplements the borrowings from the Guildford pilgrimage with content from the *Information for pilgrims*, a fact which is remarked by Duff (xi-xii). A few paragraphs later, passing by "Cartha" [perhaps Zante] near Patmos, Torkington copies Guildford's account of a miracle of St Nicholas, "where as be tooles made of yrron that neuer lose their egge" (*Pilgrimage of Richard Guildford*, fol. B3v; Torkington, 19). Torkington here appears to feel that the difficulty of his not having witnessed it is outweighed by the interest of the fact, but also demands acknowledgment. Thus, he appends the qualification, "as they say, I saw it not" to his account. The descriptions of the holy places are generally taken verbatim from *The Pilgrimage of Richard Guildford*, although with departures from the order of the latter, or curtailments of, for example, ethnographical information.

Less predictably, first-person utterances of emotion are also copied word for word. When the pilgrims first catch sight of the Holy Land at sea, Guildford's chaplain writes,

> And vpon Saterdaye our Lady daye at nyght aforsayde we made sayle and on mondaye we met with the Shyppe with Pylgrymes that went out of Venyce .iii. wekes before vs whiche Pylgrymes had done theyr Pylgrymage / and Retourned homewardes / and we met thus with theym vpon .xl. myle on this syde Jaffe / And as soone as we hadde syght of the holy Lande we sange .Te Deum. And thanked Joyously almyghty god th*a*t had yeuen vs suche grace to haue ones th*a*t syght of th*a*t moost holy lande. (*Pilgrimage of Richard Guildford*, fol. B4v)

Torkington omits the meeting with the Venice-bound pilgrim ship, and alters the date, but otherwise takes the chaplain's emotional response as his own:

> Satirday, the xi day of Julii, a bowght iiii of the Cloke at aftyr noon, we had sight of the holy londe. Thanne the Maryners song the letany, And aftyr that all the Pylgryms with a Joyfful voyce song Te Deum Lawid-amus, And thankyd all myghty god that he had goven vs such grace to have onys the sight of the most holy lande. (Torkington, 22)

There is here limited endeavour at paraphrase but the emotion is still reproduced in the same terms. The copying of subjective, emotional utterances seems somehow more transgressive than the appropriation of descriptive and historical material. Carruthers' argument of the false division between reading and experience helps to explain Torkington's usage, although her discussion of this question in relation to

Petrarch, for example, maintains an awareness that verbatim repetition carries much less authority, or indeed honour, than other kinds of imitation (Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 219-20). There is moreover a certain propriety in copying in this context, for the Guildford narrative is giving an account of the traditional pilgrims' response to the first sight of the Holy Land. The singing of the *Te Deum* on first sight of the Holy land, with which my introduction began and which most pilgrims recount, is undertaken in unison by many generations of pilgrims; it is a collective expression of joy and thanksgiving. Torkington's use of this account, then, is not so much the insertion of a false memory of emotional response as a gesture of participation in a collective, continuously repeated pilgrimage ritual. As Christian Zacher puts it, "if Torkington's memoir is not an act of forgery, his conspicuous dependence on an earlier narrative for an account of what he also personally experienced exemplifies more obviously than most medieval travel writings the habit of merging authority and experience" (Zacher, "Travel and Geographical Writings," 2252).

Torkington's use of the Guildford pilgrimage narrative is neither automatic nor uncritical. The order of pilgrimage circuits is changed, presumably to reflect the specific order taken during his stay in Jerusalem. However, within a single pilgrimage circuit, the sequence usually closely follows that of the Guildford pilgrimage or, in the case of the sequence of visits between his judgement by Pilate and Calvary, reverses the order. This reversal of Torkington's source produces a sequence which follows the chronological order of the places as passed through by Christ with the cross. Most pilgrims around this time, however, report the route followed by Christ with the cross in reverse-chronological order. It is possible that Torkington followed a chronological route, although this would have been exceptional. He may instead have reversed the order to emphasise the narrative coherence of this series of places.[166] In several places Torkington amends his source to reflect recent political changes in Palestine, replacing, for example, "Mamolukes" with "Turkys" in an otherwise unchanged

[166] Herbert Thurston notes Richard Torkington's modification of the Guildford pilgrimage, and states that this constitutes a major shift in the pattern of the *via dolorosa*: "it seems clear that in 1517 the good Franciscans at Jerusalem had for some reason changed their practice and now conducted the pilgrims along the way of the Cross *towards* Calvary, as our LORD Himself had travelled on His last sorrowful journey. At any rate, so far as I am aware, we do not after this date find in the descriptions of the *Via Dolorosa* that the sites are any longer enumerated in the reverse order *from* Calvary eastward." However, at least two seventeenth-century English narratives give the sites in reverse chronological order: the text in British Library Addit. 17,374/Royal 18.a.39 and Timberlake's *True and Strange Discourse*. See Chapter 4, 330; Thurston, *The Stations of the Cross*, 54-5.

account of the bureaucracy faced by pilgrims at Joppa.[167] Torkington's use of the Guildford pilgrimage suggests that narrative borrowing is a compositional equivalent of participation in the collective ritual experience of pilgrimage, but also that it can be less naïve and unthinking than commentators have assumed.

Torkington's source, *The Pilgrimage of Richard Guildford*, itself copies from beyond the pool of English texts, selectively incorporating translations from the Breydenbach pilgrimage account. In certain cases, information is included by the author in the form of a close translation, as Duff points out.[168] In other cases, however, the narrator, whose narrative is much more compact than the Breydenbach pilgrimage, curtails and consolidates his source material.[169] The narrator also combines close translation with interpolation drawn from the familiar English context. In the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, he closely follows Breydenbach's description of the building, curtailing the description in places but reproducing his syntax, dimensions and observations.[170] He also interpolates a comparison between the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and "the Temple at London / saffe it is fer excedynge in

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[167] Torkington, *Pilgrimage*, 23. The city had been under Ottoman control since 1516, when it was wrested from its Mamluk governors by Selim I. See Halil Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age*, 2nd ed. (London: Phoenix Press, 2000), 33-4. A fuller discussion of this transition follows in Chapter 4.

[168] Duff notes the following close translation: "This Cytie of Jherusale*m* is in a fayre Emynent place, for it stondeth vpon suche a grou*n*de that from whens soever a ma*n* com*m*yth thedi*r* he must nede*s* ascende. From thens a man may se all Arabye and the mounte of Abaryn*n*./ & Nebo/ & Phasga/ the playnes of Jordan*n* & Jherico/ & the dede see vnto the stone of desert/ I sawe neuer cytte nor other place have so fayre prospecte*s*." Breydenbach gives: "Et nota q*uod* ciuitas Jerusalem sita est in loco multu*m* eminenti· et de ea videtur tota Arabia, et mons Abarim et Nebo et Phasga, planicies Jordanis et Jericho et mare mortüu*m* usq*ue* ad petra*m* deserti. Nec vidi ciuitatem siue locu*m* qui pulcriorem habe prospectu*m*. Ad ipsam aute*m* ascenditu*r* ab omni parte· q*ui* sita est in loco altiori qui est in terra illa..." In Duff's transcription, the final sentence is transposed to come after "eminenti." Duff may have been using a different edition (I have not been able to exclude the possibility that this order exists in another edition), or he may have altered the order to emphasise the convergence of the Guildford narrative on Breydenbach's account. Breydenbach, *Peregrinationes*, fol. 14r; Duff, "Introduction," 11; *Pilgrimage of Richard Guildford*, fol. C3v.

[169] For example, "Item duodecim corone et .xii. pectora de auro margaritis saphiro atque smaragdis etcetera / Item sex magne et p*re*ciose valde crüces de auro / Item pileus ducis quo quilibet dux venetor*um* singulari privilegio siue pr*ae*rogativa coronatur et est precii inestimabilis" becomes, "There be also .xii. Crownes of fyne Golde and .xii. Pectorals & a Ryche Cappe whiche euery Duke is Corowned with at his first Intrononyzacion [sic] the pryce of all whiche Crownes / Pectorales / and Cappe is inestymable for they be full set with precyous stones of the gretest valoure that may be." Breydenbach, *Peregrinationes*, fol. 7r; *Pilgrimage of Richard Guildford*, fols. A4v-A5r.

[170] The chapel of the Holy Sepulchre is described by Breydenbach thus: "Spelunca in qua est sepulcru*m* d*omi*ni habet in lo*n*gitudine octo pedes· in latitudine similiter octo ..."; *The Pilgrimage of Richard Guildford* describes it as "a lytel rounde Chapell voughted otherwyse called a Spelunke of .viii. fote of brede/ and asmoche in lengthe." Breydenbach comments on the lack of direct light and the consequent need for multiple lamps; *The Pilgrimage of Richard Guildford* comments that "there is no lyght into the sayde lytell spelunke of the Sepulcre by na maner of wyndowe / But the lyght is there mynystred by many Lampes hangynge within the sayde Spelunke / ouer the Sepulcre." Breydenbach, *Peregrinationes*, fols. 14v-15r; *Pilgrimage of Richard Guildford*, fols. 17r-v.

greteness." In the Guildford pilgrimage, the narrator's attention to decoration and artistic representation comes partly from his source. He gives a detailed description borrowed from the Breydenbach pilgrimage of the medium and subject of the decorations in the Chapel of the Nativity and the Church as a whole, although he adds his evaluation of their state of repair.[171] Furthermore, he brings his awareness of the iconography of the Passion to the scene at Calvary:

> And it is of trouthe as they saye there and as it is assygned by token of a fayre stone layde for remembraunce that our blessyd Lady and seynt John Eva*n*gelyste stode not aboue vpon the hyghest p*ar*te of the mounte of Caluery at the passyon of our lord as it is paynted and Caruen in many places but she stode somwhat bynethe byfore her dere sone / face to face at the tyme of his precyous dethe etc. (fol. D1^{v})

While the information that the Virgin Mary and St John stood "somewhat beneath" ("*paulo inferius*") the position of the cross appears in Breydenbach's narrative, on which account the description of the church is in general based, the comment of the divergence of conventional representations from the dimensions as fixed in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is added by the narrator. The relative position of the holy places can be surprising to pilgrims, then; it can chafe against the representations to which they are accustomed and unsettle their internalised image of the gospel events as situated in space. The Guildford narrator's copying of the source text is not slavish, but reflective, refining and interpolating.

Although the relative homogeneity of material and obvious repetition in pilgrimage narratives are striking at first sight, as Duff says, further reflection discloses the capacity of pilgrimage writings for borrowing which is strategic, purposeful and precise in nature. The inarticulate fervency which Haynes attributes to these texts gives way on closer examination to deliberate appropriation which

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[171] "[the chapel] is all of tables of fyne whyte marble stone and the vaughts be garnysshed with golde and byse with diuers storyes of as subtyll musyn worke as maye be / the wallys also of all the body of the Churche from the pyllers to the Rooffe be paynted with storyes from the begynnynge of the worlde of the sayde musyn werke / whiche is the rychest thynge that can be done to any wallys. Howbeit the sayd werkes be gretely defaced both in the churche and Chapell for very pure age / and the sayd Churche with all the place falleth in grete dekay etc." *Pilgrimage of Richard Guildford*, fol. E3v. Compare Breydenbach: "Su*n*t enim in ea columne marmoree per quatuor ordines disposite nobilissime ·no*n* solum multitudine· sed magnitudine stupende· p*rae*terea nauis ips*a* ecclesie desup*er* columnas vsq*ue* ad trabes facta est de op*er*e musino pulcerrimo et nobilissimo de om*n*ibus historiis a creatione mu*n*di vsque ad aduent*um* d*omi*ni ad iudiciu*m*." Breydenbach, *Peregrinationes*, fol. 35v.

modifies the pace or purpose of its source material and updates it to reflect a particular experience or a new political reality.

Repetition and Memory

I have now examined some of the acts of selection and modification which take place when an author repeats material from another written source, as well as the purposes which repetition can serve within a narrative such as Wey's *Itineraries*. It remains, however, to speculate on why Wey repeated the act of pilgrimage itself, not just the narration of it. Felix Fabri explains the reasons for his own repeat voyage at some length. While these, of course, cannot be used to explain Wey's own second journey, they suggest travellers' possible anxieties and preoccupations about the experience of travel and its subsequent life in the memory. Fabri indicates that the first sight of the holy places is not effortlessly imprinted on the mind. He says that, after his return home from his first pilgrimage, "the Holy Land and Jerusalem with its holy places appeared to me, shrouded in a dark mist, as though I had beheld them in a dream; and I seemed to myself to know less about all the holy places than I did before I visited them."[172] He also describes his first and second journeys in terms which employ a textual metaphor for the experience of the pilgrimage:

> As a student who means to commit some passage to memory first reads it over carelessly, and then reads it again slowly and leisurely, taking sufficient time to impress it on his mind, so I did with regard to my determination.[173]

Wes Williams sees these comments of Fabri's as "a frankly Pauline admission of inadequate mimetic powers," and as a lament for his "inability to give coherent narrative shape to the experience of having been away" upon his return and reintegration (W. Williams, *Pilgrimage and Narrative*, 39-40). They betray an anxiety about doing justice in amplitude and truthfulness to the experience in narrative here, as do the opening lines of "The Stasyons of Jerusalem" already quoted. They also

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[172] "Apparebat mihi terra sancta et Jerusalem cum locis suis sub quadam caligine tenebrosa, ac si in somnis ea vidissem. Et videbatur mihi quod minus scirem de omnibus locis sanctis, quam ante eorum visitationem." Fabri, *Evagatorium*, vol. 1, 61. English translation from Fabri, *Wanderings*, vol. 1, pt. 1, 48-9.

[173] "Sicut studens lectionem aliquam memoriae commendare intendens, primo perfunctorie lectionem praevidet et postea repetit mature et tractim tempus accipiens sufficiens imprimendi; sic et in proposito feci ...." Fabri, *Evagatorium*, vol. 1, 42. English translation from Fabri, *Wanderings*, vol. 1, pt. 1, 24.

reveal the degree to which the experience of pilgrimage is understood in the terms of reading and inscription. The memorisation of the experience of pilgrimage is analogous to the process of committing to memory a written text; the process of imprinting on the memory, in turn, is understood in the terms of inscription on a receptive surface. Carruthers has discussed at length the significance of the use of the verb "impress" ("*imprimere*") to describe the process of memorisation: the recurrent figuring of impression on the memory in terms of the mark of a seal on wax implies that a physiological change takes place as a result of perception (Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 16-7, 21-2, 28, 49-50, 55-7). This physiological impression is what Fabri has failed to achieve on his first pilgrimage, and what he seeks on the second. The repetition is represented not merely as a consequence of a prior failure but as itself necessary to the process.[174]

Although Wey makes no acknowledgment of a similar sense of failure in his first journey, a preoccupation with memory is evident in his *Itineraries*. For example, it underlies a *memoria technica*, or mnemonic, for the remembering of the holy sites to be visited (see figure 11).[175] Here, truncated words or phrases designating the places to be visited are fitted into lines of Latin hexameter, the meter stabilising the sequence. The marking of vellum with crosses creates a two-dimensional visual pattern quite independent of the original topographical spatial matrix. The pattern constitutes a curious reversal of the architectural mnemonics advocated to aid recollection, for example, in the rhetorical treatises on which the medieval *ars memorativa* was founded: the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, Cicero's *De oratore* (both late first century B.C.) and Quintilian's *Institio oratoria* (first century A.D.).[176] Those methods make use of mental images of familiar locations, or *loci*, in clear sequence in order to fix, locate and organise information. Within clearly delineated, spaced out,

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[174] For a suggestive discussion of the renegotiation of the pilgrim's expectations as an important preoccupation of Fabri's *Evagatorium*, as well as Aristides' *The Sacred Tales* and Pierre Loti's *Un Pèlerin d'Angkor*, see Petsalis-Diomidis, "Narratives of Transformation."

[175] Wey, *Itineraries*, 19-25.

[176] Yates notes that manuscripts of the *Ad Herennium* survive from the ninth century, although of the numerous extant manuscripts most date to the twelfth to fourteenth centuries. Quintilian's and Cicero's methods were apparently not widely known until the second and third decades of the fifteenth century, although "a few chosen spirits here and there in the Middle Ages might have come across Cicero and Quintilian on the mnemonics." Frances Yates, *The Art of Memory* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966; reprint, London: Pimlico, 1992), 20-41, 66-8.

moderately sized and lighted *loci*, the student situates a vivid image which triggers a thing or a word when it is recollected.[177]

In his thirteenth-century ethical treatise, *De bono*, the Dominican Albertus Magnus comments on the method set out in the *Ad Herennium*, and advocates that the spatial scheme should not be imaginary: Yates "deduces from this that Albertus himself advises the use of only 'real' memory places, memorized in real buildings, not the erection of imaginary systems in memory" (Yates, 75). In its allegorical reading of the parts of the church, mentioned already, the *Information for Pilgrims* projects a mnemonic function onto the parts of any church, although the structure specifically stimulates meditation on the body of the spiritual church and its parts rather than accommodating unrelated sets of data.[178]

Carruthers has commented that the Jerusalem holy places served a mnemonic purpose: they offered for early pilgrims "locations for recollecting memory images, which they had made on the basis of their prior reading of the Bible" (Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, 42). The real city was thus made to accommodate the scriptural episodes which visitors already knew, rather than offering a framework for the internalisation of new information. In any case, the recollection of information of a textual origin could be strengthened by recourse to a spatial structure held in the mind.

By contrast, Wey's *memoria technica* uses text and the metrical framework to fix the memory of places – places, of course, whose importance is itself derived in the first instance from the text of scripture. This device not only enumerates the physical traces and sites of commemoration of Christ, but also helps to resist the tendency towards effacement, which Fabri describes, of the traveller's experience from the mental landscape. Unlike a familiar, domestic landscape whose sequence of spaces were firmly fixed in the memory, Jerusalem was available to pilgrims for a matter of weeks. The *memoria technica* allows the pilgrim to fix the sequence of holy places in his or her mind, even from a distance; the sequence of places may then have been used to recollect the scriptural episodes which they commemorated.

The *dubia* included by Wey in the narrative of the second pilgrimage, which I have already mentioned, also hint that a first pilgrimage can leave questions for resolution on a return visit (Wey, *Itineraries*, 97-8, 126-8). Some of the doubts

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[177] For a paraphrase of the memory section of *Ad Herennium*, see Yates, *Art of Memory*, 22-31. For comments on *loci*, see pp. 22-4.
[178] See p. 142 above.

expressed by Wey are simply queries which arise from imperfect observation or recollection or linguistic obstacles to understanding. For example, in the first set of *dubia*, Wey seeks and provides the Latin translation of the Greek text written near the hole of the holy cross at Calvary, the etymology of the name of the Valley of Jehosophat, and the distance of the grotto of the agony from the house of Annas. Other doubts seem to be more directly concerned with material proof and the reconciliation of claims with evidence. Wey wonders "whether the column to which Christ was bound is flecked with the blood of Christ? The answer was, that it is not that way now, but the strokes of the scourge remain in it."[179] He also asks the distance between Calvary and the temple of Solomon, where Christ was heard crying "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit" (Luke 23:46), either to verify the feasibility of the claim or to gauge the scale of the marvel.[180]

Repetition is not simply required to answer doubts; it is assumed within the very structure of the Jerusalem pilgrimage. The standard pilgrimage included three nights' vigil in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, during each of which the circuit around its holy places was undertaken. The narrator of Richard Guildford's pilgrimage reveals that each of these visits has its own character, in spite of the rehearsal of the same movements and visits. The procession, "instruccion" and "shewynge" of the holy places which take place the first night are unnecessary on the second visit, the pilgrims having internalised the first night's information: "we were p*er*faytly lerned of our stacions in euery place within the sayd temple" (*Pilgrimage of Richard Guildford*, fol. D4r). The third visit is itself different from the first two, in spite of the repetition in form:

> We entred ayen into the Temple of the holy Sepulcre for the thirde tyme and were there receyued in suche fourme and maner as we dyd the .ii. nyghts byfore whan we entred into the same and we vysyted the sayd holy places with the more zele and deuocion bycause we rekenyd it for the last tyme that we shuld se them in all our lyues. (*Pilgrimage of Richard Guildford*, fol. E5v)

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[179] "Secundum dubium, an columpna, ad quam Christus alligatus errat, sit respersa sanguine Christi? Responsum erat, quod non est sic iam, sed remanent in ea percussiones flagellorum." Wey, *Itineraries*, 97.

[180] "Quantum distat mons Calvarie a templo Salomonis, quia vox Christ erat audita quando clamabat *Pater in manus tuas* ad templum Salamonis? Respondetur, quod distat duo stadia et dimidii." Wey, *Itineraries*, 97-8. I have not found any other occurrences of this claim; perhaps Wey heard this stated at Jerusalem.

This gives a very different account of the ease of remembering and internalising the information regarding the holy places from that supplied by Felix Fabri, but it effectively demonstrates that each iteration constitutes a different qualitative experience, although its pathways and nodes are the same. In the late fourteenth century and throughout the fifteenth, pilgrims notice a place on Mount Olivet where the Virgin Mary would rest on her daily pilgrimage to the places in which her son had suffered. The site and commemoration, which have no canonical support, construct the act of pilgrimage in Jerusalem as an imitation of the Virgin Mary; more pertinently, they posit the ideal pilgrim as one who repeats her journey every day. Repetition of pilgrimage, like repetition of prayer, is a measure of devotion. More than just a response to the dual burdens of the text to recount and to guide, the repeated visits of the text to the holy places in pilgrimage, like that of the pilgrim, are essential to the imprinting of the pilgrimage in the mind.

Affective Engagement in Pilgrimage Guides and Narratives

While repetition in the narratives of Wey and Guildford gives a sense of a quiet, understated commitment to the pilgrimage, Margery Kempe's *Book* explicitly records the intense emotional response of the pilgrim. Her account represents such emotion as unusual and, indeed, as alienating for her fellow pilgrims. Beyond the English tradition, as Schein notes, Felix Fabri refers to the emotional responses of pilgrims in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, although he finally characterises such intense manifestations as Margery's as out of the ordinary:

> O my brother! Hadst thou been with me in that court at that hour, thou wouldst have seen such plenteous tears, such bitter heartfelt groans, such sweet wailings, such deep sighs, such true sorrow, such sobs from the inmost breast, such peaceful and gladsome silence, that hadst thou a heart of stone it must have melted, and thou wouldst have burst into a flood of tears together with the weeping pilgrims.... It was indeed pleasant to behold the very earnest and yet different behaviour of the pilgrims as they prayed at the holy places, which places have a wondrous power of moving to tears, groans, and sighs, men who in any other place could not be moved by any speech, advice, or passage of Scripture, by any painting or carving, examples, promise, or threats, by

> prosperity, or by adversity. Yet as a rule those who visit the holy places are not affected even to this extent, but merely roused to unusual devotion and piety.[181]

Admittedly, as Donald Howard and Sylvia Schein point out, Fabri suggests elsewhere that such weeping may be contagious, and unconnected with spiritual transport.[182]

Within the pool of late medieval pilgrimage writing up to the early sixteenth century, however, the marking of such emotional responses in narratives is considered by Wes Williams to be of little priority:

> Bare itineraries, logs, or the terms of a contract are easily copied, not least because when echoed, pure information carries little or no trace of the personal voice. But even simple details regarding costs can be said to do more than be immediately useful: they also perpetuate a form of pilgrim *style*. Impersonal repetition of another's trajectory is, for many pilgrims, the essence of the experience. A litany of place names, leagues between, and indulgences attached to each place translates their understanding of the sense of the journey.... [Early sixteenth-century pilgrimage accounts] are the narratives of pilgrims little concerned to represent themselves as rhetorically skilled authors, or to impress their own sense of place on the reader's imagination. (W. Williams, *Pilgrimage and Narrative*, 53)

Although Williams is concerned to excuse pilgrimage narratives' omissions of affective and personal response to the holy places, his account, and those of Marie-Christine Gomez-Géraud and others, I will argue, do not recognise the full spectrum of affectivity within this kind of writing.

The most obvious starting point for a counter-argument is "The Stasyons of Jerusalem." This poem's neglect by critical accounts of this tradition of English pilgrimage texts in the fifteenth century is particularly unfortunate because the work

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[181] "O frater mi, si in ista hora mecum in atrio illo fuisses, vidisses et audivisses tam exuberantes lachrimas, tam amaros et cordiales gemitus, tam dulces ejulatus, tam alta suspiria, tam profunda lamenta et ex intimis singultus, tam quieta et jocunda silentia, et si cor lapideum habuisses, liquefactum fuisset, et simul cum ipsis peregrinis lachrymantibus resolutus in lachrymas uberes fuisses.... Delectabile valde fuit videre seriosissimos et varios peregrinorum mores in devotione in locis sanctis, quae loca mirabilem efficaciam habent ad movendum hominem ad fletum, gemitum et suspiria, qui alias nullis sermonibus, nec admonitionibus, nec scripturis, nec picturis, nec figuris, nec exemplis, nec promissis, nec minis, nec prosperitate, nec adversitate moveri potest. Sed tamen nec hoc generaliter omnibus datur visitantibus loca sancta, sed ut scilicet singulari devotione et pietate afficiantur." Fabri, *Evagatorium*, vol. 1, 238. English translation from Fabri, *Wanderings*, vol. 1, pt. 1, 283-4.

[182] See Fabri, *Wanderings*, vol. 2, pt. 1, 60; Howard, *Writers and Pilgrims*, 44; Schein, "Women's Jerusalem Pilgrimages," 53.

can add much to our sense of the heterogeneity of the late medieval English corpus of pilgrimage writing.[183] It pays much more attention than many contemporary texts to the emotional responses of the pilgrims at the holy places, for example, in its description of the procession in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. This description compares weeping to participation in worship and liturgy: it is the layman's equivalent to the clerics' singing.

> Now schall ȝe here þe begyninge,
>
> How we worschypped oure heuen kynge.
>
> The warden reysede a crosse full hye
>
> And clerkys songe þe letany;
>
> And lewde men þan þer eyȝene wepe,
>
> That teres fell vndere þer fete,
>
> And thankyde god with all þer myȝht
>
> That gaffe them grace to se þat syght. ("Stasyons of Jerusalem," ll. 109-16)

While many contemporary accounts, as Haynes and Williams point out, pay attention to the recitation of holy places visited or to visit, often leaving the pilgrim's imagination of the emotional tenor of the events of the passion and his response to the holy places unspoken, this poem makes these its focus. The piece of the pillar of the scourging which is said to have been taken from the Praetorium provides an occasion in the Church of the Sepulchre for meditation, not only on the sufferings of Christ, but on his response:

> When he was so sore Ibonde,
>
> With þer fete þei spurned (him) as a hunde—
>
> And he ley as a babe stylle
>
> And sufferd them to do þer wylle. ("Stasyons of Jerusalem," ll. 157-60)

This passage resonates with Richard Rolle's "Meditations on the Passion" (comparable passages occur in both Text I and II), in which a similar phrase occurs in relation to the carrying of the cross rather than to the scourging: "now þei lede þe for the, nakyd os a worm, þe turmentoures abowtyn þe, & armede knyȝtes. Þe prees of þe peple was wonderly strong; þei hurled þe and haryed þe so schamefully, þei spurned þe with here feet os þou hadde ben a dogge" (Rolle, *Yorkshire Writers*, 85).

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[183] In exception to this neglect are the two paragraphs of sensitive discussion in Zacher, "Travel and Geographical Writings," 2246-7.

The emphasis on Christ's meekness and suffering is accompanied by the imagination of violence towards His persecutors. One of the characteristics which Blanchfield notices in Rate, this poem's scribe, is a tendency to make anti-Semitic interpolations in devotional material, including "The Stasyons of Jerusalem" (Blanchfield, "'An Idiosyncratic Scribe'," 58, 123-4). The account of the sepulchre, with its reminders of the Passion, provokes the following outburst:

> All crysten kyngys, with one assente
> Fore godys luffe gyffe þis Jugemente:
> What cursyde Jue cum to ȝoure ground
> Spurne ȝe his body as a hounde,
> And, bote he wylle mersy crye,
> Honge hym vp on galow-tre. ("Stasyons of Jerusalem," ll. 161-6, 358)

The repetition of the phrase describing the treatment of Christ during his Passion ("to spurne as a hounde") in the injunction to molest Jews is not accidental. The repetition creates a causal relation between Christ's suffering and contemporary persecution of Jews, and seems to take satisfaction in imagining a retribution which reenacts and thus avenges Christ's sufferings.

The following comparison of descriptions of Mount Calvary reveals the variety of focus and emphasis which can be found in medieval pilgrimage accounts of a single place. Certain accounts refer to the crucifixion curtly, hastening on to the identification of indulgences. First, the treatment in Wey's English proem:

> The nexte ys of xv stappys hye,
> Is callyd the Mownte of Caluerye.
> Ther ys more pardon in that hylle
> Than eny Crystyn man can telle;
> For all the pardon that ys at Rome
> Ther ys the well, and thens hytt come.
> The morteys ys a fote of brede,
> Hoo wyll mete hyt wt a threde. (Wey, *Itineraries*, 10)

The focus here is quantitative: it dwells on the dimensions of the site and the extent of the indulgences it yields. Wey's Latin itinerary is rather laconic at this point, never even naming Calvary until the narrative is departing from it:

> Ad orientalem finem capelle est foramen rotundum in rupe factum: profunditas eius est plusquam dimidium ulne, latitudo eius in summitate est circumquaque unius palme.... Item cum de monte Calvarie itur .... [184]

This does not refer to moment of death, but simply refers to the hole in which the cross was set. "The Way to Jerusalem," similarly, refers only rather obliquely to the events which took place at Calvary, emphasises the indulgence available there:

> There in is the Mount of calvery,
> Wher for our sake Jehu wolde dy.
> Ther is plenor remission
> To alle hem that ȝeder wull come. ("Way to Jerusalem," 553)

The printed *Information for Pilgrims* pays brief attention to the historical event. It is certainly interested, however, in the decoration and in the site's ranking in a hierarchy of holiness, so that the physical monuments compete for attention in the narrative with the event which they mark:

> From thens we ... come vnto the Mou*n*te of Caluery where our Sauyour Criste was Crucyfyed and suffred dethe for our redempcion and there is a fayre large Chapell well voughted and lyghted by man Lampes brennynge. This place is meruaylous holy and venerable aboue all other. (*Information for Pilgrims*, fol. xixr)

The account of Calvary in "The Stasyons of Jerusalem" is markedly different from these, dwelling on the implications of the event for man's salvation. While it pays some attention to the architectural setting (noticing the step leading up to the place), it gives much fuller treatment to the historical event that took place there, as well as its salvific implications:

> Than turned we vponne a grece in hye
> On to þe mounte of Caluarye.
> There was fond a fote of grounde,
> There is none sych in þe werld rounde:
> For it was plantyd with þat tre
> There Jhesu bought vs and made vs fre,
> And it was halowyd with þat blode

[184] "At the eastern end of the chapel is a round hole made in the rock: it has a depth of more than half a span of the arms and a breadth of a span of the hand all around at its highest point .... When one departs from Mount Calvary ...." Wey, *Itineraries*, 68.

That oute of hys body ȝode,

And þat was pay in ransone

Fore all þe synnes þat we hade done. ("Stasyons of Jerusalem," ll. 281-90)

Indeed, this extract forms only part of the description of the crucifixion on Calvary, which dwells further on the sufferings of Christ, and develops an analogy with the pelican's sacrifice for her young:[185]

As þe pylicane sytte on here neste

When sche prykes her herte blode

To gyffe here byrdys fore þer fode:

Thus was he strenyd on a tre,

That bouȝt vs all in his degre:

In euery veyne þei souȝt his blode—

Thus fulle dere he bouȝt hys brode;

The croune of thorne wente throuȝe hys breyne.

Hys penans passe þe pelycane;

A spere was pute thorow his rybbys

And with hys blode he fede his brydys,

So fre he was to vs Ichone. (ll. 332-43)

This pays close attention to the surfaces of Christ's suffering body, rather than to the planes of those places in which his suffering is commemorated. Compare this with the crowning in Nicholas Love's *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Christ*: "behold hym with sorow of herte namely when they smyten hym greuously and ofte sythes vpon the hede ful of sharp thornes, the whiche perced greuously in to the brayne pan*n*e and made it al ful of blood."[186] Similar detail is included in Richard Rolle's "Meditations on the Passion": "þe skyn of þin hed þi crowne hath al to-rente, eche a thorn þat þere is sytteth to þi brayn-panne" (Rolle, *Yorkshire Writers*, 85).[187] The graphic rendering

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[185] See Chapter 1, 76 for the appearance of the pelican metaphor in a mid-fourteenth-century Latin pilgrimage by an English traveller to Jerusalem.

[186] Nicholas Love, *Speculum Vite Cristi [Mirror of the Blessed Life of Christ]* ([Westminster]: William Caxton, 1490), fol. o1v.

[187] *The Stasyons of Jerusalem* also coincides with Rolle in the translation of Christ's statement in Matthew 8:20 to the context of the crucifixion:

And þer he soferd gret pouerte,
Neuer man so mekyll as he -
A fox hath hole, a byrd hath neste,

of the violence endured by Christ and the marks of his suffering on the vulnerable body fosters an emotional and imaginative engagement with the passion of God made man. Where other pilgrimage narratives give the impression of following meticulously the sequence of the pilgrimage, this poem, while following the conventional order, is preoccupied less with spatial progression than with the movement of emotions in response to narrative, engaging with the holy places accordingly.

It is true that what we see here is not a particularly "personal" account of the holy places, to return to Williams' terms. It does not exactly constitute "impersonal repetition" with no aspirations to impression on the reader's imagination, either. While certain pilgrimage narratives are perfectly capable of concentrating on the dimensions of the holy places and the quantification of indulgences, others harness devices shared with the tradition of affective piety to move readers to compassion, indignation, even to vengeful anger and anti-Semitic violence.

Motives for Pilgrimage

While we have seen that Bridget and Margery's narratives take pains to explain and justify their pilgrimages, it is rare for pre-Reformation English pilgrimage narratives to comment on the motivation for pilgrimage or to provide justifications for the undertaking. Sean Cunningham speculates that Richard Guildford's pilgrimage may have been motivated by a desire to escape the complications and consequences of financial difficulties and a feud with George Neville, Lord Bergavenny, but little explicit clarification is given.[188] In the preoccupation with indulgences, the enumeration of holy sites, the careful lists of relics and monuments of most pilgrimage narratives under discussion here, it is possible to discern an attraction to

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He had not where-onne hys hede to reste. "Stasyons of Jerusalem," ll. 307-310.
Rolle writes, "lord, þou woldist be so pore þat tyme, þat tyme, þat þou ne haddist noon erþe to die upon, but on the cros in þe eir. / & þerfore, swete Ihesu, of þe was seid: / 'Foxis han dennys and briddis han nestis: but þou at þi deþ-tyme ne hast not to reste þin heed upon.'" Rolle, *Yorkshire Writers*, 101.

[188] The *DNB* entry for Guildford notes his arrest for debt in June 1505 and the scrutiny paid to him the following month "for non-return of accounts as master of the ordnance and armoury between 1486 and 1492." Sir Richard departed for Jerusalem on April 8, 1506, four days after a pardon was issued for debts incurred in the execution of these roles. This was not Guildford's first financial embarrassment, however: Cunningham, author of the entry, gives details of other debts dating from the early 1480s. *DNB*, 2004 ed., s.v., "Sir Richard Guildford."

the spiritual rewards and the remnants of physical evidence or reminders of the events of the Old and New Testament. This section teases out the motives for pilgrimage.

One exception to the silence on motivation is Wey's *Itineraries*. There are clear signs that the *Itineraries* is keenly interested in its own function and relevance, and that it is sensitive to its position in relation to traditions of writing about Jerusalem. Section seven of the *Itineraries* contains ten *materiae*, or justifications for the pilgrimage, suggesting that an apology for the journey is considered by the author to add value, even if it is not required by convention (Wey, *Itineraries*, 25-55). The etymological relation of *materia* to *mater* gives it connotations of origin and generation: the *materiae* not only rationalise but give rise to the pilgrimage. The first five of these causes for pilgrimage are textually based. They begin with sections of Book Seven, Chapter 16 of Saint Bridget's *Revelations*, in which Christ appears to Bridget to complain of the neglect of his holy places by kings and princes, whom he aligns with the ruthless soldiers who cast lots for his garments.[189] The causes also refer to Book 7, Chapter 14, in which Christ confirms the plenary remission of sins available at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.[190] The primacy of Bridget in these *materiae* demonstrates the authority that her *Revelations* had accrued by this point, granting her a position ahead of older authorities such as Jerome and Leo the Great. Wey also draws on Jerome's letter to Desiderius as his third *materia*:

> Even supposing you do not care for our society, it is still your duty as believers to worship on the spot where the Lord's feet once stood, and to see for yourselves the still fresh traces of His birth, His cross, and His passion.[191]

Wey, naturally, chooses not to reproduce the passages in which Jerome admits ambivalence toward pilgrimage to the holy sites, but an extract which represents the physical landscape as preserving the traces of Christ's passage through it.[192] Wey also refers to Pope Leo the Great's fifth-century letter to Juvenal, Bishop of Jerusalem, in which the testimony of the places in Jerusalem to Christian doctrine is used to reproach the bishop for his temporary lapse from orthodoxy:

> any Christian living at Jerusalem is more inexcusable than all the ignorant, seeing that he is taught to understand the power of the Gospel, not only by the

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[189] See n. 53 above.
[190] See note 57 above.
[191] Epistle 47.2 in Jerome, *Letters and Select Works*, 66.
[192] For an example of a more sceptical treatment, see Jerome's Epistle 58, 'To Paulinus' in Jerome, *Letters and Select Works*, 120. See Chapter 1, n. 51.

> written word but by the witness of the places themselves, and what elsewhere may not be disbelieved, cannot there remain unseen. Why is the understanding in difficulty, where the eyes are its instructors? And why are things read or heard doubtful, where all the mysteries of man's salvation obtrude themselves upon the sight and touch? [193]

In this view, visual apprehension of the holy sites should clarify and intensify the viewer's understanding of the truth of the Gospels. This quotation, which represents Jerusalem as an exceptional landscape witnessing Christian teaching, provides a deft transition to the last five *materiae* in Wey's list, which all draw on the places, monuments and relics to be seen in and on the way to Palestine as reasons for making the pilgrimage. Within the ten justifications of pilgrimage, then, there is a perfect balance between exhortations from the textual tradition on the one hand, and, on the other, the imperatives of firsthand apprehension of the physical landscapes and objects which retain traces of Christ's passage through them. The *materiae* of pilgrimage are mixed, mingling text and place, so forms of writing about it are likewise suspended between devotional practice and textual reiteration. Wey's chosen textual authorities in the reasons for pilgrimage all address the way in which Christ's presence on earth is imprinted on the landscape, with physical places serving as repositories of memory and evidence. The *Itineraries*' renderings of the landscape of Jerusalem and its textual construction both strive to fix the transitory and the absent in a physical object.

I discussed in Chapter 1 the importance of the Jerusalem crusades for the evolution of the idea of the indulgence, and for the eventual extension of the plenary remission of punishment due to sin from crusaders to unarmed pilgrims. So strong is the appeal of such remissions in narratives like those under discussion in this chapter that it prompts Eamonn Duffy to remark that "the role of indulgences as a motive for pilgrimage in late medieval England hardly needs demonstration. The whole pilgrim-literature genre represented by *The Stacyons of Rome* turned on it" (Duffy, "Dynamics

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[193] "inexcusabilior tamen est omnibus imperitis quilibet Hierosolymis habitans Christianus, qui ad cognoscendam virtutem Euangelii, non solum paginarum eloquiis, sed ipsorum locorum testimoniis eruditur. Et quod ibi non licet non credi, ibi non potest no videri. Quid laborat intellectus, vbi est magister aspectus? Et cur lecta, vel audita sunt dubia, vbi se & visui, & tactui tot humanae salutis ingerunt sacramenta?" Leo the Great, *Epistolae decretales ac familiares, quae quidem hactenus reperiri potuerunt omnes. Altera iam vice summa cum prouidentia ad antiquissima exemplaria correctae* (Louvain: Hieronymus Wellus, 1566), fol. 100r. English translation from Leo the Great, *Letters and Sermons of Leo the Great*, Letter 139, 97.

of Pilgrimage," 175). Indeed, of the pilgrimage texts under discussion here, only the *Warwick Pageant* makes no reference to the indulgences available in the course of the Jerusalem pilgrimage, a fact which is in keeping with its more secular, aristocratic preoccupations. While the attraction of such remissions may need little demonstration, the part that they play in pilgrimage writing yields something to patient scrutiny.

Wey's *Itineraries* show a keen interest in the indulgences available in Jerusalem. In fourth place among his *materiae* he includes the availability of these indulgences, adducing the authority conferred by Christ's confirmation of them in a vision to Bridget of Sweden.[194] The eighth *materia*, which posits the holy places themselves as a reason to visit, also sets out the availability of indulgences as a motivation for the pilgrimage: "First of all, upon entry to the Holy Land, there is of course remission of all sins for all those who, confessed and contrite, come to Jaffa [Joppa] for reason of pilgrimage."[195] Wey then pauses to comment on his system for recording the remission available in the Holy Land in his text: "it is to be noted that where a cross is inscribed there is a plenary indulgence *a poena et a culpa*, and where no cross is inscribed there are indulgences of seven years and seven quarantains."[196] He introduces the indulgences again in the same terms as soon as his first-person narrative reaches Joppa (Wey, *Itineraries*, 57). In the multiple advertisements of these indulgences and the marking of plenary and partial indulgences throughout his text,

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[194] See n. 57 above. The citation of Bridget given by Wey is incorrect; perhaps he was referring to a copy which was divided differently. Wey, *Itineraries*, 27.

[195] "Primo ad introitum terre sancte, scilicet ad Jaffa confessis et contritis causa peregrinacionis venientibus est remissio omnium peccatorum." Wey, *Itineraries*, 30.

[196] "notandum est quod ubi ponitur crux est plena indulgencia a pena et culpa, ubi non ponitur crux sunt indulgencie septem annorum at septem quadragenarum dierum." Wey, *Itineraries*, 30. He goes on to give what Josephie Brefeld refers to as "the Silvester phrase": "Predicte indulgencie concesse fuerunt a sancto Silvestro papa ad preces magni Constantini imperatoris et sancte Helene matris eius omnibus vere penitentibus, confessis et contritis, ad illa loca sancta causa devocionis et peregrinacionis venientibus, temporibus perpetuis durature." ("The aforesaid indulgences were granted by Saint Silvester, the pope, at the request of emperor Constantine the Great and Saint Helena, his mother, to all those who, in a true state of repentance and contrition, having confessed, come to those holy places for the sake of devotion and pilgrimage, to endure forever.") Wey's account is extremely close in phrasing to the instances of this phrase given by Brefeld, ranging from the French account of Ghilbert de Lannoy's pilgrimage in 1421-3, to a German narrative of Hans Rot (1440), to a Latin account associated with Leo von Rozmital of Bohemia (who never visited Jerusalem) dating to 1465-7. Compare also the statement given in the "Peregrinaciones" of Harley 3810: "est sci*en*du*m* q*uod* in illis locis in qu*ibus* est signu*m* .C. ibi est plenaria absolucio. scilicet a pena et a culpa./ In aliis vero locis. in qu*ibus* no*n* est .C./ su*n*t septe*m* annoru*m* et septe*m* quadragenaru*m* de indulge*n*cia./ Predicte aute*m* indulge*n*ciae *con*cesse fueru*n*t a *sanc*to siluestro papa ad preces *sanc*ti magni Consta*n*tini impe*r*atoris. et *sanc*ta helene matris eius." Brefeld acknowledges that this could be the result of the standard Franciscan explanation of the indulgences, but suggests that the coincidences in construction are so strong as to suggest a common textual source or sources, the "guidebook" which she seeks to reconstruct by statistical analysis. Brefeld, *Guidebook for the Jerusalem Pilgrimage*, 47-9, 70-1; "Peregrinaciones Totius Terrae Sanctae," fol. 87r.

Wey demonstrates his interest both in the acquisition and the recording of the bounty of indulgences in the Holy Land.

The MS "Ynformacion" shows the conventional interest in indulgences, but gives a singular formulation of it:

> And thei [the Franciscan friars] declare everi mysteri of every stacion in iiii longage and spechis, that is to saie Latyn, Italie, frenche, and Duche. And att everi stacion haveng a seigne of the Crosse is plenarie remyssion *scilicet a pena et a culpa.* In other places where is noo seigne of the Crosse beth vii yeeries and vii leyntes off indulgence. And they lete syngke or rede a especiall praioure to everi place as itt accordith to the same. (138)

This recalls the declarations we have just seen in Wey's *Itineraries*, though in the vernacular. While the *Itineraries* contain these crosses in the text, however, the crosses are absent from the MS "Ynformacion." This may be evidence that the MS "Ynformacion" is copied from another written account of Jerusalem, and that the crosses simply drop out in the process of rewriting. As a result, the MS "Ynformacion" gives the impression that it is imagining that the crosses are to be seen *in situ*, however: that they mark the stations themselves, rather than the textual record, with the indulgences available there. The separation of textual and topographical planes, of landscape and its two-dimensional rendering on paper, is disrupted.

"The Way to Jerusalem" pays much attention to the indulgences available at all three major pilgrimage sites, Rome, Jerusalem, and Santiago. It not only specifies the kinds of remission available, but also alludes to the reader's own projected acquisition of them.[197] The *Information for Pilgrims* reports the availability and degree of indulgences with consistent attention but succinctness which impart an incantational quality:

> ¶ Also in the Cyte without the temple [of the Holy Sepulchre] there ben certayne pylgrymages. The fyrst where the Jewes compelled Symon to take the cros of Jesu whan he wente to the mount of caluarye. Seuen yere / & seuen lentes. ¶ Also there is a place where where Chryst put downe the crosse / and tourned to the women sayenge. 'Nolite flere sup*er* me s*ed* sup*er* filios vestros / seuen yeres / & seuen lentes. ¶ Also there is a place where our lady rested her

[197] For example, on Mount Sion: "Then schalt thou fynd there full sone, / The place where the Apostolez ichon, / Receyvet there the holy Gost, / In the feste of Pentecost: / Plenor remission ther maie thou wynn." "Way to Jerusalem," 559.

> seynge her sone berynge the crosse. There is a churche called Ecclesia de spasmo. Seuen yeres and seuen lentes. Also there is an arche wherin ben .ii. stones upon the one sat Pylate when Jesu was demed to deth And in the other sate Jesu. Seuen yeres and seuen lentes. ¶ Also the stole of our lady seuen yeres and seuen lentes ¶ (*Information for Pilgrims*, fol. C1r)

The narratives of the Guildford and Torkington narratives are similarly punctuated by references every few lines either to plenary remission (*a poena et a culpa*, or "Clene remission") or to partial indulgences of seven years and seven "lents" or quarantains. Just as we have seen that several examples of pilgrimage writing look both backward to a completed individual pilgrimage and forward to the possibility of pilgrimages realised with its help, there is a dual sense of purpose in the recording of indulgences. These texts advertise the indulgences to which the contrite, confessed pilgrim can aspire, but there also seems to be a certain satisfaction in the methodical recording of the remissions achieved over the course of the author's own pilgrimage.

In both Bridget of Sweden's account and that of Margery Kempe, the encounters of greatest spiritual intensity take place at sites where plenary indulgences are available. This is arguably a relationship of coincidence rather than causation. The fullest indulgences are available at the sites of greatest redemptive significance in the scheme of incarnation and sacrifice, such as the places of the Nativity and the Passion. Those are in turn most likely to evoke the strongest responses and most vivid imaginative engagements in the pilgrim visionaries. Sylvia Schein has drawn attention to the vision of Christ at the burial place of the Virgin Mary in Margery's account in which He assures her that she is in no need of the indulgences available at Jerusalem because her obedience, confession and repentance had already achieved the forgiveness of sin. The indulgence gained there is "for meryte & for mede." Schein argues that Bridget and Margery are both interested in the Jerusalem pilgrimage as it provides opportunities for an imaginative and emotional engagement with Mary rather than for remission of sins, which she characterises as the "major motive" for "most male pilgrims" (Schein, "Women's Jerusalem Pilgrimages," 54).

The point has been made already, however, that Wey invokes Bridget's confirmation of the plenary remissions available to the "confessed and contrite" upon entry into the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Margery also notices the indulgences available there, and her *Book* refers to the emotional response which such remissions provoke in her: "And so sche was wyth gret deuocyon, wyth plentvows teerys, &

wyth boystows sobbyngys, for in þis place is plenyr remyssyon. & so is in oþer iiij placys in þe Tempyl" (Kempe, *Book*, 72). The diligent, almost obsessive recording of indulgences of the other pilgrimage narratives certainly has no counterpart in the narratives of Bridget and Margery, but the availability of remissions is marked by both women with gratitude and some sense of consolation. Although the more muted treatment of indulgences may be a characteristic of their distinctive pieties, it may also be appropriate to assign some responsibility to generic dictates rather than to differences in the psychologies of male and female pilgrims. Margery and Bridget participate in writing within a genre which is compulsively focused on the spiritual, imaginative engagement with Christ, the Virgin Mary and the Father, rather than the fixing and enumeration of holy places and indulgences which are the obligation of pilgrimage guides and narratives.

I have alluded already to the endorsement by Christ in Bridget's vision of the veneration of relics, allowing for a highly concrete, physical kind of devotion, although her own piety tends towards transcendence and imaginative engagement. In very different ways, several of the late medieval pilgrimage narratives under discussion here show interest in finding a material way of countering the need to leave Jerusalem behind at the end of the pilgrimage, something that Marie-Christine Gomez-Géraud also notes in pilgrims in the sixteenth century:

> A number of rituals of engagement with the holy places anticipate and cancel the moment of separation; hence these *graffiti* inscribed by pilgrims on the grotto walls of the holy places, as if to ensure a presence there forever. It is not a case simply of marking one's passage, of bearing witness to one's presence at a given time, but of continuing to be present through some concrete sign in the places where salvation was worked, in view of the Judgement which is to come and take place in Jerusalem.[198]

Wes Williams points out the futility of this impulse, along with the paradox that the desire to prolong contact with the holy place after one's departure threatens the permanence of the monuments there:

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[198] "Nombre des rites de rencontre avec les Lieux saints sous-entendent et annulent l'instant de la séparation; ainsi de ces *graffiti* tracés par les pèlerins sur les parois des grottes des Lieux saints, comme pour y demeurer à jamais. Il ne s'agit pas seulement de marquer son passage, d'attester sa présence à une date précise, mais de rester présent sur les lieux du salut, par quelque signe concret, en vue du Jugement à venir, et dont le théâtre est encore Jérusalem." Gomez-Géraud, *Crépuscule du Grand Voyage*, 520.

> Some pilgrims wonder how else to enter into contact with the body here present by way of sign; they may try to do so *in situ* – to kiss the bones, or the stones – or they may try to take pieces away so as to maintain contact when they have returned home. They will be stopped by officials in attempting to do either action, for each destroys the object of desire, threatens to erase both the trace proper and the figural importance of the place. Too close or too personally enduring a possession of the sign is both denied and impossible. It seems that pilgrimage has to be about being there for a time, and for a time only; about registering the charge of presence, and then leaving. (W. Williams, *Pilgrimage and Narrative*, 179)

Accordingly, Felix Fabri testifies to the presence in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem not only of graffiti, but of many kinds of pilgrims' markings. Some "wrote their names, with the symbols of their birth and peerage, on the walls of the church." Others "painted their coats of arms thereon, or pasted up papers on which these matters were inscribed on the walls of ... churches. Some of them carved their names with iron chisels and mallets on the pillars and marble slabs" or hung their shields on the mosaics. These were so common that, he says, "It would take a long time to write down all that I have witnessed."[199] In 1873, fifteenth-century graffiti by European travellers were still visible to Clermont-Ganneau.[200]

Although Fabri believes this to be a peculiarly Teutonic vice, folio 9[r] of the Warwick *Pageant*, as we have already seen, is evidence that at least one Englishman also acted on the impulse to leave a mark of his presence at the holy place, or, at least, that it meant something for the composer of the *Pageant* to imagine that he had done so. Since the manuscript was probably executed several decades after the event it represents, and long after the pilgrim's death, it is unlikely to be a faithful rendering of the event. Indeed, details of the illustration reveal it not to be a realistic representation, such as the confusion as to the position of Jerusalem. The *Pageant*

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[199] "nomina sua cum signis progeniei et ingenuitatis seuae parietibus templi inscribebant et arma suae nobilitatis depingebant, vel chartas depictas cum hujusmodi affigebant in illa et in aliis ecclesiis. Et quidam eorum cum ferreis instrumentis et malleolis columnis et tabulis marmoreis sua nomina insculpebant.... Longum nimis esset scribere experientias." Fabri, *Evagatorium*, vol. 2, 94-5. English translation from Fabri, *Wanderings*, vol. 2, pt. 1, 86-7.

[200] Charles Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine during the years 1873-1874*, trans. Aubrey Stewart, 2 vols., vol. 1 (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1899), 103. For a fuller discussion of instances of graffiti and other pilgrims' markings at the holy places from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries, see my article, "Souvenir-Taking and Souvenir-Leaving: Pilgrims' Remembrances in Late Medieval and Early Modern Narratives of Travel to Jerusalem," *Trinity College Dublin Journal of Postgraduate Research* 5 (2006).

also represents the sepulchre as a small structure apparently annexed to a larger building. In fact, the chamber of the sepulchre would have consisted of an aedicule beneath a sizeable dome, embedded in the large basilica complex of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The structure in this image is untouched by the marks of previous pilgrims. It is difficult to know what the state of the surfaces might have been at the time, but in the late fifteenth century Fabri attests to the fact that they were invisible under a clutter of similar remembrances.[201] The blankness of the walls in the illustration of the *Pageant* serves to emphasise a single, individual event of pilgrimage, with no interest in it as a communal, frequently iterated experience. There is no apparent anxiety about the act of marking as it is represented in this text. Indeed, it appears to have taken place in the presence, or with the consent, of the father guardian.[202]

Fabri attests not only to acts of inscription, but also to their inverse function: the removal of relics from the holy places. He condemns relic-taking of the kind described by Williams.[203] Not all attempts to collect relics are to be condemned, however. Felix Fabri refers approvingly to the conversion of jewellery into tertiary relics by touching it to the reliquaries of saints James and Philip at Venice, and even assigns a monetary value to this transformation: in one case, it precisely doubles the value of a ring.[204] He also endorses the taking of stones from the ground of the holy

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[201] Fabri recounts that a visiting Sultan had at an unspecified date been enraged by the armorial litter of the pilgrims, and caused it to be stripped to reveal the mosaics of Christ and the Virgin Mary behind it. Fabri, *Wanderings*, vol. 1, pt. 2, 89.

[202] Compare what Fabri says of the graffiti at the hole of the cross on Calvary: "Oportebat autem eos hoc occulte facere, quia, si custos sanctae rupis, qui est Georicus, vidisset, cum crinibus eos detraxisset." Fabri, *Evagatorium*, vol. 2, 94. ("This they were forced to do secretly, for had the guardian of the holy rock, whose name is George, seen them doing so, he would have dragged them away by the hair of their head." English translation from Fabri, *Wanderings*, vol. 2, pt. 1, 86.) Morris comments on the instances of pilgrim markings recorded in the *Wanderings* and the *Pageant* that they are profoundly aristocratic in motivation and character. Morris, *Sepulchre of Christ*, 310.

[203] "Hoc quamvis speciem pietatis habeat, impietate tamen et vitiosa curiositate minime caret; privare enim loca sancta suo decore, et truncare artificiose laboribus et expensis ornata et deformare, quae ratio dictat nisi errans, vitio obfuscata?" Fabri, *Evagatorium*, vol. 2, 97. ("This, albeit it hath a semblance of piety, is nevertheless full of impiety, and vicious curiosity: for what reason, save one that hath gone astray, and is blinded by evil, can propose to strip the holy places of their ornaments, and to break off pieces from and spoil works artistically wrought with great labour and expense?" English translation from Fabri, *Wanderings*, vol. 2, pt. 1. 90.)

[204] "Inter alia magnificus vir, Dominus Johannes Echinger, pro tunc Magister-civium Ulmensis, contulit mihi annulum suum charissimum, quem Pater suus Jacobus Echinger in extremis agens de pollice traxit, et filio tradidit ... credo quod charior sibi fuerit, quam C. ducati, et nunc charior quam CC." Fabri, *Evagatorium*, vol. 1, 94. ("Among others, his worship, Master John Echinger, at that time Mayor of Ulm, entrusted me with his most cherished ring, which ring his father, James Echinger, had drawn from his thumb in his last moments and given to his son ...: I verily believe it was of more value to him than a hundred ducats, and that now he values it at more than two hundred." English translation from Fabri, *Wanderings*, vol. 1, pt. 1, 93-4.) The task of touching jewels to tombs and reliquaries fell to

places, "for to do this is holy and pious."[205] Because of the constant visibility of the element of stone in the birth, life and passion of Christ, Fabri represents it as a participant in man's redemption, as this meditation demonstrates:

> These stones Christ chose to aid Him in the work of our redemption; for He was conceived in a stony cavern, born beneath the rock and the stone, laid upon a stone when born; He preached standing upon a stone, thrice prayed in a cave in the stony rock, was scourged beside a pillar of stone, stood upon a stone to receive His crown, stood upon a stone before Pilate His judge, was crucified over a stone, anointed on a stone, buried in a stone, and ascended into heaven from a stone. In short, it was by stones that He consummated all the mysteries of our redemption: wherefore during His passion the stony rocks were rent.... Who would not find stones sweet which have been touched by the feet of the Lord Jesus, the Virgin Mary, Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, and other saints beyond number?[206]

The incantational emphasis on the role of stone in "the work of redemption" gives expression to the imbrication of the material in the work of salvation and in the mystery of the incarnation, a preoccupation which lies at the heart of the pilgrimage. Even the bed of cotton used in Jerusalem becomes "a relic of my holy pilgrimage" and is brought back to his cell at Ulm to help to alleviate the sense of severance from the Holy Land (Fabri, *Wanderings*, vol. 2, pt. 1, 112).

As is the case so often in Fabri's narrative, he makes explicit what is implicit in the pilgrimage narratives in the English tradition. Such a concern to extend contact with and memory of Jerusalem and Palestine is identifiable in the very act of recording a particular voyage and its holy places and indulgences (hence the

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Fabri throughout the voyage: some he returned to their pilgrim owners immediately afterwards; others he carried with him for the course of the journey for fellow pilgrims or absent owners.

[205] "Hoc sanctum et devotum est, ut patet fol. 253 A." Fabri's cross-reference refers to the quotation in note 206 regarding the participation of stone in man's salvation. Fabri, *Evagatorium*, vol. 2, 98. English translation from Fabri, *Wanderings*, vol. 2, pt. 1. 90.

[206] "Hos lapides elegit Christus in opere nostrae redemptionis. Nam in caverna lapidea conceptus fuit, sub lapide et rupe natus, natus super lapidem positus, super lapidem stans praedicavit, in caverna lapidea ter oravit, ad columnam lapideam flagellatus fuit , coronandus super lapidem sedit, ante judicem Pilatum super lapidem stetit, super copulum crucifixus fuit, super lapidem inunctus, in lapide sepultus, et de lapide ad coelus ascendit. Et breviter redemptionis nostrae mysteria ad lapides consummavit. Unde in passione petrae scissae sunt.... Cui non dulcescunt lapides, quos tetigerunt Domini Jesu, Mariae Virginis, Patriarcharum, Prophetarum, Apostolorum et aliorum innumerabilium Sanctorum pedes?" Fabri, *Evagatorium*, vol. 1, 230-1. English translation from Fabri, *Wanderings*, vol. 1, pt. 1, 273. In the debate with the elders and priests in the temple in Matthew 21:42-44, Christ also establishes an explicit parallel between the salvation which he offers and the stone rejected by the builders for the temple.

Guildford pilgrimage's designation of itself as "a lytell remembraunce," fol. F3v), but also in other gestures described by the narratives. For example, included in MS Bodley 565, the manuscript of Wey's itineraries, is a list of bequests made on his death. These include relics from his pilgrimage, altar decoration and liturgical objects belonging to a chapel which he had arranged to be built at Edington in imitation of the holy sepulchre. The inclusion of the relics of his journey gives a sense that these journeys held a significance for Wey which exceeded his rather taciturn narrative style. Furthermore, the reference to the building of a replica chapel flags a desire for a physical means of remembering and re-experiencing the monuments to Christ's death and resurrection at Jerusalem after the completion of the pilgrimage.[207] This desire to resist the effacement of the memory of the holy place by the act of writing or the collection of mementoes would resurface in the post-Reformation era of travel to Jerusalem, as I demonstrate in chapter 4, although subject to new qualifications and turned to different ends.

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated the need to exercise some scepticism with regard to generic differentiation, and to recognise the complexity of the dynamics of influence among such apparently diverse texts as the narration of Margery Kempe's and Bridget of Sweden's experiences of pilgrimage, treatises promoting an interior meditation on the events of the gospels and on Christ's humanity, and travel accounts which are explicitly or exclusively concerned with the pilgrimage to and through the Holy Land. The interpolation of non-canonical events which is characteristic of texts such as the *Meditaciones Vite Christi* is echoed in the inclusion of non-scriptural sites in the Jerusalem pilgrimage, while the elaboration of visual and affective detail common in texts of affective piety can be identified in Bridget's and Margery's visions of the Passion. In turn, certain texts belonging to the affective tradition demonstrate their own very material preoccupations with the holy places: more than once, the narrative recreation of the passion for affective meditation in the *Meditaciones Vite Christi* is interrupted by references to the contemporary physical state of the holy places.

[207] For examination of the phenomenon of sepulchre-replicas across Europe throughout the Middle Ages, see Morris, *Sepulchre of Christ*, 60-7, 120-6, 153-65, 230-44, 289-91, 345-59.

Admittedly, the treatments of pilgrimage and holy places across these several kinds of writing can take very different forms. Pilgrim guides and travel narratives become increasingly concerned with progress and procession across the Holy Land through the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. They develop and refine cycles of pilgrimage which derive a measure of coherence from narrative sequences, such as Christ's carrying of the cross from Mount Sion to Calvary, or pilgrim ceremony, such as the Franciscan-led procession around the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Within these, certain individual sites, such as the rock of Calvary, or the site of the Ascension, receive attention of particular intensity, often coinciding with the availability of plenary rather than partial indulgences.

The attention paid to sequences of holy places, culminating in Wey's attempts to fix and memorise the sequence of sites to be visited, clearly distinguishes the pilgrimage guides and travel accounts from treatments in the books of Bridget and Margery. The establishment of divine endorsement of the mystics' departure on pilgrimage to Jerusalem is pointedly marked. This differentiates them from most pilgrimage narratives and guides in which the justification for undertaking such a journey appears to require no statement. An exception is to be found in Wey's *Itineraries*, which sets out the reasons for undertaking a pilgrimage and draws upon the exhortations in Bridget's own *Revelations*, among others.

Margery's and Bridget's accounts of their pilgrimages are less interested in the movement across the city or country, and concentrate instead on climactic moments at a handful of places, such as the churches of the Nativity and of the Holy Sepulchre. While in the pilgrimage guides or accounts there is a sense of the retracing of Christ's steps across the landscape, in these mystical accounts the main trajectory is one of spiritual movement away from worldly preoccupations to spiritual intimacy with the Son and the Holy Family. The holy places appear to provide a catalyst for Christ's self-disclosure to his brides. They also facilitate or intensify the mystics' visualisation, emotional engagement or indeed participation in episodes narrated in the gospels. The holy places are important as discrete sites offering an experience of devotion of exceptional intensity; their place in the larger network of pilgrimages is hardly noticed.

The supposition that these texts are indifferent to the holy places in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries under their encrustation of shrines, churches and monuments is to be corrected on closer reading, however, as architectural shapings

and divisions of space may occasionally be revealed as determining and directing the visionaries' imagination of events of the Nativity or Resurrection. Furthermore, in the case of Bridget's *Revelations*, an awareness of the importance of the physicality of the holy places is delicately asserted through acknowledgement of the authenticity of relics, the desirability of Christian possession of the holy places, and confirmation of the salvific effects of remissions of sin available there. Similarly, in *The Book of Margery Kempe*, the transformative effect of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem within the narrative offsets the impression of Margery's lack of attention to the pilgrimage sites. Her journeys to Jerusalem and Rome effect profound changes in the nature and expression of her relationship with God, marked by her adoption of white raiment, the beginning of her roarings and her growing acceptance of encounters with the Father instead of the Son. These pilgrimages seem to produce the deepening and intensification of her mystical experiences. They also provide the furniture and material detail for subsequent visions.

Lest such a differentiation of the treatments of space and place in mystical writings from those in travel accounts or guides imply homogeneity within the second category, however, this chapter has demonstrated that there is much diversity in the representation of pilgrimage to holy places and in the modes of establishing authority and positioning the traveller within the pilgrimage narratives. I have examined the variety of relations of traveller to narrator, and the multiplicity of functions which different texts seem to imagine for themselves. Sometimes the narration and representation of a pilgrimage narrative can serve as a signifier of political and social authority, as in the pilgrimage of the Earl of Warwick. In other cases, the attention paid to the holy places is concentrated on the fixing of the pilgrimage sites and the enumeration of indulgences, or on the textures and decorations which clothe the pilgrimage sites. In still others an imaginative re-enactment of Christ's suffering comes to the fore, and provides an organising force for the description of the holy places. Such texts as "The Stasyons of Jerusalem" dwell on the events commemorated there and the emotions experienced and provoked by the suffering Jesus rather than an individual instance of pilgrimage.

These texts also construct their authority and truth claims in a variety of ways. An emphasis on eye-witness and an insistence on the first-person narration of a journey may be seen emerging in certain narratives, such as *The Way to Jerusalem*, but in others, such as Wey's *Itineraries*, the repetition of the arduous pilgrimage and

the meticulous recording of every detail of the order, chronology and indulgences of the Jerusalem pilgrimage coexist with the tendency of the narrative voice to impersonality, even invisibility. The "personal"-"impersonal" dichotomy to which commentators such as Haynes and Williams resort in their explanations of these pilgrimage writings does not satisfactorily accommodate the nature of the narrating voices and the character of their observations. For example, the narrating voice in "Stasyons of Jerusalem" resists description by these terms: it is intensely emotive, yet anonymous and unidentifiable. Moreover, the expectations with which we approach such categories as the first-person travel narrative or the travel guide are frequently frustrated by the fifteenth-century pilgrimage texts as they actually function. The first-person pilgrimage account and the travel guide are much less easily distinguished in a mode of literary production with a tendency to absorption, appropriation and adaptation of existing texts, and often have more complicated senses of purpose than the mere memorialising of a particular journey or the distillation of information for future travellers.

Margery's emulation of female models of piety like Saint Bridget, the Virgin Mary and Mary Magdalen is essential to her spiritual and narrative authority. Almost every pilgrimage narrative discussed in this chapter is linked to another by repetition of material, whether because of direct influence or use of a common source. This appropriation is often more sensitive and purposeful than unthinking copying. It signals participation in a public religious practice in which tradition, continuity and collective participation are essential. Within a genre often dismissed as derivative and imitative, then, there is great diversity in treatment. Although material is frequently reproduced exactly or paraphrased, it is continually being reformed by its authors and editors. The pilgrimage narrative of late medieval England, sometimes characterised as a depleted and derivative form, is not only absorbent but outward-looking and responsive.

CHAPTER 3
PILGRIMAGE AND THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND

INTRODUCTION

Before I go on to examine the construction of narrative authority in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century accounts of Jerusalem, it is necessary to turn for a while from pilgrimage writing to certain doctrinal debates and theological controversies which took place in the sixteenth century, especially its first fifty years, and transformed the practice of pilgrimage, attitudes to it and ways of writing about it. In late medieval as in early modern writing about Jerusalem, the stated or implied attitude to pilgrimage could lay claim to a particular position of religious orthodoxy, although the way in which an orthodox position was constructed changed as a result of the debates of the Reformation. Comprehension of this shift is crucial to understanding of transformation in modes of writing about Jerusalem and the pilgrimage across the period in question. The debates about pilgrimage challenged and illuminated procedures of authentication and verification, the legitimacy of different kinds of proof and evidence and the validity of the authorities supporting truth claims. All of the aforementioned issues played a part in the narrative construction of an authoritative early modern traveller-author and the theological debates of the Reformation bestowed a particular charge and significance on these questions in subsequent travel writing about Jerusalem.

A comprehensive treatment of the religious reformations in England and the continent in the sixteenth century, and of historians' conflicting interpretations of them, necessarily lies beyond the scope of this chapter. Exploration of the nature of the challenges to and defences of pilgrimage and subsidiary practices, however, focused as closely as possible on the English context, must be undertaken. The discussion in this chapter of critiques and defences of travel for the sake of devotion will establish a framework for evaluating the nuances and gradations of late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century travellers' attitudes to the "holy city" of Jerusalem.

As I have already stated, one of the overall goals of this thesis is to contest rigid dichotomies between Protestant and Catholic (or simply pre-Reformation) ways of writing about Jerusalem. This chapter advances that project partly by acknowledging some of the diversity and vigour of critiques of pilgrimage offered

from within the Roman church by Desiderius Erasmus, Jacques Lefèvre and others.[1] Chapter 2 took account of the variety of pilgrims' ways of engaging with the holy places of Jerusalem and of recording those engagements in the text. The discussion in the current chapter is animated by a similar interest in variations, shifts and contradictions in the discussion of pilgrimage, but in different generic contexts. Chapter 2 demonstrated that various conceptions of the relationship between place and devotional engagement existed in late medieval writing relating to pilgrimage. Similar issues – the value of the devotional journey, the efficacy of the material object or the holy place as a means of accessing the divine, the relation between exteriorised ceremony and interior devotion – preoccupy the writings, articles and injunctions discussed in this chapter. In comparison with late medieval pilgrimage writing, treatments of pilgrimage and related practices are more actively contested, imagining and anticipating opposition. Polemic enters the pilgrimage narrative, so that early modern writings about pilgrimage become "counter-texts," to use Wes Williams' phrase: texts written with keen awareness of critiques of pilgrimage (W. Williams, *Pilgrimage and Narrative*, 37-8). This chapter scrutinises the arguments which were to shape early modern travel writing, whether acquiescent or hostile to pilgrimage, and traces evolving conceptions of the relationship between spiritual engagement and the material object or physical place.

The early part of this chapter is concerned with the theological controversies relating to pilgrimage in treatises, sermons, humanist dialogues and letters. It begins with a summary of criticisms of pilgrimage before 1500, but concentrates on the decades leading up to and immediately following the emergence of the Lutheran faction from 1517. It then examines changes in the legal status of pilgrimage within the English church over the course of the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary I and Elizabeth I. Finally, it looks briefly at the evidence for the extent of the suppression of pilgrimage and related practices, some instances of resistance to it, and considers the efficacy with which this suppression seems to have been accomplished.

This chapter is very much indebted to existing work about Reformation attacks on pilgrimage, images and shrines by Ronald Finucane, Margaret Aston,

[1] I do not claim that such acknowledgment is without precedent: Gomez-Géraud, among others, gives full attention to criticisms of pilgrimage within the Roman communion. Gomez-Géraud, *Crépuscule du Grand Voyage*, 68-86, 115-23.

Eamon Duffy and John Phillips, among others.[2] Nonetheless, the specific fate of pilgrimage to Jerusalem during the Reformation has rarely been the exclusive focus of a sustained examination.[3] One exception is Marie-Christine Gomez-Géraud's chapter on criticisms of pilgrimage during the Reformation. In keeping with the broad parameters of her book as a whole, she is concerned with debates about pilgrimage which took place in the sixteenth century across western Europe.[4] She draws on the writings of such critics of the pilgrimage as Luther, Erasmus, Rabelais and Calvin, as well as defenders such as Jean Cochlée and Sir Thomas More. This chapter draws on her discussion but focuses closely on the English context, including the development of the legal status of pilgrimage as well as its treatment in treatises and other written forms.

Certain difficulties immediately present themselves in such an enterprise. Firstly, there is the impossibility of addressing comprehensively the precedents for and origins of the reforming impulses associated with the Reformation, although some discussion is made of these.[5] Then, there is the challenge of distilling into a necessarily short discussion the nuances of the various reformed positions and the varieties of emphasis and motivation of their adversaries, the doctrinal debates conducted over decades, the progress and reversals experienced by the numerous factions, the shifting support for change and resistance to it. This chapter consequently confines itself as far as possible to arguments relating directly to pilgrimage and the practices or ideas intimately associated with it, such as the veneration of relics and images, adornment of and offerings at shrines, the notion of the holy place, miracles, and the processes of authentication and verification associated with all of these. Nevertheless, since, as Gomez-Géraud puts it, the sixteenth century is one which "often put pilgrimage at the heart of its religious

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[2] Aston, *England's Iconoclasts;* Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, Chapter 11, "The Attack on Traditional Religion I," 379-423; Ronald Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England* (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1977), especially chapter 12, "The Destruction of the Shrines," 203-18; John Phillips, *The Reformation of Images: Destruction of Art in England, 1535-1660* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1973).

[3] Duffy treats pilgrimage to Jerusalem before the Reformation, but his account of the attacks on pilgrimage from 1536 concentrates, like that of Finucane, on pilgrimages within England. The focus of Aston's and Phillips' work on images also inclines them away from the Jerusalem pilgrimage.

[4] Chapter 2, "Les pèlerinages à l'épreuve de la Réforme" in Gomez-Géraud, *Crépuscule du Grand Voyage*, 61-139.

[5] See, for example, Aston, *England's Iconoclasts*, especially Chapter 4, "Lollards and Images," 96-159; Phillips, *Reformation of Images*, 30-40.

debates," such an examination is by no means tangential to the religious controversies at large.[6]

The question of images provoked the most energetic and voluminous discussion among reformers and their opponents. It is perhaps the least relevant to the pilgrimage to Jerusalem and Palestine, however, since images had relatively little importance in visits to the very places associated with Christ, the apostles and early martyrs such as Saint Stephen. Where the places themselves are available, there is less demand for images. As a consequence, images receive less attention here than they might in a study of more local pilgrimages such as Walsingham. Indeed, it is important to keep in mind the exceptional nature of the Jerusalem pilgrimage. Jerusalem had a unique relation to Reformation debates about pilgrimage and related practices. The city was a centre of pilgrimage to which visitors flowed because of events located there and authenticated and reported by scripture. It was not subject, therefore, to the kinds of challenges levelled specifically at pilgrimages which owed their popularity to miracles of extra-scriptural authority, to wonder-working images, or to relics of dubious origins. The authenticity of the primary holy places of Palestine, such as the sites of the crucifixion and resurrection, was rarely called into question. On the other hand, as I acknowledge in Chapter 4, travellers did express some scepticism about some of the minor sites which sprang up around them. The journey to Jerusalem was still subject to many other challenges mounted against pilgrimage: the contestation of the conception of pilgrimage as a good work, for example, and of the idea of a holy place in which an intensified or improved access to God is available. The problem of the occasions for sin offered by journeys from home was also raised in this regard, as was the conflict between the accomplishment of a pilgrimage and the individual's local obligations. The nature and scale of the financial transactions involved in the pilgrimage and its economy of devotion also took a prominent place in criticisms of pilgrimage. These challenges penetrated the discourse on pilgrimage so strongly that many late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century narratives of visits to Jerusalem directly addressed them..This chapter pays particular attention to these challenges to the Jerusalem pilgrimage, but it also maintains an awareness of the discourse relating to pilgrimages of all kinds.

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[6] "un siècle qui a souvent mis le voyage de piété au coeur de ses débats religieux." Gomez-Géraud, *Crépuscule du Grand Voyage*, 13. Cited and translated by Morris, *Sepulchre of Christ*, 365.

CRITICISMS OF PILGRIMAGE BEFORE 1500

Giles Constable's 1976 article, "Opposition to pilgrimage in the Middle Ages," is still one of the fullest treatments of writing against pilgrimage before the early modern period, although it is supplemented by discussions by Dee Dyas, J. G. Davies, Christian Zacher and N. H. Keble.[7] Constable concentrates on the eleventh and twelfth centuries, however, not on the late medieval pilgrimage, and much of the critical material he identifies pertains to the undertaking of pilgrimage by monks or abbots and thus to the conflict between pilgrimage on the one hand and, on the other, vows of stability or the integrity of religious communities. As a result, the emphasis is less on problems with the pilgrimage as a work in itself, and more on the way it can disrupt other spiritual obligations. Constable does, however, address the concerns expressed about the need for laymen's contrition and purity of intention in the undertaking of pilgrimage: Maurice of Sully, he writes, states that "God has no regard for the works of a bad Christian, for neither he nor his works please Him....What profit can it be to him to go on pilgrimage and travel far from his village if he does not travel far from his sin and vice?"[8] Constable also includes evidence for concerns about the consequences of both pilgrimage and crusade for the fulfilment of laymen's responsibilities to their families and communities; for worries about clerics' obligations to their flocks; and for arguments that the money spent on pilgrimage might be more usefully employed to help the poor or to ransom prisoners.[9] Similarly,

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[7] Giles Constable, "Opposition to Pilgrimage in the Middle Ages," in *Religious Life and Thought (11th to12th Centuries)* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1979). See also Davies, *Pilgrimage Yesterday and Today: Why? Where? How?*, 81-91; Dyas, *Pilgrimage 700-1500*, 141-4. For a discussion which emphasises the vice of *curiositas*, see Zacher, *Curiosity and Pilgrimage*, 54-7. Keble's essay concentrates on criticisms of pilgrimage in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but also pays attention to Foxe's use of Lollard opposition to pilgrimage. N. H. Keble, "'To Be a Pilgrim': Constructing the Protestant Life in Early Modern England" in *Pilgrimage: The English Experience*, ed. Morris and Roberts, 238-40.

[8] Constable, "Opposition to Pilgrimage in the Middle Ages," 142. Constable takes this quote from C. R. Cheney, *From Becket to Langton* (*Ford Lectures* 1951; Manchester 1956), 163, who in turn cites from C. A. Robson, *Maurice de Sully and the Medieval Vernacular Homily* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1952), 108-9.

[9] Constable, "Opposition to Pilgrimage in the Middle Ages," 142-4. Gomez-Géraud supplements Constable's discussion with a reference to Jacques de Vitry's comments in his sermons *Ad Peregrinos* on the opportunities for vice in the course of a pilgrimage: in particular, the encounters with women of bad character and occasions for disputes with inn-keepers and fellow travellers. Gomez-Géraud, *Crépuscule du Grand Voyage*, 58. Gomez-Geraud cites from Jean Longère, "Deux sermons de Jacques de Vitry *Ad Peregrinos*," in *L'Image du Pèlerin au Moyen Age et sous l'Ancien Régime*, ed. André Sigal (Rocamadour: Association des Amis de Rocamadour, 1994), 94.

Colin Morris identifies a realisation among certain twelfth-century devout people that works of mercy might be more beneficial to the soul than pilgrimage.[10]

With the exception of the tension between monastic vows and the impulse to go on pilgrimage, most of the arguments distilled by Constable play a part in the sixteenth-century debates about pilgrimage, as we will see. Many also appeared in certain fourteenth- and fifteenth-century devotional works, reports of trials for heresy, and statements of Lollard belief. The criticisms of pilgrimage expressed in the Lollard conclusions presented to Parliament around 1395 centre on the irreconcilability of pilgrimage with works that effect good in the world, and the incongruity of venerating the instruments of Christ's torment. The eighth conclusion represents pilgrimage as a "near relation to idolatry, and far from acts of mercy."[11] Instead of giving worship to images made of stone and wood, it says, one should treat one's fellow man as a likeness of God, and devote one's good works to him. It is as logical to venerate the cross, the nails and the lance used in the crucifixion as to treat the treacherous lips of Judas as relics, if they could be found.[12]

A fuller statement against pilgrimage is made in the 1407 testimony of William Thorpe, a Wycliffite perhaps from Marske, Cleveland, of his examination by Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury.[13] One of the accusations levelled against Thorpe by Arundel is that he has preached at Shrewsbury that pilgrims "ben acursid and mad foolis spendi[n]ge her goodis in wast" (Hudson, 61). In his response, Thorpe attempts to divert the signifiers "pilgrimage" and "pilgrim" away from the place pilgrimage and towards the spiritual quest.[14] True pilgrims, Thorpe says, are those whose thoughts, words and deeds are turned toward God. Few pilgrims who undertake physical pilgrimage strive for this; few even know their prayers and articles

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[10] See the account of the experience of Raimondo Palmario of Piacenza in Morris, *Sepulchre of Christ*, 248-9.

[11] "prope consanguineae ad idolatriam, et longe ab eleemosyna." "Conclusiones Lollardorum." In Walter Waddington Shirley, ed., *Fasciculi Zizaniorum Magistri Johannis Wyclif cum Tritico*, Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores, vol. 5 (London: Longman, 1858), 364-5. Although most of Constable's sources are earlier, he also refers to this late fourteenth-century source.

[12] Shirley, ed., *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, 364-5. These criticisms are also included in the 1583 edition of Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*.

[13] The record of the questioning of Thorpe by Archbishop Arundel (uncorroborated by the archiepiscopal register) survives in three manuscripts, a printed version dating to 1530 or 1531, and in John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*. For discussion of these versions and an evaluation of the historicity and fictive elements of the testimony, see the Introduction in Anne Hudson, ed., *Two Wycliffite Texts: The Sermon of William Taylor 1406; The Testimony of William Thorpe 1407*, Early English Text Society, original series, vol. 301 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), xxvi-xxxvii, xlv-lvi.

[14] See Dee Dyas' account of precedents for this order of priority in Dyas, *Pilgrimage 700-1500*, 27-36. Also, see discussion in Chapter 2, 122 to 122.

of faith.[15] They go to request physical health and worldly prosperity, not spiritual benefit. They waste money giving it to rich priests and sinful tapsters, instead of to the needy; indeed the money wasted by them is often not even their own (Hudson, 61-5).

Criticisms of pilgrimage were not only made by avowed Wycliffites. Dyas warns against the dangers of emphasising Lollard criticism of pilgrimage whilst forgetting "the continuing orthodox discussion of the nature of spiritual journeying" and of regarding "both orthodox and heterodox questioning of holy places through the retrospective filter of the Reformation" (Dyas, 141-2). David Aers, for example, notices late fourteenth-century mystic Walter Hilton's dismissal of place pilgrimage in *The Scale of Perfection*: "It nedeth not to renne to Rome ne to Jherusalem for to seche hym there / but tourne thy thoughte in to thyne owne soule where he is hydde as the prophete sayth / vere tu es deus absconditus."[16] Hilton would be followed in several sixteenth-century criticisms of pilgrimage in his preference for interior journeying over physical movement as a means of seeking God.

Another example of criticism of pilgrimage from an orthodox source comes in an early fifteenth-century devotional guide, the *Imitatio Christi*, attributed to the proponent of the *devotio moderna*, Thomas à Kempis. Thomas makes two curt but undermining statements about pilgrimage. The first is made in the context of meditations on death and the urgency of reforming one's way of living in the face of unpredictable and perhaps imminent mortality:

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[15] Compare the exhortation of Reason in Passus 5, ll. 55-6 of William Langland's fourteenth-century *Vision of Piers Plowman*: "And ye that seke Seynt James and seyntes of Rome, / Seketh Saynt Truthe, for he may save yow alle." Later in the same Passus, the throng of men who aimlessly seek truth encounter a well-travelled pilgrim. Their interview of the veteran of the Rome, Assisi, Compostela, Sinai and Jerusalem pilgrimages makes a point similar to that of Thorpe:

> "Knowestow aught a corsaint," [quod thei], "that men calle Truthe?"
> Koudestow wissen us the wey wher that wye dwelleth?"
> "Nay, so me God helpe!" seide the gome thanne.
> I seigh never palmere with pyk ne with scrippe
> Asken after hym er now in this place." (ll. 532-536, Langland, *Piers Plowman*, 65)

Langland in several places criticises pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela and Rome but omits direct reference to the Jerusalem pilgrimage. Nonetheless, Dyas points out, the identification of this pilgrim as "palmer" and the inclusion of Jerusalem in his travels suggest that it is included in the criticism. Philip Edwards argues that the lines in Conscience's closing speech displace "the difficult progress towards the known shrine" of place pilgrimage in favour of "the journey to discover the shrine," that is, the "search for the true meaning of Christianity in human life." Edwards, *Pilgrimage and Literary Tradition*, 16. See also Prologue, ll. 46-49; Passus 4, ll.126-133; Dyas, *Pilgrimage 700-1500*, 154-7; Zacher, *Curiosity and Pilgrimage*, 57.

[16] Chapter 59 in Walter Hilton, *Scala Perfectionis* (London: Wynkyn de Worde, 1494), fol. E5v. Cited by David Aers, "A Whisper in the Ear of Early Modernists; or, Reflections on Literary Critics Writing the 'History of the Subject,'" in *Culture and History, 1350-1600*, ed. David Aers (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1992), 183.

> Multa bones potes operari dum sanus es, sed infirmatus nescio quid poteris. Pauci ex infirmitate meliorantur; sic et qui multum peregrinantur, raro sanctificantur.[17]

The implication of the final assertion is clear: travelling rarely brings holiness, although it is not certain whether pilgrimages or journeys in general are the object of critique. A 1503 translation of the first three books of the *Imitatio Christi*, undertaken by William Atkinson, fellow of Jesus and Pembroke Colleges, Cambridge at the behest of Margaret Beaufort, omits this troublesome passage altogether.[18] An Englishing attributed to the Birgittine monk Richard Whitford (d. 1543?), probably published in 1531, translates this as a reference to pilgrimage:

> Nowe whylest thou arte in helth thou mayst do many good dedes / but yf thou be sycke I can not tell what thou mayst do / for why fewe be amended thorugh syckenes / and in lyke wyse they that go moche on pylgrymage be seldome therby made perfyte & holy.[19]

The logical relation of Thomas' statement on peregrination to the preceding two assertions is not obvious. How exactly are the statements about illness and pilgrimage

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[17] "Whilst thou art in health, thou canst do many things that are good; but when thou art fallen sick, I know not what thou wilt be able to do. Few are made better by sickness; so also they that go much on pilgrimage seldom become holy thereby." English translation (based on that of Thomas Rogers) and Latin text from Thomas à Kempis, *De Imitatione Christi: Of the Following of Christ* (London: Burns Oates and Washbourne, 1933), 46.

[18] See Thomas à Kempis, *A ful deuout and gostely treatyse of the imitacyon and folowynge the blessed lyfe of our moste mercyful sauyour cryste co[m]piled in Laten by the right worshypful doctor mayster John Gerson* ... trans. William Atkinson ([London]: 1504), fol. C4r. This attributes the Latin original to Jean Gerson.

[19] See Thomas à Kempis, *A boke newely translated out of Laten in to Englysshe, called The folowynge of Cryste*, trans. Richard Whitford? ([London]: [1531?]), fol. 30v. Whitford, a "doctrinal conservative" who did not embrace enthusiastically the Henrician supremacy, became acquainted with Erasmus in Paris in 1499 during a sojourn abroad with William Blount, Lord Mountjoy, according to J. T. Rhodes, Whitford's biographer in the *DNB*. Rhodes thinks that Whitford is unlikely to have been the translator. *DNB*, 2004 ed., s.v. "Richard Whitford." Later, Thomas Rogers (c. 1553-1616), a clergyman and translator of a version first published in 1580, renders the sense of movement in "peregrinantur" as a moral detour or evasion: "Whilest thou art in health thou maiest doo manie good deedes; but when thou art sicke, I see not what thou art able to do. For in the time of sicknes few amend; and they which defer their amendment til then, doe hardlie come into the fauor of God." Thomas à Kempis, *Of the imitation of Christ, three, both for wisedome, and godlines, most excellent bookes* ... trans. Thomas Rogers (London: [1580]), 55-6. A 1613 translation by the Jesuit Anthony Hoskins (1568/9?-1615), graduate of the English Colleges of Douai and Valladolid, translates so that the sentence refers to travel in general: "Thou maist do much good whilest thou art well; but when thou art sick, what thou wilt be able to do, I know not. Few doe grow better, and amend themselues with sicknesse; as also they that wander much abroad, seldome become holy." According to W. A. J. Archbold and Peter Milward in the *DNB*, Hoskins' is a modernized rendering of Whitford's translation, but it is evident from a comparison of this passage and the corresponding one in Whitford's that changes were made. *DNB*, 2004 ed., s.v. "Anthony Hoskins"; Thomas à Kempis, *The following of Christ. Deuided into four bookes. Written in Latin by the learned and deuout man Thomas a Kempis chanon-regular of the Order of S. Augustine. And translated into English by B. F.*, trans. [Anthony Hoskins] ([Saint-Omer]: 1613), 63.

analogous? Does the analogy depend on an understanding of both illness and pilgrimage as necessarily involving suffering? Perhaps the analogy is provided by the first statement about good works: just as physical illness prevents a man from doing good works, pilgrimage, a withdrawal from local responsibilities, constrains the realisation of such deeds. This compresses two assumptions: first, that pilgrimage is not in itself a good work; second, that pilgrimage interferes with the commission of genuinely beneficial works. Or perhaps a more damning paradox is meant: just as illness by its nature does not heal or improve but inflicts harm, pilgrimage by its nature cannot sanctify but only corrupts.

Thomas' second statement on pilgrimage is clearer:

> Many run to sundry places to visit the relics of saints and while listening to their deeds gaze with wonder upon the spacious buildings of their churches, look upon and kiss their sacred bones, wrapped in silks and gold. And lo! Thou art thyself here present with me on the altar, my God, the holy of holies, creator of man, lord of angels. Oftentimes in looking upon such things men are moved by curiosity & the novelty of things never seen before, and little fruit of amendment is carried home, especially when they run so lightly from place to place without true contrition. But here in the sacrament of the altar thou art wholly present, my God, the man Christ Jesus; wherein also is reaped abundant fruit of eternal salvation so often as thou art worthily and devoutly received. Not levity nor curiosity nor sensuality draweth one thereto; but firm faith, devout hope, and sincere charity.[20]

Thomas' account of pilgrimage emphasises the importance of intention in acts of devotion, and represents the ornament and magnificence of shrines as a distraction from the cultivation of pure and concentrated spiritual engagement with the Father and the Son. It also stresses devotion to the eucharist rather than secondary acts of worship. Thomas' statements on pilgrimage uphold Dyas' point that certain criticisms of pilgrimage made by sixteenth-century Catholic humanist reformers like Erasmus

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[20] "Currunt multi ad diversa loca pro visitandis reliquiis sanctorum, et mirantur auditis gestis eorum ampla ædificia templorum; inspiciunt et osculantur sericis et auro involuta sacra ossa eorum: et ecce tu præsens es hic apud me in altari Deus meus sanctus sanctorum creator hominum et dominus angelorum. Sæpe in talibus videndis curiositas est hominum et novitas invisorum; et modicus reportatur emendationis fructus: maxime ubi est tam levis since vera contritione discursus. Hic autem in sacramento altaris totus præsens es Deus meus homo Christus Iesus; ubi et copiosus percipitur æternæ salutis fructus: quotienscumque fueris digne ac devote susceptus. Ad istud vero non trahit levitas aliqua nec curiositas aut sensualitas: sed firma fides devota spes et sincera charitas." Thomas à Kempis, *De Imitatione Christi: Of the Following of Christ*, 234-5, bk. 4.1.9.

were current centuries earlier in orthodox circles as well as Lollard ones. As this chapter goes on, it will trace the ways in which sixteenth-century critics reprised and developed Thomas' criticisms of the moral dangers of travel and concerns that pilgrimage could distract from a serious and sacramental relationship with God.

Lollard and orthodox doubts about pilgrimage as a good work and criticisms that it distracted from local responsibilities or distracted worshippers from a profound spiritual engagement would continue to inform discussions of pilgrimage after 1500, as the following section demonstrates. Perhaps the most important development in the discourse relating to pilgrimage, however, was concern about the pilgrim's intention. The awareness of possible disparity between the quality of the action and inward intention draws attention from the gesture towards the motivation. The *materiae* of William Wey, which depend partly on the self-evidence of the worth of seeing the holy places or collecting indulgences, would not satisfy this scrutiny. Insistent criticisms about pilgrims' corrupt intentions or superstitious conceptions meant that justifying statements about a pilgrim's interior state and disposition would henceforth have to be presented to defend the undertaking of pilgrimage.

Defences and Criticisms of Pilgrimage

The writings of Erasmus of Rotterdam (c. 1467-1536) have provided a foundation for recent discussions of the debates about pilgrimage in the sixteenth century.[21] Although Erasmus was not English, his ideas influenced English humanism (Phillips, 35). Between the very late 1490s and the late 1520s, Erasmus engaged with the problematic practice of pilgrimage in several literary genres and scrutinised it from a variety of angles. An appreciable evolution appears to have taken place in his position over the course of the first three decades of the sixteenth century. The most extensive early treatment of pilgrimage by Erasmus is to be found in the *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*, described by the author as a corrective to "those who make religion in general consist in rituals and observances of an almost more than Jewish formality,

[21] See, for example, Gomez-Géraud, *Crépuscule du Grand Voyage*, 68-86; Williams, *Pilgrimage and Narrative*, 20-9.

but who are astonishingly indifferent to matters that have to do with true goodness."[22] He envisioned this work (begun in 1501, published by Dirk Martens in 1503) as a method of morals or piety (*artificium pietatis*) to arm the individual against the temptations of sin. In this and other writings in the first two decades of the sixteenth century, such as the Preface to the *Novum Instrumentum* (Preface written 1515, published 1516), Erasmus appears to view pilgrimage as offering both spiritual opportunities and dangerous enticements. It is a form of popular piety undertaken with great enthusiasm in spite of hardship, toil and expense. Erasmus seeks to redirect a share or the entirety of the pilgrim's zeal toward an interior journey and to deflect the worshipper's attention from the visible image or relic to the legible or audible New Testament. At times he appears to approach outright condemnation of the practice as spiritually bankrupt, although usually he stops short, instead seeking to appropriate the fervour which pilgrimage commands in favour of other forms of devotion. In the 1520s, however, with the appearance of the *Colloquies'* treatments of pilgrimage, the restrained, if dismissive, tone in which pilgrimage had been discussed in the *Enchiridion* and elsewhere in the earlier writings intermittently gives way to a more openly scornful one. By the mid 1530s, the French pilgrim Greffin Affagart was attributing to him and to Luther the decline of the Jerusalem pilgrimage.[23] The substance of Erasmus' criticisms and their limitations and qualifications are discussed in greater detail below.

Erasmus' fellow humanist, Sir Thomas More (1478-1535), is another important figure in the controversies about pilgrimage. His *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* of 1529 methodically teases out the assumptions and logical foundations of a variety of criticisms of pilgrimage and related practices. Adopting the form of a reported dialogue between More and the messenger sent to More by "a right worshipful friend" to report doctrinal problems currently circulating and obtain answers to them, More sets out and then logically dissects and refutes the challenges

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[22] "vt mederer errori vulgo religionem constituentium in ceremoniis et obseruationibus pene plusquam Iudaicis rerum corporalium, earum quae ad pietatem mire negligentium." Letter 181, Erasmus to John Colet, Paris, c. December, 1504. Erasmus, *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, ed. P. S. Allen, 12 vols. (1906; reprint, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), vol. 1, 405. English translation from Erasmus, *The Correspondence of Erasmus*, trans. R. A. B. Mynors, D. F. S. Thomson, and Alexander Dalzell, *Collected Works of Erasmus*, 11 vols. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974-1994), vol. 2, 86.

[23] "since that wicked rascal Luther has been in power with his accomplices, and also Erasmus in his *Colloquies* and *Enchiridion* has attacked these journeys, many Christians have withdrawn and gone cold, especially the Flemings and Germans who used to be more devout in travelling than all the others." Greffin Affagart, *Relation de Terre Sainte (1533-4)*, ed. J. Chavanon (Paris: V. Lecoffre, 1902), 20-1. Cited and translated by Morris, *Sepulchre of Christ*, 364.

offered to the traditional church.[24] Within this framework, More counters objections to the veneration of relics and images, prayer to saints and the Virgin Mary as intercessors and charges of undue promotion of shrines, false relics and false miracles by greedy clerics.[25]

Gregory Martin (1542?-1582), graduate of St. John's, Oxford, who lectured in Hebrew at the English College at Douai and Rheims after gaining his BA and theology licentiate, reprises More's defence of pilgrimage over fifty years later in the *Treatise of Christian Peregrination*.[26] Martin's treatise was published along with several letters to friends, "Now especially published," as the title page states, "for the benifite of those, that either erre in religion of simplicitie or follow the worlde of frayltie." One is addressed to a married priest, one to his sisters, who have married Protestants and joined their husbands in religious confession, and the third to the warden of New College, Oxford, Thomas Whyte, whom Martin accuses of religious dissimulation. Martin exhorts all his addressees to return to the Catholic church, and imagines them all to be recoverable to their old faith. He asks in the letter to his sisters, "in all these countries [which have turned to Protestantism], how many are there thinke you of secret catholickes that wish for the olde religion againe with all their hart, and folow the new onely for feare?"[27] The *Treatise* was published in Paris the year following the death of Martin.

Unlike More's *Dialogue*, Martin's *Treatise* gives little opportunity for the development and exploration of arguments antipathetic to pilgrimage and related practices. Furthermore, while More and his messenger's dialogue on pilgrimage concentrates on minor, local pilgrimages whose miracles and claims may not always have received the most rigorous ecclesiastical scrutiny, Martin defends the major pilgrimages such as Rome and Jerusalem. The five decades which separate the *Dialogue* and the *Treatise* brought about such radical changes to the status of

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[24] For an analysis of the dialogue as a fiction rather than a report of real events, see Thomas M. C. Lawler, "A General View of the *Dialogue*: An Anatomy of Heresy," in Sir Thomas More, *A Dialogue Concerning Heresies*, ed. Thomas M. C. Lawler, Germain March'hadour, and Richard C. Marius, Complete Works of St. Thomas More, vol. 6 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), pt. 2, 439-54. Even within the fiction of the dialogue More acknowledges that it is a modified transcript of the conversation: see More, *Dialogue*, pt. 1, 21-3.

[25] More, *Dialogue*, pt. 1. For discussion of the veneration of relics, see especially 50-51, for false relics 217-225; for miracles true and false 60-101, 241-246; for images, 38-40, 52, 56, 209-210, 230-2; for prayer to saints and the Virgin Mary as intercessors, 47-49; 211-216; for charges of undue promotion of shrines by greedy priests, 53-4; for riotous behaviour on pilgrimage, 227-229.

[26] *DNB*, 2004 ed., s.v. "Gregory Martin."

[27] Gregory Martin, *Treatyse of Christian Peregrination* (1583), fol. [10]v.

pilgrimage that a commensurate difference in emphasis is predictable. The English shrines and images which attracted local pilgrimage at the time of the *Dialogue* had mostly been dismantled and removed long before the 1580s, so that Martin's concentration instead on the major pilgrimage shrines which thrived outside England, such as Rome and, to a lesser extent, Jerusalem, is to be expected. Martin zealously defends pilgrimage using a method which emphasises textual authorities, such as scripture, patristic writings and papal endorsements.

The separation of arguments about pilgrimage from those about relics, miracles, images, and vow-making is somewhat artificial, since the issues as debated by Erasmus, Martin and More are intimately entwined. Nevertheless, for the sake of a methodical parsing of the arguments circulating about pilgrimage and related practices in the sixteenth century, I will attempt to separate them here, dealing first with general arguments about the practice of pilgrimage and its status as a good work. Then, I will examine more narrowly defined discussions about tributary practices and beliefs: the idea of the holy place, the veneration of relics and images, the cult of saints and of the Virgin Mary, and miracles. Finally, I will discuss a concern which governs all of these: the nature of the processes whereby all the claims and objects associated with pilgrimage are verified and endowed with authority. In my discussion I concentrate on the extensive discussions of these questions by Erasmus, More and Martin, but I will also take into account relevant statements in the works of William Tyndale, Hugh Latimer and the younger Edwin Sandys.

Pilgrimage as a Good Work

Written near the beginning of the sixteenth century, Erasmus' *Enchiridion Militis Christiani* provides a good starting point for an examination of general debates about the value and efficacy of pilgrimage as a good work. These debates focus mainly on the relation between intention and action and on the competition between pilgrimage and local or domestic responsibilities. As I have already indicated, the fundamental importance of intention in the undertaking of the pilgrimage for determining its value is a major preoccupation of the *Enchiridion*. Although the general tendency of the *Enchiridion* is to displace pilgrimage in favour of spiritual imitation, Erasmus asserts

that the interior state must match the exterior devotional practice if one is to go on pilgrimage:

> what good is it to do good exteriorly if interiorly one's thoughts are quite the opposite? Is it any great feat to visit Jerusalem bodily when within you there is Sodom, Egypt, and Babylon? There is no merit in treading where Christ trod with human footsteps, but it is a great thing to follow in the steps of Christ in the affections of the mind. If it is a great achievement to have touched the Lord's sepulchre, will it not be just as meritorious to have reproduced the mystery of his burial?[28]

The sequence of inquiries leaves ambiguous the precise status of pilgrimage. The first question establishes the principle that corrupt intention negates the spiritual benefit of the good action, which does not mean that pilgrimage can never be a good action. The second question implies that the moral profit of a pilgrimage is cancelled by a vicious internal state, still admitting the possibility that pilgrimage can be profitable in certain conditions. The third statement directly denies that there is any merit in pilgrimage, but the succeeding question admits that merit could be imparted by access to the holy sepulchre by equating the merit of a pilgrim's visit with that of meditation. The thrust of Erasmus' argument is that attentiveness to the spiritual state should take priority over the ostentatious act of penance. It is possible, therefore, that the oscillation between affirmation and negation of merit in the act of pilgrimage is a side-effect of rhetorical copiousness on the question of invisible versus visible things, not a feature in a careful statement about pilgrimage's status as a good work. Nevertheless, it appears that Erasmus admits here that some spiritual benefit may ensue where there is symmetry between zeal in action and purity in intention, although external ceremony and devotions are fruitless in themselves. The impression of ambivalence left by this succession of statements arises because Erasmus is sceptical of the value of pilgrimage but sees that his agenda might be furthered by harnessing the affection

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[28] "Quid refert bona foris agere, quibus diversa fiunt intus? An magnum est, quod corpore Hierosolymam adis, cum intra temet ipsum sit Sodom, sit Aegyptus, sit Babylon? Non magnum est carneis calcaneis vestigia calcasse Christi, at maximum adfectu sequi vestigia Christi. Si maximum est contigisse sepulcrum Domini, non maximum erit expressisse mysterium sepulturae?" Erasmus, *Desiderii Erasmi Opera Omnia*, ed. J. Leclerc (Leiden: 1703-6; reprint, London: The Gregg Press, 1962), vol. 5, col. 38. English translation from Erasmus, "Enchiridion Militis Christiani," trans. and annot. Charles Fantazzi, in *Spiritualia, Enchiridion, De Contemptu Mundi, De Vidua Christiana*, ed. John W. O'Malley, *Collected Works of Erasmus*, vol. 66 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 82.

which he imagines his readers to have for pilgrimage and redirecting it towards internal piety.

Erasmus makes more explicit statements about the desirability of cultivating an interior rather than exterior piety elsewhere in the *Enchiridion*. "Perfect piety," he writes in the fifth rule of "true Christianity," "is the attempt to progress always from visible things, which are usually imperfect or indifferent, to invisible ...."[29] Although Erasmus admits a proper place for "visible things" in the spiritual life of an individual, he sees it as a preliminary stage, soon left behind in the development of a mature spirituality. Imagining the indignation of defenders of such ceremonies or exterior devotions, he concedes that they have a value as "signs or supports of piety" (*tum indicia, tum adminicula pietatis*). "Since they are almost a necessity for infants in Christ until they grow up and arrive at manhood, they should not be scorned by those who have achieved manhood, lest the weak suffer hurt from bad example."[30] Profound and committed imitation of the Virgin Mary and the saints is to be preferred over pilgrimage (with the proviso that Christ himself be the ultimate model of piety, and the ultimate recipient of homage paid to them). Spiritual striving to approximate their example is much more efficacious than a journey to a saint's relics or burial place.[31] Similarly, controlling one's avarice, pride and ire is more valuable in value to Saint Francis than the lighting of a hundred candles at a shrine.

This emphasis on a devotion which draws strength from meditation on the examples set by Christ and the saints is not unprecedented: it recalls the pseudo-Bonaventuran *Meditationes Vitae Christi*, for example. Felix Fabri, though a pilgrim to Jerusalem twice over, makes a similar point in the 1480s:

> Good and simple Christians believe that if they were at the places where the Lord Jesus wrought the work of our redemption, they would derive much devotion from them; but I say to these men of a truth that meditation about these places, and listening to descriptions of them, is more efficacious than the

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[29] "in hoc uno constituas perfectam pietatem, si coneris semper a rebus visibilibus, quae fere vel imperfectae, vel mediae sunt, ad invisibilia proficere ...." Erasmus, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 5, col. 32. English translation from Erasmus, "Enchiridion," 65.

[30] "quoniam fere necessaria sunt infantibus in Christo, donec grandescant & occurant in virum perfectum, tamen ne a perfectis quidem convenit fastidiri, ne exemplo laedantur infirmi." Erasmus, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 5, col. 32. English translation from Erasmus, "Enchiridion," 74.

[31] "Vis tibi demereri Petrum aut Paulum? Alterius fidem, alterius imitare caritatem, & plus feceris, quam si decies Romam curistaris." Erasmus, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 5, col. 31. ("Would you like to win the favour of Peter and Paul? Imitate the faith of the one and the charity of the other, and you will accomplish more than if you were to dash off to Rome ten times." English translation from Erasmus, "Enchiridion," 71.)

> actual seeing and kissing of them. Unless a pilgrim hath before his eyes some living examples of devotion, the place helps him little in the matter of true holiness.[32]

It is clear, then, that the force of example could be emphasised by commentators who are less sceptical than Erasmus about pilgrimage as a good work.

Although Margery Kempe and Bridget of Sweden were able to combine pilgrimage with an intensely interior, spiritual engagement, however, Erasmus' model of progression withholds the possibility of such integration in favour of substitution. The more mature Christian turns inward, eschewing such external devotions in favour of an *imitatio Christi*, or of the saints. In Chapter 4 we will see how certain later travellers struggle with the opposition that Erasmus sets up, or attempt partial or temporary reconciliation between the visit to the holy place and the engagement with God.

Gregory Martin, like Erasmus, emphasises examples worthy of imitation, but to a contrary purpose. He contends that there is a scriptural basis for pilgrimage. He begins by construing the visit of the Magi to the infant Jesus and the visit to Jerusalem of the Ethiopian to be baptised by Philip of Acts 8:27-38 as precedents for pilgrimage (Martin, fol. A1r). He also takes St. Paul's visit to James in Jerusalem as a pilgrimage. This was a privilege available only to the first generation of Christians: "the difference is, here was Pilgrimage to the persons themselues, as to *Christ* and to *Peter*, we hauing now their monume*n*ts onely and of other Saints, make Pilgrimage vnto them" (Martin, fol. A1v). Subsequent generations of pilgrims follow the tradition of the early church as closely as possible: this means that monuments, and not people, are visited, but Martin represents the motives and spirit of the visits as continuous with those of the first generations of Christians. Consequently, Martin also draws venerable examples of pilgrims from later generations, including St. John Chrysostom and St. Jerome's friend Paula.[33]

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[32] "Aestimant boni et simplices Christiani, quod si essent in locis, ubi Dominus Jesus opera redemtionis nostrae exercuit, quod veliut ibi magnam devotionem haurire. Quibus pro vero dico, quod cogitatio et locutionis auditio de illis locis plus afficit, quam ipsa inspectio vel deosculatio. Et nisi peregrinus habeat aliqua devotionis exempla viva ante se, locus parum facit ad rem verae devotionis." Fabri, *Evagatorium*, vol. 2, 74. English translation from Fabri, *Wanderings*, vol. 2, pt. 1, 60-1.

[33] St. John Chrysostom devotion to Rome as the site of the martyrdoms of Peter and Paul and his affection for Peter's chains as testament to his witness of Christ are used as evidence for the legitimacy of pilgrimage. Martin quotes St. John Chrysostom's address to Saints Paul and Peter: "*How many prisons haue you sanctified? How many cheynes haue you beautified?*" As the quotation goes on, the language veers away from the literal and material so that it pulls away from construction as an

Certain critics of pilgrimage undermined pilgrimage by questioning the very belief in the efficacy of all works rather than pilgrimage's status as a good work. William Tyndale's vernacular theological treatise published in Antwerp in 1528, *The Obedience of a Christian Man*, launches an attack on pilgrimage based on the conviction that man is saved by faith, not works: "Neither needeth a Christian man to run hither or thither, to Rome, to Jerusalem, or Saint James or any other pilgrimage far or near, to be saved thereby, or to purchase forgiveness of his sins. For a Christian man's health and salvation is within him ...."[34] The accomplishment of good works can "declare that we are safe and that the spirit of him that hath made us safe is in us," but only when the works are undertaken with good will and according to the commandments of God rather than man's imagined prescriptions (Tyndale, *Obedience*, 134). This combines two assertions: the first is that pilgrimage, no matter how authoritative the claims made for the holy place, is not a good work but an "imagined prescription" commanded by man, not God; the second is that works can only express a state of salvation, not produce it. However, Tyndale returns to the possibility that pilgrimage can coincide with a state of increased grace: "if a wife after so many and oft pilgrimages be more chaste, more obedient unto her husband, more kind to her maids and other servants ... then do such things [as pilgrimages and other good works] increase grace: if not, it is a lie. Whether it be so or not I report me to experience" (Tyndale, *Obedience*, 139). In the very phrases which appear to concede that pilgrimage may increase grace, Tyndale gestures to the spiritual damage likely to follow when chastity and patient fulfilment of domestic obligations are compromised by pilgrimage.

The accusation implied by Tyndale that pilgrimage offers numerous occasions for error is taken up later by Bishop Latimer in the Second Sermon to Convocation,

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endorsement of pilgrimage: "that sword [that cut off Paul's head] I wish to be my garland, and those nayles of Peter in steed of precious stones to stande in my golden crowne. This deuotion proceding of that cause and referred to that end, which is the worship and glory of Christ, is the very ground of honoring Relicks, and consequentlye the cause of Pilgrimage: The glory of Christ I say." Martin, *Treatyse of Christian Peregrination*, fol. A2v-A3r. Martin not only cites repeatedly the example of Paula as recorded by Saint Jerome, but looks to Saint Augustine, Saint Ambrose, and Popes Leo the Great and Gregory the Great for support for the journey to a holy place or to the relics of a saint. Saint Augustine is also claimed as an ally by More: justification for the practice of pilgrimage is adduced from Augustine's 78th letter to the church of Hippo. See letters of Saint Augustine of Hippo in *Patrologia Latina*, ed. Migne, vol. 33, cols. 267-72; More, *Dialogue*, pt. 1, 55. The precise source is identified in the commentary of Lawler *et al.*: see Thomas M. C. Lawler, Germain March'hadour, and Richard C. Marius, "Commentary," in More, *Dialogue*, pt. 2, 615.

[34] William Tyndale, *The Obedience of a Christian Man*, ed. David Daniell (London: Penguin, 2000), 133-4. This carries strong echoes of Walter Hilton's dismissal of place pilgrimage in *The Scale of Perfection*, quoted above on p. 196 above.

1536. We have seen that, a few decades later, Gregory Martin claimed that early modern pilgrimage was consistent with the devotions of the early Christians, except that constraints on subsequent generations required them to visit monuments, not living people. Latimer used a similar tactic to make an opposing case: he argued that his attack on pilgrimage represented a return to an older, purer form of English religious culture, not a corrosive innovation. He finds a precedent for his attack on pilgrimages in an ancient constitution of the English church warning of the dangers of vowing to undertake pilgrimages. "What saw they that made this decree?" Latimer asks. The answer is, abuse of images and superstitious regard for them as well as the occasions for sin which pilgrimage presented. Latimer stretches the statements in this constitution to use it as a proscription not only on abuse of pilgrimage but on the practice itself: "For they that restrain making vows for going of pilgrimage, restrain also pilgrimage."[35]

A charge that abuses of pilgrimage undermine the status of the practice as a good work is also levelled by the messenger in book 2, chapter 10 of More's *Dialogue*. The messenger asks how to counter the accusation that pilgrimages are often accompanied by "ryot / reuelynge / and rybawdry / glotony / wantonness / waste / and lechery" (More, pt. 1, 226). The abuses recounted by the messenger to support the accusation pertain to minor saints' shrines and implicate distorted and improbable beliefs about these saints, such as the hope that saint Wylgefort/Uncomber would relieve wives of their husbands.[36] Like Latimer's criticisms, the messenger's elide the distinction between abuse and right use. More counters that an abuse of a righteous practice, or a violation of the terms of a good deed, should not lead to the prohibition of that practice or deed. (More, pt. 1, 235-6).

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[35] Hugh Latimer, *Sermons by Hugh Latimer*, ed. G. E. Corrie (Cambridge: Parker Society, 1844), 54. In a footnote, Corrie gives the following information about the constitution invoked by Latimer: "The constitution alluded to is attributed to Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury in the year 1236. 'Praecipimus ut sacerdotes saepe moneant populum, et maxime mulieres, ne faciant vota sua nisi cum deliberatione et de consensu virorum suorum et concilio sacerdotum.' Lyndewode, Provincial. p. 204, Oxon. 1679.... But the constitution is actually of much older date, being found, in substance, in the [seventh-century] Poenitentiale of Theodore, cap. xvi. v. 23. Ancient Laws and Institutes of England, Vol. ii p. 11, 8vo. Edit. 1840." Latimer conveniently denies the distinction between vow-making and pilgrimage. For treatments of vows, see Erasmus' colloquies "Rash Vows" and "The Shipwreck," discussed below.

[36] More, *Dialogue*, pt. 1, 227. To this More offers this ingenious and disingenuous response: "How be it if they pray but to be vncombred / me semeth no great harme / nor vnlefulnes therin. For that may they by mo wayes than one. They may be vncombred yf theyr housbondys change theyr comberous condycyons. Or yf them selfe peraduenture change theyr comberous tongues. Whiche is happily the cause of all theyr combraunce. And finally yf they can not be uncombred but by deth / yet it may be by theyr owne / and so theyr housbondys saufe ynough." More, *Dialogue*, pt. 1, 235.

Another important charge against pilgrimage relayed by More's interlocutor is that priests and citizens connive at unworthy pilgrimages to false relics because they bring in wealth, combining an attack on legitimacy with an accusation of impure financial motivation.[37] More starts his defence by pointing out that the profit of shrines goes to a few poor parishes which have no real power in the English church. The higher ranks of the church hierarchy have no financial incentive to encourage pilgrimage; indeed, More says, its members embark on pilgrimages at great cost to themselves (More, 53-4).

The need to exercise wisdom and prudence in devotions to God is admitted even by a zealous defender of pilgrimage like Martin. Although he is eager to defend pilgrimage as it stands, excusing well-intentioned deviations such as sincere belief in false relics or miracles, he counsels moderation in the observance of external devotions such as pilgrimage:

> In honouring the Kinge of Kings and his seruants there is much iudgement required. We are commanded to sing to our Lord, but *sapienter*, wisely: and in an other psalme, *in cimbalis bene sonantibus*, vpon well sounding cymbals: They sound well when euery string is in tune without discorde, neither to high nor to lowe, but in a golden meane, which all good Catholicks in all poyntes of religion most hartely wish and pray for. (Martin, fol. D8v)

The belief in the importance of moderation in external expressions of devotion is not exclusive to Erasmian sceptics or reformers, then. Indeed, the 25th session of the Council of Trent (3-4 December, 1563) reminded bishops and "others with the office and responsibility of teaching" (*ceteris docendi munus curamque sustinentibus*) of the importance of instructing the laity in the proper veneration of saints, relics and images, condemning both the undermining of these practices by heretics and their abuses by the superstitious or the mercenary.[38]

The obverse of the accusation made by Tyndale, Latimer and More's messenger (that pilgrimage provides opportunities for vice) is the charge that pilgrimage distracts the individual from his responsibilities to family and community

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[37] More, *Dialogue*, pt. 1, 53-4. A similar criticism of relics is made by Edwin Sandys, *Europae Speculum, or, A View or Survey of the State of Religion in the Westerne parts of the World* ... 4th ed. (The Hague: 1629), 138.

[38] Norman P. Tanner, ed., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils* (London: Sheed and Ward and Georgetown University Press, 1990), vol. 2, 773-6.

at home.[39].[40] In *Ecclesiastes, sive de ratione concionandi* (begun in 1523), Erasmus emphasises what is left behind when a man sets out on pilgrimage, that is, his "sweet children and dearest wife"[41] The question of abandonment is taken up again in the colloquy "*De votis temere susceptis*," or "Rash vows," first included in the March, 1522 edition.[42] Here both interlocutors have made lengthy pilgrimages, Cornelius to Jerusalem and Arnoldus to Rome and Compostella.[43] Arnoldus admits that his pilgrimage was due entirely to folly, undertaken to fulfil an impetuous vow made under the influence of alcohol and peer pressure. Exacerbating the folly of the undertaking is the fact that he had "at home a wife still young and vigorous, children, and a family dependent upon me and supported by my daily labour."[44]

In the February 1526 edition of the *Colloquies*, a dialogue which undertakes a far more sustained examination of the pilgrimage and related practices, "*Peregrinatio religionis ergo*," or "A Pilgrimage for Religion's Sake," made its first appearance. In it Ogygius, recently returned from Jerusalem, Walsingham and Canterbury, is quizzed

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[39] This criticism is also made in Luther "To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation Concerning the Reform of the Christian Estate" (1520): see Gomez-Géraud, *Crépuscule du Grand Voyage*, 66-7. The greater imperative of the care and education of children is opposed to pilgrimage in the "Treatise on Good Works" (1520). Both in Martin Luther, *The Christian in Society*, ed. James Atkinson, trans. W. A. Lambert, Luther's Works, vol. 44 (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966), pt. 1, 86, 185.

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[41] "Quam multi sunt, qui per tot rerum discrimina profisciscuntur Hierosolymam, domi relictis dulcibus liberis & uxore carissima?" Latin text from Erasmus, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 5, col. 861d. The notion that pilgrimage wrongly displaces an individual's responsibilities to family and community is also expressed by Folly in the *Moriae Encomium* (1509). See Erasmus, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 4, col. 456b-457a.

[42] In the introduction to his translation of "Rash Vows," Craig R. Thompson notes the role played by the colloquy in the trial of an Augustinian friar, Thomas Topley, who recanted beliefs deemed heretical between 1531 and 1533 in the diocese of London. Thompson cites Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, which quotes Topley, in turn: "'All Christian men beware of consenting to Erasmus' Fables, for by consenting to them, they have caused me to shrink in my faith .... I read in Colloquium [he means this colloquy, which he summarizes] ... of certain pilgrims .... Thus I mused of these opinions so greatly, that my mind was almost withdrawn from devotion to saints' (*Acts and Monuments* v 40). He adds that fables of this kind, in addition to indulgence in dancing and tennis, did much to impair his piety." Erasmus, *Colloquies*, trans. and annot. Craig R. Thompson, *Collected Works of Erasmus*, vol. 39, 40 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), vol. 39, 35.

[43] Erasmus seems to use these three pilgrimage destinations as metonyms for the place pilgrimage in general; there is no specific criticism of the authenticity or legitimacy of these places in themselves. For other uses of this trinity of pilgrimages, see the Preface to a 1518 edition of the *Enchiridion*, Epistle 858 in Erasmus, *Correspondence*, vol. 6, 84; Erasmus, *Opus Epistolarum*, vol. 3, 372. See also Epistle 1301 to the theologians at Louvain, 1522 in Erasmus, *Correspondence*, vol. 9, 134; Erasmus, *Opus Epistolarum*, vol. 5, 94*n*.

[44] "domi haberem uxorem integra adhuc aetate, liberos aliquot, & familiam, quae pendebat ex me, & opera nea quotidiana alitur." Erasmus, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 1, col. 639f. English translation from Erasmus, *Colloquies*, vol. 39, 38. Erasmus also makes Arnoldus draw attention to the wife and children left behind by his travelling companion who dies at Rome.

by Menedemus ("stay-at-home") about his experience of pilgrimage.[45] Craig Thompson sums up the interlocutors' relation to Erasmus thus:

> Some of [Ogygius'] remarks are such as Erasmus or any other visitor to those places would share, but others – interpretations or opinions – draw from Menedemus critical or ironical replies we recognize as Erasmian. As author, Erasmus plays both roles; he is Ogygius in description and travelogue, Menedemus in satire and irony. (*Colloquies*, vol. 40, 650)

As this chapter will show, there is much more to this colloquy's discussion of pilgrimage than the tension between the attraction to shrines or holy places and local responsibilities. Erasmus chooses to end the colloquy with this theme, however. To Ogygius' question, "don't you itch to go on these pilgrimages?" Menedemus replies, "I have enough to do by going on my Roman stations."[46] Menedemus appropriates the vocabulary of pilgrims' exertions in Rome and substitutes in the place of their devotions a circuit of domestic duties:

> Here's how I wander about at home. I go into the living room and see that my daughters' chastity is safe. Coming out of there into my shop, I watch what my servants, male and female, are doing. Then to the kitchen, to see if any instruction is needed. From here to one place and another, observing what my children and wife are doing, careful that everything be in order. These are my Roman stations.[47]

Having stated that familial care and financial support are incompatible with the demands of pilgrimage, Menedemus here points out the function of surveillance as a social cement. By fulfilling his responsibilities, which depends upon his constant presence and attention in the home, the father secures not only the continued health and stability of his family, but also the moral conformity and soundness of its members.

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[45] Margaret Aston highlights the import of the colloquy for the primary English pilgrimages, Walsingham and Canterbury, which receive particularly close scrutiny in it. Aston, *England's Iconoclasts*, 197-8.

[46] "[Og:] Sed heus tu, nonne titillat te animus, ut has peregrinationes obeas? ... [Me:] sat habeo stationes obire Romanas." Erasmus, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 5, col. 787d. English translation from Erasmus, *Colloquies*, vol. 40, 650.

[47] "Sic domi obambulo, ingredio conclave, curoque ut salva sit filiarum pudicitia. Rursus hinc in officinam; contemplor quid agant famuli famulaeque: inde in culinam, circumspiciens si quid opus sit admonitu: hinc alio atque alio, observans quid agant liberi, quid uxor, sollicitus ut omnia sint in officio. Hae mihi sunt stationes Romanae." Erasmus, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 1, col. 787d. English translation from Erasmus, *Colloquies*, vol. 40, 650.

The father's abandonment of his family is not the only form of pilgrimage-related irresponsibility that concerns Erasmus. The neglect of a secular or religious leader's responsibilities towards his subjects is criticised three months after the publication of "A Pilgrimage for Religion's Sake," with the first printing of *De utilitate colloquiorum*, a defence of the *Colloquies'* orthodoxy and merit as a pedagogical text.[48] Erasmus voices his contempt for "the superstitious and shameful fancy of some folk who think the essence of holiness is to have visited Jerusalem." Pilgrimaging princes, bishops, husbands and unmarried youths are all subject to Erasmus' criticism. All of these have duties which are incompatible with pilgrimage: the first, to the protection of their realms, the second, to the care of their flocks, the third, to their wives and children, and the last, to their chastity. Erasmus admits that it is not absolutely impossible for spiritual benefit to be gained in a visit to Jerusalem, but repeats his advice to the majority, "in light of the circumstances, to spend their time, money, and labour on other things more conducive to true godliness."[49]

After examining such statements of dissuasion from pilgrimage, it is somewhat confusing to read certain letters recounting Erasmus' own journeys to shrines. In January, 1497, Erasmus writes to Nicolaas Werner to recount his recovery from a quartan fever. This took place, he says, thanks to a visit to the shrine of Saint Geneviève in Paris. Not the physician consulted by Erasmus but the saint alone cured the fever. "Her bones ... daily radiate miracles and are revered."[50] What is even more

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[48] This was a month after the Sorbonne's school of theology had carried a motion of censure against the colloquies, counting 69 passages tainted with error or moral corruption. Although the motion was not printed until 1531, Erasmus was aware of its contents, indicates Thompson in his notes. See Erasmus, *Colloquies*, vol. 40, 1096.

[49] "superstitiosus et immodicus quorundam affectus, qui summam pietatem esse ducunt vidisse *Hierosolymam*." Erasmus, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 1, col. 902f. English translation from Erasmus, *Colloquies*, vol. 40, 1098-1100. Compare similar statements made by Hugh Latimer in 1529: "I promise you, if you build a hundred churches, give as much as you can make to gilding of saints, and honouring of the church; and if thou go as many pilgrimages as thy body can well suffer, and offer as great candles as oaks; if thou leave the works of mercy and the commandments undone, these works shall nothing avail thee." Latimer goes on to specify the necessity of "see[ing] that before your eyes the poor people die not for lack of meat, drink, and clothing." Latimer, *Sermons*, 23-4. Cited by Aston, *England's Iconoclasts*, 169. Aston states that between 1527 and 1532 Latimer stopped just short of professing opinions which exceeded the bounds of orthodoxy. In 1532, he explicitly admitted the lawfulness of pilgrimage but insisted that it was optional, and not to be emphasised ahead of more fundamental obligations. By the autumn of 1538, however, he had "turn[ed] from such criticism of abuses" and become "both the advocate and practitioner of iconoclasm." For Aston's discussion and Latimer's 1532 admission of pilgrimage's lawfulness in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, see Aston, *England's Iconoclasts*, 171-2; Hugh Latimer, *Sermons and Remains of Hugh Latimer*, ed. G. E. Corrie (Cambridge: Parker Society, 1845), 353.

[50] "cuius ossa penes ... cotidie monstris choruscant et adorantur ...." Erasmus penned a poem to the saint in gratitude. Erasmus, *Opus Epistolarum*, vol. 1, cols 164-5. English translation from Erasmus, *Correspondence*, vol. 2, 105-6. Cited by Gomez-Géraud, *Crépuscule du Grand Voyage*, 72.

surprising is that Erasmus recounts, apparently without scepticism, that during his stay in Paris the same saint also brought about a cessation of the rains which had persisted for three months. This apparent enthusiasm for the miraculous properties of relics is hard to reconcile with the dismissive attitude to relics and pilgrimage in writings such as the *Enchiridion* and the *Colloquies*. One might argue that Erasmus underwent a substantial change of attitude toward relics and pilgrimages between early 1497, the date of this letter, and the composition of the *Enchiridion* in 1501. However, when Erasmus writes to Andrea Ammonio in 1512 of his impending pilgrimage to Walsingham, his tone is playful, but contains little scepticism: "I have taken a solemn vow for the happy outcome of the church's affairs. I see you approve my piety already! I am to pay a visit to Our Lady of Walsingham, and I will there hang up a votive offering of a Greek poem."[51] This poem does perhaps contain seeds of the kind of criticisms of frivolous pilgrimage expressed in the *Colloquies*: its pointed inventory of pilgrims' worldly demands for wealth, health, and fatherhood, for example.[52] The emphasis on the simplicity of Erasmus' offering amidst the splendour of the other pilgrims' donations might be designed to criticise implicitly the excess which characterises some shrines. Moreover, the literate and literary nature of the gift highlights the crude and misdirected materiality of the donations of the ignorant. However, the final lines seem to endorse the traditional framework of the pilgrimage:

> But the poor poet, for his well-meant song,
> Bringing these verses only, all he has,
> Asks in reward for his most humble gift
> That greatest blessing, piety of heart,
> And full remission of his many sins.

Erasmus' conclusion expresses confidence that it is possible to balance interior piety with the gesture of pilgrimage. Of course, the problem of pilgrimage's interference

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[51] "Ego, mi Andrea, pro felici rerum ecclesiasticarum successu votum suscepi. Iam scio religionem probas. Visam virginem Vualsingamicam atque illic Graecum votiuum suspendam." Erasmus, *Opus Epistolarum*, vol. 5, 513. English translation from Erasmus, *Correspondence*, vol. 2, 230.

[52] ... some ask a guerdon of good health,
Some riches; others hope that by thy aid
They soon may bear a father's honour'd name,
Or gain the years of Pylus' reverend age.
Translation by J. G. Nichols, cited in "Houses of Austin canons: The priory of Walsingham," *A History of the County of Norfolk: Volume 2* (1906), pp. 394-401.
URL: http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.asp?compid=38291. Date accessed: 28 November 2006.

with local obligations was no issue for a nomadic scholar like Erasmus, with no domestic or parochial responsibilities. In these two letters, Erasmus seem to endorse the notion of the availability of spiritual reward at the pilgrimage shrine which he doggedly undermines in works written expressly for immediate publication.

This discussion has outlined some of the burdens of justification placed on pilgrims over the course of the sixteenth century. As in the *Imitatio Christi* of Thomas à Kempis, the problem of the quality of intention emerges. Criticisms of pilgrimage demonstrate sharpening awareness of possible inconsistencies between the external and internal qualities of an action, between gesture and intention. The default status of pilgrimage as a good work is consequently destabilised; as a result, the pilgrim's motive and mode of execution must be stated and defended. The inclusion of pilgrimage within the category of good works is as energetically reinforced by defenders as it is contested by critics. It thus remains a question for every pilgrim to consider and resolve in his own case. Concerns about the impact of travel on the domestic sphere left behind by the pilgrim oblige him to provide both religious and secular defences of his journey's usefulness for that sphere and to account for the time on the road as having been constructively employed. The way in which statements of the validity and usefulness of travel enter the conventions of travel writing is discussed in further detail in Chapter 4.

The Idea of the Holy Place

Intimately related to debates about pilgrimage as a good work, and yet distinct from these in sixteenth-century religious debates, is the concept of the holy place. As early as the end of the fourth century, there had been challenges to the idea that access to a divine presence is available to a greater degree in one place than in another, or that a place may be sanctified by the events that have taken place in it or the presence of people who have lingered there. In a late fourth-century epistle first translated into Latin in 1551, Gregory of Nyssa doubted the spiritual benefit of the pilgrimage.[53] Gregory refuted the belief that the city of Christ's passion preserves a special sanctity:

[53] See Gomez-Géraud's and Wes Williams' extensive treatments of the life that this epistle took on in the controversies about pilgrimage of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Gomez-Géraud, *Crépuscule du Grand Voyage*, 167-85; Williams, *Pilgrimage and Narrative*, 94-117.

> If there were greater grace in the places of Jerusalem, transgression among men going there would not be so unremarkable. Now indeed there is no kind of impurity, of wickedness, which is not perpetrated by them; adultery, deceit, idolatry, sorcery, hatred, murder.[54]

Reminding his reader of the principle of strict adherence to the prescriptions of the New Testament, Gregory points out that "[God] does not include among righteous things the journey to Jerusalem."[55] Much like Erasmus after him, Gregory concludes that faith, not pilgrimage, procures grace: belief in the truths of Christianity is possible without sight of the locations associated with them (Gregory of Nyssa, 18). He offers as further dissuasion from the pilgrimage its disruption to the solitude, serenity and routine which are fundamental to the holy life. The dangers of evil influence to which such a journey exposes the traveller offset whatever benefits may accrue from the contemplation of sites associated with Christ.

In the *Modus Orandi Deum*, first published in October, 1524, Erasmus sets out similar ideas. He reiterates that one should aim for upward progress from the visible to the invisible in one's spiritual life, as argued in the *Enchiridion*. However, he makes more explicit his conception of how visible things can be effective in the spirit's younger state. This causes him to consider the holy place:

> In the same way we profit from the splendour and religious aura of the church as well as from the sacred vestments and the posture of the body, whether we prostrate ourselves on the ground or lower ourselves on bended knees or look up to heaven with upraised hands. All these can add strength to our prayers, even if God hears them no matter in what place or in what posture they are uttered ....[56]

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[54] "Ad haec, si largior esset in Ierosolymitanis locis gratia, peccatum inter homines ibi adentes non esset familiare. Nunc vero nullum non impuritatis genus apud eos perpetratur; nequitiae, adulteria, furta, idolatriae, veneficia, inuidia, caedes." Gregory of Nyssa, *Gregorii de euntibus Ierosolyma, epistola, Latine versa*, trans. Pierre de Moulin (Paris: 1605), 12.

[55] "[Dominus] profectionem Ierosolyma inter recte facta non retulit." Gregory of Nyssa, *De euntibus Ierosolyma*, 8.

[56] "Eodem conducunt & loci nitor ac religion, & sacra vestis, & corporis habitus sive procumbentis in terram, sive flexis genibus demittentis sese, sive sublatis manibus suspicientis in coelum. Nam haec omnia nonnumquam adjuvant deprecationem nostram, etiam si quicumque loco, quocumque gestu fusam deprecationem audit Deus, sive id in lecto facias cubans, sive in balneo lavans, sice in officina laborans." Erasmus, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 5, col. 1128d. English translation from "Modus Orandi Deum," trans. and annot. John N. Grant, in Erasmus, *Spiritualia and Pastoralia*, ed. John W. O'Malley, *Collected Works of Erasmus*, vol. 70 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 216.

There is no special efficacy in the location in which a prayer is made, according to Erasmus, but the place can help the believer bring solemnity and intensity to prayer.[57] Erasmus thus returns attention to inward intention over external action.

Devotional space is to be publicly endorsed even by those who have made the transition to concentration on invisible things because their participation has consequences for the community, as Erasmus states immediately afterward:

> Nevertheless, while we are saying the traditional, established prayers we should not neglect the physical acts of worship out of consideration for the weak, since they profit from such rituals. We should participate in the ceremonies in such a way that others too are encouraged to pray.[58]

The spiritually mature Christian should participate in an action which no longer galvanises his piety for the sake of the community of Christians who still require such outward and visible supports.

While the *Enchiridion* acknowledges the possibility that particular places or spaces can confer solemnity or concentration in prayer, elsewhere Erasmus satirises the misconceived belief that the efficacy of prayer depends on the location in which it occurs. In "*Naufragium*," or "The Shipwreck," first published in the August 1523 edition of the *Colloquies*, Adolphus, survivor of a shipwreck, describes to Antonius the precautions taken by his fellow passengers to ensure their physical safety and their bargains with the saints and the Virgin. Predominant among these is the making of vows to carry out pilgrimages to particular shrines, where substantial offerings are to be made. The vows overheard by Adolphus are phrased to emphasise that they are not based on pure faith in the intercessory powers of the saints or the Virgin but tied to particular objects and places. "Some promised many things to the wood of the cross at such and such a place; others, again, to that in some other place. The same with respect to the Virgin Mary, who reigns in many places – and they think the vow worthless unless you specify the place." The messenger of More's *Dialogue*, targeting not Jerusalem but more minor, local pilgrimages argues that pilgrims' efforts to pray

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[57] This is consistent with Margery Kempe's and Bridget of Sweden's visions at the holy places which, though indifferent to the appearance of these places, are informed, shaped and intensified by their location.

[58] "in solennibus tamen precationibus non oportet negligere corporales caeremonias propter infirmos, quibus istiusmodi conducunt: sed his caeremoniis utendum est, quae provocant & alios ad orandum." Erasmus, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 5, col. 1128d. English translation from Erasmus, *Spiritualia and Pastoralia*, 216.

at certain sites not only place an undue emphasis on location but even approach idolatry:

> we make it seme that god and his sayntes stode in this place and that place bounde to this post & that post cut out & carued in ymages. For whan we reken our selfe to be better herde with our lorde in kent than at Cambrydge / at the north dore of Poules than at the south dore / at one ymage of our Lady than at another / is it not an euydent token and in maner a playne profe / that we put our trust and confidence in the ymage selfe / and not in god or our lady? (More, 52)

The belief that prayers uttered in a particular place or in front of a particular image have special efficacy depends on an assumption that God's ubiquity and omniscience are limited, or at least inconsistently distributed, the messenger argues.[59] Indeed, this belief, which provides an important motive for pilgrimage, can lead to the attachment of faith to the very object or place rather than the intercessor commemorated there.

To counter this argument, More distinguishes between the idea of a holy place, where the act of consecration to God differentiates the space from what is around it, and a belief in the automatic agency of a plot of magical ground:

> they that gone on pylgrymage do nothynge lyke to those nygromancers / to whome ye resemble them that put theyr confydence in the roundell and cercle on the grounde ... / what lykenes hath that vnto the goynge of good men vnto holy places / not by enchauntment dedicat to the deuyll / but by goddys holy ordynaunce with his holy wordys consecratyd vnto hym selfe. (More, 55)

If one doubts the legitimacy of the place deemed holy, it is a very small step to dismissing as superstitious "all the deuout rytys and cerymonyes of the chyrch," although many of the practices which More then lists as examples were eventually to be proscribed by reformers.[60] More's defence then turns for a time, with the mobility which characterises such discussions, towards an apology for images, which I treat below. He soon returns to the question of the holy place, however, demonstrating that

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[59] G. E. Corrie notes the resonance between comments on images in More's *Dialogue* and the comments in Bishop Hugh Latimer's Second Sermon before Convocation, June 9, 1536: "Do you think that this preferring of picture to picture, image to image, is the right use, and not rather the abuse, of image?" Latimer, *Sermons*, 53.

[60] For example, the 1552 prayer book prohibited the prayer of exorcism just before baptism, as well as the gestures of the cross made at the moment of consecration of the eucharistic bread and wine. See Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 473.

the messenger's criticism, if accepted, would have repercussions beyond the pilgrimage:

> Where ye saye that in resortynge to this place and that place / this ymage and that ymage / we seme to reken as though god were not in euery place lyke myghty / or not lyke present / this reason procedeth no more agaynst pylgrymagys than agaynst all the chyrchys in crystendom. For god is as myghty in the stable as in the temple. And as he is not comprehensyble nor cyrcumscrybed no where / so is he present euery where.[61]

Just as heaven, however we conceive of it, is "the place of a specyall maner & kynde of his presence," God has shown a willingness to be "specyally present" in the temple of Jerusalem or in the Ark of the covenant. But the heart of a man is the dwelling place of Christ, counters the messenger, and "god is not included nor shyt in any place." More agrees that God may be worshipped everywhere, "but this excludyth not / that besydes that / he wyll be worsshyppyd in his holy temple" (57). What would be the logical conclusion of a prohibition of churches on the grounds that they aspire to contain God in a temple of stone? Now More has shifted the ground of the argument so that he can use the importance of the collective act of worship as a defence for the observation of holy places. If men were to cease to go to churches and to God's service on the grounds that God may be worshipped everywhere, their faith and adherence to religion would soon fall away (More, 58-9). The quality of worship among a group of the faithful in a place designated for that purpose is exceptional and supports devotion. Although More's opponents would undoubtedly have contested this defence of the holy place, the special, heightened effects of worshipping among other pilgrims at the very site of the Resurrection were later acknowledged even by the Protestant George Sandys, who visited in 1611.[62] Furthermore, although it is a mystery which cannot be explained by men, the miracles worked by God in certain places demonstrate that He means for men to congregate there, for their faith to be strengthened in particular places (More, 60-1).

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[61] More, *Dialogue*, pt. 1, 57. Compare the remarks on the holy place in Tyndale's *Answer to More's Dialogue*, highlighted by Margaret Aston: "To believe that God will be sought more in one place than in another, or that God will hear thee more in one place than in another, or more where the image is than where it is not, is a false faith, and idolatry, and image-service." William Tyndale, *An Answer to Sir Thomas More's Dialogue*, ed. H. Walter (Cambridge: Parker Society, 1850), 63, 88. Cited by Aston, *England's Iconoclasts*, 184.

[62] See Chapter 4, 368 below.

The idea of the holy place (whose validity the projects of crusade and late medieval pilgrimage assumed) thus comes under rigorous scrutiny in the sixteenth century, although Gregory of Nyssa's fourth-century epistle gives evidence of the antiquity of similar criticism. The belief in the efficacy of a holy place is put under intense pressure, and Erasmus' distinctions as to proper use of a sanctified place return attention from the material plane to inward devotion. More's robust defences of the idea of the holy place and Erasmus' admission of its potential to galvanise the spiritually immature ensure the survival of the idea. Nonetheless, critics as well as defenders of pilgrimage alike have to incorporate elements of compromise and qualification in their positions in the controversies.

Relics

Relics and holy places occupy a similar position in relation to Christ and the saints: they both provide a physical interface to holiness and divinity in defiance of absence, martyrdom or the passage of time. While we have seen that More is able to dispatch the messenger's challenges to the idea of the holy place promptly and efficiently, the veneration of relics raises more complex criticisms. These include the implausibility and unverifiability of relics, the incongruity of frivolous or sordid relics with the dignity of the saints they represent, the promotion of relics over the Eucharist as material embodiments of a divine or holy presence, and the fact that physical mementoes of saints or holy places distract from reminders of salvation through ordinances in the New Testament. Since several Protestant travellers to Jerusalem after the Reformation write about relics, using them as objects of evidence of their travels and anecdotes or, conversely, as pretexts for demonstrating their hostility to practices involved in the Franciscan pilgrimage, the precise nature of Reformation attacks on relics requires some examination.

The very wealth of relics available to eager pilgrims in western Christendom provokes scepticism among their critics. Erasmus pointed out in his annotations on chapter 23 of the gospel of Matthew, first published in 1516, that the fragments venerated as the wood of the cross, if assembled, would fill a merchant vessel, a

criticism repeated by Ogygius in "A Pilgrimage for Religion's Sake."[63] More's messenger also uses the phenomenon of multiplication against relics:

> There be some [saints] agayne th*a*t haue two bodyes / to lende one to some good felowe th*a*t lacketh. For as I sayd before / some one body lyeth hole in two placys far a sonder / or els the monkys of the one be begyled.... Now muste we confesse / that eyther the myracles [which prove their authenticity] at the one place be false or done by the deuyll / or ellys that the same saynt had two bodyes in dede. (More, 217)

The variety of More's statements in reply cannot be represented here, but the arguments converge toward three main points. First, complaints about false relics are not logically followed by the conclusion that saints and saints' relics must not be worshipped, but that "the worshyppyng of such as were no sayntys / nor no sayntys relykes" is to be prohibited. Second, less harm accrues from tending towards faith than towards scepticism. Third, God reveals his approval of the veneration of relics by the working of miracles (More, 217-25).

Martin takes up the second and third arguments in his treatise defending pilgrimage. Martin cites Gregory Nazianzen, who asserts that readiness to believe comes of a pleasing simplicity; scepticism proceeds from arrogance (Martin, fol. C1v). Those determined suspecters of relics are compared unfavourably with St. Thomas:

> They can be as stoute as S. Thomas to auouche and to sweare it, that they wyll not beleeue, vnles they put their fingers in the verie print of the nayles. But when the thing is so euident & palpable, that in deede they may see, touch, & handle the glorious myracles wrought at holie places, as it were the marks of martyrs blood, and certen prints of Christes nayles left to vs by the vertue of his passion, they are farre from the heauenly affection that Thomas felt, when he brake out with hart & voise into this goodly confession, *Dominus meus & Deus meus.* (Martin, fol. C3r)

Recalling Pope Leo's letter to Juvenal, Martin represents indifference to relics as a determined refusal of divinely-sanctioned and self-evident supports for faith.[64]

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[63] Erasmus, *Erasmus' Annotations on the New Testament: The Gospels. Facsimile of the Final Latin Text (1535) with All Earlier Variants (1516, 1519, 1522 and 1527)*, ed. Anne Reeve (London: Gerald Duckworth, 1986), 92. Ogygius explains the phenomenon with the assertion that "the Lord, who multiplies these things as he wills, is omnipotent." Erasmus, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 1, col. 778b. ("cum Dominus, qui haec auget pro suo arbitrio, sit omnipotens." English translation from Erasmus, *Colloquies*, vol. 40, 632.)

Of miracles as confirmation of God's approval of relics, Martin says, "Marke I say how exceedinglye such deuotion pleaseth God, wheras he confirmed it so long agoe by myracles" (Martin, fol. C5r). Moreover, there is a prestigious tradition of venerating relics. Great men such as Augustine, Paulinus, Leo and Gregory used to send to one another "*panes benedictos, imagunculas, particulas terrae sanctae, particulam Dominicae Crucis cum eulogiis*" as signs of their affection, confirming the respect owed to relics.[65] Martin does not deny that such practices are subject to a hierarchy of priority and that they occupy a low position on it: "although by their excellent knowledge of scripture they understood all diuine misteries ... yet they [that is, Augustine, Paulinus, Leo and Gregory] gladly vsed to practise their deuotion by these lesser meanes also" (fol. C6r-v).

If saints' relics are "lesser meanes" of devotion, Martin nonetheless sees the attention paid to them as absolutely fundamental to the practice of pilgrimage:

> [Why visit the bodies of saints?] Because they caried the markes of Christ. This is it that causeth Pilgrimage. This consideration, for the loue of Christ and the honour of him, inflamed this godly Father [St John Chrysostom] and all the beste Christians in the Primitiue Church, to loue sacred monume*n*ts, to be desirous to see them, to goe farre and neere vnto them, to touch, to kisse, to licke them, to weepe in the place, to conceive such a lyuely imagination of thinges done there by Christ or his Saynts, and withall such a sensible feeling of heauenly deuotion, that it was a payne to remoue from thence, a death to dwell farre of. (Martin, fol. A6r-v)

The bodies of saints are given as the first cause of the pilgrimage in this passage since they embody testimonies to Christ's passion and offer of salvation. Martin's apology for pilgrimage then widens its focus to include the holy places and their monuments, emphasising the emotional charge and spiritual intimacy which they offer the pilgrim. Relics are powerful stimuli to memory, commemoration, devotion and closeness to God and the saints although they contain no intrinsic efficacy.

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[64] See Chapter 2, 177 above.

[65] Martin translates, "halowed bread, litle images of Christ, our Ladye, and the Apostles; some portion of the holy land, and ... a litle piece of our Lords Crosse with blessings adioyned." Colin Morris comments that the meaning of such practices was not merely religious. "Their devotional meaning was dove-tailed into the social structure of the period [that is, of the second half of the fourth century to the sixth century]. International gift-giving and exchange of letters helped to create the network of holy places that we have already observed as characteristic of the new Christendom." Morris, *Sepulchre of Christ*, 83-5.

Erasmus' colloquy "A Pilgrimage for Religion's Sake" recounts the response of one of Martin's "doubters": that is, the scepticism and disgust manifested by "Gratianus Pullus" (John Colet) at the relics shown at the shrine of St. Thomas à Becket at Canterbury. Ogygius is gripped by "shame and alarm" (*et pudor et timor*) at Gratianus' open defiance of the relics. In another rendering of the same incident in the *Modus orandi deum* (first published October, 1524), however, Erasmus expresses in the first person feelings similar to those attributed to Colet in the colloquy:

> What superstition there is in many places when the relics of the saints are shown! In England the shoe of St. Thomas, the former bishop of Canterbury, is offered to be kissed. This shoe perhaps belonged to a jester, and even if it is Thomas' what is sillier than to venerate a man's shoe? When they were showing the torn pieces of linen with which he is said to have wiped his nose and the little case that contained them was opened, I myself saw the abbot and all the others who were standing up to take the posture of worship; they were filled with reverence, they fell to their knees and even raised their hands. John Colet, who was with me, thought this shameful. I thought we should put up with it until the opportunity to correct it without causing civil uproar should present itself.[66]

Erasmus here calls into question the authenticity of the relics, but also reports a sense of lack of propriety between the prestige of the saint and the mundane objects through which he is commemorated. Nevertheless, the need to avoid scandal constrains him from objecting at the moment and in the place of display; his criticism is deferred and channelled into written forms.[67]

The problem of spurious and incongruously coarse relics is given comical treatment in a play of the early 1530s. It appears in the context of a generally

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[66] "In ostentandis Sanctorum reliquiis, quantum in plerisque locis superstitionis est? In Anglia offerunt osculandum calceum divi *Thomae*, quondam Episcopi Cantuariensis: qui forte calceus est alicuius balatronis: & ut sit, quid ineptius quam adorare calceum hominis? Vidi ipse quum ostentarent linteola lacra, quibus ille dicitur abstersisse muccum narium, Abbatem ac caetero qui adstabant, aperto scriniolo venerabundos procidere ad genua, ac manibus etiam sublatis, adorationem gestu repraesentare. Ista Joanni Coleto, nam is mecum aderat, videbantur indigna, mihi ferenda videbantur, donec se daret opportunitas, ea citra tumultum corrigendi." Erasmus, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 5, cols. 119f-1120a. English translation from Erasmus, *Spiritualia and Pastoralia*, 198.

[67] Criticism of relics on the same grounds is also advanced by the author of a preface to the English translation of "A Pilgrimage for Religion's Sake." A breathless, confused and dismissive list of objects venerated by pilgrims emphasises the proliferation of relics, which was a factor in Erasmus' own criticisms. At the same time, however, the preface condemns the impulse to take the initiative in unsanctioned removal, showing awareness of the potentially destabilising effect of encouraging unauthorised iconoclasm. Erasmus, *A Dialoge of communication .... intituled the pylgremage of pure deuotyon. Newly translated unto Englishe* (1536?), ╬3v.

supportive engagement with the practice of pilgrimage as a means of seeking salvation. John Heywood's *Four PP* addresses criticisms of pilgrimage but ultimately endorses the practice as a work of spiritual efficacy. In the course of the play, probably composed between 1528 and 1530, a Palmer, a Pardoner and a "'Pothecary" vie among themselves for the position of superiority in front of a judge, the Pedlar, each arguing that the enterprise which he represents is most effective in bringing men to heaven, and then competing for the prize in a lying contest.[68] The Pardoner trumpets his wares to his interlocutors:

> Frendes, here shall ye se evyn anone
> Of All Hallows the blessyd jaw bone –
> Kys it hardely with good devocion! (Heywood, 124, ll. 496-8)

He also offers "the great toe of the Trinite," for the cure of toothache, and the "buttocke bone of Pentecoste" (124-5, ll. 508-13, 521-3). Heywood's Pardoner's spurious relics recall the pig and sheep bones and stones of Chaucer's Pardoner, the pillow-case presented by him as the Virgin's veil, and the piece of St. Peter's sail. The association also underlines the cupidity in Heywood's Pardoner's sale of dubious pardons.[69] However, the comedy of Heywood's Pardoner's spurious relics exceeds that of Chaucer's Pardoner, residing as it does in the incongruity of the essentially incorporeal abstraction embodied in fragmentary relics. Heywood thus gives vent to criticisms voiced by sceptics like Erasmus of relics for which outrageous claims are made. By this parodic exaggeration, however, Heywood simultaneously protects more reputable relics: the extravagant logical impossibility of the Pardoner's wares distracts from arguments about the authenticity of more plausible relics.

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[68] John Heywood, *The Plays of John Heywood*, ed. Richard Axton and Peter Happé (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1991), 111-42. Axton and Happé believe Heywood's play to have been composed at roughly the same time as More's *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* on the grounds that "the defence of pilgrimage and the dramatic authority given to the Palmer's final utterance" (which endorses obedience to the "Church universal" and concludes the play) are consonant with More's position. Axton and Happé posit an edition by Rastell around 1533 which has not survived; the earliest extant edition is that of William Middleton, datable to around 1544. See their "Introduction," 42, 45. Axton and Happé are followed in this by Greg Walker, *The Politics of Performance in Early Renaissance Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 77. Pollard and Redgrave give two subsequent editions: one probably dating to 1560 and one dating to 1569. Alfred W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475-1640*, 2nd ed., 3 vols. (London: Bibliographical Society, 1986), vol. 1, 581. The publication of a play cautiously supportive of the practice of pilgrimage twice in the decade after Elizabeth I's injunctions against it is remarkable. Axton and Happé note on p. 10 of their introduction that a reference to masses and prayers for the dead was omitted in the 1560 and 1569 editions.

[69] Geoffrey Chaucer, "The Canterbury Tales," in *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. Larry D. Benson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), General Prologue, 34, ll. 694-700 and Pardoner's Prologue, 194, ll. 347-51.

In his annotations on chapter 23 of the Gospel of Matthew, to which I have already referred, Erasmus takes Christ's condemnation of the Pharisees as his starting point for a discussion of excessively materially-oriented devotional practices, which immediately leads him to the question of relics. First he recalls how Jerome, in his own annotations on this chapter, condemned the practice among "mere women" (*muliercularum*) of using text from the Gospels or fragments of the wood of the cross as talismans (Erasmus, *Annotations*, 92). The failure to join knowledge to zeal is at the root of such misguided practices.[70] Erasmus extends this to other relics and other uses of them. Before reiterating his concerns about frivolous, incongruous or implausible relics, he speculates on the displeasure with which Jerome would react

> if he saw today displayed for profit everywhere the milk of Mary, which they make equal in honour to the consecrated body of Christ? The wonderful oil, the fragments of the wood of the cross, so multitudinous, that if they were gathered in a heap, scarcely one merchant vessel might bear it?[71]

Erasmus' discomfort with the veneration of these relics proceeds, then, not only from the multiplication of relics which diminishes the likelihood that they are authentic, but also from the promotion of such relics above their proper place in a hierarchy of prestige so that they rival the primacy of the Eucharist.[72]

Relics can compete not only with the Eucharist but also with the cherishing of the word of God. Erasmus complains of the latter in the *Enchiridion*, and sets about restoring the order of priority. Not long after asserting the superiority of spiritual *imitatio* over place pilgrimage, Erasmus refers to pilgrimage and related practices in an extended discussion in which the witness of holy relics is rhetorically balanced with the testimony of the Gospels. He begins by asking how there can be any validity in a faith which leads men to venerate the lifeless relics of Saint Paul ("which I do not condemn"), but allows them to neglect "his living image still speaking and breathing, as it were, in his writings":

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[70] "Quae habent, inquit, zelum dei, sed non iuxta scientia ...." ("These have godly zeal, [Jerome] says, but it is not joined to knowledge ....") Erasmus, *Annotations*, 92.

[71] "si uideat hodie passim ad quaestum ostentari lac Mariae, quod honore propemodum aequant corpori Christi consecrato? Prodigiosum oleum, fragmentula ligni crucis, tam multa, ut si in aceruum redigantur, uix una nauis onerarie uehat: hic ostentari Francisci cucullam, illic intimam uestem Mariae uirginis, alibi pectinem Annae, alibi caligam Ioseph, alibi calceum Thomae Cantuariensis, alibi Christi praeputium: quod cum sit res incerta, religiosus adorant, quam totum Christum." Erasmus, *Annotations*, 92.

[72] On this question see also Gomez-Géraud, *Crépuscule du Grand Voyage*, 81-3.

> Adoras ossa Pauli in loculis condita, non adoras mentem Pauli, in scriptis latentem? Magni facis fragmentum corporis, per vitrum perspicuum, & non miraris totum animum Pauli per litteras pellucentem?[73]

Erasmus eventually turns his attention to a similar paradox in the veneration of Christ's word:

> Ut nihil Patri similius, quam Filius, Patris verbum, ex intimo illius corde promanans: ita Christo nihil similius, quam Christi verbum de pectoris illius sanctissimi adytis redditum. Et hanc imaginem non miraris, non adoras, non oculis piis collustras, non animo amplecteris? Tam sanctas, tam efficaces habes Domini tui reliquias; & his neglectis, multo quaeris alieniora? Attonitus spectas tunicam aut sudarium quod fertur Christi, & somniculosus legis oracula Christi? ... si ista faciunt religiosum, quid religiosus Judaeis? Quorum impiissimi plerique Jesum tamen in carne viventem oculis viderunt, auribus audierunt, manibus contrectarunt ....[74]

The careful construction of balanced sentences opposes the adoration of relics to the veneration of scripture but also gestures towards a parallelism: they both provide an interface to Jesus and Saint Paul. Erasmus frames the relationship between scripture, on the one hand, and Christ and Saint Paul on the other, as one of kinship and of witness; the same kind of relationship that gives meaning to the relic. Erasmus contains and appropriates the power of relics and of the practices bound up with pilgrimage and diverts them toward an evangelical piety. He attempts to cultivate enthusiasm for scripture by explicating it as a holy relic.

The "Preface to the Reader" which accompanies Erasmus' *Novum instrumentum,* or New Testament, takes further this transferred use of the vocabulary of relics. Just as fruit tastes better plucked straight from the tree,

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[73] Erasmus, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 5, col. 31a-b. "You worship the bones of Paul preserved in a relic casket, but do not worship the mind of Paul hidden away in his writings? You make much of a piece of his body visible through a glass covering, and you do not marvel at the whole mind of Paul shining through his writings?" English translation from Erasmus, "Enchiridion," 72.

[74] Erasmus, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 5, col. 32. "Just as nothing is more like the Father than the Son, the Word of the Father emanating from the innermost recesses of his spirit, so nothing is more like Christ than the word of Christ uttered in the innermost sanctuary of his most holy mind. And you do not gaze with wonder upon this image, do not worship it, scan it with reverent eyes, treasure it in your mind? With such holy and efficacious relics of the Lord at your disposal, do you regard them and seek out much more extraneous ones? You gaze with awe at what is purported to be the tunic or shroud of Christ, and you read the oracles of Christ apathetically? ... If such things constitute religion, who could be more religious than the Jews? Even the most impious among them saw Jesus living in the flesh with their own eyes, heard him with their own ears, and touched him with their own hands." English translation from Erasmus, "Enchiridion," 72-3.

> the Scriptures have about them some sort of natural fragrance, they breathe something genuine and peculiarly their own, when read in the language in which they were first written by those, some of whom took them down from those divine and sacred lips, and some bequeathed them to us under the influence of the same Spirit.[75]

Erasmus appeals to the immediacy of scripture, with its lively figuring of Christ, as a rival to the external ceremonies of pilgrimage. Erasmus' representation of scripture is phrased so as to make it satisfy the same need which relics fulfil: the embodiment of the divine in the material, the provision of a visible interface with God. He even borrows the image of the fragrance and perfumed oil which emanate miraculously from saint's bodies and relics. Relics are an imperfect, inadequate simulacrum compared to the New Testament: "But even could you produce his every garment and all the furniture of his mother's home, there is nothing that can so exactly represent, so vividly express, so completely show forth Christ as the writings of the evangelists and apostles."[76] Nonetheless, Erasmus' attempted substitution draws attention to the capacity of both relics and scripture to function in analogous ways as commemorative and devotional stimuli. Although Erasmus' project is to discourage attention to relics, his repeated use of them here reveals that he perceives them as exerting a formidable and enviable power over the simple Christian, and as offering a means of access to God which may be profitably diverted toward scripture.[77]

In a 1552 sermon, as Colin Morris points out, not just relics but the very practice of pilgrimage was appropriated by Bishop Hugh Latimer and diverted toward spiritual evolution (*Sepulchre of Christ*, 365). The sermon on chapter 5 of the gospel of Matthew, delivered by Latimer on All Saints' Day, substitutes for the "popish

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[75] "ita diuinae literae nescio quid habent natiuae fragrantiae, nescio quid spirant suum ac genuinum, si eo sermone legantur quo primum scripserunt ii qui partim e sacri illo ac coelesti hauserunt ore, partim eiusdem afflati spiritu nobis tradiderunt." Erasmus, *Opus Epistolarum*, vol. 2, 170. English translation from Erasmus, *Correspondence*, vol. 3, 203.

[76] "Atqui vt vniuersas illius vestes et totam maternae domus supellectilem proferas, nihil est quod Christum expressius, efficacius, absolutius referat, exprimat, repraesentet quam Euangelistarum et Apostolorum literae." Erasmus, *Opus Epistolarum*, vol. 2, 170. English translation from Erasmus, *Correspondence*, vol. 3, 203.

[77] Indeed, it is precisely the resemblance of relics and scripture – here in their provision of access to the divine – that makes the pilgrimage dangerous. Erasmus says of the desire for physical knowledge of Christ, or for access to him, "Verum id eo facio accuratius, neque sine gravi causa, quod re ipsa compertum habeam, hunc errorem communem esse pestem totius Christianismi, quae vel hoc graviorem perniciem adfert, quod specie quidem pietati proxima est." Erasmus, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 5, col. 32. ("I have found out from experience that this error is the common plague of all Christianity and is all the more insidious because in appearance it bears a great resemblance to piety." English translation from Erasmus, "Enchiridion," 73.)

pilgrimage" the eight miles or eight days' journey of the beatitudes.[78] Morris notes that "Latimer preserved the language of pilgrimage while making it an expression for spiritual progress instead of geographical travel" (C. Morris, *Sepulchre of Christ*, 365).

Even as critics of pilgrimage and its subsidiary practice of relic-veneration seek to channel devotional energy into scripturally- or sacramentally-oriented practices, not materially-oriented ones, the sense persists that the pilgrimage is powerful as an image and as a source of vocabulary. Such expropriation is explicitly resisted by Gregory Martin. He begins his treatise with a careful definition of the term "peregrination."

> Pilgrymage com*m*inge of the latyne worde *peregrinatio*, is nothinge elis in this presente case which now I mene to write of, but going of deuotion to visite some holy monument of Christ or his Saints, as to *Hierusalem,* to *Rome,* to *Compostella.* To the which places because there hath bene alwaies great resort of strangers (in latin *peregrini*) out of all Christian countries, wherof is it that we say, *Pilgrimes* of *Hierusalem*, of *Rome*, of *Compostella*, that is, straungers and religious trauelers to those places. (Martin, fol. A1r)

It is not to be confused with secular travel, in which a journey is undertaken without the primary intention of paying respects to Christ either directly, or through his saints:

> In this respect to goe to *Hierusalem*, to trauaile to *Rome*, is a very frutefull Pilgrimage. Otherwise to goe to see strange countryes, gaye buildinges, prophane antiquities, to learne tongues, yea and as some traytours doe, to espye faultes, sometyme it is sinfull, and neuer to be called Pilgrimage. (Martin, fol. A4v-A5r)

Could this be a rebuke to accounts such as that of Anthony Munday [1560-1633], who travelled to Rome and enjoyed the hospitality of the English College there for two and a half months in 1579? Munday disowns pious motives in the opening chapter of his *English Roman Life*, first published in 1582, in terms which correspond closely to those of Martin's *Treatise*: "desire to see strange countries, as also affection to learn the languages, had persuaded me to leave my native country, and not any

[78] Hugh Latimer, *Fruitfull sermons preached by the right reuerend Father, and constant martyr of Iesus Christ M. Hugh Latimer, newly imprinted with others not heretofore set forth in print ...* (London: John Daye, 1584), fols. 187-93.

other intent or cause, God is my record."[79] Gregory Martin served as chaplain of the English College at Rome from 1576 to 1578 as it was being converted from a hospice to an institution for the education of priests, and his preoccupation with the city is evident in his work entitled *Roma Sancta*, which extolled the devotional culture of the city.[80] By 1594, when Fynes Moryson was travelling, English Protestant travellers as well as Catholic exiles were welcomed into the College and protected by Cardinal Allen, although Moryson attributes this to the failure of the Spanish Armada and of hope for the reconversion of England to Catholicism in 1588 (Moryson, *Itinerary*, pt. 1, 121-2). Perhaps Martin's definition of the "frutefull Pilgrimage" is informed by his encounters with Protestant educational travellers. Moreover, by the date of the *Treatise*, and for over a decade before, Martin was himself a *peregrinus* in the sense of living in exile from his native country on account of religion.[81] This fact may explain Martin's desire to reserve the term "pilgrimage" for travel for the sake of religion, rather than for the secular journeys which might be deemed frivolous and light in comparison. Martin patrols the bounds of the term's meaning against strategic incursions by Erasmus and reformers who succeeded him.[82] It continued to be contested in spite of his efforts, however, and Chapter 4 investigates ongoing debates about the classification and definition of pilgrimage in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

Arguments about the incongruity of certain relics are not directly relevant to the Jerusalem pilgrimage, which depends less on saints' bodies for its sacral charge than on holy places and the imprints of Christ, the saints and the prophets on its terrain. If late medieval Jerusalem pilgrimage narratives mention relics, they are usually relics taken from the monuments of the holy places and the land itself. The criticism of Erasmus that the impulse to go on pilgrimage to venerate relics distracts from attention to scripture or the Eucharist does have negative consequences,

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[79] Anthony Munday, *The English Roman Life*, ed. Philip J. Ayres (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), 5. Ayres dismisses the belief of Munday's biographer Celeste Turner (Wright) that Munday was a Catholic convert in his "Introduction," xiv.

[80] *DNB*, 2004 ed., s.v. "Gregory Martin."

[81] In the letter to his sisters, Martin gestures to the sacrifices of status, kinship and companionship involved in the adherence to his religion: "And were I so mad thinke you to forsake all preferment, all liuinges, all estimation, to liue from my good Mother, from you my louinge Sisters and your husbandes, from other my deere frendes and companions, out of mine owne most pleasant countrie, would I doe this thinke you, but that my learning & my conscience telleth me, that to folow your religion is present danger of body and soule ...?" Martin, *Treatyse of Christian Peregrination*, fol. [18]v.

[82] The phrase "religionis ergo" which describes Ogygius' "peregrinatio," for example, implies the existence of other kinds of peregrination.

however, for the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, whose very landscape, as well as the objects in its churches, constitutes a network of relics. This attack goes to the heart of an important defence of pilgrimage as a stimulus to devotion, that is, the belief (confirmed by the narratives of Margery's and Bridget's experiences in Jerusalem) that the pilgrimage facilitates emotional engagement and spiritual intimacy with Christ and the Father. According to Erasmus' criticisms, pilgrimage is a distraction from such intimacy and engagement, not a catalyst to it.

In spite of Martin's resistance to transferred uses of the vocabulary of pilgrimage, we can see that this vocabulary is turned to the purpose of advertising scripture as a concrete means of encountering the divine. As I acknowledged in Chapters 1 and 2, the topos of pilgrimage has described the spiritual quest as long as it has described the journey to the holy place, so that the use of pilgrimage to refer to non-spatially-oriented spiritual encounters is not without precedent. Erasmus' use, however, which refers so explicitly to the objects – images, fragrant relics – of the pilgrimage shrine, aspires not to co-existence with place pilgrimage but to substitution. The attempts of Erasmus and Latimer to divert the apparatus and terminology of place pilgrimage towards an evangelical piety provide precedents for efforts of a similar nature by seventeenth-century travellers. Paradoxically, however, Erasmus and Latimer pay tribute to the real potency of pilgrimage objects and terms for many of the devout by making recourse to them. In Chapter 4 I will ask whether it is possible to identify any susceptibility to these objects and terms in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century travel accounts.

Indulgences

We have seen that indulgences constitute a major preoccupation for late medieval English travellers to Jerusalem; they are prominent also in the narratives of early modern travellers, although there they take on a very different quality. It is curious then that, with the exception of Heywood's treatment of pilgrimage and pardons, indulgences are not more prominent in the polemical writing about pilgrimage. They are, of course, the topic which moved Luther to his criticism of traditional religion and gave the impulse to the reforms and schisms which ensued. Where they are treated in the same place as pilgrimage, it is often in a list of miscellaneous dubious

practices. So, for example, Foxe often refers to them in long lists of present participles designating features of traditional religious observance, which he describes as "corporall, & externe matters & ceremoniall obseruations, nothing co*n*ducing to any spirituall purpose" [the following list is only partial]:

> hearing, seing, saying, touching, tasting, numbring of beades, gilding & worshipping Images, building monasteries, rising at midnight, silence in cloysters, absteining from flesh & white meat, fasting in Lent, keeping Imberdayes, hearing masse & diuine seruice, seing & adoring the body in forme of bread, receiuing holy water, & holy bread, creeping to the crosse, carying palmes, taking ashes, bearing candles, pilgrimage going, sensing, kneeling, knocking, aultars, superaltars, candlestickes, pardons ....[83]

The practices of pilgrimage and pardons are also included by William Tyndale in a miscellaneous list of mistaken works enjoined by Roman Catholics: "to fast, to go pilgrimages and give so much to make satisfaction withal. They preach their masses, their merits, their pardons, their ceremonies and put the promise clean out of possession."[84] Although Tyndale devotes several pages to an attack on the Pope's claim to grant indulgences earlier in this text, there is no reference there to pilgrimage (Tyndale, *Obedience*, 122-6). Indulgences do have their place in discussion of pilgrimage in Erasmus' *Colloquies*. In "Rash Vows," the indulgences held by one of Arnold's pilgrim companions who died in Florence are exposed to satirical treatment. The disparity between this pilgrim's insufficient devotion and his numerous indulgences, purchased at Rome, move Arnold and Cornelius to doubt the safety of his soul, and to scorn the fact that "he pinned his whole hope of salvation, so to speak, on a piece of parchment instead of a moral life."[85] The inconsistency between intention to reform and confidence in indulgences is reiterated in "De utilitate": "Nor do I condemn papal indulgences or briefs there, but I do reprove the utterly frivolous

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[83] John Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* ... (1583 edition) (hriOnline, Sheffield), [http://www.hrionline.shef.ac.uk/foxe/, cited May 2 2007]. The reference appears on fol. ¶2r of the Preface, renumbered p. 19 in the online edition.

[84] Tyndale, *Obedience*, 134. In Tyndale's critique of pilgrimage in an adjacent passage (quoted on pp. 206-5 above), the dismissed possibility of "purchasing forgiveness of [one's] sins" could refer to purchase to the seeking of indulgences as well as to good works understood independently of them. His scorn is palpable, in any case.

[85] "salutis suae proram, ut ajunt, ac puppim in membrana collocavit potius, quam in correctis affectibus." Erasmus, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 1, col. 640b. English translation from Erasmus, *Colloquies*, vol. 39, 39. See also the playful discussion of the perplexing arithmetic of partial indulgences in "A Pilgrimage for Religion's Sake." Erasmus, *Colloquies*, vol. 40, 635-6; Erasmus, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 1, col. 780a-c.

man who, without even a thought of mending his life, puts his whole hope in human pardons." Erasmus goes on to lament the damage done to laymen's devotion by those who press indulgences on them for financial gain and by those who pursue pardons without an understanding of their proper use.[86]

Common concerns that certain popular devotional practices may invite corrupt economic transactions or superstitious beliefs in the automatic efficacy of objects link pilgrimage and indulgences, even if they are not discussed together in the debates which have been considered here. They converge in early modern narratives about Jerusalem, however, where indulgences are discussed in the context of pilgrimage, as Chapter 4 will demonstrate.[87]

Images

As I have already indicated, it is not possible here to address comprehensively the extensive literature, both early modern and modern, on the controversies surrounding images over the course of the Reformation.[88] Some very brief discussion of them is required, however, because they occupied so prominent a place in the controversies over pilgrimage in general, although they are not central to the Jerusalem pilgrimage. The debate over images is relevant here to the extent that it explores how sacred presence or power can lodge in and transform the material object, and the terms under which the claims made for images are to be evaluated and endorsed.

We have already seen that Erasmus diverts the emotional charge provided by the sight of relics toward the word of God.[89] In the *Enchiridion*, he attempts something similar with images: "You give homage to an image of Christ's countenance represented in stone or wood or depicted in colour. With how much more

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[86] "Nec illic damno *Pontificias Indulgentias*, aut diplomata: sed taxo nugacissimum nugatorem, qui ne cogitans quidem de corrigenda vita, totam spem collocarit in condonationibus humanis." Erasmus, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 1, col. 903d. English translation from Erasmus, *Colloquies*, vol. 40, 1100.

[87] See Chapter 4, 303 and 322 below.

[88] For a full treatment of the controversies regarding images from 1525 to 1563, including discussion of treatises on images not covered here like John Ryckes' *The Image of Love* (1525), *The Mirror or Looking Glass of Life* (1532), and Robert Barnes' *A Supplication* (1531, revised 1534), see Chapter 5, "Images in Controversy," and Chapter 6, "Images Before the Law" in Aston, *England's Iconoclasts*, 160-342. For Aston's treatment of More's defence of images, see pp. 173 to 188. John Phillips also gives an extensive discussion of images from Henry to Elizabeth, although with less close reading of Royal Injunctions and Articles, in Phillips, *Reformation of Images*, 41-139. There is an extremely useful discussion of controversies regarding images in the Reformation, which addresses the foundations for these in Byzantine iconoclast controversy and Lollards' criticisms, in Appendix A, "The Image of Love," by E. Ruth Harvey in More, *Dialogue*, pt. 2, 729-59.

[89] See p. 223 above.

religious feeling should you render homage to the image of his mind, which has been reproduced in the Gospels through the artistry of the Holy spirit."[90] Honour and attention are redirected from cold, mute religious images to Christ and the gospels.

Believers' misconceptions about the relationship between the religious image and the intercessor it represents is playfully explored by Erasmus in "A Pilgrimage for Religion's Sake." Ogygius recounts the contents of a fictional letter to Ulrich Zwingli attributed to the Virgin of the Rock (*a Lapide*), near Basel, addressing recent developments in pilgrimage. Ogygius offers a mock-serious apparatus to support the claims of this letter to authenticity. The letter itself is as whimsical as this verification. The virgin starts by thanking Zwingli for his exertions against the invocation of saints, which have relieved her of the exhausting burden of requests she had received before.[91] She concludes, however, with a reproach to Zwingli for the state of utter neglect in which she now finds herself. *Maria a lapide* acknowledges the former diversion of attention and devotion away from her son towards her "as if my Son were always a baby (because he is carved and painted as such at my bosom)."[92] By this explanation, the Virgin, while appearing to excuse pilgrims, draws attention to their misguided tendency to confuse a visual representation with that which it signifies, itself a frequent object of anti-pilgrimage invective.

For More, however, claims that images are confused by the laity with what they represent are overstated.[93] While the messenger, in a statement discussed here already, had argued that belief that prayers to the Virgin Mary had more efficacy in one place than another revealed that the prayers were addressed to the image rather than the Virgin herself, More, with characteristic ingenuity, turns the multiplicity of images of Our Lady to his rhetorical advantage:

> yf [pilgrims] thought that the ymage at Walsyngham were our lady her selfe / then muste they nedes thynke that our lady her selfe were that ymage. Then yf

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[90] Erasmus, "Enchiridion," 72. Cited by Aston, *England's Iconoclasts*, 196-7.

[91] Although some of his interpretations are dubious, a useful survey of the strength of popular attachment to the cult of saints, and of related pilgrimages, right up to the Henrician Reformation is given by G. W. Bernard, "Vitality and Vulnerability in the Late Medieval Church: Pilgrimage on the Eve of the Break with Rome," in *The End of the Middle Ages? England in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, ed. John L. Watts (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1998), 199-221.

[92] "quasi filius meus semper infans esset, quia talis fingitur, pingiturque in sinu meo, et ex nutu matris adhuc pendeat ...." Erasmus, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 1, col. 775c. English translation from Erasmus, *Colloquies*, vol. 40, 625.

[93] "Nor the flocke of cryst is not so folysshe as those heretyques bere them in hande / that where as there is no dogge so madde / but he knoweth a very cony from a cony carued and paynted / crysten peple that haue reason in theyr heddys / & therto the light of fayth in theyr soulys / shold wene that thymages of our lady were our lady her selfe." More, *Dialogue*, pt. 1, 56.

> in lyke wyse they thought that the ymage at Ipswyche were our lady herself / and (as they must therwith nedes thynke) that our lady her selfe were that image at Ipswyche / then must they nedes thynke therwithall / that all those .iii. were one thynge. And then euery .ii. of them were one thynge. And so must they by that reason suppose / that the ymage at Ipyswyche were the selfe same ymage that is at walsyngham. Whiche yf ye aske any of them whom we take for the symplest excepte a naturall foole / I dare you a wager she wyll tell you nay. (More, 231)

The diffusion of images and the existence of particular devotions to these, often confirmed by miracles, thus become a security against idolatry.

More had other strategies on hand to defend images. Saints Augustine, Jerome, Basil and Gregory, among others, are invoked as defenders of the veneration of images.[94] More also employed linguistic theory.[95] The name of a man (or indeed of Christ) does not signify in itself; it is not an utterance of that man's natural form or essence, but a sign of that man. And when one utters it to another, it calls up not that man, but the mind's image of that man. So if "heretics" do not argue that it is wrong to utter Christ's name, as calling up a forbidden image, how can they argue against a painted, carved or wrought image, which represents more completely and more fully than the less controlled verbal sign?[96]

More's arguments did not win the day in England, of course. From 1536, and more especially from 1547 onwards, the status of images in religious use became the object of increasingly concentrated attack, a fact which I will discuss in due course. As I have indicated already, the Jerusalem pilgrimage was not deeply implicated in the veneration of images or attendant debates. The question of images does demonstrate, however, the importance in the discourse relating to pilgrimage of problems of authentication, evidence, and the critical faculties which pilgrims and guardians of pilgrimage shrines bring to bear on such objects. Erasmus' *Maria a Lapide* represents pilgrims as confusing the representation for that which it signifies

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[94] The editors of More's *Dialogue* point out that "the question of veneration of images is more difficult than More implies by his citation of these church fathers. In fact, the saints he refers to rarely treat images in their writings." More, *Dialogue*, pt. 2, 606.

[95] See also Germain March'hadour's comments on the importance (or lack thereof) of names in More's treatment of saints in "The World of the *Dialogue*" in More, *Dialogue*, pt. 2, 481.

[96] Moreover, as Aston points out, "the better the representation the nearer the truth, so that just as a well-written book was better than a badly written one, so a 'well workmanly wrought' image was better than one rudely made." Aston, *England's Iconoclasts*, 181; More, *Dialogue*, pt. 1, 39-40, 46-7.

and becoming distracted from a direct engagement with God by pilgrimage and religious images. More counters such attacks with optimism in the pilgrim's capacity for a rational and logical understanding of the meaning and limitations of the image. In both cases, the experience of pilgrimage is understood as an activity in which verification and rationality must be reconciled with the devotional encounter. With this emphasis on verification, the burden of defenders of pilgrimage becomes more arduous. Not only must they persuade that pilgrimage is a good work as a general principle, they must also offer defend the authenticity of claims made for pilgrimage sites or objects in each particular case.

Devotion to the Saints and the Virgin Mary

Frequently, arguments about the legitimacy of prayers to images lead to or from arguments about the validity of devotion to saints and to the Virgin Mary. Many criticisms of the pilgrimage include the concern that devotion to any of these can displace Christ from his rightful pre-eminence, a worry that is of course also voiced in writings which do not take pilgrimage as their primary preoccupation.[97] It is in the context of secondary shrines, rather than primary holy sites such as Jerusalem, that criticisms of excessive votive offerings to saints often arise. However, concerns about the economic transactions and ramifications of pilgrimage become such a persistent element in the discourse relating to pilgrimage that they strongly inform the treatments of the Jerusalem pilgrimage by early modern English travellers to the city, as the next chapter demonstrates.

As outlined earlier in the discussion of pilgrimage and good works, the charge was sometimes made that pilgrimage often involved an abdication of domestic responsibility. The opposition between the financial security of the family and the exaltation of saints through pilgrimage is recast in "A Pilgrimage for Religion's Sake" in a passage given to Erasmus' fellow traveller Gratianus Pullus. Gratianus asks the

[97] For an example of the latter, see the younger Edwin Sandys' comments that "The stateliest Churches are [the Virgin's] lightly, and in Churches hers the fairest Altars; where one prayeth before the Crucifix, two before her Image, where one voweth to Christ ten vow unto her." In convenient illustration of the imbrication of this question with that of images, the sentence continues, "and not so much to her selfe, as to some peculiar Image, which for some select vertue or grace together with greater power of operation of miracles they chiefly serue ...." Sandys, *Europae Speculum*, 4. For an account of the opposition to images, ornament and the queen's crucifix on the part of Archbishop Edwin Sandys, father of George and Edwin Sandys, see Aston, *England's Iconoclasts*, 303, 305, 325-6.

guide whether it is true that Saint Thomas was generous to the poor. He was, of course, the guide replies. Gratianus uses this answer to question the morality of the accrual of wealth at Saint Thomas' shrine.

> Since, then, the saint was so liberal towards the needy, though he was still poor himself and lacked money to provide for the necessities of life, don't you think he'd gladly consent, now that he's so rich and needs nothing, if some poor wretched woman with hungry children at home, or daughters in danger of losing their virtue because they have no money for dowries, or a husband sick in bed and penniless – if, after begging the saint's forgiveness, she carried off a bit of all this wealth to rescue her family, as though taken from one who wanted her to have it, either as a gift or a loan?[98]

Here, the tension between the security of the family and the practice of pilgrimage is transmuted to initiate a discussion of whether a shrine's riches might be better spent on the poor than in decoration of the shrine and visible glorification of the saint. In the same colloquy, Menedemus wonders whether excess wealth might be better spent remedying hunger and need than augmenting the trappings of the church, although he admits the need for dignity in the decoration of a church and its liturgical objects. The last word is given to Ogygius, who resists cynicism, a fact which helps to contain to some degree the criticism voiced by Menedemus: "Every decent, sensible man," Ogygius replies, "favours moderation in these matters, of course. But since the fault springs from excessive devotion, it merits applause."[99] In the *Dialogue*, More counters his messenger's similar argument with a pragmatic and somewhat pessimistic rejoinder: would this money really be spent on the poor if it ceased to be spent on shrines?[100]

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[98] "cum igitur vir sanctissimus tam liberalis fuerit in egenos, cum adhuc pauper esset, & ipse praesidiis pecuniarum egeret, ob corpusculi necessitatem, an non putas aequo animo laturum nunc, cum tam opulentus sit, nec ullius egeat, si qua mulier paupercula, domi habens liberos famelicos, aut filias ob dotis inopiam de pudicitia periclantes, aut maritum morbo decumbentem, omnibusque praesidiis destitutum, precata veniam, detrahat ex his tantis opibus aliquam particulam sublevandae familiae, velut a volente sumens vel dono, vel mutuo?" Erasmus, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 1, col. 784d. English translation from Erasmus, *Colloquies*, vol. 40, 644.

[99] "In his quidem nemo vir pius ac prudens modum non desiderat: verum quoniam hoc vitium ex immodica quadam pietate nascitur, favorem promeretur." Erasmus, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 1, col. 785b. English translation from Erasmus, *Colloquies*, vol. 40, 644-5.

[100] More, *Dialogue*, pt. 1, 49-50. Phillips draws attention to Erasmus' prediction that the poor would not benefit from the dismantling of wealthy pilgrimage shrines in the "Convivium religiosum," or "A Godly Feast," (first published 1522): Eusebius says, "Quum essem apud Britannos, vidi tumban divi Thomae gemmis innumeris summique precii onustam, praeter alia miracula divitiarum. Ego malim ista quae superflua sunt, elargiri in usus pauperum, quam servare satrapis, aliquando semel omnia direpturis; ac tumbam ornare frondibus ac flosculis ...." Erasmus, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 1, cols. 684f-

Both Erasmus and More's messenger broach the subject of the unworthiness of many requests made to saints. In the fictional letter from *Maria a lapide* in "A Pilgrimage for Religion's Sake," having issued the rebuke for her recent neglect, the Virgin complains that "sometimes they ask of a Virgin what a modest youth would hardly dare ask of a bawd – things I'm ashamed to put in writing." Mary's examples concern requests that pilgrims be spared the shameful or painful consequences of sins committed deliberately and with forethought.[101] *Maria a Lapide* emphasises the impurity of intention which, as Erasmus has demonstrated at length in the *Enchiridion*, undermines the efficacy of good works, no matter how arduous or energetically undertaken. Although Mary's stress on the worldly, mundane and even immoral requests of pilgrims communicates the great ease with which practices of pilgrimage may be abused, however, it does not exclude the possibility of proper use by a pilgrim whose motives are pure.

Accordingly, both More and Martin justify venerating saints and the Virgin, insisting that the honour given to them proceeds through them to Christ.[102] More makes use of a diplomatic analogy: saints receive respect from the devout as kings' ambassadors do, but the respect is really accorded through them to a higher master.[103] Martin makes a similar defence and also widens the scope of this defence to relics and holy places in a manner that suggests that he sees saints, relics and holy places working in analogous ways to mediate between God and the Christian believer:

685a. ("When I was in Britain I saw Saint Thomas' tomb, laden with innumerable precious jewels in addition to other incredible riches. I'd rather have this superfluous wealth spent on the poor than kept for the use of officials who will plunder it all sooner or later. I'd decorate the tomb with branches and flowers ...." English translation from Erasmus, *Colloquies*, vol. 39, 198-9.) Cited by Phillips, *Reformation of Images*, 71.

[101] "Et nonnunquam petunt a Virgine, que verecundus juvenus vic auderet petere a lena, quaeque me pudet literis commitere. Interim negotiator lucri caussa navigaturus in Hispaniam, committit mihi pudicitiam suae concubinae. Et virgo Deo sacra, abjecto velo fugam adornans, deponit apud me famam integritatis suae, quam ipsa tendit prostituere." Erasmus, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 1, col. 775c. English translation from Erasmus, *Colloquies*, vol. 40, 624.

[102] Germain Marc'hadour notes that More and the messenger emphasise rather different kinds of saints. The messenger refers to popular saints whose patronages are rather mundane in character, or whose traditions of veneration are alleged to be crude, scandalous or superstitious, such as Saints Valery, Wilgefort/Uncumber, Apollonia, Crispin and Crispinian. More, by contrast, is more likely to invoke saints as textual authorities, like Augustine, Jerome, Basil and Gregory, emphasising that these are figures of erudition and contemplation. More, *Dialogue*, pt. 2, 482-3.

[103] Compare Jerome's statement in Letter 109, to Riparius, inveighing against Vigilantius' preaching against relics and night vigils: "we honour the relics of the martyrs, that we may adore Him whose martyrs they are. We honour the servants that their honour may be reflected upon their Lord who Himself says: - 'he that receiveth you receiveth me.'" Reference is to Matthew 10.40. Jerome, *Letters and Select Works*, 212.

> This deuotion toward God and his sonne Iesus Christ, maketh holy persons to honour all thinges that belong to them. Prophetes, because they are Gods Prophets. Martyrs, because they are the matyrs [*sic*] of Christ. All monuments of them, for their sake. Concerning places: *Bethlehem*, because our Sauiour was borne there. *Mount Caluarye*, because he suffred there. *Rome*, because *Peter* and *Paule* are buried there, there they dyed for Christ, there are their bodies, their shrynes, their chaynes, other their glorious memories. (Martin, fol. A4v)

Because all these things belong ultimately to God, any veneration of them belongs to Him too.

Although More and the messenger extensively discuss suggestions that the saints cannot hear the pleas of those on earth, that if they hear them, they cannot intervene, or that prayers to them would be better directed toward Christ,[104] their discussion converges on the defence offered for relics, with which the devotion to saints is so closely entwined: devotion to saints is confirmed and endorsed by miracles: "And doubte we then whyther god wold we shold worshyp them when he so well & aboue nature rewardeth vs for the worshyp we do them?" (More, pt. 1, 225).

Like the cult of images, the veneration of saints is not of first importance in the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, but its treatment in these debates brings out arguments which do come to preoccupy early modern travellers to Jerusalem. Treatments of the dazzling wealth of pilgrimage centres, the possibility that pilgrims' donations divert money from the poor and the suspicion that the monetary dynamic debases the pilgrim's engagement with the saint cast pilgrimage to saints' shrines as a series of dubious financial exchanges. This sensitivity to the financial aspects of the pilgrimage is particularly important since it becomes a strong feature of late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century English Protestant engagements with Jerusalem and serves as an enduring source of anti-Catholic polemic.

Miracles

Like the literature on images and saints, the debate on miracles is too extensive and wide-ranging for a comprehensive treatment to be feasible here. Of all the issues

[104] For the charges and subsequent defence, see More, *Dialogue*, pt. 1, 211-6.

treated here, the relation of this issue to the Jerusalem pilgrimage is most oblique. Jerusalem is the site of miracles which are originary in the Christian religion and not subject to the same scepticism as miracles associated with postapostolic saints and shrines. Even the sceptical messenger of More's *Dialogue* distinguishes between "the myracles done of olde tyme by god for his apostles or holy marters / in coroboracyon and settynge forthe of the fayth" and those done now at images (More, pt. 1, 89). More, however, denies that such a disjunction may be asserted, unless such authorities as Eusebius, Jerome and Augustine are to be contested, since all of these affirm that miracles confirming pilgrimages and prayers to saints took place. And if these took place after the death of Christ and the early Christian martyrs, albeit one thousand years ago, he inquires, why exactly are they to be distinguished from miracles wrought more recently? Questions such as whether miracles go against nature or may be reconciled with it and what consequences the discovery of false miracles should have for faith in miracles in general are thrashed out by More and his interlocutor (More, pt. 1, 63-92). Ultimately, the arguments are concerned less with the nature of miracles than with the nature of authority. Whose authority is sufficient to guarantee the authenticity of miracles?

Processes of verification, establishment of authority

Erasmus imputes dishonesty to many of his pilgrims, in the moment of vow-making as well as at the journey's completion and narration. The colloquy "The Shipwreck" depicts vows of pilgrimage as not only deluded but disingenuous. Adolphus had overheard one man promise a candle as large as himself to St. Christopher at Notre Dame in Paris "in a loud voice (for fear he wouldn't be heard)." When cautioned that the price of such an offering would consume all his worldly wealth, the man replied, "lowering his voice – so Christopher wouldn't overhear him, of course – … "Shut up, you fool. Do you suppose I'm serious? If I once touch land I won't give him a tallow candle.'"[105] The vow, made without any intention of realisation, is reduced to a transaction in an economy in which promise and entreaty are exchanged for saintly

[105] "clara voce, ne non exaudiretur." "Tum ille voce iam pressiore, ne videlicet exaudiret Christophorus: *Tace*, inquit, *fatue*; an credis me ex animi sententia loqui? Si semel contigero terram, non daturus sum illi candelam sebaceam." Erasmus, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 1, col. 713d. English translation from Erasmus, *Colloquies*, vol. 39, 356.

intervention. Erasmus demonstrates the absurd consequences which ensue when the utterance and the inward intention are disjoined. To the pilgrims making base and impure entreaties like those described by *Maria a Lapide* or offerings made in response to social pressure or surveillance rather than spiritual zeal,[106] Erasmus thus adds the proud fool who thinks he can cheat the saint of the offering with which he bribes him to spare his life.

Others have a tendency to lie about what it is that they have seen, rather than what they will give. Erasmus' "Rash Vows" manifests contempt for the insincerity of pilgrims at the end of their journey, echoing the commonplace that travellers may and do lie with impunity. In response to Arnoldus' inquiry whether Cornelius has returned holier from Jerusalem, Cornelius states that he has not: he is less holy than when he departed, and poorer. The major reward is "the vast pleasure of impressing both myself and others at gatherings or parties by telling lies about my travels."[107] A glance at the lying pilgrim is made in Heywood's *The Four PP*, as the unscrupulous and greedy Pardoner casts doubt on the authority of one of his interlocutors, the Palmer:

> For ye be as untrue as I
> And in one poynte ye are beyonde me,
> For ye may lye by aucthoryte,
> And all that hath wandred so farre
> That no man can be theyr controller.[108]

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[106] In the course of a lengthy description of the shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham, Menedemus asks, "An dant qui nolint? Og: Minime, sed nonnullos pius quidam pudor huc adigit, ut dent adstante quo piam, non daturi si testis abesset: aut largius dant aliquanto, quam erant daturi." Erasmus, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 1, col. 777b. ("Do people contribute [in the inner sanctum of the shrine] whether they want to or not?" Ogygius replies, "Not at all, but a certain pious embarrassment impels some to give when a person's standing by; they wouldn't give if no one were present to watch them. Or they give somewhat more liberally than they would otherwise." English translation from Erasmus, *Colloquies*, vol. 40, 630.)

[107] "Magna voluptate, quoties libebit, & ipse me afficiam, & alios mentiento, quoties itinerarium meum recitabo in conciliabulis aut in conviviis." Erasmus, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 1, col. 639c. English translation from Erasmus, *Colloquies*, vol. 39, 37-8.

[108] Heywood, *Plays*, 115, ll. 132-6. Axton and Happé note that line 135 "seems like a non-sequitur" and speculate that lines may have been left out when a new page, fol. A3v, was being set. However, the prejudice that travellers wander so far that their accounts cannot be corroborated seems to be proverbial. Although Morris Tilley Palmer gives this play as the earliest instance of this particular formulation, he also notes the following in Barclay's *Ship of Fools* (1509): "There thre sortes be Of people lyuynge, whiche may themselfe defende In lesynge .. pilgrimes .. men aged .. and men of hye degre Before theyr seruauntis." However, an earlier, if slightly different, use is to be found in lines 46-49 of the Prologue to the *Vision of Piers Plowman*: "Pilgrymes and palmeres plighten hem togidere / To seken Seint James and seintes in Rome; / Wenten forth in hire wey with many wise tales, / *And hadden leve to lyen al hire lif aftir*" (emphasis mine). Heywood's lines thus make sense as they stand, and are quite closely followed in later uses of the commonplace. See the discussion of the proverb in

Although More's messenger does not offer this criticism against pilgrimage, we can imagine More's response: does the abuse of the practice make the practice unworthy? Heywood seems at first glance to uphold the Palmer's side: the right of supremacy over his interlocutors is given to the Palmer as a result of his victory in debate and his gracious refusal of the privilege manifests his magnanimity.[109] On the other hand, the fact that he triumphs over the others in a contest to tell the most outrageous lies gives weight to the commonplace that travellers lie and prevents one from interpreting his triumph in competition as a moral victory. As Chapter 4 will demonstrate, several later travellers show anxieties about the commonplace of the lying traveller, strenuously defending their honest and finding ways to persuade readers of their veracity.[110]

A vigorous debate about a methodology for authentication of the claims made for a pilgrimage shrine and its patron saint had been waged from 1516 by Erasmus' fellow humanist, Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples (d. 1536). Lefèvre studied at the University of Paris, where he proceeded Master of Arts, and spent time in Italy studying the works of Aristotle. He taught in the college of Cardinal Lemoine at Paris, resided from 1507 to 1520 at Saint-Germain-des-Prés, where his friend Guillaume Briçonnet was abbot. When Briçonnet became bishop of Meaux, Lefèvre joined him there, becoming vicar-general in 1523. As a consequence of hostility in parliament and at the Sorbonne towards Lefèvre's opinions, he was forced into exile in 1525, although Francis I interceded on his behalf, and Lefèvre spent his last years in Nérac under the protection of Marguerite of Navarre.[111] Lefèvre never left the Catholic communion.

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late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century travel narratives in Chapter 4, n. 64; Elsner and Rubiés, "Voyages and Visions," 11; Heywood, *Plays*, 252; Langland, *Piers Plowman*, 3; Morris Palmer Tilley, *A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: A Collection of the Proverbs Found in English Literature and the Dictionaries of the Period* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1950), 437, 680.

[109] Greg Walker examines Heywood's plays in relation to their political context and interprets *The Four PP* as a commentary on the question of the Supreme Headship: "these plays address the issues of authority, religious division, and reform at a time when they were both sensitive and contentious ...." He sees the contention for supremacy in *The Four PP* as exceptional in Heywood's plays, since it supplies the reason for conflict among the three contestants and, less directly, the Pedlar, the judge, a conflict which can only be calmed by "the Palmer's relinquishing of his newly won sovereignty, rather than his exercising of it ...." "Explicit in *The Four PP* [specifically, in the Pedlar's refusal to pass judgment on the legitimacy of pilgrimage, relics or pardons, matters for the church to decide] is a plea for the church to be left alone to bring about the reforms which all sides in the debates accepted were necessary." See Walker, *Politics of Performance*, 100-2, 104.

[110] See p. 287 below.

[111] *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, s.v. "Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples".

Through his friendship with François du Moulin de Rochefort, Lefèvre became involved with the question of the history of Saint Mary Magdalene, who was venerated in the Burgundian pilgrimage centres of Vézelay and La Sainte-Baume. Louise de Savoie, the Queen Mother, had requested a hagiography of Mary Magdalene from du Moulin following her pilgrimage to La Sainte-Baume in 1516.[112] As du Moulin began the task, Anselm Hufstader recounts, he became bewildered by the contradictory traditions, and turned the problem over to Lefèvre. Lefèvre refuted the identification of the penitent sinner of Luke 7.36-50, the sister of Martha and Lazarus (John 11.19), and the Mary of Magdala from whom Jesus exorcised the devils in Luke 8.2 as a single person.[113] This conflation had its roots in a Latin tradition supported by Gregory the Great (Hufstader, 32).

The publication of Lefèvre's work in 1517 was met with strenuous refutations from the Augustinian theologian Marc de Grandval, and Bishop John Fisher, among others, and generated "in 1518 and 1519 ... more than a dozen tracts, most of them by competent scholars, and in the early 1520s another four."[114] One of those published in 1519, a defence of Lefèvre's position by Josse Clichtove (1472-1543), doctor of theology and professor at the Sorbonne and Tournai, explicitly set out a methodology for the evaluation of claims like those made for the patron of La Sainte-Baume, based on eight *suppositiones*.[115] Points 2, 3, 4 and 6 concern us most here:

2. In matters of history, greatest evidence is held by those writers who were contemporary with the events they discuss (the gospels).
3. After that, by those nearest in time to those events (the Greek fathers).

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[112] Anselm Hufstader, "Lefèvre d'Étaples and the Magdalen," *Studies in the Renaissance* 16 (1969): 35.

[113] Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, *De Marie Magdalena, & triduo Christi disceptatio, ad Clarissimum virum D. Franciscum Molineum, Christianissimi Francorum Regis Francisci Primi Magistrum* (Paris: Henri Estienne, 1517). Lefèvre issued a second edition of the *Disceptatio* in 1518 and, in 1519, published an expanded and more fully developed treatise, the *Disceptatio secunda.*

[114] John Fisher, *Reverendi Patris Joannis Fisscher Roffensis in Anglia Episcopi, necnon Cantabrigien. academiae Cancelarii dignissimi, Confutatio Secundae Disceptationis per Jacobum Fabrum Stapulensem habitae in qua tribus foeminis partiri molitur quae totius ecclesiae consuetudo unicae tribuit Magdalenae* (Paris: Josse Bade, 1519); Marc de Grandval, *Marci de Grandval theologi, ecclesiae catholicae non tres Magdalenas sed unicam colentis: apologia seu defensorium* (Paris: Josse Bade, 1518). Cited by Hufstader, "Lefèvre d'Étaples," 31, 35-41. Hufstader notes Erasmus' satirical treatment of this controversy in a letter to John Merliberch of Diest. Hufstader, "Lefèvre d'Étaples," 41.

[115] Hufstader states that "for the greatest articulation of Lefèvre's ideas one must often turn to Clichtove." He also summarises Clichtove's eight criteria for evaluation. Hufstader, "Lefèvre d'Étaples," 37, 50-51.

4. In more recent writings, greater weight is held by those who argue their points (who discuss the text of the gospel), less by those who simply state their case....

...

6. If there is no other way of resolving contradictory passages in the same author's writings, those passages are to be preferred which are most consonant with "reason and the older writers" (ie., with the gospel and other early witnesses). (Hufstader, 50-1)

This controversy illuminates the kind of criteria that were being developed to evaluate the popular traditions surrounding saints: the criteria are mostly textual, although Lefèvre himself admitted the authority of mystics' visions. The controversy also demonstrates the way in which such questions of authority and legitimacy of tradition could grow directly out of the practice of pilgrimage. Furthermore, it provides further evidence that a willingness to scrutinise and express scepticism towards pilgrimage and relics existed among orthodox, if humanist and moderately reforming, members of the Roman church.

Even François du Moulin, who had drawn back from taking on the problem of the Magdalene, had expressed some scepticism about the relics shown by the Dominicans at La Sainte-Baume and the lack of corroboration by textual authority: he expressed concerns about the skull of Mary Magdalene, on which the skin was preserved where Christ's finger had touched it.[116] Indeed, in the second edition of the first *Disceptatio*, Lefèvre recounts his own experience of the same pilgrimage and the relics located there. Lefèvre reports his conversation with another pilgrim on the subject (Hufstader suspects that the companion "might well be speaking for Lefèvre himself"):

> I do not put my faith in the (relics) which are presented. I neither take much interest in them nor scorn them, for Christ does not require that I put my faith in these things. I rather keep faith in the events which are narrated to me, most

[116] Du Moulin writes to Louise de Savoie, "Madame, you saw it with great devotion, and were the cause of many people's taking example from your humility and honouring and invoking Magdalene. And I remember you sometimes devoutly conversing about the piece of flesh which is on her forehead, which the Dominican friars call *Noli me Tangere*. But my own name for it would be *Noli me credere*. Because the Evangelists who have written that Magdalene touched the feet of Jesus Christ do not say that Jesus Christ ever touched the Magdalene's forehead." François du Moulin, "Vie de Saincte Madeleine," 1517, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fr. 24995, fol. 71v. Also, see fol. 69v. Cited and translated by Eiléan Ní Chuilleanáin, unpublished conference paper; my thanks to her for sharing this with me.

> of all in those which I know that Church to celebrate. Then I raise my mind to heaven, to the exemplars of those visible things, lying open to the eyes of the mind, not to those of the body.[117]

In Gomez-Géraud's words, the relic becomes "less an object of devotion than a support for devotion."[118] Lefèvre provides an example of a pilgrim in full communion with Rome for whom the material accessories of the pilgrimage are not fundamental to the religious experience, but provide a focus and a pretext for a devotion which tends away from the concrete and material toward the heavenly and spiritual. The anecdote in the *Disceptatio* reconciles the reluctance to endorse certain claims made for the shrine with religious orthodoxy and firm obedience to the Roman Church.

The treatment of pilgrimage in the *Colloquies* also examines the processes of verifying and claiming authenticity for the objects which bring prestige to pilgrimage shrines. In "Rash Vows," Cornelius calls into doubt with unprecedented audacity the authenticity of relics and holy places: "Some monuments of antiquity are pointed out, every one of which I thought faked and contrived for the purpose of deceiving naïve and credulous folk." "What's more," he continues, "I don't think it's known for certain where ancient Jerusalem was."[119] Cornelius is not the most respectable interlocutor, however, so the expression of scepticism may be self-deflatingly sacreligious. Certainly, it is not an accusation current among early modern English Protestant travellers to Jerusalem, no matter how sceptical.[120]

Erasmus has Ogygius critique in a characteristically gentle and good-natured manner the suppression of rational inquiry into claims made for a portion of the Virgin's milk. On Ogygius' prompting, his companion and interpreter at Walsingham,

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[117] "fidem meam in hisce quae ostenduntur minime colloco, neque plurimum illa curans, neque despiciens (nam in his fidem meam Christus non requirit) sed eam in iis quae per narrata mihi repraesentantur teneo, maxime quae ecclesiam celebrare cognosco. Et mente in coelum elevata, ad ipsa rerum visibilium exemplaria oculis mentis non corporis patentia." Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, *De Maria Magdalena, Triduo Christi, Et ex tribus una Maria, disceptatio: Ad Clarissimum virum D. Franciscum Molinum, Christianissimi Francorum Regis Francisci Primi Magistrum, Secunda Emissio* (Paris: Henri Estienne, 1518), fol. 36v. Cited by Hufstader, "Lefèvre d'Étaples," 59-60. I have slightly modified the translation provided by Hufstader.

[118] "la relique n'apparaît pas tant comme objet de dévotion que comme support de dévotion." Gomez-Géraud, *Crépuscule du Grand Voyage*, 63.

[119] "Ostenduntur quaedam monumenta vetustatis, quorum mihi nihil non videbatur commentitium, & excogitatum ad alliciendos simplices & credulos. Imo nec hoc arbitror illos certo scire, quo loco sita fuerit olim Hierosolyma." Erasmus, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 1, col. 639c. English translation from Erasmus, *Colloquies*, vol. 39, 37.

[120] See Chapter 4, 331.

Robert Aldridge, presses their guide for proof that the relic advertised as the Virgin's milk is what it claims to be.[121]

> I wanted to know this clearly for the pious purpose of stopping the mouths of certain unbelievers who are accustomed to laugh at all these matters. [... The guide is silent; Aldridge asks again.] He [Aldridge] did so with the utmost grace, such that if with words of that sort he had entreated the Mother herself, recently out of childbed, she would not have taken offence. But the guide, as if possessed, gazed at us in astonishment, and as though horrified by such blasphemous speech, said, "What need is there to inquire into that when you have an authentic record?"[122]

The "authentic record" is barely visible, hanging high in an obscure corner. Its explanation of the authenticity of the relic depends on an absurdly long and complicated chain of verification.[123] The multiple stages in the transmission of authority for the relic and the number of exchanges in its journey to Walsingham offer considerable grounds for scepticism; they would certainly not meet Lefèvre and Clichtove's criteria of proof. The difficulty experienced by Ogygius in locating and deciphering the record in the gloomy space also gestures towards an institutional reluctance to offer the "record" for general evaluation. Erasmus' decision to make the generally reverent Ogygius voice the inquiry implies that the guardians of pilgrimage shrines unwisely refuse to tolerate legitimate scrutiny into the history of relics, even on the part of scrupulous, generally supportive participants like Ogygius.

Awareness of the importance of procedures of authentication was also signalled by Catholic churchmen later in the sixteenth century. The inadequate provision of identification and explanation of relics at shrines was addressed, half a century after the Colloquies, by Cardinal Charles Borromeo in his *Instructiones Fabricae et Suppelectilis Ecclesiasticae* of 1577. Taking his cue from the 25th session

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[121] "A Cambridge scholar who worked with Erasmus; later provost of Eton and bishop of Carlisle. He was a valued friend and correspondent." Erasmus, *Colloquies*, vol. 40, 659*n*78

[122] "Id ego sane pio studio scire cupiebam, quo possem impiis quibusdam haec omnia ridere solitis, os obturare.... Ille vero blandissime, adeo ut si matrem ipsam nuper puerperam talibus verbis appellasset, non fuerit aegre latura. At mystagogus tanquam afflatus numine quopiam, nos intuens oculis stupentibus, ac velut horrore vocem blasphemam exsecrantibus Quid ipus, inquit, ista percunctari, cum habeatis tabulam authenticam?" Erasmus, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 1, col. 778f. English translation from Erasmus, *Colloquies*, vol. 39, 37.

[123] A nun at Constantinople who had declared it to have been collected from the Virgin's breast (without further particulars as to its early history), gave it to a certain William of Paris, visitor at Constantinople. When William fell sick and was dying, he entrusted it to a fellow traveller; when the same fate befell that traveller, an Englishman completed the journey with the relic, bringing half to Walsingham.

of the Council of Trent, Borromeo issued instructions for the storage, decoration, wrapping and display of saints' bodies and more fragmentary relics. Particular attention was paid to the identification of the relics, and to facts which might elucidate their provenance and authenticate the claims made for them: "an inscription should be engraved on the stone of the container to make clearly known the names and bodies of the saints, the time at which they had been deposited, and again, from where transferred, and other similar information, always with the provision that facts are known for certain."[124] A new rigour was also entering hagiography from the last three decades of the sixteenth century into the seventeenth. Laurentius Surius' collection of saints' lives weeded out apocryphal or legendary material.[125] Herbert Rosweyde set about not only collecting unpublished manuscript saints' lives but also providing more critical editions of those already published.[126] Jean Bolland took over the project after Rosweyde's death and began publication of the *Acta Sanctorum*, which clearly specified the textual sources for the saints' lives provided.[127]

As my discussion of pilgrimage and subsidiary practices has already demonstrated, pilgrimage is an undertaking in which truth-telling and authority are matters of urgent concern, at several levels. The veracity of the pilgrim's account, the sincerity of vows made by pilgrims at the holy place, the truthfulness of the claims made for the powers of a relic or image, the authenticity of a holy place or relic and the dependability of accounts of miracles located along the way may all be called into question. Between Erasmus' *Colloquies,* Lefèvre's and du Moulin's investigations of the pilgrimage to La Sainte-Baume and Borromeo's *Instructiones*, a framework begins to emerge for the authentication – or, where appropriate, disproof – of the holy place or object. Reformed and orthodox debaters both admitted the need to defend, explicate and justify traditions for relics and pilgrimage sites. Subsequent travellers' engagements with pilgrimage will have to negotiate these problems of authenticity and credibility, whether defensive or critical in their stances.

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[124] Charles Borromeo, "Charles Borromeo's *Instructiones Fabricae et Suppelectilis Ecclesiasticae*, 1577. A Translation with Commentary and Analysis," ed. and trans. Evelyn Carole Voelker (PhD Thesis, Syracuse University, 1977), 207-18, especially 210.
[125] *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, s.v. "Laurent Surius".
[126] *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, s.v. "Héribert Rosweyde".
[127] *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, s.v. "Jean Bolland".

Changes in the status of pilgrimage in the English church from Henry VIII to Elizabeth I

The preceding section has presented the grounds for reform of pilgrimage (as well as justifications of the practice); this section explores how the reforms were implemented. Although the offensive on pilgrimage, the major saints' shrines, relics and images did not gather momentum until the late 1530s, evidence survives of intentions to reform pilgrimages by means of parliamentary act at the beginning of that decade. In 1530 to 1531, in anticipation of the 1531 parliament, a document described by Margaret Aston as "a remarkably comprehensive reforming manifesto that displays features characteristic of Christopher Saint German" was drafted.[128] As well as putting forward proposals to combat vagrancy, unemployment and inflation, to consider the translation of the Bible into English, to regulate clerical-lay relations, among other ideas, the document sets out several recommended reforms for pilgrimage. J. A. Guy summarises the proposals on pilgrimage as follows:

> Pilgrimage centres and shrines were to be regulated by Parliament to avoid clerical rackets. Nobody having a financial interest in a shrine should have a monopoly of selling candles to pilgrims, or resell to the public candles already paid for by previous visitors. Similarly, a confessor should not supplement his income by requiring penitents to visit a shrine in which he had bought shares as an investment. (Guy, 152-3)

G. R. Elton, additionally, notices that pilgrimage centres must set forth the "proper meaning" of pilgrimage in twice-annual sermons, that profits are not to be augmented by distributing saints' relics across multiple altars, and that miracles are not to be advertised before their scrutiny and confirmation by the ecclesiastical powers (Elton, 72-3). This plan came to nought, but it demonstrates that concerns about the need to reform pilgrimage were circulating at the start of the 1530s.

By 1536 and the issuance of the first Royal Injunction concerning the reform of the church, however, pilgrimage was under direct attack. In Injunction 4, "to the intent that all superstition and hypocrisy, crept into divers men's hearts, may vanish

[128] G. R. Elton is not convinced of Christopher Saint German's involvement. J. A. Guy, who accepts the attribution of it to Saint German, describes the document as arguably "the most comprehensive reform manifesto devised in the entire reign of Henry VIII." See G. R. Elton, *Reform and Renewal: Thomas Cromwell and the Common Weal* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 70-6; J. A. Guy, *The Public Career of Sir Thomas More* (Brighton: The Harvester Press, 1980), 152-3. Both cited in Aston, *England's Iconoclasts*, 215.

away," the clergy were ordered not to "set forth or extol any images, relics, or miracles for any superstition or lucre, nor allure the people by any enticements to the pilgrimage of any saint, otherwise than is permitted in the Articles lately put forth by the authority of the King's majesty, and condescended upon by the prelates and clergy of this his realm in Convocation."[129] Eamon Duffy sees the 1536 injunctions on images and pilgrimage as manifesting "the [Cromwellian] regime's growing hostility to the cult of the saints" (Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 398). Margaret Aston, who concentrates more narrowly on the question of images, also notes a shift, between the Ten Articles of 1536 and the Royal Injunctions issued just a month later, from tolerance to disapproval. While the Articles had acknowledged the "positive value of images," the Injunctions focused on their abuse, and in particular on abuses relating to the economy of pilgrimage, either as they related to the "lucre" accrued by the shrines or to the interference of obligations of familial provision or alms-giving (Aston, 224-5; Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 407). Veneration and adornment of images were still allowed, as were offerings and pilgrimages, but under certain conditions and constraints (Aston, 226).

Duffy and Aston agree that the Royal Injunctions of 1538 represent an increase in hostility toward such practices. Duffy sees as "far starker" than the 1536 Injunction the statement in Injunction 6 that clergy were to exhort their parishioners

> not to repose their trust and affiance in any other works devised by men's phantasies besides Scripture; as in wandering to pilgrimages, offering of money, candles, or tapers to images or relics, or kissing or licking the same, saying over a number of beads, not understood or minded on, or in such-like superstition; for the doing wherof, ye not only have no promise of reward in Scripture, but contrariwise, great threats and maledictions of God, as things tending to idolatry and superstition, which of all other offences God Almighty doth most detest and abhor, for that the same diminisheth most His honour and glory. (Frere and Kennedy, vol. 2, 37-8)

"This is the language of condemnation and contempt," notes Duffy, and it was followed by an injunction for direct action (Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 407). Injunction 7 includes a command to "take down and delay" images abused by

[129] Walter Howard Frere and William McClure Kennedy, eds., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation*, 3 vols. (London: Longmans, Green, 1910), vol. 2, 5-6. As Frere points out in a note to this injunction, there is no specific reference to pilgrimage in the Articles; merely to abuse of images.

pilgrimages or offerings (Frere and Kennedy, vol. 2, 38). Aston notes that the precise meaning of the verb "delay"/"deley" is not clear, hovering between destruction and mere removal, and she emphasises the importance of the practice of pilgrimage in the definition of abuse: "The only criterion presented in the injunctions for distinguishing between legitimate didactic images ... and abused ones, was the existence of pilgrimages and offerings" (Aston, 227-8). Pilgrimage was now not merely made subordinate to works of charity such as alms-giving, as it had been in 1536, but came under more determined assault. Duffy and Aston disagree, however, on whether pilgrimage was "outlawed" (Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 407) or, "though thus reproved, ... not actually forbidden (Aston, 228).

The great medieval pilgrimage shrines and images, such as those of the Virgin Mary at Walsingham and Saint Thomas Becket at Canterbury, were effaced in 1538 (Aston, 234). Many shrines located in religious houses, such as the shrine of St. Edmund at the Abbey of St. Edmund's in Suffolk, would have met this fate earlier, from 1536 on.[130] Just as the financial transactions had been an element in the abuses of pilgrimage as designated in the 1536 injunctions, the economic ramifications of the dismantling of the great medieval pilgrimage shrines are at the forefront of Aston's discussion:

> The king's withdrawal from reform after 1538-9 seems to underline the opportunist use which had been made of reformist arguments in the spoliation of the shrines. This is not to deny that genuine conviction spurred on the dismantling of the pilgrimage centres and the demoting of their saints, just as idealistic hopes attached to the monastic dissolution. But in both campaigns the vast economic gains cut across the credal commitment and what we know of the king's own beliefs makes it unlikely that they weighed equally with him.[131]

In spite of the command for direct action against abused images in 1538, it was still necessary to give orders in the autumn of 1541 to remove surviving shrines.[132]

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[130] Phillips, *Reformation of Images*, 62. Finucane counsels against conflating the dissolution of religious houses and the obliteration of the shrines. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*, 203.

[131] Aston, *England's Iconoclasts*, 236. Compare Erasmus' prediction in n. 100 above.

[132] Aston, *England's Iconoclasts*, 238; Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 431. For evidence of resistance around this time to the dismantling of shrines and images, see Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 440-1. For discussion of the general impulse towards conservatism on Henry's part in 1540, see Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 424-30.

On the death of Henry VIII and the accession of the new boy king, Edward VI, there was some continuity with the injunctions of 1536 and 1538, combined with impulses towards more radical reform. Aston notes that "Edwardian reform followed the Henrician pattern," with the proclamation of a visitation accompanied by royal Injunctions and Articles (Aston, 254). Aston's close reading of the 1547 Injunctions against the corresponding Henrician Injunctions (especially Injunction 4 of 1536 and Injunctions 6 and 7 of 1538) reveals the subtle shifts in intensity and emphasis in Edward's reform. She notices a consolidation of disparate ordinances in the 1536 and 1538 injunctions dealing with pilgrimage, relics and images to form the first, second and third injunctions of 1547, and a greater prominence for the abolition of idolatry by 1547 (Aston, 254-5). Aston also sees an erosion of the already limited value accorded to images, which are demoted from "books of the unlearned" to stimuli to memory. Furthermore, all "monuments of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry, and superstition" such as shrines, ornamentation, pictures and paintings are to be removed, an exhortation repeated in the accompanying articles. Where the 1538 Injunctions used the ambiguous "take down and delay," their 1547 counterparts use the phrase "utterly extinct and destroy," a phase taken by Aston to reflect the "adoption of extreme principles" (Aston, 256-7). The subtleties picked out by Aston's careful examination are beyond the scope of this particular discussion, but the general trend in attitude towards pilgrimage and related practices is clear.[133] Since 1536, they have lost so much status as to be deemed in Injunction 2 acts of "superstition" deserving "maledictions of God".[134]

During the restoration of Catholic religion under Mary Tudor, pilgrimages, relics and images received negligible attention in the Royal injunctions or Bishop Bonner's injunctions, articles or homilies. Although Thomas Becket was included

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[133] For a discussion of the mutual interference of injunctions 3 and 28, and the withdrawal of the third injunction by 1548 in order to strengthen adherence to the more radical 28th injunction, see Aston, *England's Iconoclasts*, 259-63.

[134] Frere and Kennedy, eds., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions*, vol. 2, 115-6. Injunction 1 only prohibits pilgrimages made to saints and images, however. This is matched in the 1547 articles, in which article 34 reminds parsons, vicars and curates to teach "the true use of images; which is only to put them in remembrance of the godly and virtuous lives of them that they do represent: and have taught that if the said people use the images for any other purpose, they commit idolatry to the great danger of their souls." Furthermore, article 38 inquires "whether they which have spoken and declared anything for the setting forth of pilgrimages, feigned relics, images, or any such superstition, have not openly recanted the same." Frere and Kennedy, eds., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions*, vol. 2, 107-8.

once again in the calendar of saints after Mary took the throne, Edward the Confessor was the only saint to be restored to his shrine during her reign.[135]

Pilgrimages, relics and abused images continued to be designated elements of "vain and superstitious religion" under the regime of Elizabeth I, as in article 9 of the Royal Articles issued in 1559 (Frere and Kennedy, vol. 3, 2). Article 18 of the same document inquires whether clergy "have diligently called upon, exhorted and moved their parishioners, and especially when they make their testaments, to give to the said poor men's box, and to bestow that upon the poor which they were wont to bestow upon pilgrimages, pardons, trentals, and upon other like blind devotions," so that the displacement of pilgrimage and similar kinds of works by acts of mercy stipulated by scripture which had emerged since 1536 was confirmed.[136] Injunction 2 of 1547, with its sense of the pressing spiritual danger in participation in pilgrimage, offerings at shrines and veneration of images, is retained in Injunction 3 of the 1559 Royal Injunctions. Aston identifies a certain softening in the attitude to images, with modification of Edward's injunctions on images so as to concentrate attention towards the abuse of images rather than their legitimacy independent of abuse (299). She also points out that in the place of Edward's command to parochial clergy to destroy images in Injunction 3 is substituted an order for quarterly sermons or homily-readings (Aston, 300). The same injunction goes on to declare that works beyond scripture will attract "great threatenings and maledictions" (Frere and Kennedy, vol. 3, 9). Just as in 1547, "monuments of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry and superstition," such as shrines, images and their adornments, whether in churches, chapels, or in the home, must be completely destroyed for compliance with Injunction 23. However, overall Aston sees great ambivalence in the provisions of 1559 regarding images, and discrepancies between the articles and injunctions: "If the visitation articles allowed freedom of action to militant iconoclasts, the injunctions were framed to accommodate a wider range of opinion, including greater tolerance towards imagery. The Elizabethan settlement – of which the injunctions, but not the articles, formed part – did not prescribe an aniconic church" (Aston, 304). In spite of the ambiguity concerning images, however, there was no lenity allowed to objects and

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[135] Heath, *Pilgrim Life in the Middle Ages*, 334-5; Peter Roberts, "Politics, Drama and the Cult of Thomas Becket in the Sixteenth Century," in *Pilgrimage: The English Experience*, ed. Morris and Roberts, 233.

[136] This is reflected in Elizabeth's Injunction 25. See Frere and Kennedy, eds., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions*, vol. 3, 3, 17.

practices involved in pilgrimage. Rhetorically conflated since 1538 with idolatry and superstition, by the early years of Elizabethe's reign the pilgrimage had been removed from the devotional repertoire of English subjects, unless they were to go abroad.

EFFICACY OF THE SUPPRESSION OF PILGRIMAGE

Certain worthwhile questions which arise from discussion of the changing legal status of pilgrimage over the course of the 1530s, 1540s, and 1550s are not easy to answer: whether the injunctions, articles and proclamations of Henry VIII, Edward VI and Elizabeth I in fact succeeded in effacing pilgrimage, for example, and with what speed. It might be argued that the insistent emphasis in this period on the need to suppress both participation in pilgrimage and clerical or lay exhortation to it suggests its persistence. Thus Bishop Shaxton's 1538 injunctions for the Salisbury diocese warn midwives to avoid causing women, "being in travail, to make any foolish vow to go in pilgrimage to this image or that image after delivery.[137] Both Colin Morris and Eamon Duffy notice the reference in the Letters and Papers of Henry VIII to the investigation in January, 1539 of Sir Thomas Tyrrell, parson of Gislingham, Suffolk, for his insistence on observing the proscribed feast of Thomas Becket.[138] Tyrrell's parishioners, according to the record, had internalised the prohibition where Tyrrell resisted it, and they would not participate. A week later, Tyrrell was exhorting his parishioners to undertake a pilgrimage. "They asked him afterwards where they should go, seeing that Our Lady of Walsingham, Our Lady of Grace [at Ipswich, supplies Duffy], and Thomas Becott were put down, and he replied, to Jerusalem, adding, that 'if he were disposed to go a pilgrimage he knew whither to go'" (Gairdner and Brodie, vol. 14, pt. 1, 32, no. 76). This record indicates that at least one cleric was asserting the importance of pilgrimage after the Henrician articles and injunctions and that he conceived of it as a feasible undertaking. Whether it was an isolated or representative example is unclear.

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[137] Frere and Kennedy, eds., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions*, vol. 2, 58-9. Cited by Thompson in More, *Dialogue*, pt. 2, 652*n*.

[138] James Gairdner and R. H. Brodie, eds., *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1862-1932; reprint, Vaduz: Kraus Reprint Ltd, 1965), vol. 14, pt. 1, 32, no. 76. Cited in Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 415; Morris, *Sepulchre of Christ*, 160.

One account of the Jerusalem pilgrimage which survives from the 1550s spans the reigns of Edward and Mary. The narration of the journey of John Locke in 1553, preserved in Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*, is brief, substituting the certificate of pilgrimage issued by the Franciscan Father Guardian for an account in the first person.[139] It is somewhat perplexing that the sojourn in Jerusalem, the end of Locke's journey, goes unnarrated; perhaps it is a consequence of the turbulence in religious affairs and the correspondingly uncertain status of pilgrimage. In any case, it demonstrates that at least one traveller designating himself as a pilgrim was travelling to Jerusalem during the latter part of Edward's reign.

Evidence is meagre for the persistence of adherence to centres and traditions of pilgrimage after the last of the Royal Injunctions and Articles treated here. The expression of mourning for the shrine of Walsingham, that "holy land," attributed uncertainly to the recusant Philip, Earl of Arundel, is well-known.[140] Peter Roberts notes only one recorded instance of defiance to the prohibition against pilgrimage to Canterbury: the visit, c. 1580, by a Northamptonshire recusant, Thomas Cowell (Roberts, 235). On the other hand, Keith Thomas notes the persistence of "pilgrimages, sometimes very large ones," to the well of Saint Winifred, Holywell into the seventeenth century.[141] Seven English pilgrims to Jerusalem are described in a fragmentary transcription of a Franciscan register of pilgrims as "Anglus Catholicus" between 1561 and 1632.[142] The several English travellers whose accounts of Jerusalem are analysed in Chapter 4 participated (for the most part) in the Franciscan-led pilgrimages around the city, but their intentions are defined so as to limit the degree to which they may be thought of as devout and acquiescent pilgrims.

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[139] See fuller discussion in Chapter 4.

[140] Reprinted in Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 377-8. Incidentally, Gregory Martin had been invited to serve as tutor to Philip Howard by Thomas Howard, the fourth duke of Norfolk, although he only occupied the position briefly, possibly from December of 1568, going into exile after the duke's arrest in the autumn of 1569. *DNB*, 2004 ed., s.v. "Gregory Martin."

[141] See *The Life and Miracles of St. Wenefrede, Together with some Historical Observations made thereon*, ed. W. Fleetwood (London: 1713), especially 9-11, 96-108. This anonymous account of the shrine and its miracles is surrounded and in many places overwhelmed by Fleetwood's sceptical commentary and refutations. Cited by Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971), 70.

[142] Bertrand Zimolong, ed., *Navis Peregrinorum: Ein Pilgerverzeichnis aus Jerusalem von 1561 bis 1695 mit Angaben über Pilger aus Deutschland, England, Frankreich, Italien und den Niederlanden, sowie aus anderen europaïschen und außereuropaïschen Ländern*, Palästina-Hefte des Deutschen Vereins von Hl. Lande (Köln: J. P. Bachem, 1938). See Chapter 4, n. **1**. for further discussion of this register and the reliability of identifications of pilgrims' religious confessions. The seven names recorded are Samuel Smallman (1599), Hugo Holland, Francis Verney (both 1607), George Sturges, Richard Allott, Edward Louge (all 1608) and Rudolph Marsh (1621).

Their resistance occasionally falters, as the following chapter demonstrates, but the interests of the pilgrim come to be joined, even displaced, by new motivations.

Conclusion

While the status of images in religious practice underwent attack over the course of the 1530s, 1540s and 1550s, but also experienced the occasional reprieve, pilgrimage was dispatched relatively early on in the reformations of the church as an abuse tending to idolatry and superstition. After the first injunctions limiting its merit in 1536, attitudes to it hardened. The suspicion that pilgrimage was a distraction from scripturally-ordained works gave way to a conception of it as attracting God's wrath and malediction. The dismantling of the major pilgrimage centres at Walsingham and Canterbury as well as other shrines from 1538 struck a swift and profoundly undermining blow to the tradition of pilgrimage within England. Independent of the doctrinally-oriented attacks on pilgrimage in text and sermon, the destruction of the English shrines must have profoundly changed Englishmen's experiences of Jerusalem in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The disappearance of local shrines must have sharpened the sense of unfamiliarity and strangeness in the practices relating to pilgrimage abroad.

The century which put pilgrimage at the heart of its religious debates, to reprise Gomez-Géraud's phrase, also entwined the practice inextricably with adjacent controversies. Pilgrimage was intimately associated with problems of veneration of images, relics, belief in holy places, miracles and the value of praying to saints and the Virgin. This meant that journeys to Jerusalem were subject to a whole complex of criticisms which were perhaps not fully deserved by that particular enterprise. While debates about these practices became especially intense in the sixteenth century, they were not without precedent. We have seen that they had precursors among the Lollards, but also that reservations had been expressed about pilgrimage in highly orthodox late medieval circles.

At the centre of these interlocking questions lay the issue of authority: the status of textual authority, non-scriptural tradition, miracles attested in sources other than the Bible, the relationship between the physical object and the tradition claimed for it. The authority residing in the report of a pilgrimage could be compromised at

various phases of its production. The accusation that the pilgrimage provided an opportunity to lie with impunity surfaced several times in the first three decades of the sixteenth century in treatments by Erasmus and Heywood among others, echoing similar charges against ordinary travellers. Frustration at the reluctance of pilgrimage centres to offer evidence to the inquisitive faithful for the authenticity of the claims made for holy places or holy objects was expressed by Erasmus. There was also a real awareness, attested in the criticisms offered by Erasmus and More's messenger, of the multiplication of relics and the consequent compromise of their credibility. The awareness of multiple and competing relics was accompanied by an intensifying sense of the need to reconcile rival claims for holy objects and the places which they made sacred, or to reconcile them with scripture or other textual authority: hence Lefèvre's and du Moulin's scepticism about the relics of La Sainte-Baume. In the next chapter, we will see how Protestant travellers demonstrated their keen awareness of these difficulties, and how they navigated a narrative path through them or around them. Within the Church of Rome, this awareness animated Borromeo's project to provide clear attribution and evidence for holy relics in the later sixteenth century.

Many of the objections to pilgrimage were solidly pragmatic in nature, and included some relevant to any kind of prolonged travel. They included the occasions for sin provided by departure from a community ordered by social surveillance; the temptation to request and expect dishonourable rewards in return for the accomplishment of a pilgrimage; the possibility of neglecting local obligations in undertaking an extended journey. The last two objections were animated by concerns about the debasement of pilgrimage to a cluster of unworthy transactions: the superstitious expectation that a pilgrim's offering would automatically produce the fulfilment of a request, for example, or the exchange of basic economic obligations to family and duties to community for an expensive, dangerous and destabilising adventure. Thinking about the pilgrimage as a series of transactions, as a practice with economic aspects and consequences, also produced concerns about the excessive wealth of shrines and concomitant neglect of the poor. Chapter 4 will demonstrate the extent to which these preoccupations continued to permeate English travellers' attitudes to the Jerusalem pilgrimage in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

As Erasmus and others stressed the quality of intention in the devotional gesture, and emphasised that pilgrimage was a voluntary, not a necessary,

undertaking, the question of motivation took on greater importance. The validity of a devotional act was not self-evident, but correlated to the purity of spirit with which it was carried out. This concern did not emerge for the first time in the sixteenth century, as the comments of Thomas à Kempis attest, but the insistence with which debates about pilgrimage returned to the question must have sharpened awareness of the need to vindicate the traveller's motivation.

Other objections to pilgrimage grew out of worries about the way in which the physical and the transcendent relate to one another and the extent to which the material world can legitimately act as an interface with the spiritual. From this proceeded Erasmus' exhortations to move from an externally oriented devotion focused on visible things to an interior piety seeking the invisible, so that the *imitatio christi* in conduct and meditation might displace a literal tracing of Christ's footsteps through Jerusalem. In contrast to the experiences of Bridget of Sweden and Margery Kempe, which demonstrate how pilgrimage and apprehension of holy places could co-exist with and give shape to a profound, interior spiritual engagement with Christ and the Virgin Mary, Erasmus sees one as vulnerable to the distraction provided by the other. From this tension between interior devotion and the material world came also debates about the validity of the notion of the holy place. The problem arose of whether the omniscience and omnipresence of God could be reconciled with the demarcated, delimited place for which an intensified holiness is claimed. The sinfulness which was to be found at the sites of miracle or revelation, argued Gregory of Nyssa and his imitators, confirmed that places retain no imprint of sanctity as a result of what has taken place there. This was countered by the argument that miracles, although mysterious in their causes and workings, manifest God's willingness that special attention be paid to particular places. The place in which worship is ordained, or in which commemoration of a particular saint or miracle is specified, gives a certain solemnity and intensity to prayer, which is of potential benefit to Christians. Even Erasmus accepted that this was not to be scorned by those who no longer had any need of it.

Relics offered similar devotional opportunities and similar difficulties. Critics expressed their discomfort with the incongruity and implausibility of these objects and the difficulty of authentication. Defenders cited miracles which endorsed them, as well as the spiritual intimacy and emotional charge which they could give to the prayers of the devout. The argument that scripture fulfils this function more

satisfactorily, with none of the difficulties of authentication and evidence, was offered repeatedly by Erasmus. However, even in the act of displacing relics, Erasmus invoked and sought to appropriate the strong emotional and imaginative charge lodged in them. The very dependence of his argument on relics, and of Latimer's sermon on the beatitudes on pilgrimage itself, demonstrates the difficulties in leaving behind the visible things.

CHAPTER 4

PROTESTANT ENCOUNTERS WITH JERUSALEM AND THE FRANCISCAN PILGRIMAGE

INTRODUCTION

This chapter resumes the examination of narratives of travel to Jerusalem: specifically, those written by travellers from Scotland and England after the inauguration of the Scottish and English churches' complex and contested Reformations. It carries into this discussion awareness of the attacks on pilgrimage and defences of it analysed in the last chapter. These attacks did not produce exactly the patterns of European travel to Jerusalem which might have been expected. Although the city seems to have attracted few visitors, and especially writers, from England and Scotland in the sixteenth century, the first two decades of the seventeenth century saw an upturn in numbers arriving from these countries. These were still modest, though: recorded numbers never exceeded fifteen in a single year.[1] The theological tumults and attacks on pilgrimage, relics and indulgences initiated in the early sixteenth century must have recast the expectations of travellers and made the quality of their experiences different from those of their medieval predecessors, but claims of an absolute demise of pilgrimage or, in the case of Protestants, of some version of the pilgrimage, have been overstated. Marie-Christine Gomez-Géraud identified 208 editions of pilgrimage narratives undertaken in western Europe between 1458 and 1610 and published by 1620, as well as 90 manuscripts written from 1458-1610 – hardly the effluence of a moribund genre (Gomez-Géraud, 22). Within this period, she acknowledges that a falling off in pilgrimage writing took

[1] Table 1 gives numbers of arrivals based on Bernard Zimolong's 1938 transcription of a register of pilgrims kept at Mount Sion between 1561 and 1695. In the preface, Zimolong acknowledges that the register, which is worm-eaten, in poor condition, and fragmentary in places, is a copy, not an original. Entries for single or multiple years are missing throughout the later sixteenth century. Comparison of this register with Stéphane Yerasimos' bibliographical essay on sixteenth-century travel accounts of Palestine clarifies the extent of the omissions. Even where entries appear for a certain year, travellers whose journeys are attested by printed or manuscript accounts identified by Yerasimos are absent from Zimolong's register. The records appear to be more comprehensive after 1600. There are also omissions in the transcription itself. The record of Geoffrey Kerby's arrival is absent from Zimolong's text but visible in a photograph of the register in Joan E. Taylor, *The Englishman, the Moor and the Holy City: The True Adventures of an Elizabethan Traveller* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Tempus, 2006), fig. 15. (See n. 98 below.) This table should consequently be considered only as a minimum estimate of numbers. Most of the travellers responsible for or mentioned in the narratives discussed in this chapter are recorded in the register: Henry Timberlake and his companion John Burrell (1601), William Biddulph and his companions (1601), George Sandys (1611) and William Lithgow (1612). Yerasimos, "Voyageurs"; Zimolong, ed., *Navis Peregrinorum*, viii, x, 5-60.

place in the early to mid-sixteenth century. She notices a marked upturn in production of pilgrimage narratives between 1580 and 1620, however (199). This coincides roughly with the reprise of Jerusalem as a destination of interest to travellers writing in English. The numerous English language works containing lengthy eyewitness accounts of Jerusalem published in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries indicate that the journey to the city took on a new attraction for travellers and readers at this point. While no claim is being made that the numbers of travellers to Jerusalem during this renewal of activity rivalled those arriving at the peak of the late medieval pilgrimage, the phenomenon of renewed travel to and writing about Jerusalem at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries deserves some scrutiny.

The first post-Reformation English narrative of travel to Jerusalem to be published independently, Edward Webbe's *The Rare and most wonderfull things*, appeared in 1590.[2] The earliest post-Reformation English visit to Jerusalem corresponding to an extant travel account is John Locke's 1553 visit, but the account of the journey was not published until its inclusion in Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* in 1598. The first post-Reformation English account of Jerusalem to be published within an anthology had appeared just before Webbe's: the account of Laurence Aldersey's 1581 journey in Hakluyt's single-volume *Principall Navigations* of 1589. My examination is limited to narratives published by 1632, the year of publication of the fullest version of William Lithgow's travels. After this point, the publication of English travel accounts containing lengthy descriptions of visits to Jerusalem slowed. Between 1590 and 1632, narratives falling into this category generated 24 separate editions. In a period of almost equal length after 1632, by contrast, only 4 editions appeared of such works, and these were all editions of works already published at least once before 1632. No new travel narrative addressing Jerusalem at any length was to appear until the publication of R. B.'s *A journey to Jerusalem* in 1672.[3] In 1650 a new work was published, but Thomas Fuller's *A Pisgah-Sight of Palestine* is a geographical concordance to Scripture rather than an account of an experience of travel, and elsewhere, in his *Historie of the Holie Warre*, Fuller expresses hostility to

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[2] Edward Webbe, *The Rare and most wonderfull things which Edward Webbe an Englishman borne, hath seene and passed in his troublesome trauailes, in the Cities of Ierusalem, Dammasko, Bethelem and Galely* ... (London: 1590).

[3] R. B., *A journey to Jerusalem, or, A relation of the travels of fourteen English-men in the yeare 1669 from Scanderoon, to Tripoly, Joppa, Ramah, Jerusalem, Bethlem, Jericho, the River Jordan, the Dead Sea, and back again to Aleppo* (London: 1672).

the enterprise of travel to Jerusalem.[4] The translation of Heinrich Bunting's *Itinerarium totius sacrae scripturae*, published in 1619 and in several subsequent editions, is of a similar character.[5] Between 1632 and 1672, four publications appeared relating to travels in the Levant but ignoring Palestine: the accounts of Henry Blount and Richard Flecknoe, and translations of travel narratives by Vincent LeBlanc and Pietro della Valle, whose journeys had taken place between fifty and eighty years before.[6] LeBlanc had intended to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, but circumstances obliged him to defer his journey. Although his course toward Arabia took him within a day's journey of the city, he passed beyond it, and appears never to have returned. Blount had planned to visit Jerusalem after a stay in Egypt, but finding himself under suspicion of spying, he changed his mind and took ship in haste from Alexandria.[7] Pietro della Valle did write about Jerusalem, but the translation of his work into English included only his later travels in Persia and the East Indies, omitting his pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Flecknoe's letters touch his travels in the Levant only glancingly, and direct his correspondent to George Sandys' and others' travel accounts to "find them acurately and at large set down" (Flecknoe, 45). This pattern of publication suggests declining interest in Jerusalem on the part of publishers or readers. The chapter focuses not on this later pattern, but on the concentrated interest in Jerusalem among traveller-authors in the Levant and publication of their accounts between 1590 and 1632.

The increasing output of descriptions of Jerusalem in the early seventeenth century may have been catalysed by the establishment of diplomatic and commercial relations between England and the Ottoman Porte in the early 1580s and the arrival in

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[4] Thomas Fuller, *The Historie of the Holie Warre* (Cambridge: Thomas Buck, 1639); Thomas Fuller, *A Pisgah-sight of Palestine and the confines thereof, with the history of the Old and New Testament acted thereon* ... (London: printed by J. F. for John Williams, 1650). For fuller discussion, see p. 344 below.

[5] Heinrich Bunting, *Itinerarium totius Sacrae Scripturae* ... (London: Printed by Adam Islip, 1619). According to Reinhold Röhricht, this was first published in Helmstädt in 1580. Publications in England followed in 1623, 1629, 1636, 1652, 1682 and 1705. Reinhold Röhricht, *Bibliotheca geographica Palaestinae: Chronologisches Verzeichnis der von 333 bis 1878 verfassten Literatur über das Heilige Land* (1890; revised edition with new introduction by David H. K. Amiran, Jerusalem, 1963; reprint, London: John Trotter Publishers, 1989), 206-7.

[6] Henry Blount, *A Voyage into the Levant. A Breife Relation of a Journey, Lately performed by Master H. B. Gentleman, from England* ... (London: Printed by J[ohn] L[egat] for Andrew Crooke, 1636); Pietro Della Valle, *The Travels of Sig. Pietro della Valle, a noble Roman, into East-India and Arabia Deserta* ... (London: printed by J. Macock, for John Martin, and James Allestry, 1665); Richard Flecknoe, *A relation of ten years travells in Europe, Asia, Affrique and America* ... (London: printed for the author, [1656?]); Vincent Leblanc, *The World Surveyed: or, The Famous Voyages and Travailes of Vincent le Blanc, or White, of Marseilles* ... (London: printed for John Starkey, 1660).

[7] Gerald MacLean, *The Rise of Oriental Travel: English Visitors to the Ottoman Empire, 1580-1720* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 164.

Constantinople of the first English ambassador William Harborne in 1583, as Stéphane Yerasimos suggests.[8] This relationship permitted the formation of the Levant Company and the establishment of English merchant communities in Alexandria, Constantinople and Aleppo. Many English Protestants thus came to reside at shorter distances from Jerusalem. Even the journeys of travellers setting out from England must have been made easier by the capitulations' guarantee of safe passage to English travellers and the presence of English factors who could offer them hospitality, information and letters of introduction in several Levantine towns or cities. Yerasimos' bibliography of narratives by travellers in Ottoman territories before 1600 emphasises that the majority of Englishmen entered the territories for commercial purposes, while German and French travellers tended to come on pilgrimage (Yerasimos, 13). Nonetheless, once they reached Jerusalem, Englishmen also visited the pilgrimage sites and their reports contain little record of business transacted in that city.

This examination takes in travel narratives written by a single author in printed form or in manuscript. These include the manuscript account of John Sanderson's journey to Jerusalem, eventually anthologised by Samuel Purchas, and the unpublished, anonymous account of the journey to Jerusalem in two manuscript copies in the British Library.[9] The published narratives are those by Edward Webbe (first published 1590), Henry Timberlake (1603), William Biddulph (1609), William Lithgow (1614), George Sandys (1615) and Fynes Moryson (1617).[10] Three of the journeys in question (those of Biddulph, Timberlake and Sanderson) took place in 1601. Several of the travellers' texts refer to their peers' and predecessors' travels, notice their graffiti in the holy places, or comment on the authorship of their

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[8] Stéphane Yerasimos, *Les Voyageurs dans l'Empire Ottomane, XIVe-XVIe Siècles: Bibliographie, Itinéraires et Inventaires des Lieux Habités* (Ankara: Société Turque d'Histoire, 1991), 10.

[9] "A Particular of My Journey with Thosse Meane Obseruations I Haue Collected," 17th century?, Royal Manuscript 18.a.39, London, British Library, fols. 1-27; "A Particular of My Journey with Thosse Meane Obseruations I Haue Collected," 17th century?, Additional Manuscript 17,374, London, British Library, fols. 1-28; John Sanderson, *The Travels of John Sanderson in the Levant 1584-1609. With his Autobiography and Selections from his Correspondence*, ed. William Foster, Hakluyt Society Publications, 2nd series, vol. 67 (London: Cambridge University Press for the Hakluyt Society, 1931), 95-127.

[10] William Biddulph, *The Travels of certaine Englishmen into Africa, Asia, Troy, Bythinia, Thracia, and to the Blacke Sea ...* (London: Th. Haveland, 1609); William Lithgow, *A most delectable and true discourse, of an admired and painefull peregrination from Scotland, to the most famous kingdomes in Europe, Asia and Affricke* (London: Nicholas Okes, 1614); Sandys, *Relation;* Henry Timberlake, *A true and strange discourse of the trauailes of two English Pilgrimes: what admirable accidents befell them in their iourney to Ierusalem, Gaza, Grand Cayro, Alexandria and other places* (London: for Thomas Archer, 1603); Webbe, *The Rare and most wonderfull things.*

narratives or the circumstances of their publication. These features manifest an extroversion reminiscent of the texts treated in Chapter 2. My discussion addresses here, in a necessarily limited way, how authority functions in the booksellers' market place, and investigates the ways in which such responsiveness and interaction among early modern accounts relate to comparable dynamics in their late medieval predecessors.

This thesis is founded on the conviction that it is fruitful to consider these early modern narrative engagements with Jerusalem in relation to late medieval treatments. Sustained use of the juxtaposition of pre- and post-Reformation material has rarely been made before now. The broad chronological span which this entails and the high volume of material which could consequently come under its remit mean that a policy of selectivity must be applied. I do not undertake a full examination of the accounts of Jerusalem published in the great geographical anthologies of Richard Hakluyt and Samuel Purchas.[11] While the use made by Hakluyt and Purchas of the material on English travel to Palestine before, during and after the Crusades would reward further study (and receives occasional mention here), the questions of composition and mediation which arise in relation to anthologies put them outside the scope of this project. Admittedly, the methods of the writers about Jerusalem

[11] Hakluyt includes the pilgrimage of John Locke (1553), from which description of Jerusalem is displaced by a transcription of the pilgrimage certificate (see p. 352 below). John Eldred, travelling through Syria and Mesopotamia in 1583, briefly refers to having seen Jerusalem, along with other places in Palestine, "of which places many others haue published large discourses, I surcease to write." Anthony Jenkinson simply lists Jerusalem and "all the holy land" among "the names of such countries as I ... haue trauelled vnto" between 1546 and 1572. Hakluyt also includes the interesting firsthand account by Laurence Aldersey, a Merchant of London, of a journey through the Low Countries, Germany, and Venice to Jerusalem. Aldersey avoids using the term "pilgrimage" and complains of molestation on account of his Protestant confession on the galley from Venice. Purchas inserts a series of seventeenth-century accounts of travel to the Near East by travellers such as George Sandys, William Biddulph, John Sanderson, Henry Timberlake, Thomas Coryate and William Lithgow, as well as a very brief account of a 1578 visit by John Newbery. With the exception of the accounts of Coryate, Sanderson and Newbery, these narratives had been published independently and in full before *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, and are addressed at some length in those forms in this chapter. Coryate's narrative does not survive in another form, and is so severely abridged by Purchas that very little of his narration of Palestine itself is preserved in the anthology. Newbery's visits within Jerusalem are described in one sentence, and his trip to the Levant is presented as a prelude to more extensive (and extensively narrated) travels in Persia. Richard Hakluyt, *The principal nauigations, voyages, traffiques and discoueries of the English nation* ... (London: George Bishop, Ralph Newberie and Robert Barker, 1598[-1600]); Richard Hakluyt, *The Principall Navigations Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation* [1589], ed. David Beers Quinn, Raleigh Ashlin Skelton, and Alison Quinn, 2 vols., vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for the Hakluyt Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem, 1965); Purchas, ed., *Purchas his Pilgrimes*. From this point onward I quote from the Maclehose edition of Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* and Purchas' *Pilgrims*, except where an argument is made about typography or layout in the original editions. For a brief but interesting discussion of the Jerusalem material in Hakluyt, see Morris, *Sepulchre of Christ*, 370-1.

discussed in Chapters 2 and 4 overlap with those of anthologisers in their borrowings, adaptations and recastings of literary and verbal authorities. The predominant impulse of the former, however, is to assimilate borrowed material to the experience of pilgrimage of a single individual. The choices and borrowings of late medieval pilgrim writers raise very different questions from the work of an editor who distinguishes himself explicitly from the authors and abridges or emends, as Purchas and Hakluyt do. In anthologies like Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* and Purchas' *Pilgrimes*, one must investigate and take into account the extent and layering of editorial intervention or mediation, the anthologisers' choices of selection and exclusion, the provenance of materials, the complex functioning of the framework of editorial gloss and commentary and the negotiation between the author's and the editor's agendas. It is not possible to do justice to these here, and to attempt it would prejudice the study of the primary concerns of this chapter: the changing position of travel to Jerusalem within narratives animated by the experience of one man's travel, the construction of the narratorial/authorial voice and the establishment of its claims to authority, veracity and religious orthodoxy. Although the corpus of texts discussed here consequently does not comprehend every single travel narrative about Jerusalem published in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, nor all narratives written in that period, it is comprehensive within the parameters of single-author publications including accounts of Jerusalem.

This chapter has two primary aims. It acknowledges the ways in which such writing marks a departure from the pilgrimage narratives of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. In complement to this, it explores certain continuities between the travel accounts of the late medieval and early modern periods to 1632. In its investigation of both matters it maintains awareness of the establishment of narrative authority and construction of the narrating and apprehending voice.

Several variables affect these constructions in the early modern period. These are first addressed individually, but then collectively, since they affect and interact with one another. The chapter begins by acknowledging the transformations in the conditions of travel to Jerusalem and in conventions which shaped travel writing. It examines the ways in which developments in publication, dissemination and generic framing affected writing about Jerusalem in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Several factors are considered, including the development of European navigation for mercantile purposes, the rise of educational travel and the emergence of

new literary forms designed to accommodate the narration of such travel, with their own apparatus for the justification, recording and structuring of travellers' experiences. New paradigms of authority were emerging: the analyses of this development and its consequences for travel writing by Elizabeth Eisenstein, Jonathan Haynes and Jacqueline Miller inform my discussion.[12]

A short discussion of current criticism relevant to this body of writing helps to define the terms of the debate that follows. The central questions of that debate are principally these: how exactly should the kind of travel and travel writing undertaken by Protestant travellers be understood in relation to pilgrimage and its written forms? Can such travellers circumvent the paradigm of the place pilgrimage in a city which is – for Christians, at least – saturated with significance which the pilgrimage imparts and reinforces? What narrative and rhetorical strategies are used to enable the travellers to negotiate the forms and practices of pilgrimage while asserting the integrity of their Protestant faith? Or, to formulate the same question differently, what purpose can the narrative treatment of these practices serve? How are they exploited as pretexts for demonstrations of the author's scepticism or orthodoxy?

All of the texts under discussion and their authors are then introduced with an awareness of these questions. In each case, the tone of the treatment of Jerusalem and the Franciscan-led pilgrimage and the relative position of these within the larger narrative containing it are summarised. The questions outlined above then begin to be addressed more directly, first with a summary of the patterns of pilgrimage encountered by early modern Protestant and Catholic visitors, which exist largely unchanged from the fifteenth century. I then examine these travellers' strategies for negotiating new relations with the Franciscans and the practices of pilgrimage instituted in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and to the manner in which the authorial voice, which takes such a different position in the travel writing of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, is constructed in the particular context of travel to Jerusalem.

Although there can be no doubt that the interests and motivations of some of these late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century travellers are multifarious, taking in ethnography, commerce, historical curiosity and political commentary, my primary

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[12] Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early-Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979); Haynes, *Humanist as Traveler;* Miller, *Poetic License.*

concern here is with religious motivation and discourses. This optic, like any limiting focus, necessarily produces some distortion and requires omission of other very important aspects of the narratives. One omission is the relation of the experience of Jerusalem to the rest of the authors' travels in the case of men like George Sandys, William Lithgow and Fynes Moryson, who travelled extensively through Europe and/or the Levant, although such work has been undertaken by others.[13] Another is the nature of the travellers' engagements with religious or cultural difference beyond the Protestant-Catholic axis with which this dissertation is primarily concerned. The aim of this thesis is to examine continuity and change between late medieval pilgrimage and early modern English and Scottish writing about Jerusalem. Consequently, religious motivations, responses to the holy places, engagements with the practices involved in the Franciscan tour and the ramifications of these for Protestant-Catholic opposition are the aspects of these narratives which receive most attention here.[14] It is not possible to reproduce the kind of archival research undertaken by Israeli and Palestinian historians in the last three decades on the social and economic history of early modern Ottoman Jerusalem, nor the increasingly nuanced theoretical work on representations – or omissions, distortions and falsifications of representation – of the Ottoman Empire and their function in English or Scottish culture, although these inform the discussion where appropriate.[15]

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[13] Work already exists on the voyages of George Sandys and William Lithgow in their entirety; only Fynes Moryson still awaits such treatment. See Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *An Intrepid Scot: William Lithgow of Lanark's Travels in the Ottoman Lands, North Africa and Central Europe, 1609-21* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006); James Robert Burns, "William Lithgow's *Totall Discourse* (1632) and His 'Science of the World': A Seventeenth-Century Protestant Traveller's View of Europe and the Near East" (D.Phil. Thesis, Oxford University, 1997); Haynes, *Humanist as Traveler*.

[14] For discussion of the way in which Protestant-Catholic opposition could render English prejudice against the Ottoman powers secondary, see the comments on Henry Timberlake's arrival in Jerusalem in Matthew Dimmock, *Dramatizing Islam and the Ottomans in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 1-4.

[15] For studies based on the rich archival material, see for example Amnon Cohen, *Economic Life in Ottoman Jerusalem* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Amnon Cohen, *Jewish Life under Islam: Jerusalem in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1984); Peri, *Christianity under Islam in Jerusalem;* Amy Singer, *Palestinian Peasants and Ottoman Officials: Rural Administration around Sixteenth-Century Jerusalem* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Dror Ze'evi, *An Ottoman Century: The District of Jerusalem in the 1600s* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1996). Further reference is made to these below. For theoretical discussions and advancements beyond Edward Said's *Orientalism*, see Richard Barbour, *Before Orientalism: London's Theatre of the East, 1576-1626* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), especially 3-9; Dimmock, *New Turkes*, 6-19; Gerald MacLean, "Ottomanism before Orientalism? Bishop King Praises Henry Blount, Passenger in the Levant," in *Travel Knowledge*, ed. Kamps and Singh; Gerald MacLean, ed., *Re-Orienting the Renaissance: Cultural Exchanges with the East* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2005), 7-8; Nabil Matar, *Islam in Britain 1558-1685* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 11-20; Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen*, 17-8; Daniel Vitkus, *Turning Turk: English Theater and the Multicultural Mediterranean,*

Before concluding the introduction, it is necessary to broach the question of whether the Protestant travellers who visit Jerusalem as part of an arc around the Levant or as the furthest point of travels focused on Western Europe, rather than as their sole destination, can properly be considered in a continuum with pilgrims of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. "*A priori* 'the pilgrim is not a globe-trotter,'" asserts Nicole Chareyron, citing Frederic Tinguely. "His is a spiritual objective toward which he is supposed to hasten with no loitering along the way."[16] In fact, Tinguely himself admits the difficulty of distinguishing the linear pilgrimage from the circular journey of the tourist, particularly from the late fifteenth century on when categories are more vigorously manipulated. There is "incompatibility [between the two] in principle and interpenetration in actuality."[17] By the criteria of linearity and orientation around a single holy place, almost all of the writers discussed here would be excluded from consideration as pilgrim-writers. So, however, would the pilgrim figure in "The Way to Jerusalem," who narrates a journey southwest through France, Spain and Portugal in a circuit which cannot be accounted for fully by pilgrimage shrines along the way, commenting on currencies, the bounty of the land, the security of towns and points of interest such as universities, but who is clearly preoccupied above all with the Jerusalem pilgrimage which follows it. It is certainly true that unrivalled pre-eminence is not given to Jerusalem in the travel narratives of George Sandys, William Lithgow, or Fynes Moryson, for example. Nonetheless, Jerusalem and its environs are experienced by them in terms dictated by the pilgrimage. Several of the early modern Protestant travellers, as I will demonstrate, think of themselves as "pilgrims," or of their journeys as "pilgrimages." It is essential to remain alert to the fact that the particular meaning of these terms as they use them does not map exactly onto late medieval usages, and often accommodates scepticism or disbelief rather than devotion. Those who disclaim the status of pilgrims, however,

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1570-1630 (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 8, 13, 31. Instead of concentrating on European travellers' representations of Ottoman subjects, Ze'evi's more recent monograph considers European accounts in complement to extensive discussion of Ottoman writing on sexuality and in balance with Ottoman travellers' accounts of European sexual mores: Dror Ze'evi, *Producing Desire: Changing Sexual Discourse in the Ottoman Middle East, 1500-1900* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2006). For a discussion of Arabic Muslims' writing on western Europe, see Nabil Matar, "Arab Views of Europeans, 1578-1727: The Western Mediterranean" in MacLean, ed., *Re-Orienting the Renaissance*.

[16] Chareyron, *Pilgrims to Jerusalem*, 7. She cites Frederic Tinguely, "Janus en Terre Sainte: La Figure du Pèlerin Curieux à la Renaissance," *Revue des Sciences Humaines* [Special Issue: *Homo Viator*] 245 (1997).

[17] "le pèlerinage et le seul voyage de curiosité ... nous semblent présenter le double intérêt d'une incompatibilité de principe et d'une interpénétration de fait." Tinguely, "Janus en Terre Sainte," 54-7.

still engage with the practices and patterns of pilgrimage. Narrators bolster their authority by displaying their scorn for relics, their indifference to indulgences, their scepticism of the Franciscan friars' claims. On the other hand, some make space for more sympathetic and acquiescent engagements, if only momentarily, and even take advantage of certain pilgrim practices to serve their own needs for proof and evidence. In the narrative spaces and pretexts created by the pilgrimage, travellers can strike various poses of defiance, criticism, or simple participation.

CRITICAL DISCUSSIONS

The narratives explored in this chapter have received much more discussion than most of the English narratives examined in Chapter 2, with the exception of Margery Kempe's. However, the existing critical material is neither exhaustive nor extensive, although gaps are now being filled. Until 2006, only George Sandys' *Relation of a Journey begun An. Dom. 1610* had been the principal subject of published monographs. These include James Ellison's *George Sandys: Travel, Colonialism and Tolerance in the Seventeenth Century* (2002), which discusses the descriptions of the Ottoman territories, and Palestine in particular, as part of his investigation into Sandys' evolving thinking on religious tolerance, and Richard B. Davis' 1955 biography, which is useful to this study principally for its identification of the influence of Jean Zuallart, Christian Adrichomius and other source materials on Sandys' description of Jerusalem.[18] Most relevant to my project, however, is Haynes' *The Humanist as Traveler: George Sandys'* Relation of a Journey begun An. Dom. 1610 (1986), which offers a careful, thoughtful and detailed analysis of the *Relation*. Haynes develops an argument that each of the four books in the *Relation* is characterised by a different "form of historical knowledge": that the knowledge and literature available to the humanist Englishman regarding Asia Minor, Egypt, Palestine and Italy produce an observational and narrative framework which determines the mode of writing, use of literary quotation and the presentation of

[18] Richard Beale Davis, *George Sandys Poet-Adventurer: A Study in Anglo-American Culture in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Bodley Head, 1955), 68-76.

regional history in their description.[19] Throughout the *Relation*, but in a particularly intense way in the book on Palestine, Haynes argues, Sandys' fascination with the theme of "historical loss" is apparent. By "historical loss, Haynes understands the mutability of the human condition and the impossibility of guaranteeing the fixity or stability of human achievement in architectural or political structures.[20]

Bosworth's book-length examination of William Lithgow's travels, published in the summer of 2006, is the first published monograph on the Scottish traveller. His account is more concerned with a careful reconstruction of Lithgow's extensive travels, painstakingly annotated and situated in relation to the political, cultural and historical contexts which give way to one another as Lithgow moves than with an analysis of the shadings of his religious experience in a single place. More attentive to the latter is J. R. Burns' 1997 DPhil dissertation on Lithgow. Sensitive as he is to Lithgow's role-playing and mindfulness of audience in the narrative, Burns takes advantage of the revisions to Lithgow's narrative between 1614 and 1632 to build an argument that the mode of narration evolved in response to his experiences as a traveller, particularly his sufferings in Malaga in 1620. Burns demonstrates that Lithgow intensified the anti-Catholic tone of his narrative between 1614 and 1632.[21] Burns is also attentive to the place of Lithgow's narrative in travel writing at large, noting borrowings and divergences from contemporary travel narratives. Of the visit to Jerusalem, Burns writes that

> it is there that Protestant travellers come closest to imitating [the devotional habits they revile] in Catholic sojourners. The anxieties Lithgow feels as a result of his close association with Jerusalem's Franciscan caretakers and the general tension in his narrative between faith and evidence, devotion and experimentation, make this perhaps the most compelling episode of his first journey. (Burns, 142)

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[19] Haynes' account of Sandys' negotiation of religious difference is itself subject to variations according to region. He very carefully interrogates Sandys' adoption of "institutionalised" anti-Islamic prejudice in the chapter on "Turkey". However, Haynes acquiesces in Sandys' representation of the Franciscans as interfering, trivial and distracting, stating that "there was no way to escape the vexing patter of the Friars." See Haynes, *Humanist as Traveler*, 65-79, 105.

[20] Haynes, *Humanist as Traveler*, 18, 107-8. Haynes' account of Sandys' preoccupation with mutability resonates with Moryson's verses to his brother, recorded by Biddulph (see n. 95 below). Perhaps his choice of the imagery of decayed monuments for the lament for Henry was suggested by his exposure to the numerous ruins visited by pilgrims at the holy sites in Palestine.

[21] Burns, "Lithgow and His 'Science of the World,'" 3-4, 32-4. Cited by Bosworth, *Intrepid Scot*, 19.

Noting that the insertion of parenthetical disclaimers becomes habitual in Palestine, Burns explores the tension between acquiescence and resistance in Lithgow's pilgrimage. He notices incidents which betray a susceptibility to relics or to holy places, although he explains these away and assimilates them perhaps too readily to a putative attitude of consistent scepticism and empiricism (Burns, 151-2, 154). He acknowledges Lithgow's self-representation as a "pilgrim," although he conceives of Lithgow as a pilgrim "of a Protestant stamp, in that he looks for every step of his journey – not just his arrival at a pilgrimage site – to be accompanied by tests of his commitment and proofs of his progress towards a final non-temporal destination" (Burns, 51). In my view, there is more slippage in Lithgow's use of relics and other material objects towards participation in Catholic practice than Burns acknowledges, but his discussion significantly advances understanding of Lithgow's strategies for constructing himself as an authoritative, rigorous and immovably Protestant traveller.

2006 also saw the publication of a monograph on Henry Timberlake: Joan Taylor's *The Englishman, the Moor and the Holy City*. Her aim is "not to provide a scholarly enquiry, but to bring Timberlake's story to life in an interesting narrative for those unfamiliar with the period of early modern travel and adventure" (Taylor, *Englishman*, 13). Taylor's accessible book incorporates original research on Timberlake's biography in the National Archives and the records of the Commissary Court of London, the Prerogative Court of Canterbury and the Titchfield parish records, and is usefully informed by her expertise in the early Christian archaeology of Jerusalem and surrounding areas. She concentrates on the relationship between Timberlake and the North African traveller who took responsibility for his safety throughout much of his journey. Many of her observations are sound and stimulating, and inform the discussion below. Paying attention to the interactions among the various travellers who converge on the Levant, she makes use of contemporary travel writing on Jerusalem and exploits them with very attentive reading. Her decision to treat as more authentic the Sloane MS of Timberlake's narrative over the early printed editions or Purchas' version is not satisfactorily defended, however,[22] and certain

[22] The version in Sloane 2496 is not complete: for example, it omits part of the description of the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem and all ensuing description of holy places in Jerusalem given in the 1603 edition, resuming only at the list of spatial correspondences between Jerusalem and London. Several of its variants are also less preferable than those in the 1603 and Purchas editions. The relationship between the various versions is not straightforward. The 1603 version is generally more expansive than the MS version, and in places sharpens the sense of Timberlake's scepticism about pilgrimage identifications and practices. The MS contains much material in common with the 1603

assertions, usually those exonerating Timberlake from racist or anti-Islamic statements in the revised 1608 edition, are insufficiently substantiated.[23]

Haynes also considers Sandys' *Relation* in conjunction with some of the contemporary English and Scottish travel narratives. Unlike Daniel Vitkus who, as I will demonstrate, has a tendency to assume the homogeneity of belief among English and Scottish Protestant travellers in Palestine (and indeed to elide the Lanark native Lithgow into the category of "English travellers"), Haynes is attentive to variations in response to Palestine and its holy places, monuments, inhabitants and pilgrims. He accepts the designation of Henry Timberlake as a "real pilgrim" on the grounds that, in spite of some doubts and scepticism, he "falls down and prays when he first comes in sight of Jerusalem." Haynes continues, "what is wrong with the Holy Land is that the Muslims have ruined it, and [Timberlake] still relies on the structure of the Catholic pilgrimage to give his trip meaning" (Haynes, 106). By contrast,

> Sandys dons a pilgrim's robes when he joins the caravan which brought him to Palestine to Cairo, and lets himself be carried along by the pilgrimage system, creating no disturbances—but he is distinctly not a pilgrim. As he approaches Jerusalem he is thinking about the myth of Perseus and Andromeda and its connection with Joppa, not preparing himself spiritually, and when the city comes into view his response is aesthetic, not devotional. (Haynes, 106)

While Timberlake's gestures of resistance to Franciscan protection, already discussed, require qualifications of the view that he participates harmoniously in the Catholic pilgrimage, or that Sandys is unresponsive to the devotional implications of being at Jerusalem, Haynes demonstrates that the responses of English Protestant travellers to the city were not monolithic.

In spite of Haynes' arguments, the 2001 essay "Trafficking with the Turk" by Daniel Vitkus on seventeenth-century travellers to Jerusalem obscures much of the variety in written English and Scottish responses to Jerusalem. Vitkus asserts that by

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edition which is absent in the curtailed Purchas version, but in other places it coincides more closely with Purchas' version. Sloane 2496 may be an incomplete copy of an earlier draft from which both printed versions derive, but in the light of its erroneous variants I see no reason to prefer it to these versions. See Henry Timberlake, "Journey to Jerusalem by Henry Tymberley an Englishman ... from Argiers in company of another man called Mr John Burell," 1607, British Library, London, Sloane MS 2496, fols. 62-69.

[23] Taylor does not mention the existence of the revised 1608 edition and bases her account of revisions on the 1609 edition.

the seventeenth century commercial concerns had displaced the religious in accounts by travellers to Jerusalem:

> English and Scottish visitors to Jerusalem and Constantinople saw themselves, not as pilgrims seeking grace through ritualized and sanctified means, but as "anti-pilgrims" who were there to witness and record their post-Reformation abhorrence of both Catholic "idolatry" and Turkish "tyranny." The reality of Ottoman Jerusalem and Constantinople compelled them to act as iconoclastic anti-pilgrims whose purposes are more often more commercial than pious, ethnographic rather than devotional.[24]

Vitkus' conflation of travel to Jerusalem and Constantinople is problematic, and elsewhere in the same essay he acknowledges that the two cities "stand at opposite poles in the ideological construction of the Levant by English culture" (Vitkus, "Trafficking with the Turk," 45). Firstly, in spite of the splendour of Constantinople's churches and relics before the city's fall to the Ottomans in 1453, it never rivalled Jerusalem as a focus for pilgrimage among the English or Scottish, so it is misleading to imply that the mercantile activity fostered in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries displaced devotional travel of a similar order. Secondly, commercial concerns were much more likely to motivate and reveal themselves in travel to Constantinople or one of the other bases for English factors than in journeys to Jerusalem, a city which enjoyed relatively little trade. "In the Middle Ages under Islamic rule – both Mamluk and Ottoman – Jerusalem was a small provincial city compared with other urban centers of these empires," writes Amnon Cohen. During the middle two quarters of the sixteenth century, it underwent significant investment and its commerce and population grew. The city never rivalled Constantinople, Cairo, Damascus or Aleppo in size or trade, however, a lack of importance which seems at odds with Jerusalem's prestige within Islam (Amnon Cohen, *Jewish Life under Islam*, vii-viii). Merchandise travelling between Cairo and Damascus was traditionally

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[24] Vitkus, "Trafficking with the Turk," 35. Bosworth repeats Vitkus' characterisation of Lithgow as an "anti-pilgrim" without objection in a footnote, but elsewhere he describes the "pilgrimage to the Holy Land" as "Lithgow's declared supreme goal." Bosworth, *Intrepid Scot*, 65, 88*n*. Of course, late medieval pilgrimage narratives are not necessarily unresponsive to economic and commercial concerns. See, for example, the lists of currencies offered in William Wey's *Itineraries* and "The Way to Jerusalem" edited by Purchas. The inclusion of this and other material relating to contracts of passage and provisions attracts the scorn of Clare Howard, apparently because of the juxtaposition of monetary concerns with claims to piety. Admittedly, the cast of these concerns is very different after the inception of trade between England and Constantinople, Aleppo and Alexandria in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, when the monetary concerns of merchants and factors come to coexist with those of travellers. Howard, *English Travellers of the Renaissance*, 4-5.

transported by sea, and Jerusalem was too far inland to profit from this. It was also too far from the caravan routes to Mecca from Egypt and Syria. "The population of Jerusalem was relatively too small to attract either the commercial traffic following the Mediterranean shores or the pilgrimage caravans to deviate from their regular routes. If we add the poor state of the commercial facilities in the town after the long years of Mamluk neglect to the drawbacks enumerated above, the overall picture that emerges is an underdeveloped, sluggish economy that has little in common with urban life as we conceive it" (Amnon Cohen, *Economic Life in Ottoman Jerusalem*, 4-6). As I have already indicated, it is true that several of the travellers who wrote and published accounts of journeys to Jerusalem were involved in Anglo-Levantine trade or benefited from its representatives' hospitality, but none of these travelled to Jerusalem with commerce in mind.[25]

The usefulness of the designation "anti-pilgrims" is also limited, although Vitkus uses it repeatedly:

> As early modern Protestants, English visitors to Jerusalem did see themselves as performing an important religious function: they were there, not to perform good works, but, rather, as "anti-pilgrims" who are present in order to express their scepticism and testify to the false "idolatry" or "superstition" of the other Christians who continued to uphold the importance of pilgrimage and the cult of saints. William Lithgow and George Sandys both play the part of the anxious, conflicted anti-pilgrim, sometimes moved to worship or reverence by the sacred spaces of Jerusalem, but just as often moved to contempt and scorn. (Vitkus, "Trafficking with the Turk," 41)

Although Vitkus here admits the admixture of reverence and scorn visible in these narratives, I am not convinced that the designation of this kind of travel as "anti-pilgrimage" captures the nuances, contradictions and mobility of attitudes in English and Scottish accounts of Palestine. Travel to Palestine exposed the traveller to difference of many kinds, to binary oppositions which overlapped and disrupted one another in narration. As well as the Catholic/Protestant dichotomy, which Vitkus sees as motivating the Englishman's or Scotsman's journey, the traveller had to negotiate at least the following: Christian/Muslim; Eastern Christian/Protestant; Christian/Jew.

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[25] Timberlake was involved with the Levant company as sea-captain, Sanderson as factor, Biddulph as preacher to the merchants at Aleppo. Sandys and Lithgow both enjoyed the hospitality of Sir Thomas Glover, the English ambassador at Constantinople. Lithgow lived with him for three months, Sandys for four. See Davis, *George Sandys*, 53-4.

Then there are the dichotomies in which he was not himself directly implicated, such as Arab/Ottoman and Arab Christian/Arab Muslim or settled/nomadic Bedouin, although this last was unlikely to be perceived or addressed by transient commentators. If a traveller felt hostility at one moment towards the Franciscan friars and their scheme of pilgrimage as a consequence of Protestant conviction, it could be quickly displaced, for example, by a sense of solidarity with other Christian sects because of Ottoman restrictions on their movements or the tributes exacted on visits to churches.[26] Indeed, in the first two chapters of a more recent monograph, Vitkus gives a subtle critique of the value of such rigid dichotomies in understanding cultural difference and differentiation: "Binary oppositions have an important rudimentary function in the dialectical process," he admits, but these do "not remain stable, and in the next phase of analysis, we must trace the multivalent and multipolar significations that come into play in a text or a culture" (Vitkus, *Turning Turk*, 2).

Finally, in direct contradiction of Vitkus' comments, the terms "pilgrim" and "pilgrimage" are used by several of the Protestant travellers under discussion to describe the journeys they are undertaking, although the meanings attached to these terms undergo modification and qualification compared with late medieval uses. Specific examples will be discussed more fully below. I hope in that discussion to do justice to the spectrum of responses to the pilgrimage and to the identification of the traveller as a pilgrim, from the hostile (Lithgow), through the ambivalent (Moryson) to the relatively sympathetic and benign (Sanderson). Indeed, although Samuel Chew and Vitkus assume that all English Renaissance travellers to Jerusalem are Protestant,[27] the category of "English visitors to Jerusalem" in the early modern period could include Catholics, as evinced by the narrative of John Locke's 1553 pilgrimage included in Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* and, less certainly, the possibly Catholic author of "A Particular of My Journey."[28] Indeed, the surviving register of pilgrims visiting Jerusalem under Franciscan protection indicates that English Catholic

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[26] See the discussion of Lithgow's use below on pp. 349 to 350.

[27] "Into the state of mind of the Roman Catholic pilgrim we need not inquire." Chew, *The Crescent and the Rose*, 89.

[28] John Locke, travelling to Jerusalem during the reign of Mary Tudor, includes himself in the collective designation "pilgrims," and enthusiastically participates in singing the *Te Deum, Magnificat* and *Benedictus* "in salutation of the holy land." He scoffs at a Franciscan friar who, out of injured pride, "neglected his devotion to the holy land." Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations Voyages Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* ... 12 vols. (Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, 1903), vol. 5, 89, 91. See p. 352 below. For discussion of "A Particular of My Journey," see pp. 313-7 below.

pilgrims occasionally turned up in Jerusalem throughout the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, even if their journeys went unrecorded or their narratives were lost.[29]

Changing Centres of Power in the Levant: The Transition from Mamluk to Ottoman Government

The Ottoman Sultan Selim I took Cairo in January 1517, having triumphed over Mamluk forces near Aleppo in August 1516 and claimed Damascus without contest on his way south.[30] Jerusalem thus came under Ottoman control after more than two and a half centuries of Mamluk rule. The Ottomans had been at war with the Mamluks from 1485 until 1491, but Ottoman influence in Mamluk territories had been established in the second decade of the sixteenth century by Selim's father Bayezid II, as the Mamluks were obliged to request Ottoman aid and naval protection of their spice and timber trades against the Portuguese.[31] Stéphane Yerasimos states that little printed evidence survives to suggest that much notice was taken in Europe of the Ottoman victory in 1517, nor is the change much remarked by contemporary European travellers to Jerusalem. The only printed notice he finds is a pamphlet advertising the "good news proceeding from the East."[32] It reports not only the

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[29] Between 1561 and 1632, seven pilgrims are described in the Mount Sion pilgrim register with the descriptor "Anglus Catholicus." In the same period, the arrivals of 74 further English or Scottish travellers, and one Irish traveller, were recorded (see table 1). Sir Francis Verney was one traveller recorded as an English Catholic in the register when he arrived on October 12, 1607. Lithgow met Verney as the latter lay dying in Messina in 1616, and included a brief account of Verney's history in his *Discourse*. His account illustrates the potentially complex affiliations and mobile identities of English travellers in the Levant. "[A]fter many misfortunes in exhausting his large patrimony, abandoning his Country, and turning Turk in Tunneis; he was taken at Sea by the *Sicilian* Gallies: In one of which he was two yeares a slaue, where hee was redeemed by an English *Iesuite*, vpon a promise of his Conuersion to the Christian faith: When set at liberty, hee turned common Souldier, and here ... contracted Death." This account of Verney's conversion to Islam is corroborated by Venetian sailors captured by Barbary pirates. However, Verney kept the pilgrim staff, inlaid with crosses, which he had obtained at Jerusalem. It was returned to his family after his death along with other belongings, and is still in the Verney family's possession at Claydon House, Buckinghamshire. Lithgow, *Totall Discourse*, 397-8; Zimolong, ed., *Navis Peregrinorum*, 22 ; *DNB*, 2004 ed., s.v. "Francis Verney."

[30] Norman Housley, *The Later Crusades, 1274-1580: From Lyons to Alcazar* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 120-2.

[31] Housley, *Later Crusades*, 121. For more specific information as to the nature of this aid, see Andrew Hess, "The Ottoman Conquest of Egypt (1517) and the Beginning of the Sixteenth-Century World War," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 4, no. 1 (1973): 67.

[32] "Nouvelles bonnes, lesquelees sont produites et venuez dorient (...) Comment le grand Turc a gaingné la ville de Damast, Jherusalem, Alkayr avecq plusieurs autres villes gisantes bien près et

Ottomans' conquest of Syria and Egypt but also claims that Selim had heard mass in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and seems to imagine an improvement for Christian interests in Jerusalem. On the other hand, Norman Housley points out that the consolidation of direct Ottoman suzerainty over Egypt and Syria and, consequently, Palestine and the Christian holy places immediately provoked energetic attempts to organise a new crusade to return them to Christian hands. Pope Leo X proclaimed crusading indulgences, began to plan a military expedition, invited schemes for resistance against the Ottomans, and set about realising a truce among Western European rulers.[33] These plans soon foundered, however, thanks to a number of factors which included the death of Selim I and accession of Suleiman I, who was expected to pose a less formidable threat, lack of political unity among European rulers and increasing disunity in the Church (Housley, *Later Crusades*, 126-8). The conquest over the Mamluk territories augmented Ottoman prestige as well as territory, giving the Sultan custodianship over the three most important holy cities in Islam – Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem – and thus bolstering his attempts to unify the variety of Islamic provinces under its control (Hess, 70).

Oded Peri's 2001 study of Ottoman adjudication over the Christian holy sites, *Christianity under Islam in Jerusalem*, demonstrates that their government was far from arbitrary but informed by Islamic *sharī'a* law, secular sultanic law and the emerging system of capitulations, or treaties, between the Ottomans and foreign powers. Peri shows that a symbiotic relationship was cultivated between Christian pilgrimage and Muslim *awqaf*,[34] or pious foundations, so that pilgrim revenue funding the *awqaf* gave local Muslim leaders an incentive to protect Christians visiting from western Europe. Nonetheless, Latin Christians suffered occasional violence and reversal of their status. The expulsion of the Franciscans from their convent on Mount Sion in 1551-2 is the most notable example, but there were other dark episodes.[35] In September 1537, the friars were arrested, and some held for four months (Amnon

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comment le grandt Turk a ouy messe environ le sepulcre de Nostre Seigneur et Redempteur Jesus Christ." Yerasimos, "Voyageurs," 77*n*, 79.

[33] Housley, *Later Crusades*, 125-6. Details of Henry VIII's enthusiasm for a crusade from 1519-20 are given in Christopher Tyerman, *England and the Crusades 1095-1588* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 352-3.

[34] The singular in Arabic is *waqf*; in Turkish, *vakıf*.

[35] For an account of the events leading to the ejection of the Franciscans from Mount Sion and evaluation of the accusations that Jews in Jerusalem had engineered it, see Amnon Cohen, "The Expulsion of the Franciscans from Mount Zion: Old Documents and New Interpretations," *Turcica: Revue d'Études Turques* 18 (1986).

Cohen, "Expulsion," 148-9). In August 1556, a group of pilgrims were imprisoned at Ramleh on their return to Joppa, held there until April, 1557, then transferred to Constantinople from which they were only freed in 1559 (Yerasimos, 91). However, Amnon Cohen has also emphasised "the legalistic approach" which "served to uphold the existing pattern of Christian official presence"; the expulsion from Mount Sion constituted an exception to this rule.[36]

Whether it was governed from Cairo or Constantinople, Jerusalem remained a backwater, removed from the most important trade routes and distant from the centre of political power. Nonetheless, while the distance between Jerusalem and the centre of administration increased dramatically with its transfer to Ottoman hands, the research of Cohen demonstrates that the infrastructural improvements undertaken by the new governors led to marked prosperity for much of the sixteenth century. Dror Ze'evi, like Cohen, makes use of the evidence of the *sijill* registers, the Arabic and Turkish records of decrees and operations of the *sharī'a* courts, to reconstruct aspects of economic and political life in Jerusalem under the Ottomans in the early modern period. The walls were rebuilt in the reign of Suleiman I (1520-66), affording the city much greater security.[37] There was also investment in the water system, in the renovation and extension of markets, and in *awqaf*, stimulating trade and increasing prosperity. Ze'evi emphasises the hybrid nature of Ottoman rule in Jerusalem, demonstrating that centralised power and local elites interacted with and accommodated one another. "A special amalgam emerged" – a fact reflected in the bilingual nature of the *sijill* registers – "an elite that was Ottoman in its politics and its self-perception, yet deeply rooted in the province as concerns its family ties, its assets and its peculiar cultural style" (Ze'evi, *Ottoman Century*, 61). Thus the governors of Jerusalem sometimes came from a centralised pool, imposed from Istanbul; at other times powerful local figures, of Bedouin or Circassian origins, elicited approval of local appointments from the imperial centre. Sometimes Ottoman governors imposed by Istanbul settled in the region and formed local alliances, so that subsequent

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[36] Amnon Cohen, "The Ottoman Approach to Christians and Christianity in Sixteenth-Century Jerusalem," *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 7, no. 2 (1996): 211.

[37] Cohen, *Jewish Life under Islam*, viii; Ze'evi, *Ottoman Century*, 19-21. The precise dates of 1537-41 are given for the walls' construction in Yerasimos, "Voyageurs," 86. Ze'evi's research in the *sijill* volumes demonstrates that the local governing elite and notables continued to take these defences seriously in the seventeenth century. He suggests that these defences may have been desired as protection not only against *bedouin* incursions but also against renewed European crusading efforts, even as late as the second decade of the seventeenth century.

generations maintained a strong position in the political hierarchy but had distinctly local attachments and identities. The Ottomans presided over a region that was itself highly heterogeneous, numbering Muslims, Christians and Jews among its populations.[38]

The scope of this project does not allow discussions of late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English images of a declining Ottoman empire to be advanced or even fully analysed, even though these conceptions are of relevance to the examination of travel to Ottoman-ruled Palestine.[39] The English insistence on Ottoman decline has been acknowledged by Haynes, whom Nabil Matar takes to task for "project[ing] the military and industrial decline of Muslim countries in the modern period on [early modern] English drama and travelogues" by the use of postcolonial discourse (Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen*, 8). This correction is perhaps unfair to Haynes, who never himself implies the real decline of the Ottoman Empire, although he alludes to Said and discusses Sandys' perception of Ottoman degeneracy.[40] However, Matar's correction serves the larger and important purpose of distinguishing between early modern Englishmen's conceptions of the Muslims in their sphere of encounter and the paradigm of Orientalism: the impossibility of conquest profoundly shapes European Renaissance conceptions of the Ottoman Empire (Matar, *Islam in Britain*, 13-4). Gerald MacLean coins the term "Ottomanism" to express a set of attitudes which pre-date the conditions which Orientalism describes:

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[38] See Chapter 2, "The Rise and Fall of Local Dynasties," Ze'evi, *Ottoman Century*, 35-62, especially 23-4.

[39] A limited list of recent examples includes, in addition to those listed in n. 15, Bosworth, *Intrepid Scot*, 63-4; Burns, "Lithgow and His 'Science of the World,'" 125-8; Asli Cirakman, "From Tyranny to Despotism: The Englightenment's Unenlightened Image of the Turks," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 33, no. 1 (2001).

[40] For example, "surely it is to be hoped that [the Ottomans'] greatnesse is not onely at the height, but neare an extreme precipitation: the body being growne too monstrous for the head; the Sultans vnwarlicke, and never accompanying their armes in person; the Souldier corrupted with ease and liberty, drowned with prohibited wine, enfeebled with the continuall converse of women, and generally lapsed from their former austerity of life, and simplicity of manners." Sandys, *Relation*, 50. This may have been wishful thinking on Sandys' part, although Ellison suggests that unrest among the Janissaries in Constantinople in 1603, a treaty with the Habsburgs in 1606 disadvantageous to the Ottomans and incursions by the Persians into Anatolia may have provided the basis for such a belief in Ottoman decline. James Ellison, *George Sandys: Travel, Colonialism and Tolerance in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2002), 67. The hypothesis of seventeenth-century Ottoman decline is also upheld by Housley, *Later Crusades*, 148-50. Matar does acknowledge elsewhere a later military decline beginning with the 1683 defeat at Vienna and the 1699 treaty of Karlowitz. Matar, *Islam in Britain*, 185. For a forceful refutation of the hypothesis, see Caroline Finkel, "'The Treacherous Cleverness of Hindsight': Myths of Ottoman Decay," in *Re-Orienting the Renaissance: Cultural Exchanges with the East*, ed. Gerald MacLean (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2005).

> Unlike "the Orient," the Ottoman Empire really existed. The Ottomans were well-aware of the fact, and were quite capable of representing themselves. Said is perfectly clear that although "there were – and are – cultures and nations whose location is in the East," Orientalism describes the ways that "Westerners" set about understanding and eventually controlling those cultures and nations by designating them the "Orient." When early European visitors set about understanding, misunderstanding, overlooking, or ignoring the self-representations of Ottoman culture, the reports they left behind may owe rather more to their own imperial fantasies and personal ambitions than to really existing conditions. But they never doubted that the Ottoman Empire existed. *Orientalism* is almost entirely concerned with the period following the defeat of Islamic imperialism, the post-Napoleonic period of Enlightenment.[41]

Matar argues that fear and awe of Ottoman military might, appreciation for the possibilities of social mobility available within the Ottoman structures of governance and fascination with esoteric knowledge fostered by Islamic culture, were of a much greater order among the English than is commonly acknowledged (Matar, *Islam in Britain*, 4-15, 42-3, 89-92).

Where the travellers under discussion make extended allusion to Ottoman government or culture or observance of Islam, it is generally in the context of a visit to Contantinople.[42] In Jerusalem, Ottoman government over the region, the might of the Ottoman empire and the structures by which the Islamic imperative of tolerance of religious minorities is upheld are all relevant to travellers. In spite of the larger fascination of Englishmen with the Ottoman Empire, however, travellers writing about Jerusalem are interested in the Ottomans primarily as they control visitors' movements, protect them, and exact charges from them. There is also interest in Ottoman management of the holy religious minorities, and rural administration, often partaking of eschatological rhetoric about degeneracy or decline.[43] This informs the way in which travellers understand the land as bearing the traces of its history or of divine agency and is discussed in detail in due course.

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[41] MacLean, "Ottomanism before Orientalism?," 87. See also n. 15 above.

[42] For example, Lithgow, *Totall Discourse*, 142-70; Sandys, *Relation*, 42-76. Histories of the Ottomans and of Islam are conflated in Biddulph, *Travels*, 49-59, and follow the report of his journey from Constinople to Syria.

[43] For fuller discussion of this point, see pp. 333-3 below.

TRANSFORMATIONS IN WRITING ABOUT JERUSALEM, 1525-1632

As I indicated above, several factors are responsible for the changes in ways of writing about Jerusalem and surrounding territories. They are partly the result of developments in modes of publication and dissemination. They are also a consequence of European geographical discovery and exploration from the late fifteenth century onwards. This had a profound impact on the scope, profits and motivations relating to travel, and on cosmography. As the known world became larger for Europeans, and the profits to be made from exploring its unknown parts better understood, travellers' attention would no longer by monopolised by the pilgrimage centres of Jerusalem and Rome. The controversies of the Reformation had their impact on the legitimacy of pilgrimage as a pretext for travel, as the preceding chapter demonstrated. Criticisms of the materiality of pilgrimage and its related activities, suspicion of the motives and purity of intention of pilgrims and fear of misdirection of economic resources away from the family and the poor and towards avaricious clergy all threatened the prestige of the institution and necessitated very robust justifications for such travel. Once such anxieties about pilgrimage (which had admittedly circulated since the early church) had gained currency and become institutionalised in legal proscriptions of pilgrimage, clear and persuasive statements had to be made by travellers about their motivations, intentions and expectations in travelling. There was also a growing sense of the value of travel for the purposes of education.[44] Travel for knowledge or for scholarship was not an innovation of the early modern period: Melito of Sardis, for example, had travelled to Palestine in the mid-second century to establish the canon of the Old Testament.[45] Nevertheless, it appears in early modern justifications of travel with a frequency for which there was little precedent in late medieval pilgrimage narratives preoccupied instead with the availability of indulgences, the journey as a good work, or *imitatio christi*. Furthermore, and partly as a consequence of this, the generic categories in and across which travel was accommodated shifted during this period, a fact which is discussed at greater length below.

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[44] See Introduction, 8.
[45] See Chapter 1, 39.

The following section investigates the nature of these changes and the ways in which the construction of narrative authority evolved between late medieval and early modern narratives. Only a briefly-sketched answer is possible here, but even this helps to illuminate aspects of the transformations which become visible when the late medieval pilgrimage account and early modern travel narrative are compared.

Construction of Authority

Elizabeth Eisenstein points out that the changes to the production and publication of books in the late fifteenth-, sixteenth- and seventeenth-centuries contribute to a changed sense of what constitutes the creation of a book, citing Saint Bonaventura's four-part taxonomy of possible creators of books:

> A man might write the works of others, adding and changing nothing, in which case he is simply called a "scribe" (*scriptor*). Another writes the work of others with additions which are not his own; and he is called a "compiler" (*compilator*). Another writes both others' work and his own, but with others' work in principal place, adding his own for purposes of explanation; and he is called a "commentator" (*commentator*) .... Another writes both his own work and others' but with his own work in principal place adding others' for purposes of confirmation; and such a man should be called an "author" (*auctor*) (Eisenstein, vol. 1, 121-2).

The "omission of completely original composition from [Bonaventure's] otherwise symmetrical scheme" noted by John Burrow differentiates the way of thinking about authority in the late medieval narratives from certain early modern formulations.[46] The view of book production in the late medieval period as an enterprise which always involves negotiation of some kind between a new author and existing authorities is visible in the appropriations, re-uses and copying which take place with little or no anxiety in the late medieval pilgrimage narratives. The participation in an existing tradition is what helps to guarantee veracity. Thus, as Chapter 2 has demonstrated, the narrative voice in late medieval pilgrimage writing makes a virtue of mobility, of assimilation of written authorities into the pilgrim's voice, as well as of

[46] John Burrow, "The Medieval Compendium," *Times Literary Supplement* May 21 (1976): 615. Cited in Eisenstein, *Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, vol. 1, 122.

imagining the re-use to which it will itself be put. As I commented in Chapter 2, these unacknowledged borrowings or verbatim repetitions would not satisfy the exacting standards of Petrarch or Vincent of Beauvais, but late medieval pilgrim authors aspire to a different kind of authority, focused on the self-evidence and usefulness of content rather than the recognisability and reputation of the author. By contrast, although recourse to literary authorities does not cease to be of great importance in early modern writing, the authority of the narrative voice in travel narratives depends increasingly on its fixity, since authority proceeds more and more from the identity and identifiability of the author.

Jonathan Haynes identifies a shift in the construction of authority in travel literature in the late sixteenth century:

> there was a general question of how to write about the foreign and travel experiences which was taken up deliberately by the sponsors of the voyages of discovery, by a new generation of professional geographers, and by educators, as well as literary men. Together they reformulated the purposes and notions of authority and authorship at work in travel literature (Haynes, 27).

Joan-Pau Rubiés and Jaś Elsner argue that "the authority of the traveller replaced that of the book" much earlier than Haynes suggests, locating it in the very late thirteenth-century travels written by Marco Polo with Rustichello di Pisa. This shift, they suggest, concentrated the problem of a narrative's credibility on the figure of the traveller-writer (Elsner and Rubiés, 35-7). The new formulation would be strengthened by the humanism of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, argue Elsner and Rubiés. The empirical project of travel writing was catalysed by humanists' development of a philological and historical apparatus to support it and by their fostering of the ideal of travel as a means of completing the layman's education (Elsner and Rubiés, 46). Haynes points out that the process whereby authority was reformulated is visible in Hakluyt's commentaries on the veracity of the materials which he includes. For example:

> to the ende that those men which were the paynefull and personall travellers might reape that good opinion and just commendation which they have deserved, and further, that every man might answere for himselfe, justifie his reports, and stand accountable for his owne doings, I have referred every voyage to his Author, which both in person hath performed, and in writing hath left the same. (Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations*, vol. 1, xxiii)

Here, the verifiability of the narrative's factuality depends on the act of travelling and the act of writing being undertaken by the same person. The phrasing stresses this firmly. The possessive pronoun "his" which links "the voyage" with the "Author" emphasises that the traveller is also the writer. The parallel clauses ("which both in person hath performed, and in writing hath left the same") also link the performance and the narration of the journey to this "Author," and the deferral of the clauses' common object ("the same," that is, the voyage) draws attention to the intimate relation between the acts of writing and travelling which is crucial to Hakluyt's formulation of a credible narrative. Hakluyt's phrasing here seems to play on the involvement of both "*agere*" ("to perform") and "*augere*" ("to grow or cultivate") in the etymology of "author": both the performance and the composition generate the travel narrative, and credibility is augmented by this convergence between the "actor" of the voyage and the "author" of the narrative.[47] Haynes comments on the passage from *The Principal Navigations* that

> To refound authority [Hakluyt] had to find authors. At first they appear as English subjects brought to a royal court to reap the good opinion and commendation they have deserved, but they are quickly reconstituted as legal subjects in a court of law, who stand as witnesses to be interrogated and presumably prosecuted if their testimony is false or inadequate. The travel writer is suddenly a persona of importance and responsibility, a scientific instrument. He will be read critically, and must behave himself appropriately in order to establish his credibility and authority. (Haynes, 30-1)

As Chapter 2 demonstrated, very few of the late medieval Jerusalem pilgrimage narratives would meet these criteria of authority. In works such as *Information for Pilgrims*, first-person and third-person accounts are nonchalantly melded, first-hand observation combined with scribal interpolation, the past tense active and the imperative taken up in casual succession. By the time of the early modern travel narratives about Jerusalem, however, a keen awareness has emerged of the traveller's obligation to convince of the truth of his narrative by recourse to the reliability of his character.

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[47] From the other side of the "author"/"actor" binary, Lithgow uses "actor" to refer to the agent of travel in the passage quoted on p. 285. His use also elides the difference between the narration and the act of travel. For the discussion of the etymology of "*auctor*," see the Introduction, 20.

"Until it became possible," Eisenstein asks, "to distinguish between composing a poem and reciting one, or writing a book and copying one; until books could be classified by something other than incipits; how could modern games of books and authors be played?" (Eisenstein, vol. 1, 121). The prefatory apparatus which evolves to identify the author often also advertises and extols his work, and furnishes credentials and witnesses for his authority. These coexist with or even displace the invocations to God or the saints with which "The Stasyons of Jerusalem" or "the Way to Jerusalem" introduced the narrating first-person voice. The first-person voice becomes a differently-charged presence in the narratives of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, more aware of the obligation to prove its own claims and to represent itself in a way that is consistent with credibility. Erudition, generic decorum, discernment and political integrity have to be demonstrated by the traveller-narrator if the description of Jerusalem is to be believed. After the inauguration of the Reformation, travel to Jerusalem in particular places special burdens on the author, since religious orthodoxy has to be carefully defended in the face of temptation and superstition. We have seen that authority and veracity, the reliability of pilgrims' stories and claims made for relics and holy places are at the heart of debates about pilgrimage, so travel to Jerusalem produces particular anxieties when it comes to be narrated.

Financial imperatives come into play in the question of narration and authority. In some cases, the desire to prove the accomplishment of the journey proceeds from a very specific financial impulse. The practice of putting out money on a traveller's return – essentially a wager on the completion of the intended voyage – raised the stakes in the acceptance of veracity.[48] In other cases, there was a broader financial concern. A narrative which staked its claim to a niche in the marketplace could generate greater sales. An account which displayed its author's erudition might attract patronage as it circulated.

With a mode of book production in which there were significant financial stakes in "forcing definition of literary property rights, ... shaping new concepts of authorship, [and] exploiting bestsellers," the pressure to assign authorship and differentiate and delimit authorial labours became stronger (Eisenstein, 122). We must not fall into false dichotomies: the meticulous identification of authorities in the

[48] See below, p. 356 onward.

thirteenth-century compilations of John of Wales demonstrates that such awareness is not only a post-medieval phenomenon and could proceed from academic scruples as well as from financial motives.[49] Nonetheless, the eventual outcome of growing awareness of legal rights and commercial value which resided in an author's own composition was that literary precursors did not simply provide assurance and authority. They could also constitute an embarrassment which needed to be explained away. Jacqueline Miller gives as an example Robert Burton's concern in his *Anatomy of Melancholy* that "we can say nothing but what hath been said."[50] "Only the method and style change," Miller remarks (16-7).

The ramifications of the embarrassment of influence extended not just to literary authority but also to a book's marketability. H. S. Bennett noted in *English Books and Readers* the commercial currency of novelty in the book trade of the Stuart period.[51] Novelty and the supplanting of existing authorities had not appeared as aspirations or concerns in late medieval pilgrimage narratives. George Sandys, by contrast, admits that "diuers both vpon my inquisition and view, haue with much labour related the site and state of this Citie, with the places adioyning; (though not to my knowledge in our language)," perhaps ignorant of the publication in 1614 of Lithgow's *Discourse*, or written before its appearance (G. Sandys, *Relation*, 154). William Lithgow does not claim to undertake a narrative without precedent either, but merely to supersede his fellow authors: "the like heretofore, was neuer by any Trauailer so punctually, so truly, and so curiously set downe."[52] Elaborate critiques of Henry Timberlake and self-justification in the prefatory apparatus of William Biddulph's *Travels* (discussed at greater length below) evince a similar concern to clear space in a crowded market. Where medieval pilgrimage narratives implicated themselves in a textual tradition of received knowledge and reiterated truths, early modern narratives often appeal instead to firsthand experience. Timberlake's own *True and Strange Discourse* provides an example of this, which is animated by the need to perform Protestant hostility to Franciscan authority. In the valley of

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[49] See Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship*, 157-8.

[50] Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, ed. Holbrook Jackson (London: Dent, 1932), vol. 1, 25. First edition published 1621; second edition 1624; third edition 1628. Cited by Miller, *Poetic License*, 16.

[51] H. S. Bennett, *English Books and Readers 1475-1640*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970; reprint, 1989), vol. 3: *1603-1640*, 216-8.

[52] Lithgow, *Totall Discourse*, 284. Compare the equivalent statement in the 1614 edition: "the like heretofore, was neuer by any Pilgrime, so liuely manifested." Lithgow, *A most delectable and true discourse* [1614], fol. R3r.

Jehosophat, the friars show Timberlake the place where Saint Pelagia did penance.[53] Timberlake informs them (and the reader)

> that to beleeve Pelagia was a saint, stood out of the compasse of my Creede: they tolde me, when I should come home at night, they would shew me sufficient Authours for it: but when I came home I had so much to doo, in writing my notes out of my table booke, that I had no leisure to urge their Authours for *S. Pelagia.* (Timberlake, *Discourse* [1603], 12)

In this remark, the act of recording Timberlake's own experience pointedly displaces the consultation of religious authorities. Of course, the larger structure within which information is disseminated depends on Franciscan and eastern Christian preservation and communication of tradition. Timberlake's display of independence may be effective in a localised way, but no narrative can engage with the practices of pilgrimage and construct a description of Jerusalem without relying on Franciscan authority, their book-based sources or oral traditions, or the Ottoman-subject *dragomans* (interpreters).[54] It is the aspiration of the gesture rather than its feasibility that is in question here. Timberlake's gesture, which resembles nothing I have found in its late medieval predecessors, epitomises the shifting of emphasis from textual authorities towards autopsy which is visible in most of the narratives discussed in this chapter.

Travel for Education: The Dual Obligations of Journeying and Writing

The identity of the author and the value of his witness are asserted in travel narratives of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with a sharpness that distinguishes them from the pilgrimage accounts of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Another change of equal importance, related also to the construction of the credible

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[53] "The fourth-century Pelagia was an actress renowned for her beauty and the extravagant life she led .... Under the influence of Nonus, bishop of Edessa, she converted to Christianity, made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem disguised as a man, and lived the rest of her life as a hermit in a cave on the Mount of Olives." Schein, "Women's Jerusalem Pilgrimages," 46.

[54] Often the *dragoman*'s mediation of information is suppressed in traveller's narratives, but there are exceptions. "A Particular of My Journey," for example, credits the information provided about the church at the site of Saint George's slaying of the dragon to his interpreter (fol. 13v). Lithgow also draws attention to the Franciscans' own debt for information to the dragoman John Baptista: Lithgow, *Totall Discourse*, 244. Although work remains to be done on this topic, a rare and characteristically thoughtful discussion of the dragoman's role in sustaining the meanings attached to the holy places is found in Williams, "The Diplomat, the *Trucheman* and the Mystagogue," 26-32.

traveller-author, is the emerging discourse of travel for education. I alluded briefly in my introduction to Clare Howard's account of the emergence of travel as a means of preparing young men for either scholarly or diplomatic occupations during the reign of Henry VIII.[55] Numerous examples of this phenomenon are given in Jonathan Woolfson's account of English humanists and students of law, medicine and natural philosophy in Padua from 1485 to 1603, such as the academic sojourns of Thomas Linacre (c. 1460-1524), Reginald Pole (1500-1558), Richard Pace (c. 1482-1536), John Cheke (1514-1557), and Richard Croke (c. 1489-1558).[56] Sara Warneke concurs, although she refines the account of the relation between medieval and early modern motivations for travel, suggesting that the previously distinct aspirations toward scholarship, gentlemanly refinement, and political understanding for a diplomatic career become fused to some degree in late sixteenth-century educational travel.[57]

In distinction to travel for the purposes of discovery, travel for the completion of one's education presupposes the mastery of an existing body of knowledge: languages, histories, political and civic structures. The narration of such a journey to display the traveller's erudition and insight is the logical extension of travel. Clare Howard notes that writing serves as "guarantee that the tourist had been virtuously employed" (C. Howard, 29). Description and commentary regarding the political organisations, laws and legal institutions, religious practices, variety of confessions and religions, liturgical and devotional practices purportedly illuminate the countries visited, but also cast light on the authorial mind which apprehends and records. If the narrative was good enough, as Haynes puts it,

> it could be used to advertise [travellers'] parts and education, and might lead to employment.... The significant point about this literature is that it requires the author both to prove himself as a responsible observer and to show his grip on his own culture, his cultivation, and to combine both elements with style and (if possible) *sprezzatura*. This literature is generically about the author and what he can say; it encourages amplitude and diversity of interests. (Haynes, 36-7)

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[55] See Introduction, 8.

[56] Jonathan Woolfson, *Padua and the Tudors: English Students in Italy, 1485-1603* (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co., 1998). Dates are of birth and death, not arrival in and departure from Padua.

[57] Sara Warneke, *Images of the Educational Traveller in Early Modern England* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 17-18, 30-3.

In this model, the travel narrative makes the advantageous display of the author one of its several preoccupations. About half of the texts discussed here seem to be informed by a sense that travel and travel writing complete and display the traveller's education. Sandys' rehearsals of etymologies, regional histories, and his provision and translation of apposite quotations of Homer, Ovid, Statius and other authorities constitute such a display. Lithgow's narrative makes use of similar devices, and in its introductory passages emphasises the twofold effect of travel: to instil virtue in the traveller, and to enlighten the public:

> First to the actor it [travel] giueth the impression of vnderstanding, experience, patience, and an infinite treasure, of vnexprimable vertues: secondly, it vnfoldeth to the world, the gouernment of States, the authority and disposition of Kings and Princes; the secrets, manners, customes, and Religions of all Nations and People. (Lithgow, *Totall Discourse*, 8-9)

Furthermore, he sees travel as a necessary preparation for the good governor. He laments the neglect of travel by young men, who

> by sight and knowledge of forraine soyles and lawes, growing more iudicious; might when come to age and preferment, the more facily, and dexteriously exhibit Iustice at home. But what shall I say to these moderne, and dissolute times? When by the contrary meanes, trauell is sleighted, gouernment abused, and insinuating Homelings, thrust in to high offices, incapeable of them. (Lithgow, *Totall Discourse*, 2)

Moryson assumes the educational benefits of travel in his "Of trauelling in generall" in this use of *occupatio*:

> I will not speake of the experience thereby attained, which instructeth the most dull and simple, as the Sunne by his beames coloureth the passenger, intending nothing lesse then to be so coloured, & which neither by hearing, nor any sense can so easily be gained, as by the eies. (Moryson, *Itinerary*, pt. 3, 1)

Moryson not only offers his own narrative but provides precepts for travellers. Indeed, a mass of literature appears from the latter half of the sixteenth century to direct and define the proper occupation and attention of travellers abroad.[58] Thomas Palmer, for example, requires of his traveller "six generall heads, to be learned and understood: namely, the tongue, the nature of the people, the Countrey, the Customes, the

[58] For a bibliography of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century works of instruction for travellers, see Howard, *English Travellers of the Renaissance*, 205.

Governement of the State; & the secrets of the same."[59] Within the category of "the Countrey," Palmer expects the traveller to record the etymology of place names, population, situation, size, commodities and insufficiencies; the other categories are also finely subdivided. Travellers to Jerusalem respond to such precepts with varying degrees of assiduity. Sandys, Moryson and Lithgow attempt systematically to provide information which resembles that demanded by Palmer's categories, while the other travellers conform less to such a methodical mode of description.

All of the accounts of travel addressing Jerusalem which come under discussion here are published after 1570, the year in which Warneke identifies the appearance of certain complications in the image of the educational traveller. "Although educational travel had enjoyed a relatively favourable press before 1570, from this year the practice increasingly suffered from virulent public criticism," a fact consequent mainly on the publication in that year of Roger Ascham's *The Scholemaster*.[60] Jonathan Haynes also identifies real anxieties about the vulnerability of the traveller to moral corruption and physical danger: "To travel was to give oneself up to mutability, and movement and change were viewed with suspicion in the Renaissance: in a world thought to be decaying, change was synonymous with degeneration."[61] Although Jonathan Woolfson, like Warneke, notices a cooling in English attitudes to travel in Italy in the 1570s and 1580s, he warns against exaggeration in evaluating the impact of Ascham's work. The numbers of Englishmen recorded in the law university at Padua did not decline dramatically after 1570 according to the data supplied in his study of the English presence at the university, for example.[62] Many of the English visitors to Padua in the 1570s and 1580s would later take up positions at court or as diplomats. Woolfson argues that travel was still regarded "as both a useful preparation for service to the state ... and a means by which the government could gather information on the disposition of foreign

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[59] Thomas Palmer, *An Essay of the Meanes how to make our Travailes, into forraine Countries, the more profitable and honourable* (London: 1606), 53.

[60] Warneke, *Images of the Educational Traveller*, 7. See also Warneke's anatomisation of the perceived dangers of travel and the images of travellers corrupted theologically, culturally, morally and otherwise, including "the Italianated traveller," "the atheist traveller," "the Catholic traveller" and "the morally corrupt traveller" in *Images of the Educational Traveller*, 74-276.

[61] Haynes, *Humanist as Traveler*, 33. Zacher also demonstrates that errant *curiositas* was figured allegorically by motion and travel. Zacher, *Curiosity and Pilgrimage*, 21.

[62] Although there are gaps in the records, it is possible to compare numbers across periods of five consecutive years before and after 1570: the presence of 31 students in total is recorded from 1580-4, in comparison with 36 in the years 1564-8. It is true that much higher numbers appear to have enrolled in certain years in the 1530s and 1550s, but numbers also fluctuated to very low numbers at certain points in these decades. Woolfson, *Padua and the Tudors*, 26-7.

governments, and on the activities of enemies to England abroad" in the closing decades of the sixteenth century. Ascham's criticisms were also balanced by encomia of travel in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, such as Jerome Turler's *Traveiler* (1575) and, almost 40 years later, Thomas Coryate's inclusion in his own travel account of Hermannus Kirchnerus' "Oration in praise of trauell in generall," both translated from German.[63]

Travel narratives and advice for travellers thus participated in a dialogue between criticism and defence of peregrination. If the enterprise of travel was finally upheld, the necessity to defend the traveller's motivations and integrity in the face of mobility, variety and temptation remained. The secular discourse surrounding this kind of travel resonates with the discourse related to pilgrimage discussed in Chapter 3. The virtue in the act can only be asserted by scrutinising and disclosing what is in the traveller's heart and mind as he performs it. The traveller-writer's task is complicated by the sense that disbelief is the reader's default mode, that authors' claims to veracity struggle against pre-existing prejudices against travellers' tales. The narratives of Lithgow, Biddulph and Timberlake all refer to the proverb that "travellers lie by authority."[64]

The question of how to shape diffuse and unruly experience, which always exceeds its written representation, into a narrative that gives satisfactory, decorous and credible expression to the completed journey and justifies an enduring and public existence for itself appears to animate most of the writers examined here, and we will see that it is answered in many different ways. It is not, however, a question which

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[63] Thomas Coryate, *Coryats Crudities, Hastily gobbled vp in five Moneths trauells in France, Sauoy, Italy, Rhetia commonly called the Grisons country, Heluetia alias Switzerland, some parts of high Germany, and the Netherlands* (London: W[illiam] S[tansby] for the author, 1611), fols. B1r-D1r, especially C8r-D1r. Moryson's precepts for travellers were informed by Book 1 of Jerome Turler, *The Traveiler* (London: by William How for Abraham Veale, 1575). For other evidence of the "rehabilitation" of travel for the purposes of education, see Woolfson, *Padua and the Tudors*, 128-31.

[64] Biddulph's editor, "Theophilus Lavender," refutes the proverb. Timberlake and Lithgow (in 1623) address it in their first sentences. Lithgow indicates in the 1632 edition that "this stinging censure of absurd vntrueth" applies to poets as well as to travellers. See Biddulph, *Travels*, fol. A1r; William Lithgow, *A most delectable and true discourse, of an admired and painefull peregrination from Scotland, to the most famous kingdomes in Europe, Asia and Affrica* (London: Nicholas Okes, 1623), 1; Lithgow, *Totall Discourse*, 2; Timberlake, *Discourse* [1603], 1. The proverb also appears in John Heywood's *The Four PP* (c. 1540), Hartwell's epistle to the reader in his translation of *A report of the kingdom of Congo* (1597) and Thomas Coryate's *Crudities* (1611). It starts to appear regularly in later seventeenth-century collections of proverbs, such as W. B. and E. P.'s *A help to discourse* (1619) and W. W.'s *New help to discourse* (1680). Following Alexander Barclay's *Ship of Fools* (1509), the former includes among the ranks of those who may lie by authority great men and old men as well as travellers. See also Chapter 3, n. 108, and Tilley, *Dictionary of Proverbs*, 437, 680. For an account of Lithgow's increasingly robust refutations of the commonplace over the course of his editions, see Burns, "Lithgow and His 'Science of the World,'" 34.

had never been asked by authors before the Reformation, or before the shift which critics have argued took place from the literature of pilgrimage to literature of empirical observation and discovery. A late medieval example of concern about the difficulty of recording an experience of travel can be found in Felix Fabri's expression of frustration at the failure of memory and perception on his first pilgrimage and medieval uses of the "lying traveller" commonplace. Nonetheless, new precepts for travellers, categories of observation and conventions for the recording of experience now accommodate and shape the report of their experiences.

The Circulation of Travel Narratives:

Script, Print, Authorship and Interaction

In several texts under discussion here, anxiety is visible about not only the integrity and propriety of travel narratives, but also their subsequent circulation and manipulation. Eisenstein observes a change in the mode of collective textual production with the arrival of printing, as early European printers cultivated networks of informants and solicited corrections and additions from readers for future editions.[65] As a single copy-text could swiftly generate hundreds rather than a handful of reproductions, a different kind of community of readers could emerge, oriented more clearly around a recognisable, centralised point of origin.[66] However, the temptation to assume that a wholesale shift from late medieval scribal culture to early modern print culture transformed travel literature, or to rely on a dichotomy of private script and public print, may lead to the suppression of important qualifications: the hesitance of print publishers to take risks with the literature of discovery, for example,

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[65] Eisenstein cites cosmography as a field in which such practices bore fruit. H. S. Bennett, on the other hand, states that "this mass of apologies, and invitations to make the necessary corrections, was for the most part ignored by readers." Bennett, *English Books and Readers*, vol. 3, 208; Eisenstein, *Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, vol. 1, 108-11.

[66] The upper limit for printed editions from one typesetting was set at 1,500 by the Stationers' Company until 1635, when it was increased to 2,000. Multiple editions could conceivably derive from a single copy-text, although most editions were much smaller than this upper limit. On the other hand, the *pecia* system of hiring individual quires for copying to scholars or scribes which Jean Destrez suggested operated in Paris and other universities from the fourteenth century could also result in large numbers of copies from a single text. The heterogeneity of systems and contexts of scribal production means that general assertions about the rate and circumstances of production are difficult to make. Bennett, *English Books and Readers*, vol. 3, 227; Graham Pollard, "The *Pecia* System in the Medieval Universities," in *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries*, ed. M. B. Parkes and Andrew G. Watson (London: Scolar Press, 1978).

and the survival of scribal production as a mode of publication in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[67]

Travel accounts written in the late sixteeenth and seventeenth centuries still circulated sometimes in manuscript form. The references to the dissemination of handwritten accounts or letters describing journeys in travel narratives by John Sanderson, William Biddulph and Henry Timberlake attest to the simultaneous existence of printed and manuscript forms as public versions of a text. Sanderson's holograph account of his 1601 journey to Jerusalem was copied at least once, in parts, and circulated among some of his acquaintance before being turned over to Samuel Purchas (Sanderson, *Travels*, i, xxxix, 20, 261). Timberlake's narrative of his journey (also taken in 1601) circulated in manuscript as well as in its numerous printed editions; British Library MS Sloane 2496, a manuscript miscellany including works from the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, includes a manuscript version of Timberlake's narrative, which itself may have generated the other print version in Purchas' anthology.[68] Biddulph's narrative also purports to owe its publication to the circulation of his letters: the circumstances of its publication are discussed at some length below.

If manuscript versions of travel narratives had the capacity for a public as well as a private life, however, they could also manifest a desire to control their diffusion and availability. Concerns about dissemination to an unforeseen or hostile readership are visible in the narratives and correspondence of the same cluster of figures, Timberlake, Sanderson and Biddulph. Thanks to the arrival of all three men in Jerusalem in a single year and their common association with the English Levant Company, the men refer to one another's journeys and to the circumstances of

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[67] See Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993); Parker, *Books to Build an Empire*, 43. Vitkus notes the organised circulation of travellers' observations in manuscript form and locates it on a continuum with Hakluyt's and Purchas' anthologies: "As William Sherman has shown, an official program of this kind really began with John Dee and his circle at the English court. Some of this information was then made more widely available in the printed texts edited and compiled by Richard Hakluyt .... Later, this project would be sustained and supplemented in the texts put together for publication by Samuel Purchas ...." See Vitkus, "Trafficking with the Turk," 37. For examples of modifications of Eisenstein's paradigm of the shift from script to print, based on closely focused and narrowly defined case studies, see Sandra Hindman, ed., *Printing the Written Word: The Social History of Books, circa 1450-1520* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), especially the "Introduction."

[68] Purchas comments, "I have here given you some Extracts of [Timberlake's] Iournall (the whole the Reader may see printed) Before the Impression I writ out of a Manuscript many yeers agoe. The whole Iournall, of which thus much I have here presented in memorie of him and Master Burrell." Purchas, ed., *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, vol. 9, 486.

publication of the ensuing narratives. Timberlake's, Sanderson's and Biddulph's texts show keen interest in – even anxiety about – policing borders of authorial identity and ownership.

John Sanderson's correspondence gives telling, if contradictory, evidence about the publication of Biddulph's *Travels*. First, Sanderson states neutrally that Biddulph is preparing his *Travels* for the press in a letter to Sir Thomas Glover, the English ambassador at Constantinople, dated December 15, 1608 (Biddulph's work had already been entered in the Stationers Register in November).[69] Then he refers in condemnatory terms to the purportedly unauthorised publication of the *Travels* in letters dated 17 and 18 January, 1609 to John Kitely, physician to Sir Thomas:

> many (as by experience of Lillo) [are] most malitious and in their foolishe humours triomphes [*sic*] upon papers and letters of others and spares [*sic*] not to put in print matters of wornout newes and oulde date, with malitious additions and faulse flatteries, as by the inclosed you may perceave; which I tore out of a booke sett out to the wourld, nominated the Travaile of Divers Inglishmen into Africa etc., by one Theophilus Lavender; a sweet and virtiouse name, and yet the booke stinkes of lies and foolerye.[70]

The editor of Biddulph's *Travels*, who calls himself "Theophilus Lavender," states that the text was compiled from correspondence to a kinsman Bezaliel Biddulph written by both William and his brother Peter Biddulph (a stone and diamond cutter also resident at Aleppo, according to Lavender). While it is claimed that the accounts of Constantinople, Aleppo and other places are the product of Lavender's synthesis of

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[69] Sanderson, *Travels*, 257. The transcript of the Register of the Company of Stationers states that "a booke called, *The travells of certayne Englishmen to Thracia, Syria, Damascus, the land of Canaan, Gallelye, Samaria, Judaea, Palestina, and other places*" was entered on November 24, 1608 by William Aspley. No details of authorship are given. Edward Arber, ed., *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London* (London: 1876), vol. 3, fol. 176v.

[70] As Gerald MacLean also notes, Sanderson then responds indignantly to the fact that Biddulph's narrative "[likens] our Saviour Jesus Christ ... to a janizary, a Christians most opposite." Sanderson, *Travels*, 259-60. It is not obvious from Biddulph's book that its contents could have embarrassed any individual, but Sanderson's letter makes it clear that this was the case. He remembers in a letter to Kitely of May 18, 1609, "how knavishly by Bidles kinsman his Lordship [Thomas Glover] had bine couertly a little toutched in a printed book," that is, the *Travels*. Biddulph's book extravagantly praised Edward Barton and Henry Lello, former ambassadors to Constantinople in 1593-1597 and 1597-1606 respectively, while making no direct mention of Sir Thomas, the current ambassador. Perhaps the omission of praise for the incumbent was construed as a covert insult to Glover. Drawing on correspondence among those involved in the Levant Company, including John Sanderson, Gerald MacLean demonstrates that there was an ongoing feud between Lello and Glover, while loyal friendship existed between Lello and Biddulph on one side and Glover and Sanderson on the other. For the full account of the feud and explanation of the opaque insult, see MacLean, *Rise of Oriental Travel*, 56-65.

various letters written by Peter and William, Lavender indicates that the account of the journey to Jerusalem had already been written by William Biddulph to stand alone: he states that on Bezaliel's death "a Copy of a voyage to *Ierusalem* by Land, from *Aleppo* in *Syria Comagena*, not long since undertaken" was found in his study (fol.¶4v).

The free-standing status of the account of Jerusalem does not of course preclude the possibility of editorial intervention in the narrative. Of his editorial method elsewhere, Lavender says, "of my selfe I have set downe nothing but what I either have found in the Letters of these two brethren ... or else (by conference with one of them and sundry other travellers in credit) heard spoken and delivered for truth" (Biddulph, *Travels*, fol. A2v). This glosses quickly over the fact that some of the statements or opinions attributed to William Biddulph may derive not even from his informal rather than written communication, but from travellers unnamed and unconnected with him. It gives no clear sense of the relation of the present text to the written materials with which Lavender started.

Objections might be made to the inclusion of this ostensibly composite narrative in an examination of narratives by a single author. However, Gerald MacLean has reconstructed the tensions and antagonisms involved in the publication of Biddulph's narrative, and argues that the synthesis of materials by an external editor claimed in Lavender's preface is a fiction devised by Biddulph to allow him to discredit peers and colleagues while diffusing responsibility for his libels.[71] MacLean draws support for his point of view from remarks about Biddulph's narrative in the correspondence, already cited, between John Sanderson and John Kitely. MacLean states that both Sanderson and his correspondent Kitely "thought Biddulph himself responsible for the preface" (*Rise of Oriental Travel*, 61). Kitely and Sanderson do not explicitly state that "Theophilus Lavender" is a pseudonym for Biddulph himself, but they respond sceptically to the name, treating it as a fiction.[72] Their comments are motivated by the suspicion that Biddulph colluded in the publication, although they do not go so far as to say that he was the author of the preface.

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[71] MacLean, *Rise of Oriental Travel*, 52-5. MacLean argues that "since any contribution Peter might have made is entirely erased by the editing – all four [letters] are signed by William himself – this pretence of dual authorship can be nothing more than a further strategy for obscuring authorial responsibility." See also Chapter 6, "Preacher among the Diplomats," 56-65. This question is also treated, although less fully, in Taylor, *Englishman*, 219-22.

[72] See MacLean, *Rise of Oriental Travel*, 60-1; Sanderson, *Travels*, 259-60, 264.

Although MacLean has discussed in a detailed way the circumstances surrounding the publication of Biddulph's narrative, it is worth examining these in relation to fears of misuse, misconstruction and the potential errancy of letters and travel accounts. Such anxieties are visible in Sanderson's writing even at a much earlier date than the Biddulph incident. In February 1604, he had written to his kinsman, Henry Sanderson, as he sent him a copy of his travels, requesting that, "If you read without pleasure, from your hand to mine againe lett them be convayed, least some malicious spirit may misconster my meaning ..." (Sanderson, *Travels*, 225). In January 1609 it appears in Sanderson's rehearsal of the rumour that publication had taken place without Biddulph's consent:

> Some affirme that they [Biddulph's letters] were put in print without his knoweledge and consent; and so may be verely thought. Thus you see howe a man may be extraordinarily abused in his letters coming to the hands of foolishe frends or strangers.[73]

This is probably meant sarcastically as MacLean suggests, although fear of the abuse and unauthorised circulation of letters is a recurring preoccupation in Sanderson's correspondence. Later in this letter Sanderson instructs Kitely to retrieve Sanderson's letters from Glover in the case of the ambassador's death, or, in the case of Kitely's extreme illness, to dispose safely of Sanderson's letters: "althoughe my letters be not much importante at any time, yet to have every Jacke to descane my meaning I would be loth ...."[74] In February, 1609, Sanderson renews his request to Henry Sanderson for the return of his book, "and that not any except Master Fetherston should have sight therof." He continues,

> I would not for all that I am wourth it should faule into the hands of any fantasticall strainger, for so peradventure I may be basely abused, as some heare very lately have bine by havinge ther letters and notes in books put in print, which they never mente should goe to presse or publique perusinge, by which means they are made ridiculus to the wourld. (Sanderson, *Travels*, 261)

Sanderson's expression of fear that failure to limit his text's circulation could result in humiliation suggets that it is possible to interpret his comments about the abuse of

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[73] Sanderson to Kitely, 17 and 18 January, 1609. In Sanderson, *Travels*, 260.

[74] This fear may also underlie Sanderson's injunction to Thomas Glover on July 26, 1610 "to put all my papers and letters at private times into your house of office [*sic*] for your owne use." See also Sanderson's letter to Robert Barton, dated 12 December 1605. Sanderson, *Travels*, 230-1, 270.

letters as earnestly made. Consequently, it is possible to view the preface's claims about the narrative's origins with less suspicion.

In spite of his fears, Sanderson appears to have maintained better control over the dissemination of his account. When Sanderson's narrative was finally printed with the author's consent in Purchas' collection, it appeared in a form largely unchanged from the manuscript. Purchas comments that this is done "both for [Sanderson's] request, and for his owne brevitie and pithie Passages."[75]

Joan Taylor has recently contested MacLean's explanation of the Lavender-Biddulph relationship. Lavender's efforts to justify the publication of Biddulph's *Travels* partly took the form of an implied dialogue with Timberlake's narrative, whose popularity had been demonstrated by the publication of three editions by 1609.[76] Taylor notes that Lavender corrects Timberlake's geography in the following passage of the preface:

> he saith that the Mountaines *Tabor* and *Hermon* are neere together: whereas Psal. 89. verse 12. the Prophet saith, *Thou hast created the North and the South: Tabor and Hermon shall reioice in thy name.* The meaning of which place is, that God hath created the whole world; and *Tabor* is a mountaine towards the West of *Canaan*, and *Hermon* towards the East, as both writers and trauellers report. And Tabor is twenty miles beyond the Sea of Galilee, and *Hermon* is a little hill by Iordan.
>
> And whereas that pamphlet saith, that Nazareth is but fiue miles from Tabor, it is not true; for it is at the least twenty miles from Tabor, and further from Hermon; neither is there any such City standing at this day, but the place where it stood was neare vnto the Sea of Galile. (Biddulph, *Travels*, fol. A4r)

Certain inaccuracies in this refutation lead Taylor to claim not only that Lavender never saw Palestine, but also that he did "not even [read] Biddulph properly"; Lavender is therefore not to be identified with Biddulph, she argues. For example, Taylor notes that Timberlake's estimate of the distance between Nazareth and Tabor

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[75] Purchas, ed., *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, vol. 9, 411. Sanderson was so pleased with Purchas as to include him among the beneficiaries of his will when he died. The MS from which Foster believes that Purchas took the account is no longer extant, but Purchas' version does not diverge substantially from the surviving MS. See William Foster, "Introduction" to Sanderson, *Travels*, xxx, xxxix.

[76] The discussion which follows is indebted to Chapter 5, "Biddulph's Anxiety of Authorship," in MacLean, *Rise of Oriental Travel*, 51-65.

(five miles) is correct while Lavender's (twenty miles) is incorrect, which "proves [Lavender] ignorant of the topography of Palestine."[77]

This evidence is more equivocal than Taylor acknowledges, and her description of it as containing "appalling errors in Palestinian geography" somewhat overstated. Mobility or ambiguity in identifications is not unknown in the writing of other contemporary travellers, even in the case of Nazareth itself, so inaccurate measurements or identifications do not disprove eye-witness.[78] Lavender's mistaken statement of Nazareth's distance from Tabor in the preface contradicts nothing in the the Biddulph narrative itself, since Biddulph himself never states that his party saw Nazareth.[79] Lavender does err, it is true: he overestimates Tabor's distance from the Sea of Galilee (not twenty miles as he states, but between ten and fifteen, depending on whether one headed southwest at the earliest opportunity to make directly for Tabor or followed the more pleasant route hugging the shore) but his estimate coincides precisely with Biddulph's reckoning of the distance (Biddulph, *Travels*, fol. A4r, 106). Lavender is also wrong in calling Hermon a "little hill" -- it measures 2,814 metres -- but he is correct in stating that it is near Jordan: it lies near two major sources of that river. Since Biddulph never states that he saw Hermon himself, Lavender's mistaken impression of Hermon's size does not conflict with Biddulph's eyewitness testimony. Lavender gets it right in several places: it is correct to suggest that Mount Hermon (33°24'N, 35°50'E) is further east than Tabor (32°41'N, 35°24'E), although it would be more precise to state that it is to the north-north-east. If "*Canaan*" is defined as the area from the Mediterranean coast to the river Jordan, with Hermon delimiting its north-eastern corner, Lavender's statement that Hermon is "towards the East" is correct; Tabor is not at the western extremity, but it is further west than Hermon, and thus can be located "towards the West."[80] Lavender is also

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[77] See Maps 1 and 2, which show the locations of Mounts Hermon and Tabor.

[78] For example, John Sanderson records seeing two places which he believes could have been Nazareth between Khan Minye on the northern shore of the Sea of Galilee and Safed to its north-west. In fact, Nazareth lies at roughly the same latitude as the southern tip of the Sea. Timberlake himself judges the length of the Dead Sea to be 100 miles, which Taylor corrects to 50 miles, but she does not doubt his eye-witness as a result. Sanderson, *Travels*, 115; Taylor, *Englishman*, 220, 239*n*; Timberlake, *Discourse* [1603], 23.

[79] Passing southwards parallel to the western edge of the Sea of Galilee toward Tabor, one would expect Biddulph to mention Nazareth. Lavender's assertion that the town does not survive is conceivably compatible with Biddulph's failure to refer to it.

[80] J. Simons gives the Jordan Valley, or "the 'Arabah" as extending "probably to a point as far north as Mount Hermon (Josh. xii 1)" and dividing "the western and eastern halves of the Promised Land, viz. Canaan and Gilead (in the largest meaning of this term) respectively." This coincides with Thomas Fuller's definition of lesser Canaan. Hermon thus marks the north-eastern boundary of Canaan.

correct in asserting that Tabor and Hermon are far apart (approximately 50 miles), while Timberlake incorrectly places them near one another.[81] In general, however, Timberlake appears to be a better estimator of distance and orientation than Lavender or indeed Biddulph, as one might expect from a ship's captain. Since the errors that appear in Lavender's preface do not contradict eye-witness segments of Biddulph's report, they do not exclude the possibility that it was written by Biddulph under a pseudonym. The view set out by MacLean that the preface's representation of Biddulph's *Travels* as an unauthorised, synthesised, heavily edited narrative is a fiction which allows Biddulph to disclaim responsibility for what is controversial and insulting in his text while allowing an account of his travels to enter the public domain is not convincingly refuted by Taylor's evidence.

Somewhat disingenuously, Lavender's preface frowningly indicates that the publication of Timberlake's account took place without the author's consent, and sets out to serve "for a correction of some false things therein contained, wherein (being printed without his consent) they [the publisher Thomas Archer and his accomplices in the publication?] have done him wrong" (Biddulph, *Travels*, fol. B4v). Later on in the preface Lavender reports Biddulph's statement "that they haue wronged him [Timberlake] in publishing his trauells before his coming into England, and inserting such vntruths against the Authors will." As evidence for this hypothesis Lavender offers this explanation: "For that he himselfe neuer gaue consent thereunto, it is very probable euen by the Title, calling them *English Pilgrims*: for Pilgrims goe with a superstitious deuotion to worship Reliques at Ierusalem, but Master Tymberley and his companions went thither onely as trauellers to see the Holy Land." Lavender supports this contention with the claim that "he [Timberlake] being both wise and Religious (as hee is accounted) would neuer bee so simple to publish his owne disgrace in Printe, in going to Masse, and obseruing many other ceremonies as are mentioned in that booke which goeth foorth vnder his name" (Biddulph, *Travels*, fol.

Simons, like Lavender, notes the use of these two mounts in Psalm 89: "Although Mount Tabor is much smaller than Mount Hermon, its isolated position on the plain of Esdrelon and its 'mira rotunditas' made it a suitable counterpart of the latter in the poetical style of Ps. lxxxix." Fuller, *Pisgah-sight of Palestine*, 5; J. Simons, *The Geographical and Topographical Texts of the Old Testament: A Concise Commentary in XXXII Chapters* (Leiden: Brill, 1959), 49-51, 88.

[81] Timberlake does say that his information is based not on eye-witness but on the information provided by Biddulph's party, although he does not specify that Biddulph is his source as Taylor conjectures. Taylor defends Timberlake's statement by taking him to refer not to Mount Hermon but to Little Hermon (Givat Hamoreh, 32°37N, 35°22'E). Taylor, *Englishman*, 220; Timberlake, *Discourse* [1603], 22.

B1r). There is no clear basis for the "disgrace" of mass-attendance in Timberlake's own narrative: he states that he was able to visit Jerusalem "as a Protestant, without yeelding to any other ceremonie, then cariage of a waxe candle only" (Timberlake, *Discourse* [1603], 6-7). Lavender asserts elsewhere in the Preface, however, that inaccuracies in Timberlake's book are not the result of the use of a faulty copy-text after all, but of Timberlake's insufficient discernment: the "Pamphlet setteth downe all things for truth which were told vnto the Author, whereas many of them are most false and ridiculous."[82] MacLean suggests that this claim of Timberlake's unauthorised publication is disingenuous:

> one cannot help suspecting that, beneath the editorial posturing, Biddulph clearly harboured a grudge against Timberlake and was using the opportunity to accuse him of crypto-Catholicism without seeming to do so. The carefully guarded insinuations strongly suggest that Timberlake had been contaminated by exposure to Catholic ceremonial, but without making Biddulph personally responsible for bringing the accusation.[83]

Lavender's accusations are probably entirely unfounded. Timberlake is the only English traveller recorded as having risked imprisonment by insisting on his right to entry into Jerusalem as a subject of the English Queen and as a Protestant.[84] On the other hand, our knowledge of this depends entirely on his own account (Biddulph does not corroborate this as Timberlake had hoped). Timberlake's designation in the pilgrim register as "Anglus hereticus" suggests that some gesture of defiance of

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[82] Biddulph, *Travels*, fol. A4v. The list of "false things" consists principally of inaccuracies of measurement in Timberlake's distances, as well as the claim that the entire Holy Land is barren, discussed below. For a fuller discussion, see MacLean, *Rise of Oriental Travel*, 53-4. References to Lavender's prefatory material to the *Trvaels* are given according to foliation, since there is no pagination; references to Biddulph's letters themselves are given according to pagination.

[83] MacLean, *Rise of Oriental Travel*, 54. See also MacLean's suggestion that Biddulph's disapproving comments in the account of Jerusalem about Protestant travellers who submit to Catholic practice in Jerusalem may also apply to Timberlake and Burrell:

> For some I do know who have been there, and made no conscience to doe as they have done, according to these verses:
>
> *Cum fueris Romae, Romano viuito more:*
> *Cum fueris alibi, viuito more loci.*
>
> That is,
>
> When they are at Rome, they doe what there is done:
> When they are elsewhere, they doe as they doe there.

Biddulph, *Travels*, 118; MacLean, *Rise of Oriental Travel*, 109.

[84] See p. 306 below.

hostility must have been made towards the Franciscans.[85] While his narrative records less anti-Catholic vitriol than Biddulph's, it also records a public gesture of religious and political independence which is unique among English travellers, as far as the printed or manuscript evidence goes.

Taylor takes seriously Lavender's suggestion about Timberlake's failure to authorise publication and attributes the interpolations in the 1608 edition to the printer Thomas Archer.[86] It is true that Timberlake's name does not appear on the title-page until the 1609 edition. Bennett draws attention to the substantial editorial interventions which printers sometimes undertook, but the revisions to the Timberlake narrative in the 1608 edition exceed editorial changes and alter the autobiographical content.[87] It is easier to imagine information of an autobiographical nature being supplied by the author than reaching the editor through the grapevine, or being completely fabricated by him, although these scenarios are not impossible.[88] It is possible to read Lavender's comment that those responsible for Timberlake's publication "insert[ed] therunto such untruths against the Author's will" as a disingenuous tactic to create a demand for his own, ostensibly more reliable, narrative. The statements at Timberlake's expense are excised from Lavender's largely unchanged 1612 preface, perhaps because the author or publisher was not prepared to stand by the accusations.[89] The 1609 preface puts itself in a double bind.

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[85] The other authors discussed here – even the extravagantly anti-Catholic Lithgow – escape the designation "hereticus." Only from 1604 does the register begin to comment that travellers have departed without confession or communion. Zimolong, ed., *Navis Peregrinorum*, 11.

[86] Taylor is inconsistent in her explanation of the interpolations between the 1603 and later editions. Although she often disowns subsequent changes on Timberlake's behalf (especially any which reflect poorly on him) and attributes them to Archer, at other times she conjectures that changes were made at his request. See Taylor, *Englishman*, 139, 146, 193-4, 203, 207-8.

[87] For example, a complaint appears on p. 38 of the 1608 edition that Burrell "forsooke" Timberlake at Jerusalem, leaving him to travel back to Cairo with the steadfast, unnamed "Moore" who had secured his release from prison on arrival. The 1608 edition later enlarges on this North African man's fate, explaining that the generous "Moor" who had deferred his pilgrimage to Mecca in order to accompany and protect Timberlake throughout his journey died on his return journey after completing the *hajj*, although there is no explanation of the circumstances of Timberlake's discovery of his death. See also Bennett, *English Books and Readers*, vol. 3, 203-4.

[88] In the transcript of the Stationers Register, Timberlake's *Discourse* is entered by Thomas Archer as "*The strange Travelles of Twoo Englishe Pylgrimes &c*" on February 4, 1602/3 with no reference to the author, although it had previously been entered by Richard Jones as "*the travailes of master Henry Tymberley from the grand Caire in Egipt to Jerusalem.*" Jones ceased printing in 1602 and Archer commenced in 1603. Arber, ed., *Stationers' Registers*, vol. 3, fols. 75r, 91v. There is evidence that Archer's methods were "disorderly": Archer would find himself in trouble in 1609, 1621 and 1624 for printing without license or entrance in the register. William A. Jackson, ed., *Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company, 1602 to 1640* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1957), 137, 146, 171*n*, 443, 466, 472.

[89] The only reference to Timberlake in the 1612 edition voices optimism that Biddulph's and Timberlake's narratives will corroborate and strengthen one another. Shortly afterwards, however,

If the fiction of Biddulph's exclusion from the decision to publish is believed, Lavender is guilty of the very charges he levels at the publisher of Timberlake's narrative. Conversely, if the fiction is doubtful and Biddulph identified as an accomplice in publication, the author must take responsibility for the libels contained within it.

Bennett gives numerous examples of publication without authorial permission, and reminds us that, "according to the publishing ethics then prevailing, the printer or publisher was supreme, so that what would now be consider as unethical (and indeed illegal) was then common practice and allowable."[90] Nonetheless, Biddulph's and Timberlake's narratives provide evidence that unauthorised publication could be regarded as a transgressive act which provoked uneasy debates about responsibility and authorial control, and demonstrate that the rhetoric of unauthorised publication could cloak ulterior motives. Even if Lavender's claim of unauthorised publication is a defensive fiction, the preface betrays or affects embarrassment over it, and manifests a felt obligation to explain it.[91] Perhaps to supplement the want of authorization, or to compensate for the supposed violation of the author's express desire, "Lavender" is eager to furnish justifications for the publication of the narrative. The preface argues that the common benefit must override the private interest, and imagines that the publication of Biddulph's account could generate the production of a more detailed authorised version (Biddulph, *Travels*, fols. A1v, B3v).

It seems unlikely that uncertainties about the circumstances of Timberlake's and Biddulph's publications will be completely resolved. Consequently it is perhaps more useful to contemplate what the comments relating to them reveal about authority, how an author claims or disowns meaning, and how powerful is the desire to fix the precise relationship between a text and authorial control in these early seventeenth-century texts. In the comments of Lavender, Sanderson and Kitely on the travel accounts of Biddulph and Timberlake, as well as in Sanderson's own

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Lavender writes, "it is a foule shame that any Christian, brought vp in so blessed a Common Wealth as England, should be so simple to beleeue such Vntruths as the superstitious Friers of *Rome* ... doe demonstrate or declare vnto them." This could be a much-muted and veiled remnant of the previous edition's attacks. William Biddulph, *The Travels of Foure English Men and a Preacher into Africa, Asia, Troy, Bythinia, Thracia, and to the Blacke Sea* ... (London: Felix Kyngston for William Aspley, 1612), fol. B3r.

[90] Bennett, *English Books and Readers*, vol. 3, 59-66. See also vol. 2: *1445-1603*, 22-6.

[91] For an analogous and nearly contemporary instance of publication apparently against the author's consent, but with his complicity, see the account of the 1605 publication of Edwin Sandys' *View or Survey of the State of Religion in the Westerne parts of the World* in Theodore K. Rabb, *Jacobean Gentleman: Sir Edwin Sandys, 1561-1629* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1998), 39-40.

manuscript and letters, the preoccupation with authority and control over the text are self-evident. The authorisation of publication contributes to authority, but its violation can have very different consequences. The claim of unauthorised publication can undermine a text's authority, and draw minute, critical attention to its claims and assertions. On the other hand, it can enable a disingenuous author to negotiate the inclusion of controversial or libellous material, stabilising its authority at another's expense while seeking to evade the responsibilities which come with authorship. Participation in an existing tradition still creates opportunities for the assertion of narrative authority, but it is more adversarial and proprietorial than in late medieval pilgrimage narratives. Ostentatious disagreement and correction join borrowing and adaptation as forms of participation. The circumstances of a text's dissemination become implicated in its credibility, and introduce the concerns of the marketplace into the discourse of authority to an unprecedented degree.

TRAVELLERS TO JERUSALEM

EDWARD WEBBE

The Rare and Most Wonderfull Things of Edward Webbe (born 1553/4) was published in 1590. It is thus the earliest free-standing narrative about travel to Jerusalem published after the English Reformation. Webbe's narrative is short, and deficient in organisation. It is primarily concerned with the fluctuation of Webbe's condition between affliction and deliverance during adventures in Russia, the Levant, the "land of Prester John" and France. Enslaved first by Tartars and subsequently by the Ottomans, Webbe recounts how he eventually served as gunner for the Ottoman army. Webbe's extensive travels during his service to the Ottomans took in Palestine and Syria. His chronology is confused, so that it is not clear exactly when the visit to Jerusalem is supposed to have taken place, but since he claims to have been ransomed and returned to England by May 1589, and to have served the Ottomans for six years, the visit must have taken place at some time between 1582 and very early 1589.[92] The

[92] H. W. L. Hime points out that although Webbe claims to have been taken prisoner by the Tartars at the burning of Moscow, which took place in 1571, and not to have been ransomed until five years had elapsed, he also claims to have been present at the taking of Tunis, which took place in 1573, in the service of Don John of Austria. See H. W. L. Hime, "The Travels of Edward Webbe," *English*

prominence of Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Galilee in the title is at odds with their position in the narrative itself, in which the balance is weighted instead towards Webbe's experiences elsewhere as a gunner to the Ottomans, the Tartars and the French.

Webbe makes repeated but fragmentary reference to this visit to Jerusalem and its pilgrimage sites. He only claims to have visited the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. He is hesitant in his acceptance of its authenticity, which even the most sceptical travellers rarely dispute, prefixing the disclaimer "it is sayd" to the statement that Christ was buried there (fol. C2^{r}). Some of his descriptions are so odd as to arouse the suspicion that he did not visit at all. For example, he erroneously locates the holy sepulchre down seven steps, "as it were in a vault," and identifies in the chapel of the sepulchre a rock with magnetic properties, but notices nothing else in the church. He also seems to elide the distinction between Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Jewish Temple, claiming that "part of the olde Temple is yet standing," in which "there standeth all the olde relikes preserued and kept as monuments of great treasure" (Webbe, fol. C2v). In spite of the inaccuracies and ambiguities in Webbe's account, it appears to have been a commercial success, going through three editions in 1590 alone, with subsequent printings in 1592 and 1600. Since little systematic description of the city or surrounding areas is contained within it, it is interesting in this context chiefly for the prominence of Jerusalem in the title and the commercial appeal which this suggests that city exerted.

Fynes Moryson

Fynes Moryson (1565/6-1630) is the next writer to travel to Jerusalem, arriving there with his brother Henry in early 1596. While his account of Jerusalem in the *Itinerary* contains fascinating and unique information about now obscure practices such as betting on travellers' safe return, and illuminates certain dilemmas faced by the

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Historical Review 31 (1916): 465; Webbe, *The Rare and most wonderfull things*, fol. D4r. Indeed, Hime casts doubt on the truthfulness of Webbe's account. Although he acknowledges that "Webbe complains of a defective memory," he underlines problems with Webbe's claims which cannot be explained by poor recall. As well as contradictions in chronology, these include the lack of technical vocabulary usual in a master gunner's account of battle and the implausibility of an Englishmen being casually appointed master gunner in the French army. Hime, "The Travels of Edward Webbe," 465-70. See also *DNB*, 2004 ed., s.v. "Edward Webbe."

Protestant traveller among Franciscans and sects of eastern Christians, it constitutes only a small portion of his travels and narrations of these.

Moryson was born in Lincolnshire, receiving his BA from Peterhouse College, Cambridge, where he also became a fellow in 1587.[93] He was granted an MA *ad eundem* from Oxford before beginning his travels, Charles Hughes speculates, because "the fame of Oxford in other countries was greater than that of Cambridge." After resigning his fellowship in August 1600, Moryson served as secretary to the lord deputy of Ireland, Sir Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy (Hughes, xxiv-xxv). Hughes notes that after Mountjoy was rewarded for his part in the Earl of Tyrone's submission with the title of Earl of Devonshire by James I, Moryson was rewarded with a pension "sufficient to keep a bachelor of studious habits in comfort" (xxxiv).

After Devonshire's death in 1606 Moryson turned to the writing of his observations of Europe and the Levant, he explains in the epistle to the reader, first embarking on "the Histories of these 12 Dominions thorow which I passed" (Moryson, *Itinerary*, fol. ¶[5v). These histories he later excised, in spite of the three years' labour invested in them. Moryson's account of his own travel through these dominions made up the first part of the *Itineraries*. The three years spent in Ireland in the course of his service to Blount provided the material for the second part of Moryson's *Itineraries*, a geographical and historical description of Ireland, while the third section of the work is preoccupied with precepts for travellers, discussion of the merits of travel and sketches of Germany, Switzerland and Bohemia, the Netherlands, Denmark, Poland, Italy and the Ottoman Empire.

Moryson describes the *Itineraries* as being composed "at leasure, giuing ... much time to pleasure, to necessary affaires, and to diuers and long distractions". *Itinerary*, fols. ¶[5^{r}-5^{v}]., requiring several drafts, in his hand as well as that of his servant, and translation into English from the original Latin (Moryson, *Itinerary*, fol. ¶[5v). It was finally published in 1617. A further work relating to his travels was probably finished by 1619 or 1620, but never published until Hughes' partial edition, *Shakespeare's Europe*, in 1903 (Hughes, xli).

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[93] Limitations of space preclude inclusion of fuller details of Moryson's family history and of documents relating to his leave from Peterhouse, but these can be found in the introduction by Charles Hughes to Fynes Moryson, *Shakespeare's Europe: Unpublished Chapters of Fynes Moryson's Itinerary, Being a Survey of the Condition of Europe at the end of the 16th Century*, ed. Charles Hughes (London: Sheratt & Hughes, 1903), i-xlvi. Hughes speculates from Fynes Moryson's father's will that he had in mind for Fynes a career in the church (viii-ix).

By the time of his journey to the Levant, Moryson had already spent four years travelling in Europe, from May 1591 to May 1595. However, an appetite for travel remained, and he departed for the Levant a few months after his return. The journey to Jerusalem began in December 1595, and took an overland route to Venice across Holland, Germany and the Alps to take ship for Joppa from Venice. Fynes admits that he and his brother pretended to be English Catholics while in Palestine (though enemies of the King of Spain), evading communion rather than refusing it outright.[94] After visiting Jerusalem both Fynes and Henry Moryson took ill, and Henry died. He was buried between Antioch and Alexandretta (present-day İskenderun, often called Scanderona by early modern travellers).[95] It is not clear whether the death of his brother influenced Fynes' subsequent movements, but he refers to the event as the first hour of his old age (Moryson, *Itinerary*, pt. 1, 249). Having buried his brother, he travelled to Crete and to Constantinople, where he stayed with the English ambassador, William Harborne. Although Moryson subsequently spent more time abroad, his return to England in the summer of 1597 marked the end of his wanderings to the East.

The journey to the Levant produces a fuller explanation of Moryson's motives for travelling than that occasioned by his first journey. The first journey had been undertaken simply "for the intended ornament" of his future profession, law, and "out of my innated desire to gaine experience by trauelling into forraigne parts" (Moryson, *Itinerary*, pt. 1, 1). The journey to Jerusalem and Constantinople elicits a longer explanation of the fruits of travel:

> From my tender youth I had a great desire to see forraine Countries, not to get libertie ... but to enable my vnderstanding (which I thought could not be done so well by contemplation as by experience; nor by the eare or any sence so well, as by the eies. And hauing once begun this course, I could not see any

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[94] The register transcribed by Zimolong records no pilgrims at all between May, 1590 and April, 1597, so it is not possible to verify whether the Franciscans were taken in by the Morysons' dissemblance so far as to classify them as Catholics.

[95] William Biddulph remarked on Henry Moryson's grave on his own travels, and gave the following account of its markings:

> there lieth buried an English Gentleman, named *Henry Morison*, who died there coming downe from Aleppo in companie with his brother master *Phines Morison*, who left his Armes in that countrie with these verses vnder written:
>
> To thee deare HENRY MORISON,
> Thy brother PHINES here left alone:
> Hath left this fading memorie,
> For monuments, and all must die.

Biddulph, *Travels*, 39.

> man without emulation, and a kind of vertuous enuy, who had seene more Cities, Kingdomes, and Prouinces, or more Courts of Princes, Kings, and Emperours, then my selfe.... And howsoeuer now being newly returned home, I thought the going into more remote parts would be of little vse to me, yet I had an itching desire to see *Ierusalem*, the fountaine of Religion, and *Constantinople*, of old the seate of Christian Emperours, and now the seate of the Turkish *Ottoman*. (Moryson, *Itinerary*, pt. 1, 197-8)

Moryson's explanation of the motives for setting off on this second journey engages the arguments supporting travel for political education and statecraft, and places Jerusalem and Constantinople in a central position. The former conditions of both cities, one the source of the Christian religion and the other the centre of a fallen Christian empire, motivate his travel, although some motivation also proceeds from the present condition in the case of Constantinople. The power of direct experience to educate the mind and the superiority of direct visual apprehension over second-hand communication are conventional arguments in apologies for travel, and just as relevant to Moryson's first journey as to his second. Their appearance here rather than at the opening of the *Itinerary* hints that travel to the Levant requires restated and elaborated justification. Indeed, qualifications and explanations flow forth throughout the journey. Moryson pauses before beginning his description of Jerusalem to distance himself from seekers after relics and indulgences. He assures the reader that he understood veneration to be given to God, not to the holy places. His pilgrimage is not an *imitatio christi* but an imitation of other travellers: "when I had once begun to visite forraigne parts, I was so stirred vp by emulation and curiousity as I did neuer behold any without a kind of sweete enuy, who in this kind had dared more than my selfe" (Moryson, *Itinerary*, pt. 1, 217).

Moryson inserts a disclaimer to warn the reader of the need to undertake a sceptical reading of the account of Jerusalem. His is a "faithful relation" of the Franciscans' claims for the city and the holy places, not a description which he has been able to verify:

> I professe, that I will faithfully relate the situation of the City, and the description of the monuments made to me by the Friars, making conscience not to adde or detract, but as neere as I can to vse their owne words. Yet doe I

not my selfe beleeue all the particulars I write vpon their report, neither doe I perswade any men to beleeue them.[96]

Donald Howard has noted that fourteenth-century travellers contended with the possible falsity of their claims by displacing responsibility for the improbable onto their sources, forcing the reader, at one more remove, to take up the work of evaluation (D. R. Howard, 89-90). This is a strategy employed by compilers, who distinguish between assertion of their own opinions and mere presentation of those of others (Minnis, 193-4). Such a strategy also found employment in early modern travel narratives, as Moryson, and Sandys and Lithgow after him, shift responsibility for the choice to believe onto the reader. However, Moryson leans away from scepticism again before this introduction is complete. Eschewing the extreme suspicion of Cornelius in Erasmus' "Rash Vows," Moryson confirms that scripture does not contradict many of the holy places. As a result, it is probable that they are genuine. Although some false traditions have certainly found acceptance in Jerusalem, the rivalries among Christian sects provide a useful mechanism for ensuring the authenticity of claims for the holy places, for their eagerness to find fault with one another precludes credulity towards new and inauthentic traditions (*Itinerary*, pt. 1, 217).

In spite of Moryson's promise to give a direct account of the Franciscans' explanations, he does interject to demonstrate his scepticism: for example, "Here they shew a place where they say (beleeue it who list) that St Thomas after the Virgines burial, did see her both in body and soule assumed into heauen and that she casting her girdle to him, gaue it for testimony thereof, that all others might beleeue it."[97] Nor

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[96] Moryson, *Itinerary*, pt. 1, 217. The necessity of distinguishing among the claims made for the holy places is one which Catholic pilgrims were also capable of countenancing. Luigi Vulcano, in his 1563 pilgrimage narrative, confronts the fact that this account of the holy places will include apocryphal material, and displaces responsibility for the decision to believe them onto the reader as Moryson, Lithgow and Sandys do. " ho voluto à sembianza di colui che la gran machina di questo universo scriver suole, ridure questa mia operetta ; discrivendo puntalmente tutte le città : castelli : ville : monti : fiumi : et altri luoghi : de quali'il vecchio, et nuovo testamento fa memoria, e tanto fidelemente che cosa falsa non vi trovarete. et si cosa alcuna apocrifa se scrive ; apocrifamente ancor si mette, che à voi stara il crederla, o non crederla." ("in the likeness of Him who writes the great plot of the universe, I have wished to render this my small work; describing point by point all the cities, castles, towns, mountains, rivers, and other places: of which the Old and New Testaments record the memory, so faithfully that you will not find in it any false thing. And if some apocryphal matter is written, it is in turn included as apocryphal, so that it is left to you to believe it, or disbelieve it.") Luigi Vulcano, *Vera et nuova descrittione di tutta Terra Santa* (Naples: 1563). Cited in Gomez-Géraud, *Crépuscule du Grand Voyage*, 356. Vulcano's imagined opponents here are the pagan divinities, where Moryson, Lithgow and Sandys set themselves up in apparent opposition to the Franciscans.

[97] Moryson, *Itinerary*, pt. 1, 223. This kind of identification would have come under pressure from post-Tridentine reforms of the content of paintings. Carlo Borromeo included the following injunctions

is his account of the Franciscans free of insinuations against them. He glances at their right to sing mass in the Holy Sepulchre, attributing it to their willingness to buy the privilege from the Ottomans, and accuses the friars of having caused the death of five Protestant travellers the previous year (Moryson, *Itinerary*, pt. 1, 231, 238). Almost every tradition is preceded by the disclaimer, "here they say," continually placing the responsibility for the claim on the Franciscans and reminding the reader that the information is not self-evident but contingent on a fallible source. Moryson's description of Jerusalem is wary, seemingly conscious of an obligation to give a complete and unmediated account of the experiences and information accrued there while maintaining in the narrative a quiet insistence on the rigour of his judgment.

Henry Timberlake

1601 marked the peak of English arrivals in Jerusalem, with fifteen Englishmen visiting Jerusalem.[98] The narratives of Henry Timberlake, William Biddulph and John Sanderson describe journeys undertaken in this year. Henry Timberlake's was the first to be published. Timberlake (d. 1625/6), originally from Titchfield near Portsmouth, owned shares in the late sixteenth century in a merchant ship operating in Russia and Levantine ports and later become captain of a ship called the Trojan.[99] His short narrative, the *True and Strange Discourse*, numbered only 26 pages but met with a success, in John Parker's words, "unequalled by any travel book in English until that time" (Parker, 187). It was published eight times between 1603 and 1620; twice in

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in his 1577 *Instructiones* under the rubric "What is to be avoided and observed in sacred images": "only such [images] as conform to scriptural truth, traditions, ecclesiastical histories, custom and usage of our mother the Church may be painted. Likewise, nothing false ought to be introduced into the painting or carving of holy images, neither anything that is uncertain, apocyphal, and superstitious; nothing [of that sort], only that which is in agreement with custom." The dropping of the girdle by Mary for Thomas is silently omitted by "A Particular of My Journey." Borromeo, "Instructiones," 223. For a passage in which Moryson cites Jeremiah 19:2 to refute the Franciscans' location of the place of the sacrifice to Moloch, see pt. 1, 224-5.

[98] Timberlake records the arrivals from Aleppo of Biddulph, Edward Abbot (with whom John Sanderson had hoped to travel), Geoffrey Kerby (whose graffiti John Sanderson sees at the tomb of Lazarus), John Elkins and Jasper Tyen, as well as his own companion John Burrell. Zimolong's transcription also records the names of a Father "Matthias" of the Celestine Order (presumably living outside England), "Dominicus Gulielmus," "Joannes de Ragg" and "Ermandus Elmanus," all three from London, "Petrus Alarti de Zoncopde Gorcoen," "Georgius Vettoti" and "Thomas Ruigsa Civ. Bristol." Zimolong's transcription of the pilgrim register records only 13 English arrivals, omitting Kerby's name, but as I indicated in note 1 above "Godifredus Kerbiius" is visible in Taylor's photograph of the register. Zimolong, ed., *Navis Peregrinorum*, 11-3. Sanderson also travelled in this year, bringing the number to fifteen.

[99] *DNB*, 2004 ed., s.v. "Henry Timberlake."

1611.[100] It was to be published again seven times before the end of the seventeenth century, and was also included in *Purchas his Pilgrimes.*

Written in the form of a letter, the *Discourse* narrates Timberlake's journey to Jerusalem from Alexandria, where he left his ship, the Trojan, his crew and merchandise. Timberlake travelled in the company of John Burrell, both apparelled in "Pilgrimes habit." The report of a conversation between Timberlake and a North African pilgrim bound for Mecca reveals Timberlake to have brought passengers from Algiers to Alexandria.[101] While in Jerusalem, in 1601, he and Burrell coincided with several other English travellers.[102] Burrell and Timberlake travelled by way of Cairo, noting with fascination the egg incubators in use there. They crossed the Arabian desert with the Damascus caravan, later branching off with Greek and Armenian pilgrims to reach Jerusalem. Timberlake returned to Alexandria fifty days after beginning, not without adventure and some violence on the route to Egypt. Timberlake's ship never reached England safely: it was broken up on the rocks in the port of Tripoli in Syria after sailing north from Alexandria.[103] This was not the end of Timberlake's prosperity. In later life he became a member of the Company of Merchant adventurers and purchased stock in the East India Company, dying in 1625 or 1626.[104]

Timberlake is carefully specifies the nature of his and Burrell's participation in the pilgrim ceremonies and the diplomatic framework which governed Christian visitors to Jerusalem. Their arrival in the city was fraught because, while John Burrell entered speaking Greek and claiming Greek protection, Timberlake attempted to enter as an Englishman, telling Burrell "euen at the gates entraunce, that I would neither denie my Countrie nor Religion." This was a futile gesture of independence, however:

> I was seazed on, and cast in prison, before I had staied a full hour at the gate; for the Turkes flatly denied, that they had ever heard either of my Queene or Countrey, or that she paied them any tribute. The *Pater Guardian*, who is there defender of all Christian Pilgrimes, (and the principall procurer of my

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[100] One these editions, printed by "I. N." for Hugh Perry and published under the title "A relation of the travells of two English pilgrimes," is not in *STC*, but its existence is noted by Parker, *Books to Build an Empire*, 260.
[101] Timberlake, *Discourse* [1603], 7. For fuller biographical particulars, see Taylor, *Englishman.*
[102] For names of the Englishmen in Biddulph's party listed by Timberlake as witnesses of his imprisonment, see n. 98 above; Timberlake, *Discourse* [1603], 18-9.
[103] For further details, see the account in Taylor, *Englishman*, 207-14.
[104] *DNB*, 2004 ed., s.v. "Henry Timberlake."

> imprisonment, because I did not offer my self under his protection, but confidently stood to be rather protected under the Turke, then the Pope,) made the Turke so much my enemy, that I was reputed to be a spie, and so (by no meanes) could I get release from the dungeon. (Timberlake, *Discourse* [1603], 6)

However, he goes on to recount his rescue by an unnamed Muslim passenger of the Trojan. Having recognised his former captain before Timberlake's separation from the Damascus-bound caravan, the North African traveller had decided to accompany him to Jerusalem "as he would not leave me unaccompanied in this strange Land" (7). Through his companion's intercession, Timberlake was delivered from prison and into the hands of the Franciscans, with whom he followed the pilgrimage route without further incident.

The conversation recorded between Timberlake and the Father Guardian implies that it is unusual for Englishmen to take such a course of action at the gates to Jerusalem, and reiterates Timberlake's determination to resist participation in the Catholic mass:

> I told him, what I did, was because I would not goe to Masse, but keepe my conscience to my selfe. He replyed, that many Englishmen had been there, but (being Catholiques) went to Masse, telling the Turks at the Gates entrance, that they were Frenchmen, for the Turkes knowe not what you meane by the worde Englishman. (Timberlake, *Discourse* [1603], 8)

Once the terms of Timberlake's participation in the Jerusalem pilgrimage have been established to his satisfaction, his attitude toward the traditions commemorated at the holy places appears to be reasonably acquiescent. Although Timberlake records that he probes the commemoration of the house of Veronica, whose tradition is often scorned by Protestant travellers as a superstitious accretion, asking "what Saint that was," he also reports the friars' explanatory response without defiance or incredulity (*Discourse* [1603], 9). Timberlake's characteristic phrases to introduce a new holy place are "they shewed me," "they brought me to," or "I saw" [the place where], with only occasional use of that reminder of the contingency of a claim on Franciscan authority, "they say." It appears once or twice per page, rather than in every other clause, as Moryson uses it. Timberlake expresses gratitude for attaining sight of Jerusalem: "at 9. of the clocke before noone, I sawe the cittie of *Ierusalem*: when kneeling downe, and saying the Lords prayer, I gaue God most hartie thankes for

conducting me thither, to beholde so holy a place with mine eies, wherof I had read so often before. Coming within a furlong of the gates, I with my companion M. John Burrell, went singing and praising God, till we came to the west gate ..." (6). Although his gratitude for the privilege of seeing Jerusalem is grounded in scripture or devotional writing rather than a sense that the events located there had invested it with a lingering holiness, the visit still produces thankfulness and joy.

William Biddulph

William Biddulph set out from Aleppo to travel to Jerusalem in March 1600/1. Both Timberlake and the author of the Preface to Biddulph's account identify him as preacher to the English merchants resident at Aleppo.[105] MacLean, who has carried out the most extensive research so far on Biddulph and his *Travels*, was unable to uncover many details of Biddulph's career before setting off for the Levant, although he notes that a "William Biddle" received an MA at Brasenose College, Oxford in 1590.[106] The account of Biddulph's journey, along with the report of his further travels in the Middle East and Asia Minor, was brought to the press in 1609.

I have already referred to some of the justifications for publication in Lavender's preface: the common interest and the redressing of Timberlake's insufficiencies, for instance. Lavender also offers justifications for publication which are summarised by MacLean as "pious and nationalist": they claim to reconcile the reader to his or her lot as subjects of the King, members of the church; as wives, servants, rich men or poor men (Biddulph, *Travels*, fols. A2r-A2v; MacLean, *Rise of Oriental Travel*, 53). To this end Lavender's advertisements for the narrative imagine the reader's dissatisfaction with her or his circumstances before attempting to suppress them:

> Heere wiues may learne to loue their husbands, when they shal read in what slauery women liue in other Countries, and in what awe and subiection to their

[105] Biddulph, *Travels*, fol.¶4v ; Timberlake, *Discourse* [1603], 18.
[106] MacLean, *Rise of Oriental Travel*, 51. Part II of this volume ("Biddulph's Ministry: Travels around Aleppo, 1600-1612," pp. 49-114) bases its account of Biddulph's career in Aleppo with the Levant Company on evidence from his *Travels*, documents relating to the Levant Company in the Public Record Office (now National Archive) and correspondence and documentation preserved elsewhere, such as John Sanderson's manuscript volume, BL MS Lansdowne 241.

husbands, and what liberties and freedome they themselues enioy. (Biddulph, *Travels*, fol. A2r)

In the acknowledgement of such dissatisfaction and the heavy-handed emphasis on the cruelty and barbarity of social and domestic structures "in other Countries," there is a hint also that Lavender attempts to contain the potential lure of the foreign in favour of the advantages of home. The comment on the virtues of England's pastors, if written by Biddulph, betrays rueful envy for the respect and generosity accorded to religious men abroad:

> Heereby hearers may learne to loue and reuerence their Pastors, and to thank God for the inestimable benefit of the preaching of the word amongst them; when they shall reade in what blindness and palpable ignorance other nations liue ... and yet reuerence their blind guids [guides] and superstitious Church-men like Angels, and prouide for their maintenance roially.[107]

The table of contents briefly imagines that the narrative may "further [those who are inclined to travel to the East] by the good directions heerein conteined," but ultimately reverts to dissuasion: "or ... hinder them in regard of the imminent dangers" (Biddulph, *Travels*, fol. B4v).

Biddulph is the traveller in whom suspicion is strongest and closest to the surface in the narration of the visit to Jerusalem. In the categories of "Apparent Truths," "Manifest Untruths" and "Things Doubtfull" which accommodate his account of the holy places, Biddulph's bias towards disbelief is evident. Much of this suspicion is directed at the Franciscans. Biddulph carefully emphasises that he has retained control over the extent of his participation in the religious ceremonies led by them. Because of letters of introduction to the friars from the Consul at Venice and the merchants at Aleppo, Biddulph and his five companions were not to be compelled "to any thing against our consciences," but given "libertie both of persons and consciences as if we were in England, or in our own houses elsewhere" (Biddulph, *Travels*, 117). Biddulph does not specify what his conscience prohibits or allows him to do; he merely reports the freedom to follow it. However, he insists that this autonomy is exceptional: "I admonish those who have a desire to travell to Jerusalem heereafter, to take heed to themselves, that they make not shipwracke of conscience; for if they come not well commended, or well monied, or both, there is no being for

[107] Biddulph, *Travels*, fol. A2r. Similar sentiments are also to be found in the letter from Aleppo (62-3).

them, except they partake with them in their idolatrous services" – perhaps another insinuation at Timberlake's expense (Biddulph, *Travels*, 120). Biddulph follows this with several verses on the financial rapaciousness of Rome. This sequence of assertions is characteristic of Biddulph's narrative manner and objectives: it includes justification of his actions against imagined criticism and self-aggrandisement, and insists that his experience defies replication.

Biddulph and his fellow travellers, he has careful to insist, come to Jerusalem not to venerate the holy places or the objects contained there, but to fill a period of slow trade and to change the pestilence of Aleppo for the healthier air of Jerusalem. Nevertheless, it is hinted that Jerusalem is an exceptional destination: Biddulph expects his location to impart to his letter a particular value for his correspondent: "[Biddulph's previous letters having been well received,] this shall be much more acceptable, both in regard of the Place from whence it came, as also of the Matter subiect herein contained; being my voyage from Aleppo in Syria Comoagena to Ierusalem" (Biddulph, *Travels*, 87). He goes on to centre this expectation on the past fact of Christ's physical presence there, as he admits his own delight at finding himself in Jerusalem: "*Captus amore tui, raptus amore loci*, for the love I beare to you, and delight I conceive in this famous place, where our sweet Saviour Christ vouchsafed once his blessed bodily presence: I could not but remember you with some salutation from hence ..." (Biddulph, *Travels*, 86). It is a famous, not a *holy* place: Christ's presence, but not the place itself, was "blessed." It is an exceptional one, all the same, by virtue of Christ's passage through and presence in it. If he avoids ascribing to the sepulchre of Christ any intrinsic holiness, or asserting that any of the original sepulchre survives, he does express joy at seeing it: "it gave me content that I had seene the selfe same place where the Sepulcher of our blessed Sauiour was; as I in heart did then, and do still perswade my selfe it is" (Biddulph, *Travels*, 128).

John Sanderson

The manuscript account of John Sanderson's journey to Jerusalem (performed in 1601) is preserved in British Library MS Lansdowne 241.[108] It is a large book,

[108] John Sanderson, "The Pilgrimadge of John Sanderson frome *Constantinople* to the Holie land: and so to Tripolie *Surria*, begone the 14th. day of May .1601. ended the 14th. of August," [1604], British

containing 411 leaves, originally purchased by the author's father for book-keeping. It includes copies of correspondence and documents relating to Sanderson's merchant trade, as well as extracts of a theological or historical nature and the memoirs of his travels (Foster, ix-x). Sanderson (1560-1626/7) resided in the Levant for three extended periods, the first from 1585 to 1587, when he served as steward to William Harborne, the English ambassador at Constantinople, and spent time in Egypt. He returned from England to live in Constantinople from 1592 to 1597 and from 1599-1601, working for the Levant Company (Foster, xi-xxvii). His brother Thomas, vicar of St Laurence Jewry, was involved in the committee responsible for the revision of the Bible, and Sanderson purchased Greek biblical manuscripts during his time in the Levant for use by the translators (Foster, xxxi). On his final return to England, Sanderson journeyed by way of Palestine in company of several Jewish travellers. Occasionally suspending his habitually dour tone, Sanderson speaks of these travellers with affection and admiration. He stayed in Jerusalem for about five weeks. There are two accounts of this journey. One, very brief, is included in his autobiography (Sanderson, *Travels*, 18-9). A more detailed account, "The Pilgrimadge of John Sanderson," is devoted exclusively to this journey, which took place in 1601 and was written by February 1604 (Foster, xxx; Sanderson, *Travels*, 95-127). Of the two, only Sanderson's longer account was included in Purchas' anthology, although probably from a version in another manuscript, no longer extant (Foster, xxix-xxx). Sanderson died a year or two after the publication of *Purchas His Pilgrimes* (Foster, xxxix-xl).

In the shorter report, which contains no description of the sites visited, the visit to Jerusalem is represented as an experience of confrontation and threatened violence, but also of spiritual consolation. Exceptionally, Sanderson stayed with the Greek Patriarch rather than with the Franciscan Friars.[109] In retribution for his evasion of their protection, Sanderson claims here, the Catholic friars attempted to murder him on several occasions (Sanderson, *Travels*, 18-9). However, this account is notable for its expression of joy at both the experience and memory of the visit: "At Jerusalem, upon the top of Mount Olivet (with joy of heart I heare record it) I prostratly praied, in

Library, London, Lansdowne MS 241, fols. 121v-127r. References unless otherwise stated are to Foster's 1931 Hakluyt Society edition.

[109] Even Henry Timberlake's travelling companion John Burrell, who gained admittance to Jerusalem through the Patriarch by claiming to be Greek, had to lodge with the friars. Timberlake, *Discourse* [1603], 6, 8-9. However, Sanderson, carrying letters of introduction from the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople, dodged the protection of the friars.

which I am yet comforted. Lett the eternall God be ever glorified in Jesus Christ, my Saviour and Redeemer" (19).

The second, fuller account of his "Pilgrimadge" is set apart from the memoirs of his other experiences and travels during his third tour in the Levant. This implies that this journey stands apart in his mind from activities and travels in the Ottoman Empire for the Levant company, although it was part of the same tour abroad, and that it is deemed to have its own coherence and unity as a separate narrative. The focus of the narrative is proclaimed on the first page (fol. 121v), which is inscribed in the top left-hand corner with the arms of Jerusalem. Sanderson's way of writing about Palestine is very different from his descriptions of other regions of the Ottoman Empire. There is a visible shift from preoccupation with natural historical, cultural or political observation to a mode which concentrates on biblical associations and takes less notice of landscape or inhabitants. His account is more sensitive to Old Testament associations than is typical of late medieval or early modern western European Christian travellers, probably showing the influence of his learned Jewish travelling companions.[110]

Sanderson's narrative oscillates between outright scepticism towards the biblical associations identified at Jerusalem and receptivity to them. The identification of the Tower of David he attributes to "fondlinges" (102). On the other hand, at the place of the Ascension he hopes once again that his prayers in that place have a particular merit to please Christ: "Heare I prayed, and hope My Saviour beheld me." On other occasions, Sanderson avoids giving a personal response, displacing the reaction elicited by the holy places onto his companions. At the sepulchre of the Virgin Mary, he writes, "My Greeke priest shewed great devotion at this sepulcre; so did he at the place wheare Our Saviour sweat water and blod, and at the Ascention place on top of Mount Olivett" (104). His comment on the Holy Sepulchre is strangely dispassionate and distant: "From thence to a place neare unto the church and sepulcre wheare the Christians affirme the bodie of Our Saviour was laid" (106). Sanderson's antagonism towards Roman Catholics in general is implied by his inclusion of them, along with several eastern Christian sects, in the category of the "idolatrus Christians" who have an altar in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (108).

[110] For example, Sanderson notices the place of the Prophet Jeremiah's imprisonment in Jerusalem (Jeremiah 37.15 ff.), the sepulchre of Isaiah, the burial-place of Gad and the Valley of Eshcol (near Hebron) mentioned in the search of the twelve spies sent by Moses (Numbers 13.24).

So violent was Sanderson's "great controversie with the Popish friers," he reports, that he refrained from entering the sepulchre itself at the Greek Patriarch's entreaty to forestall a confrontation (108). At one point, this hostility seems to lead him not just to a refutation of the identifications of a holy place, but to an alternative identification, presumably suggested by his Greek guide: "that within the church [of the Nativity] I take to be the well that David desiered to drinke of from the hands of his valiant men. The Papists ... say it is another neare Bethelem" (111). Sanderson's history of friction with the Franciscans colours his experience of certain holy places, but he does not declare an absolute resistance to the idea of a holy place as certain of his fellow travellers did, nor does he feel obliged to distance himself from the relic- and indulgence-seeking pilgrim, as Moryson does.

"A Particular of My Journey with Thosse Meane Obseruations I Haue Collected"

The next English visit to Jerusalem to be recorded is found in an anonymous manuscript account entitled "A Particular of My Journey with Thosse Meane Obseruations I Haue Collected." It survives in two copies, both in the British Library: Additional MS 17,374 and Royal 18.a.39. Addit. 17,374 is a small quarto manuscript of 28 folios, written on paper in a vellum binding. It is written in English in a consistent, slender cursive secretary hand, but for the last 27 lines, which are written in italic. There is little correction or blotting and, though unruled, the margins and lines are meticulously observed, although it becomes more cramped towards the end of the manuscript. It is punctuated with frequent commas and virgules (often hard to distinguish) and few full stops. Royal 18.a.39 is also written on paper in small quarto format of size similar to that of Addit. 17,374, taking up 27 folios. It is written in an italic hand, with clear layout and tidy margins, with a similar proportion of margin to text and layout to Addit. 17,374. It is punctuated more carefully than Addit. 17,374, and with fewer virgules and more periods. The italic in which the final paragraphs of Addit. 17,374 are written is very similar to the hand in which Royal 18.a.39 is inscribed and the watermarks in the manuscripts match; perhaps the latter was made as a neat copy of the the former.

Marks of provenance and ownership are few and offer little help in determining authorship. On fol. 1[r] of Addit. 17,374, the volume's purchase "at Henderson's sale 1 July, 1848" for the British Library collections is recorded. Overleaf, there is a further note, signed "JS": "A Journey to Various Parts of the East, in the Reign of Q. Elizabeth & never yet published as far as I have been able to discover. Probably by one of the Ancestors of the Hastings Family, from the name of Sir John Rawdon being affixed."[111] However, since the manuscript can be dated to 1607 or later, the attribution to the reign of Elizabeth is erroneous, and the speculation as to the manuscript's provenance and ownership may be equally unreliable. The name of a Sir John Rawdon does indeed appear on the top left-hand corner of fol. 2[r], as do the initials "J. R." halfway down the left-hand margin, in a clear round hand which is distinguishable from the hand in which the rest of the manuscript is written. A Sir John Rawdon, 3rd Baronet of Rawdon Hall, York and of Moira, County Down lived at the turn of the eighteenth century; his son, also Sir John Rawdon, was the 1st Earl of Moira (born 17 March 1719/20, created Earl 9 April 1750).[112] Joan Taylor takes John Rawdon to be the name of the author (Taylor, *Englishman*, 26, 246). There is no reason to believe that this is a mark of authorship or even an inscription contemporary with the writing of the manuscript, and no name resembling his appears in the transcription of the pilgrim register to corroborate the identification. There are no further clues as to earlier or later ownership of the manuscript, nor of the ownership of Royal 18.a.39.[113]

The manuscript is confused in its dating of the author's arrival in Jerusalem: "The .7. of Ianuarye, 1607, arriued at Ierusalem being ther .12. daye & last of

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[111] The Rawdon family became allied with the Hastings family in the eighteenth century with the marriage of the younger Sir John Rawdon to Elizabeth, Baroness Hastings. See the pedigree in Francis Bickley, ed., *Report on the Manuscripts of Reginald Rawdon Hastings Esq. of the Manor House, Ashby de la Zouch*, Historical Manuscripts Commission, vol. 78 (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1947), vol. 4, iv.

[112] G. E. C., H. A. Doubleday, and Lord Howard de Walden, eds., *The Complete Peerage*, vol. IX: Moels to Nuneham (London: The St Catherine Press, 1936), 29-31. Dr Arnold Hunt, curator of historical manuscripts at the British Library, has very kindly examined the inscription "Sir John Rawdon." He dates it to the eighteenth century, and confirms that it appears to be a mark of ownership rather than authorship. E-mail to author, October 17, 2007.

[113] In the course of Taylor's use of this account to contextualise Timberlake's journey, she makes some acute observations about the manuscript, to which I will refer where appropriate. The only other references to it in the literature on travel to Jerusalem are in entries in the bibliographies of Röhricht and Pearson. J. D. Pearson, ed., with Noel Matthews and M. Doreen Wainwright, *A Guide to Manuscripts and Documents in the British Isles Relating to the Middle East and North Africa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), 17; Röhricht, *Bibliotheca geographica Palaestinae*, 231.

Christmas." [114] The numeral 7 is clearly written, but contradicts the statement that he arrived on the 12th day of Christmas, or the 5th-6th of January. Zimolong's transcription of the Franciscan pilgrim register provides some candidates for authorship. In general, January arrivals are uncommon in the register, although some are recorded. However, three Englishmen are recorded as arriving in Jerusalem on January 5, 1607/8: "Georgius Sturgis Anglus Cathol.; Ricardus Allot Anglus Cathol.; Eduardus Louge [or Longe?] Anglus Cathol." (Zimolong, 23). Since ships rarely sailed for Joppa after October, a January arrival implies a crossing overland to Jerusalem from Egypt rather than a sea passage to Joppa. This is consistent with the journey described in the manuscript. The author takes shipping from Dover to Calais, travels through France and Germany, crosses the Alps, journeys through Italy and takes his passage from Venice to Alexandria, presumably in late autumn. This is followed by roughly eight weeks' overland travel to Palestine. It is possible, then, that one of these three men is the author of this manuscript. I have not been able to find evidence to prove that this is more than a coincidence, but since the records for the early seventeenth century seem relatively full, it is improbable (though not impossible) that any other English travellers staying in the Franciscans' care at this time should have gone unremarked in the register.[115] The author may have come from London: this is the first city included in his itinerary. However, he does not specify his point of departure, and narrates the return journey only as far as Dover.[116]

The manuscript exists outside the corpus of published Protestant narratives. The narratives of Timberlake, Sanderson, Moryson and Biddulph are drawn into a web of relation by their references to one another's travels or circumstances of publication, or by their common involvement in trade in the Ottoman territories. By contrast, this manuscript signals no awareness of the activities or members of the Levant Company. Furthermore, unlike each of the other narratives, published either as independent accounts or, in Sanderson's case, as part of Purchas' anthology, this was never published.

If the author is one of the three men named in Zimolong's transcription of the register, it is probable, though by no means certain, that this is a travel diary written

[114] Fol. 15v. References are to the foliation in Addit. 17,374.
[115] See n. 1 above.
[116] Unfortunately, the port books for Dover, generally held in the National Archives, do not appear to survive for that year. To my knowledge, the licences for travellers beyond the seas are not preserved for the early seventeenth century.

by an English Catholic traveller to Jerusalem. If so, it is an unusual example in this period, and extremely valuable as counterpart to the Protestant narratives under discussion.[117] However, in addition to the anonymity of the manuscript and the circumstantial nature of the evidence as to authorship, there is the problem of the reliability of the register's classification of the travellers as Catholics. It is true that none of the other travellers whose narrative was published and whose religious affiliation is known is mistaken for a Catholic in this register. Nevertheless, in light of the Morysons' adoption of false Catholic identities in Jerusalem, we must admit the possibility that Allott, Sturgis and Louge were dishonest in representing themselves as Catholics. It is also possible that one or all were not practising Catholics but crypto-Catholics sympathetic to the practice of pilgrimage or Franciscan ceremony.

Something of the author's attitudes towards pilgrimage and the holy places can be inferred from the text itself, but nothing proved about its author's religious confession. Unlike Sanderson, Timberlake and Lithgow, the author of this narrative never makes use of the terms "pilgrim" or "pilgrimage." Instead, he refers to his "journey" or, within Jerusalem, to his "visitation" (fol. 17r). If his avoidance of the term "pilgrimage" suggests hesitancy about the framework of the traditional pilgrimage, however, he also omits the protestations of scepticism which characterise many of his English contemporaries' accounts of Jerusalem. At Calvary there is an oblique reference to division of opinion regarding a particular claim: "this cracke goeth downe into a vaulte, vnderneath wher some say, was founde the heade of Adam" (fol. 17v). There is also an expression of doubt concerning Christian reports of the Temple, which had been out of bounds for non-Muslims since 1187, but this does not constitute a specific challenge to Franciscan authority (fol. 19r). The narrator may be distancing himself from one of the traditions of the Virgin recounted by the friars: "we came to the place, where the friers saye the Iewes would haue taken awaye our Ladye as she was carriing to buriall."[118] Perhaps the disclaimer is a consequence of the claim's origins not in the New Testament, but in late fifth- or early sixth-century traditions of the Virgin's Dormition. We have already seen, however, that scepticism regarding claims made for certain non-canonical sites is by no means incompatible with a profound respect for holy places and pilgrimage in general; the fourteenth-

[117] The narrative of John Locke, which in any case omits a description of Jerusalem in favour of a transcription of the pilgrimage certificate, is the only other instance.
[118] Fol. 20r. For a further instance of the use of the qualifier "it is said," see fol. 21v.

century pilgrimage account by Ludolph von Suchem and the early sixteenth-century evaluations of evidence by Jacques Lefèvre, Josse Clichtove and François du Moulin provide examples of this. The majority of holy places are described without such caution. The narrator also acknowledges the city's supereminence as he first approaches it, giving thanks for his first sight of "the only place in the world," and reports confidently, without embarrassment, his experience of the washing of the feet and candle-lit procession upon arrival in the Franciscan convent (fols. 15r-15v). Moreover, the title "Our Lady" given to the Virgin Mary here and throughout the narrative might incline us to the view that the narrator is Catholic.[119]

One adjective in the narrative is possibly incongruous with a sympathetic attitude toward the Franciscan hosts. It describes the place of the nativity and the manger at Bethlehem as "very faire & paued & couered with canepes after the romishe order, & as all other holy places aboute Ierusalem ar decked" (fols. 16^{r-v}). The adjective "romishe" is so frequently employed in anti-Catholic invective that it is startling in the context of a narrative which appears to be sympathetic to the Catholic pilgrimage. However, it is possible that the distance implicit in this descriptor does not express criticism, but acknowledgment of a foreign decorative style. This could have been a consequence of the necessarily private nature of English Catholics' religious observance, which might have produced a sense of unfamiliarity with the decoration of churches in countries where Catholics might practise openly.[120]

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[119] It is worth noting that the Protestant Sandys also uses the phrase "our lady," but this takes place in the context of his report of the friars' identifications and may be interpreted as reported speech. Sandys, *Relation*, 190.

[120] Richard L. Williams gives a sense of the range of decoration of sacred spaces which an English Catholic might have encountered in England under Protestant rule, especially during Elizabeth's reign. Factors affecting their experience included class, social position, geographical location, as well as simple chance. Certain Catholics whose wealth, social position and circumstances afforded them the means to establish private chapels for the celebration of Mass, and even some measure of protection from harassment, might furnish these impressively. Lady Magdalen, Viscountess Montague established a private chapel at Battle Abbey in Sussex, including a choir for singers and a pulpit for the priest. Sermons could be heard there on an almost weekly basis and solemn feasts were marked with choral and instrumental music. A private chapel in the house of Lord Vaux in Harrowden was equipped with beautiful and lavish altar vestments and liturgical objects cast in silver. However, many English Catholics might never have entered such a chapel or met a priest. Many who did experience the celebration of mass, perhaps only sporadically or infrequently, would probably have done so in much more improvised and simple surroundings. While certain consecrated objects, such as an altar, chalice and vestments, were absolutely required for the celebration of the Mass, such decorative incidentals such as the hangings and canopies mentioned by this traveller to Jerusalem might well have been omitted. Richard L. Williams, "Forbidden Sacred Spaces in Reformation England," in *Defining the Holy: Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Andrew Spicer and Sarah Hamilton (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2005), 97-9, 103.

Nevertheless, it reinforces the impression of subtle ambivalence towards Franciscan management of their holy places.

The narration of the traveller's experience sometimes seems carefully non-committal, as in his rehearsal of the Pater Guardian's speech:

> on of the friers therfor appointed made an oratione vnto vs to this effect following affirminge vs how good a thinge yt was to come with deuotione to visitte thesse holy places & perswadinge himselfe that our cominge was not outwardlye to beholde them but with sinceer hart & deuoute intent to praye vnto God for ourselues & frendes, & to praisse his holy name, that hath brought vs, vnto the place, wher his sonne christ was borne a crucified for *our* saluatione, prouinge th*a*t w*i*th this example saiing, yf the queene of the southe made so longe a voyadge to come to beholde the wisdome of Salomon, much more haue christians reasone & ar bounde in dewty to come and visitte thosse holy places of his birthe and sepulchre th*a*t thought it not much to come into the worlde to suffer reproches shame punishment and death to become our mediator & sauioure. ("A Particular of My Iourney," fol. 16r)

The phrase "perswadinge himselfe" is ambiguous. It hints that the friar – but not the narrator – is convinced by his oration. On the other hand, it may be an innocent report of the Father Guardian's expression of confidence. The next verb which indicates critical evaluation of the oration, "prouinge," suggests acceptance of the Father Guardian's arguments. Although "prove" could here signify striving without any assurance of success, a meaning now obsolete, the transitive use of the verb suggests more strongly the meaning of establishing the authenticity or validity of the question at hand.[121] Nevertheless, the fact that here, as in the earlier phrase, two contradictory meanings are simultaneously accommodated in the choice of verb suggests that there may be some hesitation at the moment either of believing the Father Guardian's assertions or recording that belief.

No such extensive rehearsal of a Father Guardian's speech on the virtues of a visit to the holy places is to be found among English texts of this period and in its inclusion the narrative recalls late medieval narratives like that of Felix Fabri.[122] It is impossible to judge whether the absence of a refutation of this defence not only of the

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[121] *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd edition, s.v. "prove."

[122] Timberlake does give a curt summary of the Father Guardian's welcoming oration, but it is only a sentence long. Timberlake, *Discourse* [1603], 9.

merit but also the duty of visiting the holy places is tantamount to tacit endorsement. Most English travellers who withhold whole-hearted endorsement of the practices of pilgrimage, as well as the devout pilgrim Felix Fabri himself, provide an explanation of their motives in undertaking the journey. The other travellers to Jerusalem assiduously mark out the limits of their acceptance of the claims made for the holy places, and pointedly reconcile their religious confession with their participation in the pilgrimage. This narrative provides no explanation for the journey, so this speech treats more directly than any other passage the question of justification and motivation. Nevertheless, it is rendered with a certain caution which suggests either scepticism of the Father Guardian's claims, or reluctance to commit the narrator to a written endorsement of it.

There is no mention in the narrative of the acquisition of relics and indulgences, practices that attract the attention of almost every other visitor discussed in this chapter. The other authors almost always use these matters as a pretext for a declaration of their religious affiliation. Endorsement of indulgences or a report of the veneration of relics might suggest a Catholic affiliation. Repudiation of one or the other might suggest Protestant allegiance. The simple omission of the question does not exclude either possibility. While pre-Reformation narratives were preoccupied with the relics and indulgences available throughout the journey, the pressures put by reformers on the cult of saints and indulgences, both denigrated as "romish superstition," may have resulted in a withdrawal of emphasis from these elements of Catholic observance in England.

The narration of the stay in Jerusalem more closely resembles a late medieval pilgrimage narrative in its order and structure than the ingenious reorderings of Biddulph's narrative, or the conspicuous evasion to which, as we will see, the narrative of John Locke resorts.[123] Although the narration is neither highly reflective nor rapturous, the account of Jerusalem is animated by a subtle and controlled excitement. Time in the rest of the journey is not meticulously differentiated, marked off instead in weeks or clusters of days. The visit to Jerusalem, however, is carefully subdivided into days and parts of days. The mode in which time is divided and recorded shifts into minute particularisation at the gates of Jerusalem. Much attention is paid to order and sequence. Specificity and subdivision are abandoned upon

[123] See p. 352 below.

departure, when once again the description relaxes away from particularity. This change in the temporal scale of narrative description implies that the Jerusalem section is the culmination of the journey.

Like all of the narratives under discussion here, this diary modifies the models of late medieval pilgrimage literature. Admittedly, the narrative's concentration on Jerusalem restricts opportunities for the demonstration of learning exploited by Biddulph, Sandys, or Lithgow in the exposition of the political and military history of the Ottoman empire or the rehearsal and reconciliation of classical authorities on the flooding of the Nile in Egypt, for example. Nevertheless, the narrative makes room for kinds of information which had been excluded from the predominantly biblical landscapes of late medieval pilgrimage narratives. The narrator admits to a thwarted desire to visit Corinth and Athens *en route*, provides an account of the incubation of eggs in Egypt, comments on Ottoman taxation, enumerates the agricultural products of the territories through which he passes and reveals an ethnographic bent in his description of the Bedouin Arabs. Like most contemporary English travellers in Egypt, he is intrigued by the flooding of the Nile plain, although he omits the usual citation of Herodotus and Strabo. The narrator remains attentive to the Old and New Testament associations of Palestine, but also shades in the territories through which the approach to and return from Jerusalem are routed. The narrative scheme of the traditional pilgrimage is broadened by the inclusion of description in the present tense of the contemporary state of the countries he visits.

George Sandys

George Sandys travelled to Jerusalem in 1611, and his description of Palestine takes up one of the four books of his *Relation of a Journey*. Sandys (1578-1644), son of Edwin, Archbishop of York, and Cecily Sandys, was educated at Corpus Christi, Oxford and spent some time at the Middle Temple, although not long enough to be called to the bar (Davis, 19-20, 29-34). After an unsuccessful marriage which ended in separation and litigation,[124] George departed in 1610, at the age of 33, for a journey

[124] Sandys' marriage to Elizabeth Norton of Ripon in Yorkshire was uncovered by R. B. Davis. He was not able to identify the year in which this took place, but believes it to have been "several years before George's twenty-first birthday." By 1606, the marriage had ended. See Davis, *George Sandys*, 37, 271-4.

around the Eastern Mediterranean which allowed for extended stays in Constantinople and Egypt. From Cairo, Sandys travelled towards Palestine overland, approaching Jerusalem from Joppa. He travelled northwards overland to Acre, and then by sea to Sidon. From there he began the journey home, stopping off at Malta, Sicily and other islands in the Mediterranean, before travelling back through Italy to Venice, where his narrative ends. The length of his journey appears to have been no longer than twenty months.[125] George Sandys was later to participate in another overseas venture, through his brother Edwin's involvement in the Virginia Company.[126] Having been nominated resident Treasurer for the colony, George was sent in 1621 to Jamestown, where he stayed for four years. In the course of his later career, after his return to England, he was appointed a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, and in the 1630s served as a member of the Privy Council sub-committee on plantations (Davis, 176, 199). His literary output includes a translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, which went through more than a dozen editions between 1621 and 1690, and paraphrases on the Psalms of David and the Song of Solomon.[127]

Having spent a month in Egypt, Sandys travelled in a party with three Italians and four Englishmen with the caravan across the desert to Palestine.[128] Here he stayed with the other European travellers at the Franciscans' convent during a three-week stay which spanned the Easter celebrations. Sandys declares early on that he aims for a golden mean in his account of Jerusalem and its environs:

> As well to continue the course of this discourse, as to deliuer the reader from many erring reports of the too credulous deuote, and too too vain-glorious: the one
>
> Seminat in vulgus nugas – *Do toyes diuulge —*

[125] Davis notes the inclusion of his name in the third charter granted to the Virginia Company by King James in March 1612 and infers from this that Sandys had already returned to England. Davis, *George Sandys*, 85.

[126] For fuller discussion of these years, see Davis, *George Sandys*, 91-197; Ellison, *George Sandys*, 82-160.

[127] For example, George Sandys, *Ovid's Metamorphosis Englished* (London: [by William Stansby], [1626]); George Sandys, *A paraphrase upon the Song of Solomon* (London: Printed for John Legatt, 1641); George Sandys, *A paraphrase vpon the Psalmes of David. And vpon the hymnes dispersed throughout the Old and New Testaments* (London: at the Bell in St. Pauls Church-yard, [1636]).

[128] The names of his fellow travellers were recorded in the pilgrim register as "Mattheus Carbonus," "Renaldus de Tortis," "Annibal Albinellus," "Nathaniel Butler," "Gulielmus Burton," "Georgeius Perch." Zimolong, ed., *Navis Peregrinorum*, 28. For further biographical information about the Englishmen in Sandys' party, see Davis, *George Sandys*, 276-7.

> The other charactered in the remainder carried in that Disticke:
>
> –auditaque lingua —*Still adde to what they heare,*
>
> Auget & ex humili tumulo producit
>
> Olimpum. *Bapt. Mant. l.3* *And of a mole-hill do a mountaine reare:*[129]
>
> I will declare what I haue oberued, vnswayed with either of their vices. (154)

Sandys promises to steer a middle course between credulously reporting what is trivial, frivolous or unsubstantiated and arrogantly exaggerating his observations in order to claim undeserved notability. This seems at first glance to be the mean between opposite extremes, but in fact Sandys opposes the "vice" of credulity with the "vice" of exaggeration, rather than with excessive doubt, its logical opposite. By doing so, he sets up a rhetorical space in which scepticism occupies the point of equilibrium in narration. Sandys declares himself to be a traveller driven by historical curiosity rather than a pilgrim motivated by devotion:

> The Confessor offered to shew vs the holy and obseruable places of the Temple: which we gladly accepted of; he demanding first if deuotion or curiosity had possest vs with that desire. So that for omitting Pater nosters, and Aue Maries, we lost many yeares indulgences, which euery place doth plentifully afford to such as affect them, and contented our selues with an historicall relation. (G. Sandys, *Relation*, 163)

Even as he disclaims a devotional motivation, Sandys appears to accord a degree of authority to the Franciscan's "historicall relation." Although authorities such as Ovid, Juvenal, Cassius Dio and others underlie, and are occasionally cited in, his history of Palestine, they are a much less obtrusive presence than in the other sections of his narrative, where a substantial proportion of the text is often given over to classical citations and Sandys' own parallel translations. The Holy Land section of the *Relation of a Journey* also has links to printed Catholic pilgrimage narratives and guides. For example, the engravings of Jerusalem are borrowed from Zuallart's *Il devotissimo viaggio di Gerusaleme*, a pilgrimage narrative first published in Rome in 1587, and some of Sandys' narrative passages follow Zuallart closely.[130] Sandys also admits to

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[129] Quote from Baptista Mantuanus, *Opera omnia*, ed. L. Cuperis, 4 vols., vol. 1 (Antwerp: 1576), 70, Æglogue 4. Biddulph also uses this in reference to the Franciscans' identifications. Biddulph, *Travels*, 139.

[130] The engravings were made by Natale Bonifacio from sketches made by Zuallart himself. Zuallart explains that he learned to draw for this very purpose: see Jean Zuallart, *Le Tresdevot Voyage de*

making use of the description of Jerusalem as it stood in the time of Christ by Adrichomius.[131] There is no possibility of independence from Catholic sources in Jerusalem. Nevertheless, his account of the Franciscans' tour is densely punctuated with the phrase "they say" to qualify claims at the holy places. Jonathan Haynes considers this mannerism in Sandys to be a symptom of "a state of sceptical alienation, entailing a constant stream of verbal qualifications" (Haynes, 104). He is correct: the continual displacement of responsibility for veracity from the narrator to the friars here, as in the account of Moryson, constitutes a refusal to confirm the claims made for the holy sites of Jerusalem.

Sandys very occasionally endorses the holiness of a place by its relation to an episode in the Passion, as in the site of the crucifixion: "At the East end ..., is the place whereon our Sauiour did suffer; which may assuredly be thought the same: and if one place be more holy then another, reputed in the world the most venerable" (*Relation*, 164). Where Sandys sees uninterrupted continuity between the biblical episode and the present veneration of it, the tone of scepticism can temporarily give way:

> In the midst a Serpentine, there set to preserue the memory of that place where our Sauiour was borne. The credite whereof I will neither impeach, nor inforce. [...] Neither is it likely, that they that succeeded those times so nearely, should erre in the place so celebrated in their deuotions. (*Relation*, 181)

While Sandys does not quite give an unequivocal endorsement of the devotion which the site of Christ's nativity attracts, he does go so far as to give the placing of a biblical episode implicit credit on the basis of the unbroken chain of devotion from the time of Christ.

Jerusalem (Anvers: 1608), fol. 3v. Cited in Gomez-Géraud, *Crépuscule du Grand Voyage*, 388. Gomez-Géraud traces subsequent uses of Zuallart's illustrations, and asserts that almost every pilgrimage account with illustrated elements which was published in the early decades of the seventeenth century owed something to the engravings published in Zuallart's account. She also notices that Zuallart's narrative is the first among published narratives of the Jerusalem pilgrimage to offer illustrations of interiors rather than facades of the buildings marking holy places. Gomez-Géraud notes the reuse of Zuallart's plates, which she considers to be deeply embedded in post-Tridentine Catholic spirituality, by Sandys, but does not comment on the consequences of this translation from the Catholic to Protestant context. Gomez-Géraud, *Crépuscule du Grand Voyage*, 393-400, 437-9.

[131] Adrichomius, *Urbis Hierosolimae Quemadmodum ea Christi Tempore Floruit*. Adrichomius (1533-85) was ordained as a Catholic priest in 1566 and later became director of the Convent of St. Barbara in Delft, a convent of the Franciscan tertiary order. *Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1st edition, s.v. "Christian Kruik van Adrichem."

Part of Sandys' hesitation in believing the claims made for the holy places of Jerusalem proceeds from the passage of generations of pilgrims through them. These pilgrims mark a route through the terrain at the expense of the recoverability of the landscape through which Christ had passed. At the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, he says,

> Now to make the foundation euen in a place so vneuen, much of the rocke hath bin hewn away, and parts to low, supplied with mightie arches: so that those naturall formes are vtterly deformed, which would haue better satisfied the beholder; and too much regard hath made them lesse regardable. (*Relation*, 161)

The textures and forms of the hill of Calvary which might have allowed an imaginative recreation of Christ's passion have been sacrificed for architectural exigencies and the convenience of the pilgrim. The spaces needed for the commemorative liturgy do not match the irregularities of the terrain. Whereas Sulpitius Severus and Adomnan made the terrain on Mount Olivet miraculously resist such human interference,[132] Sandys implies that the fashioning of a coherent liturgical and monumental space at the Holy Sepulchre degrades the very physical terrain which it is supposed to commemorate.

Like Felix Fabri before him, Sandys also emphasises the fact that pilgrims' souvenir-hunting takes place at the cost of the integrity of the holy sites:

> It is said, that long after the Resurrection, the Tombe remained in that forme wherein it was when our Sauiour lay there: when at length by reason of the deuouter pilgrims, who continually bore away little peeces thereof ... it was inclosed within a grate of iron. (*Relation*, 167)

Even then, explains Sandys, the detritus created by the offerings of pilgrims between the openings of the grate made it necessary to enclose the sepulchre in a marble altar. At the cave of St John the Baptist and at Bethany Sandys returns to this problem, writing that a threat of excommunication is required to guard against pilgrims chipping fragments from stones on which John and Christ slept or rested (*Relation*, 183, 197). Pilgrimage, in this representation, does not preserve effectively the memory of the sites associated with Christ's teaching and sacrifice, but erodes it. In contrast to the objections of Erasmus and More's messenger to relics as attracting

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[132] See Chapter 1, 42.

superstition use, Sandys' objections are closer to Felix Fabri's: in taking them pilgrims prejudice the survival of the place they venerate.[133] The landscape can only uneasily accommodate pilgrimage and is rapidly deformed and eroded under its pressure. Avoiding the violent prejudice which Biddulph records in his narrative, Sandys gives a more logical, pragmatic and evidential basis for his scepticism.

William Lithgow

The latest narrative touching travel to Jerusalem in this period, *The Totall Discourse, Of the Rare Aduentures, and paintefull Peregrinations of long nineteene Yeares Trauayles* was written by William Lithgow (1582-1645 or later). The only Scot to publish a narrative of travel to Jerusalem in the period under consideration here, Lithgow was born at Lanark, the son of a wealthy burgess.[134] Lithgow is vague about the point at which his "long nineteen Yeares Trauayles" began, but by 1609, he had visited Orkney, Shetland, Germany, Bohemia, Switzerland and the Netherlands, probably funded by the inheritance upon his mother's death (Burns, 16-7; Lithgow, *Totall Discourse*, 10). Four editions of his travels were published in London between 1614 and 1632. The last is the fullest and by far the longest of the editions, extending to a length of 507 quarto pages where the previous edition reached only to 205. As far as the narration of the visit to Jerusalem is concerned, no modifications of note are to be found in the 1616 edition. By the publication of the 1623 edition, however, Lithgow has made significant changes.[135] The 1632 account of this journey incorporates the changes to the 1623 edition, and makes many further modifications.[136]

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[133] See Chapter 2, 183.

[134] See further biographical particulars in *DNB*, 2004 ed., s.v. "William Lithgow"; Burns, "Lithgow and His 'Science of the World,'" 15-27.

[135] For example, Lithgow notes the coincidence between the names of the Pope, Patriarch of Jerusalem and Roman Emperor in office in 1099 and those holding the same positions upon the loss of Jerusalem in 1187 and amplifies his account of the governors of the Jews from Saul to Herod. He also blames the idolatrous practices of Catholics for the Ottomans' failure to convert to Christianity and adds a mocking account of the Franciscans' Good Friday observations in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Lithgow, *A most delectable and true discourse* [1623], 128-30, 144-5.

[136] Some of these additions proceed from an increasing interest in the structure, organisation and differentiation of Lithgow's narrative, such as the verses which offer an introductory summary of his description of Palestine and Egypt. Others offer further information on Ottoman administrative structures or on the course of the river Jordan, perhaps reflecting subsequent reading by Lithgow (240-1, 255). Several of the modifications amplify the account of Lithgow's experiences in Jerusalem,

His narrative in all editions begins in Paris in March, 1610. The journey took in Rome, Venice, Constantinople, Syria and Palestine. He continued to Egypt after his tour of Palestine, ending his account of the voyage once more in Paris. Lithgow arrived at Jerusalem on Palm Sunday in 1612 (April 5th in that year, according to the Julian calendar) and stayed for seventeen days, having already crossed into Galilee on his way southward on March 28. His detailed account occupies 35 of the approximately 150 pages of the 1614 edition and 60 pages of the 1632 edition. Two further major journeys followed: the second (1614-1617?) ranged from the Netherlands to Tunis and Fez, north again to Vienna, Krakow, Danzig and Stockholm, among other cities; the third (1619-1621) included Ireland, Portugal and Spain. It was also to have included the Ethiopian land of "Prester John," but Lithgow was apprehended at Malaga by the civil authorities, put to the rack under accusation of espionage, and then turned over to the Inquisition to face further torture and interrogation for heresy.[137]

Like Sandys, Moryson and Timberlake, Lithgow begins his account of Jerusalem with an advertisement of his attitude towards the information which he is about to relate. He declares that his narrative task is an uneasy one:

> To the intent the Reader may the better conceiue, and plainly vnderstand the Monuments I saw within Ierusalem ...; I thought best to prefixe the description thereof, by the seuerall dayes as I sawe them, not much condemning, neither absolutely qualifying them, but shall (as it were) neutrally nominate, and recapitulate these places, as I was informed, by the *Padre Guardiano*. (Lithgow, *Totall Discourse*, 243)

Although Lithgow is unable to keep his vow of narrative "neutrality," it reveals that he imagines the ideal narrative as one in which ideologically motivated distortions are excised in pursuit of objectivity. Lithgow goes on to insist on the importance of understanding Italian in order to mount critical resistance to the rhetoric of the Friars and to distinguish among objects of varying legitimacy. His own command of the language, thanks to three months' residence in Padua, qualifies him for such a role.

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providing anecdotes and details of expenses which had never appeared in previous editions. See Lithgow, *Totall Discourse*, 237-8, 240-1, 255.

[137] Lithgow, *Totall Discourse*, 448-79. Lithgow's fuller account of his sufferings in Malaga in 1620 is to be found in the 1632 edition; in the 1623 edition he refers only in a brief and general way to the experience.

Lithgow's claims to find a neutral course of narration soon founder. As his narrative proceeds, he reformulates, with more obvious partisanship, his claim to mediation without interference:

> This must I needes say, with such leying wonders, these flattering *Friers*, bring Strangers into a wonderful admiration, and although I rehearse all I saw there, yet I will not beleeue all, onely publishing them as things indifferent, some whereof are friuolous, and others somewhat more credible: But as I sayd before, I will make no (or very small) distinction in the Relation. (Lithgow, *Totall Discourse*, 249)

If the invective against the "flattering Friars" had not already compromised Lithgow's claims to neutrality, his parenthetical admission that he elides the distinction between "no" and "some" authorial commentary would undermine his promise of objectivity.

Bosworth comments that "one may strongly suspect that [Lithgow] embroidered, and even sensationalised, some at least of his material," and that he made unacknowledged use of source materials.[138] On more than one occasion the *Totall Discourse* coincides closely with Biddulph's narrative. For example, Lithgow coincides in his account of Palm Sunday ceremonies with Biddulph, who in his turn may have been influenced by Erasmus' *De Utilitate Colloquiorum*. All three include a witticism which conflates the ass and the procession's participants, Biddulph and Lithgow specifically satirising the ceremonies held by the Franciscans in Jerusalem while Erasmus makes fun of the ceremony in Palm Sunday processions in general. Biddulph writes "from [Bethany] (in an apish imitation of Christ) the great [ass] rideth on the litle one towards Ierusalem."[139]

Having acquiesced on arrival to the authority of the Franciscans, and having assented to their request that he refrain from mocking their ceremonies, Lithgow's narrative is characterized by structural obedience to the sequential scheme imposed by

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[138] Bosworth, *Intrepid Scot*, 19. This is upheld by a comparison of the 1614 and 1632 accounts of the Pyramids of Gizah, for example. Lithgow revises the height of Cheops' pyramid from 1092 to 1126 feet in the interim, without having undertaken another visit. This may proceed from an impulse to exaggerate, or from a desire to reflect new information, but no source is acknowledged. Lithgow, *A most delectable and true discourse [1614]*, fol. S1v; Lithgow, *Totall Discourse*, 311. Other instances of revision and appropriation are discussed in Burns, "Lithgow and His 'Science of the World,'" 102, 105, 130.

[139] The similarity between Biddulph and Lithgow is noticed by Burns. Bosworth also notes that Lithgow's account of coffee in the account of Constantinople is "suspiciously similar" to Biddulph's. Biddulph, *Travels*, 134; Bosworth, *Intrepid Scot*, 59; Burns, "Lithgow and His 'Science of the World,'" 145-6; Erasmus, *Colloquies*, vol. 40, 1104; Lithgow, *Totall Discourse*, 245.

the Franciscans. This is tempered, however, by subversion at the narrative level of their interpretations of the landscape of Jerusalem.

PATTERNS OF PILGRIMAGE

From these brief introductions to the narratives under discussion, it is clear that confessionally-motivated suspicion of the Franciscan friars is deeply enmeshed in many Protestant travellers' procedures of evaluation and verification in Jerusalem in a way that differentiates them from late medieval pilgrimage writings. There is not a total disjunction between late medieval and early modern accounts of it, however. There is substantial stability, for example, in the visits to the holy places as recounted by these seventeenth-century travellers and the pilgrimage schemes of the late medieval narratives. Seven holy places in Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Bethany and Bethphage commemorated by medieval pilgrims appear in all of the seven seventeenth-century accounts which provide a detailed itinerary within Jerusalem; 17 are attested in six accounts, and 27 are attested in five texts.[140] 25 more appear in four of the seven narratives, and another 20 in three narratives. Moryson's meticulous account of the commemorations in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre resembles chains of commemoration in late fifteenth-century narratives.[141] Sandys and Lithgow, like Felix Fabri, Sir Richard Guildford and his narrator and other fifteenth or early sixteenth-century pilgrims, spent three nights in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.[142] Admittedly, the continuity between fifteenth-, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century accounts is not perfect, just as it was not unchanged from the fourteenth to the fifteenth century. A new tradition occasionally appears, such as the archway on which

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[140] That is, seven narratives, not including Edward Webbe's, which is too fragmentary to include a systematic account: those by Sanderson, Moryson, Biddulph, Timberlake, Sandys, Lithgow as well as "A Particular of my Journey." For these places and the narratives that include them, see the Appendix. The table provided there gathers the pilgrimage stops and commemorations which are recorded by three or more early modern travellers. It includes only those places which are also remembered in at least two of a selection of pre-Reformation English pilgrimage narratives. The numbers given here should be taken as minimum estimates rather than absolute numbers.

[141] For example, "The Way to Jerusalem" visits (1) the place of the apparition to Mary Magdalene, (2) the place of the apparition to the Virgin Mary, (3) the pillar of the scourging, (4) the chapel of Christ's imprisonment, (5) the casting of lots for Christ's garments (6) the mocking of Christ. Moryson's narrative visits these in the same order, except that it interposes the altar of the cross after the scourging and the discovery of the cross after the casting of lots.

[142] The length of their stay may have been dictated by their arrival at Easter time, when the celebrations in the Church lasted three days. The visits by other travellers range from a few hours in the case of Timberlake to two nights in the case of Biddulph.

Pilate presented Christ to the people, identified from about 1500.[143] Conversely, certain identifications which were common in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries go unrecorded in seventeenth-century accounts by Englishmen or Scots These include the spot where Christ rested while carrying the cross outside the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the place where Christ forgave Mary Magdalene her sins and where Peter cut off Malchus' ear. The convent on Mount Sion, where Franciscans had since the fourteenth century existed in close proximity to Muslims worshipping at the site of David's tomb, was taken over for Muslim use in 1551-2. Seventeenth-century travellers continue to comment on the convent and the holy places within it, but the commemorations of the Last Supper and the descent of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost lose much detail as a result. Some travellers note that the Last Supper and Christ's post-Resurrection apparitions took place there, but cannot distinguish the preparation of the lamb from its consumption or the heating of the water from the washing of the feet as their counterparts had in the fifteenth century.[144] Fynes Moryson does note, however, that scenes traditionally commemorated here (the washing of the feet, the Last Supper, Christ's appearance to the apostles after the Resurrection and, eight days later, to Thomas, the descent of the Holy Spirit and the choosing of Matthew as apostle) are represented in painting at the Franciscan Monastery, "and to these pictures the Pope hath giuen as large indulgences for Papists, as if they had seene the other places, from which the Turkes keepe them as vnwashed dogges" (Moryson, *Itinerary*, pt. 1, 221). These paintings must have helped to preserve the memory both of the Franciscans' erstwhile holdings on Mount Sion, and of the commemorations once located there.

Although what is now known as the *Via Dolorosa* had been evolving throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it starts to be recognised as a unified sequence by English travellers in the seventeenth. Henry Timberlake, George Sandys, William Lithgow and "A Particular of My Journey" all mention the "via dolorosa," "strada dolorosa," or "dolorous way." However, there are departures from the reverse-chronological order which had been recorded in late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-

[143] Lithgow, Moryson, Sandys, Timberlake and "A Particular of My Journey." See Kopp, *Holy Places of the Gospels*, 371-2.

[144] Reported by Lithgow, Moryson, Timberlake, Sandys. For roasting of lamb, compare "The Way to the Holy Land," Wey's *Itineraries*, *Information for Pilgrims* and the pilgrimages of Sir Richard Guylforde and Richard Torkington; for the heating of the water, Wey's *Itineraries* and Torkington's pilgrimage.

century narratives.[145] While "A Particular of My Journey" and Timberlake do follow a reverse-chronological order along Christ's route from the judicial gate leading out to Calvary to Pilate's house, Moryson and Sandys trace a route from Pilate's house and the place of judgment in the direction of Calvary. Lithgow is simply confused in his account, acknowledging the existence of the "dolorous way" but dividing the commemorations which constitute it. Thus he notices where Simeon took up the cross, where Pilate presented Christ to the people, where Christ took up the cross and where he stood at judgment, then diverges to describe other unrelated sites, such as the place of Stephen's stoning, before returning to the commemorations of Veronica's mercy and the Virgin's swooning. He moves Christ's speech to the Virgin regarding John ("behold thy sonne") from Calvary to somewhere along the *via dolorosa*. Such changes or divergences are not sufficient, however, to subvert the sense of general stability of commemorations.

In the context of this relative continuity in the commemorations and patterns of movement which the travellers follow, visitors who are more concerned to demonstrate their suspicion of and hostility to Franciscan tradition and authority sometimes locate this resistance in the order of narration of the holy places. While certain travellers like Lithgow, Moryson, and the author of the manuscript "A Particular of My Journey" match the sequence of the pilgrimage, some narrators resort to elaborate narrative stratagems in order to disrupt the order created by the friars' pilgrimage pattern. For example, as previously noted, Biddulph organises his account of Jerusalem not according to the sequence of his visit or spatial logic, but according to degrees of veracity: he organises holy places into sites of "Apparent Truths," "Manifest Untruths," and "Things Doubtfull."[146] In the first category he includes associations which he could confirm by reading (implicitly, the reading of scripture) or by reason. This recalls Josse Clichtove's criteria of proof, although Biddulph does not match the subtlety and specificity of Clichtove's hierarchy of evidence. Although the balance generally seems to be on the side of doubt, Biddulph does go so far as to assert a "manifest," not merely "apparent," truth: that Jerusalem has occupied more or less the same site since the time of Christ. The survival of the names of the places

[145] See Chapter 2, n. 166.

[146] See p. 309. Note Lithgow's concluding remarks, which closely echo Biddulph's categories: "some of these things are Rediculous, some of manifest vntruths, some also doubtfull, and others, somewhat more credible, and of apparant truth." Lithgow, *Totall Discourse*, 284. As Bosworth notes, Lithgow uses these in order to displace responsibility for categorisation onto the reader, a use which is different from Biddulph's. Bosworth, *Intrepid Scot*, 88.

surrounding the city of Jerusalem, such as Mount Olivet, Moriah and Bethany, supports his belief that this is so. Among apparent truths he includes the place of the nativity, the place where the Virgin Mary met Elizabeth, where John the Baptist preached and dwelt in the wilderness, and the site of the crucifixion. The placing of the holy sepulchre admits of no doubt, Biddulph says, "because it was agreeable to the circumstances of Scripture whereby the place is described," although he never presents a meticulous concordance of scripture to holy place. In the section on "manifest untruths," Biddulph includes monuments which claim to bear physical traces of Christ or the prophets and associations with no scriptural basis, such as the place where Veronica mopped Christ's face, and certain highly specific subdivisions of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, such as the place where Christ was nailed to the cross, or where he met Mary Magdalen after his Resurrection. Among "doubtful things," he includes the sepulchre of the kings of Israel, the stone where Christ was laid before burial and the site of Lazarus' return to life, "for although no man denieth but that such things were done, yet a man may make doubt whether those were the particular places where they were done" (Biddulph, *Travels*, 142). "The itinerary described in [Biddulph's] *Travels*," writes MacLean, "is rhetorical rather than factual, aimed at creating the sense of how moving further into foreign and ungodly places brings increasing dangers that test the resolution of the Protestant soul" (MacLean, *Rise of Oriental Travel*, 53). What MacLean says of *The Travels* as a whole is particularly true of the description of Jerusalem. It is concerned with the establishment of hierarchies of proof and authenticity, not with reconstructing movements across space. In the description of Jerusalem the former concern actually disrupts the latter and asserts the traveller's independence from the taint of the Franciscans' influence.

Although Timberlake generally acquiesces to the order of narration provided naturally by the pilgrimage structure, he reorganises his observations of Jerusalem in the closing section of his narrative. Like late medieval and earlier pilgrims, he pays close attention to the distances between holy places, but Timberlake makes use of a new strategy to give a sense of spatial relations: "Now concerning how the country about Ierusalem lyeth, for your more easie and perfect understanding, I will familiarly compare the severall places, with some of our native English townes and villages, according to such true estimation as I heer made of them. Imagin then I begin with London, as if it were the citie of Ierusalem" (Timberlake, *Discourse* [1603], 21). The equivalences which Timberlake provides are not always accurate in terms of distance,

but his pairings of towns in Palestine roughly match those given for London in relative position. Nazareth, for example, lies northeast of Jerusalem; so Norwich lies from London, although its position is, relatively, more easterly. So Wandsworth and London are given as equivalent to the relation between Bethlehem and Jerusalem; the former a few miles southwest of the latter. In some cases the pairings match neither in distance nor relative position, but in most cases there is some similarity, producing a set of equivalences which map Palestine onto the familiar and recognisable spatial relations of London.

Sandys, like William Lithgow, generally follows the order of the Franciscan pilgrimage in his description of Jerusalem. He does depart from the correspondence between movement and narrative sequence in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, however. He is very explicit about his reorganization of the commentary on sites within it. Sandys tells us that he had witnessed processions around the Church during the Easter celebrations. "I will not declare [them] in order as shewne, but take them as they lie from the first entrance of the Temple" (G. Sandys, *Relation*, 163). Haynes points out that by applying a spatial order of priority upon entry to the building, and narrating according to the floorplan, Sandys rejects a mode of narration in which the text corresponds to the movement and emphasis of the Franciscan-led tour.[147] This simultaneously clears Sandys of suggestions of slavish repetition of the Franciscans' commentary and draws attention to the illustration, which was the first floorplan of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre to appear in an English narrative.[148] By this means, Sandys makes possible only a fragmentary, disjointed identification of place and chronology. Instead of reproducing the serial disclosure of the holy places to the pilgrim, Sandys' method sets him up to view it from a bird's eye perspective, one which is unavailable to the pilgrim moving along the ground. It is a privileged perspective of distance and simultaneous apprehension, rather than one of intimacy and procession.[149] It is not the case that the more overtly sceptical narratives are always the most disruptive of the pilgrimage scheme in their description or narration, however. Unlike Biddulph, Lithgow and Moryson follow fairly meekly the narrative

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[147] Haynes, *Humanist as Traveler*, 110. For Sandys' floorplan, see figure 12.

[148] As already noted, Sandys' engraved illustrations of Jerusalem were borrowed from Jean Zuallart. Gomez-Géraud comments on the novelty of this image in Zuallart's *Devotissimo Viaggio*, and on its subsequent frequent imitation by other pilgrimage narratives. Gomez-Géraud, *Crépuscule du Grand Voyage*, 437.

[149] Haynes also points out that "Sandys implicitly rejects the historical, dramatic order of the Stations of the Cross." Haynes, *Humanist as Traveler*, 110.

order established by the pilgrimage, perhaps because their ongoing disclaimers of scepticism and suspicion make reworking at the structural level unnecessary.

Landscape and Prophecy: "A Holy Land No More"?

In their negotiations of the traditional pilgrimage route and its narration, early modern English travellers occupy themselves with definitions, criticisms or defences of terms such as "holy land," "pilgrim" and "pilgrimage." The first in particular attracts vigorous discussion among these early modern travellers, although not without late antique and medieval precedents. In Chapter 1 I noted that place participated in a fundamental way in the sense that Christ's ministry and passion fulfilled Old Testament prophecy. I also explored the way in which the Gospels' tendency to transcend physical place was counteracted by Constantine's interest in monumentation of the significant sites of Christ's passage through the earth. I traced subsequent rhetorical uses of the holy places as bearing witness to the events of the Gospels. Through the monuments at the holy places and the impressions of Christ's body on the landscape, divine history came to be imprinted on the land. The ideas of the "holy place" and the "holy land" were repeatedly contested, as Gregory of Nyssa's late fourth-century epistle shows. Nonetheless, the rhetoric relating to the First Crusade was animated by language of contamination and purification, echoing Lamentations and the prophecies of Isaiah and Ezekiel, and was apparently vindicated during the brief period in Latin hands. Further complications appeared in the relationship between righteousness and possession of the Holy Land with the loss of Jerusalem in 1187. With a new paradigm governing the Latin Christian presence in Palestine from the fourteenth century, based on Franciscan custodianship under Muslim rule, the Passion narrative became the predominant scriptural framework for pilgrims' perception of the landscape. The endless imaginative and physical reconstructions of Christ's suffering across the terrain of Jerusalem re-inscribed and reinforced the sanctity of the land, without any claim to possession. As long as the Franciscan pilgrimage continued in place, this framework would continue to exercise great importance.

In the narratives of Protestant travellers, however, it is possible to discern another framework which maps onto this one, one which appeals once again to

prophecy. It struggles to explain the loss of Palestine from Christian hands and expects to find that its moral state is legible in the contemporary landscape. Instead of the impressions of the passage of Christ through the landscape, it notices the inscription of divine will in the land according to the binary of fertility and barrenness. The view of the land as a site for concerns regarding plenty and want, possession and loss, merit and forfeiture has its roots in Old Testament rhetoric about the land of Israel. In Deuteronomy it is "a good land, a land of brooks of water, of foundations and springs, flowing forth in valleys and hills, a land of wheat and barley, of vines and fig trees and pomegranates, a land of olive trees and honey, a land in which you will eat bread without scarcity."[150] Robert Wilken emphasises the reality of the land, citing Deuteronomy 28:4-5 and 7:13: "the blessings associated with the land are this-worldly, for example, the fruit of one's body, the fruit of the ground, the increase of cattle ..." (Wilken, 8). Wilken writes that although the formula of a "holy land" oriented around Jerusalem "has its origins in the eschatological vision of the exilic prophets" in the books of Ezekiel and Isaiah, the term was first used by the prophet Zechariah in the post-exilic period. Zechariah was writing once the rebuilding of the Temple had commenced after a delay which the prophet Haggai indicated had occurred because private, secular concerns had distracted the returned people from the higher task. "Holy land" appears in expressions of impatient longing for the restoration of God's glory to Jerusalem (Wilken, 17-9). Still, although the "holy land" serves as a "restorationist symbol to signify all that Israel hoped for after the terrible calamities of the sixth century," it had a fully real, physical existence for the Hebrews. Long residence in Israel led to a growing sense of it as a native land rather than a conquered one in the Hellenistic period, but the letter to the Jews of Egypt in Second Maccabees asserts that "the idea of a holy land implies obligations and responsibilities" (Wilken, 25-7). Possession is not dependent only on long tenancy but also on merit. Thus from its Old Testament origins the term "holy land" was shaped by loss of the land, indignation over its usurpation, hopes of restoration and anxieties about the imperfection of the people's merit and claims to possession of it.

While Ludolph von Suchem, writing in the fourteenth century, had represented the loss of the holy land as a chastisement in consequence of Christian sin, he trusted

[150] Deuteronomy 8:7-10. Cited by Wilken, *The Land Called Holy*, 8.

that the land was being maintained for its eventual restoration to Christian hands.[151] *Mandeville's Travels*, dating to the same century, gives to the Sultan of Egypt a speech which voices a similar view:

> the law that Crist hath ȝouen vnto ȝow, wickedly and falsely ȝe breken hit. And certeynly alle this holy londe ȝe haue tynt [lost] for ȝowre synne, wiche we haue and holdeth, ffor God hath ȝoven it vnto vs into our owne hondes, to holde it for ȝoure synne and noȝt for ȝowre strenthe. And we wotte wel and knoweth that ȝif ȝe serued God in good manere, that hit were likynge vnto him, certaynly there myȝte noo man doo aȝens ȝow. ffor we wott wel be our prophecies that cristen men shal recouere this londe, al hool, in tyme comynge. But as longe as ȝe vse suche manere of synne, we drede ȝow noȝt.[152]

The fifteenth-century English pilgrimage accounts are apparently indifferent to the fertility of the land, the quality of holiness being more important than its cultivability. Pilgrim-mystics such as Margery and Bridget also have no interest in this question. Occasionally, notice is taken of the barrenness of certain terrain, as in Wey's account of the route from Jerusalem towards the Jordan. Wey notes that the journey is a hard one because of the heat, lack of water and scarcity of provisions along the way. However, this comment is motivated by practical anticipation of the traveller's thirst; no moral conclusions are drawn from it (Wey, *Itineraries*, 75). By contrast, Felix Fabri and his fellow pilgrims had been puzzled by the relation between the land as it appeared to them and its representation in scripture. On the approach to Jerusalem, Fabri recounts, the pilgrims are astonished by the austerity of the land, and struggle to reconcile it with what their priests have told them of it. Eventually, two pilgrims almost come to blows over the question, one "very dull" man scorning the "Holy Land" and his "clever" opponent defending it. In his narrative, Fabri admits to private doubts on the matter. He is perplexed by the disparity between the land of milk and honey represented in scripture and the absence of fields of grain, vineyards, meadows and orchards from the "Holy Land" through which he travels. He comes to the

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[151] See Chapter 1, 75.

[152] From the Bodleian text, MS Rawl. D. 99. *Mandeville's Travels: Texts and Translations*, ed. Malcolm Letts, 2 vols., vol. 2 (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1953), 431-2.

following explanation, which must be reproduced at length because of the succession of opinions it presents:

> While I thus silently communed with myself, ere long the answer came to me, to wit, *that this barrenness, drought, and roughness are the curse laid upon it by God because of the breaking of His commandments,* whereof we read in Deuteronomy xxviii. 23: "And thy heaven that is over thy head shall be brass, and the earth that is under thee shall be iron." Moreover our murmurs and disappointment with the Holy Land have been foretold many thousand years ago, as we read in Deuteronomy, ch. xxix.: "The generation to come of your children that shall rise up after you, and the pilgrim that shall come from a far land, shall say, when they see the plagues of that land, and the sicknesses which the Lord hath laid upon it, and that the whole land thereof is brimstone, and salt, and burning, that it is not sown, nor beareth, nor any grass groweth therein, like the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah, Admah and Seboim, which the Lord overthrew in His anger and in His wrath. Even all nations shall say, Wherefore hath the Lord done thus unto this land? what meaneth the heat of this great anger? Then men shall say, Because its inhabitants have forsaken the covenant of the Lord God of their fathers."[153]

Not only is drought a consequence of God's displeasure, but the state of the landscape can be explained as a fulfilment of prophecy and a violation of the covenant with God. Fabri is not entirely satisfied with this explanation, however, because a contradictory representation of the land can also be generated by appeal to scripture, the "land flowing with milk and honey" of Exodus 3:8. He continues:

> Even at the present day, in spite of the infidelity and wickedness of the dwellers in the land, all the necessaries of life grow there in abundance: for on the slopes of the mountains among the old walls we saw vines, olives, corn, barley and other plants growing. Moreover, even were the land free from the

[153] Emphasis mine. "Et dum mecum sic tacite conferrem, mox responsum occurit, scilicet quod haec terrae duritia, ariditas et asperitas est maledictio promissa a Deo propter mandatorum ejus transgressionem, unde Deuteron. 28.: sit coelum, quod super te est, aeneum, et terra, quam calcas, ferrea. Murmur etiam nostrum et admiratio contra terram sanctam est ante multa millia annorum praenunciatus, sicut dicitur Deuter. 29. Generatio futura et peregrini, qui de longe veniunt ad illam terram videntes plagas terrae illius et infirmitates, quibus eam afflixerit Dominus, sulphure et solis ardore comburens; ita ut ultra non seratur, nec virens quidpiam germinet in exemplum subversionis Sodomae et Gomorrhae et Syboim, quas subvertit Dominus in ira et furore suo. Et dicent omnes gentes: quare sic fecit Dominus terrae huic! Qua est haec ira furoris ejus immensa? Et respondebunt eis : qui derelinquerunt pactum et transgressi sunt mandata Dei habitatores ejus : ideo et caetera." Fabri, *Evagatorium*, vol. 1, 232. English translation from Fabri, *Wanderings*, vol. 1, pt. 1, 273-4.

> aforesaid curse, yet it must needs remain hard and barren, because it has none to till it save a few, and they bad men and infidels. Whosoever looks narrowly into Scripture would argue this land to be exceeding fertile rather than barren. Howbeit, St. Jerome, in his Epistle to Dardanus, decides in what sense we ought to understand this land to flow with milk and honey, and thinks that these magnificent praises ought to be understood to refer to the kingdom of heaven. Meanwhile we entered a fairly wide valley, with cultivated fields, girded on either side by high hills, and adorned with olive-trees.[154]

In quick succession, Fabri takes up and discards several positions regarding the fertility of the land: defence of its fertility, disappointment in its barrenness, appeal to scripture for explanation of the "milk and honey" topos, and redirection of that topos away from the literal plane towards the anagogical. What is most interesting about this passage is that Fabri explicitly acknowledges that the interpretation one makes of the land depends on one's choice of reading: description strives to uphold a textual – indeed, a scriptural – truth, rather than existing in a stable relation to the physical actuality which it describes. Instead of endorsing one of these options, Fabri changes the subject, moving the narrative and the travellers peopling it beyond the controversial question, although the fertility of the valley into which they enter provides a certain implicit resolution.[155]

These worries about the landscape of the Holy Land and its relation to possession, habitation and representation in scripture also perturb English and Scottish travellers of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Palestine is not a topography inhabited merely by memories of events of the Old and New Testaments and their monuments. It has a fully physical, geological, agricultural existence for the Protestant travellers which manifests a relation to scriptural history and to prophecy, so that barrenness is explained by reference to divine will. This preoccupation may

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[154] "Adhuc tamen, non obstante infidelitate et malitia inhabitantium terram, copiose germinant vita necessaria ; vidimus enim in declivis montium inter macerias vites, olivas, frumentum, hordeum et alia. Insuper si terra praedicta maledictione careret adhuc, desertam esse et duruam necesse esset, cum non habeat habitatores, nisi paucos, malos et infideles. Si quis scripturam sacram acute inspicere velit, magis argueret eam esse nimis fertilem quam sterilem. Beatus tamen Jeronymus in Epistola ad Dardanum determinat, quomodo terra illa lacte et melle intelligitur manare, et quod illa magnifica terrae praeconia sint de terra beatitudinis intelligenda. Interea quandam vallem intravimus satis latam, agris cultam, et ab utraque parte altis montibus cinctam et olivis venustam." Fabri, *Evagatorium*, vol. 1, 232-3. English translation from Fabri, *Wanderings*, vol. 1, pt. 1, 275.

[155] Gomez-Géraud points out that the narrative of Bernhardt von Breydenbach includes a view of the fertility of the land as having been destroyed as a consequence of war and devastation. Breydenbach, *Peregrinationes*, fol. 49. Cited in Gomez-Géraud, *Crépuscule du Grand Voyage*, 623.

have been strengthened by trends in Protestant historiography. Avihu Zakai traces a tendency in English Protestant historiography, from John Bale through John Foxe to Thomas Brightman, to regard as increasingly imminent the millennium foretold by Revelation. The role of England and its church within the eschatological pattern changed from optimism to disillusionment, Zakai suggests, so that "centrifugal millenarianism replaced centripetal millenarianism."[156] Nonetheless, history and prophecy came increasingly to be seen as explicable by reference to one another. Not only would prophecy (especially Revelation) disclose what was to come, but it could make legible the history of nations and churches past and present. Brightman propounded a "sense of the imminent fulfilment of prophetic revelations within the boundaries of time and history, a sense of the millennium at hand" (Zakai, 313). Whether or not the Protestant travellers under discussion here shared his sense of the imminence of the millennium, such understandings of the present time as the intersection between history and prophecy may have cultivated a willingness to recognise interventions of divine will in the contemporary, material world.[157] In particular, the role of the Ottomans and other peoples of Palestine was a prominent preoccupation in a certain strand of exegesis of prophecy.[158] Thus Biddulph

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[156] Avihu Zakai, "Reformation, History, and Eschatology in English Protestantism," *History and Theory* 26, no. 3 (1987): 314.

[157] If Protestant historiography cultivated impulses to read divine will as imprinted on patterns of space and time, it did not have the monopoly on such moralised reading of landscape. Interpretations of barrenness as punishment for contravention of God's laws also appear in the accounts of Catholic travellers of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, who frequently refer to the question of past and present fertility. "Les revers de l'histoire," writes Gomez-Géraud of their attitude to the land's history, "sont le signe d'une histoire qui se hâte vers son terme, et simultanément, la manifestation de la colère divine.... L'histoire est en quelque sorte le lieu de la réponse céleste au péché des hommes, que Dieu veut avertir, corriger, et ramener vers lui. Ainsi, la Terre sainte ravagée par des guerres incessantes, semblable à un champ de ruines, est le stigmate visible du péché de la Chrétienté, rappelé de site en site." ("The reverses of history are the mark of a story that is hastening towards its end and, simultaneously, the manifestation of divine anger.... History is in some way the site of the heavenly response to the sins of men, whom God wishes to warn, correct, and draw towards him. Thus, the Holy Land, ravaged by endless wars, comparable to a field of ruins, is the visible sign of the sin of Christendom, recalled from one site to another.") Gomez-Géraud, *Crépuscule du Grand Voyage*, 663-4. She gives as an example the explanation given of Judea's infertility by the French Franciscan pilgrim Henry Castela: "Il n'y a point de quoy s'en estonner, veu que si nous oublions Dieu, il retire aussi sa main liberalle de nous, et faict devenir desertz et infructueux, les terroirs fertiles et plantureux." ("There is nothing astonishing about it, given that if we forget God, he withdraws his generous hand from us, and renders desert and unfruitful the fertile and bountiful lands.") Henry Castela, *Le Sainct voyage de Hierusalem et Mont Sinay faict en l'an du grand Jubilée 1600* (Bordeaux: 1603), 161.

[158] Richard W. Cogley, "The Fall of the Ottoman Empire and the Restoration of Israel in the 'Judeo-centric' Strand of Puritan Millenarianism," *Church History* 72, no. 2 (2003): 313-20, 323; Matar, *Islam in Britain*, 153-62, 167-83. Most notable were the adherents of the "Restorationist" heresy, which gained currency later in the mid-seventeenth century, that the Jews would be converted to Christianity, win Palestine from the Ottomans (in some cases defeating the Catholics also), and establish there "the Protestant English kingdom of Christ." See Matar, *Islam in Britain*, 168-81. The preoccupation with the

comments that "Diuers Prophets haue foretold of the wickednesse and tyrannie of the Turkes," but he concentrates on the Book of Daniel, explicating the fourth beast and little horn of Daniel 7:8 and 7:23 as the Ottoman Empire.[159]

It has already been noted that observations on the fertility of the soil are required by such instructions for travellers as Jerome Turler's *Traveiler* or Thomas Palmer's *Essay*, so that these travellers' discussions of the land to some extent fulfil a generic, not an eschatological, expectation. Each early modern English traveller except Sanderson comments on the fertility of Palestine, or the lack thereof. Webbe comments only that "they haue no tillage in those parts," compressing into this observation a sizeable and differentiated territory (Webbe, fol. D2v). Moryson acknowledges the fertility of the plain between Ramleh and Jerusalem, the abundance of its fruit, its early harvests and the cultivation of cotton. Nearing Jerusalem he comments on the increasingly rocky and mountainous terrain, but even here the mountains "seemed stony and barren, but yeelded fragrant hearbes, and excellent corne growing betweene the great stones, and some vallies were pleasant." He also sees fruit and vines growing (Moryson, *Itinerary*, pt. 1, 215-6). Speaking of the fertility of "Turkey" as a whole in part 3 of the *Itinerary*, Moryson notes that not only natural fertility but also human factors affect agricultural yields, "great part of the people being wasted with warres, and they that remaine, hauing not free fruition of their owne goods, in the great tyranny vnder which they liue, aswell of the Emperour, as of vnder-Gouernours changed at least once a yeere, and the generall rapacity and licentiousnesse of the souldiers."[160]

The writer of "A Particular of My Journey," travelling in 1607/8, is also positive in his description of the fertility of Jerusalem, looking beyond the first impression of aridity. "The lande liing aboute the citty doth seeme to be very barone, but is rather exceding rich, for howsoeuer yt is mostly maine rocke, it being broken both owt of the sauffter [softer] of them stones, & likewisse out & betwixt the hardest, doth growe a bundance of corne & of the best wine also good & plentye, fruitte as

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eschatological significance of the Ottoman Empire is also evident in the glossing of the four angels bound in the Euphrates of Revelation 9:14 in the Geneva Bible as "the enemies of the East countrey," that is, the "Arabians, Sarasines, Turkes & Tartarians."

[159] Biddulph, *Travels*, 46-7. Such a reading is refuted in the Geneva Bible, suggesting that it was current before Biddulph rehearsed it.

[160] Amy Singer's work elucidates the principles, logic and laws governing what Moryson interprets as "tyranny," "rapacity" and denial of personal profit. For her detailed explanation of Ottoman systems of taxation and the structures of the *waqf/vakıf* and the *timar* near Jerusalem during the sixteenth century, see Singer, *Palestinian Peasants*, especially 10-63.

oringes, Lemons, figges, poungarnetts, of most and best sorte of fruittes that be" ("A Particular of My Iourney," fol. 23r). The barrenness is rendered as an illusion which conceals the real fertility of the soil.

Henry Timberlake comments on the question of fertility at some length in the 1603 edition of his narrative, and reworks the passage for the 1608 edition.[161] The changes in the 1608 and later versions effect a subtle but notable change in emphasis. While the 1603 version relates the barrenness of Palestine to Christ's prophecy that "there will not be left one stone upon another, that will not be thrown down" (Mark 13:2; Luke 21:6), the 1608 version avoids this interpretation, attributing it instead to its current occupation by "infidels" and God's consequent curse. The 1603 edition quotes a commonplace, apparently relayed by what it calls "the better sort of Christians" living in Palestine:

> there is not that sinne to be found in the world, but it raigneth & florisheth in Ierusalem: wherfore they vse these words of it; *Terra sancta, è no mais*,[162] to wit, it is the Holy land in name, and no more: yea, the veriest Infideell in al the countrie calleth it so, for in the Arabian tongue they call it by the name of Curse, that is, holy. (Timberlake, *Discourse* [1603], 24)

Timberlake's translation reproduces the ambiguity of the phrase, which could mean either "the land is holy, but nothing else in it" or "a holy land it is no longer," and seems to be taking advantage of the contradictory English meaning of the transliteration of the Arabic for holy, *Al-quds*. The 1608 edition changes the logical relation between the sinfulness in the land and the phrase "terra sancta" so that the emphasis is less on the paradox between the land's name and its moral condition, and more on causation: the Ottomans and other Muslims make it a land of depravity.

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[161] Henry Timberlake, *A true and strange discourse of the trauailes of two English Pilgrimes: what admirable accidents befell them in their iourney to Ierusalem, Gaza, Grand Cayro, Alexandria and other places* (London: for Thomas Archer, 1608).

[162] This looks like Portuguese. Taylor implies that it is "Frank" spoken by Christian inhabitants of Palestine: the *Lingua Franca*, or "Frank tongue" in which Timberlake says that he spoke with his North African companion, and which Taylor conjectures that he used in trade around the Mediterranean. (Note that the manuscript BL Sloane 2496 emends to "Frenche," fol. 64r.) It is difficult to determine the phrase's origins from such a short phrase; none of the words coincides with the translation of the Lord's Prayer into the language which Taylor reproduces: one of the few written records of the language in the period. Taylor, *Englishman*, 196. For more on the constitution, origins and evolution of Lingua Franca, see Keith Whinnon, "The Context and Origins of Lingua Franca," in *Langues en Contact - Pidgins - Creoles - Languages in Contact*, ed. Jürgen M. Meisel (Tübingen: TBL Verlag Gunter Narr, 1977).

Echoing Gregory of Nyssa's assertion, "nunc vero nullum non impuritatis genus apud eos perpetratur,"[163] Timberlake writes,

> there is not that sin in the world, but it is vsed there amongst those Infidells that now inhabit therein: and yet it is called Terra Sancta, and the Arabian Tongue Cuthea, which is the holy Land, bearing the name only and no more, for al holynes is cleane banished from thence, by those Theeues filthy Turkes and Infydells that inhabit the same.[164]

In the preface to Biddulph's work, Lavender corrects Timberlake's commentary on the fertility of the Holy Land, invoking the five witnesses in Biddulph's party against Timberlake:

> whereas it is written in the 28 page of that pamphlet, that no part of the Holy Land at this day is fruitfull, but all barren, it is most false, for in this discourse of the trauell of these fiue Englishmen to *Ierusalem*, you shall finde that all *Galile* is very fruitfull to this day ....[165]

In fact, Timberlake's 1603 version had noticed that Galilee, along with other areas beyond the 15-mile radius of Jerusalem, was fruitful, but omitted this exception from the 1608 and subsequent editions.[166]

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[163] See Chapter 3, 213.

[164] Timberlake, *Discourse [1608]*, 37-8. Taylor asserts that "Timberlake never wrote that" on the basis of the Sloane 2496 version, and attributes this to the publisher's intervention, but offers no proof. Taylor, *Englishman*, 139.

[165] Lavender's page reference indicates that he is referring to the 1609 edition of Timberlake's narrative. On the last page of Biddulph's *Travels*, these five witnesses are invoked once again. Biddulph, *Travels*, fol. A4r, 143.

[166] "Such is the poore estate of the country, that a man may goe ten miles, before you can see a plot of ground to feede a horse or a Cowe on: yet the countries round about it, as Palestine on the one side, Galile on the other, and Syria to the west, are all most goodly plentifull countries: and Ierusalem it selfe, which I thought to haue found the very fruitfullest place of all, is the most barrenest place that I sawe in all my trauaile, the deserts onely excepted." Timberlake's geography is rather confused here, but the geographical terms for the Holy Land are very slippery. Lithgow tries to tease out the various divisions of the Holy Land. "*Canaan* is diuided into fiue Prouinces, viz. *Iudea, Galilee, Palestina, Samaria* and *Phenicia*: Some diuide it only in three, *Palestine, Iudea,* and *Galilee*: It hath beene by others also nominated in generall, *Syria*, by which Calculation, they gathered all the Countries from *Cilicia* to *Egypt*: vnder that name. But howsoeuer they differ in Descriptions, it is most certayne, that at this day, it is onely, and vsually diuided into these fiue particular Prouinces." The task of defining these regions is complicated by the succession of names given to them over time (see Note on Geographical Terms above): Lithgow a page earlier states that the land of "Canaan" has itself also been called Judea and Palestine, among other names. For Sandys it is a question simply of latitude. The Holy Land is divided into three regions: Judea to the south, Galilee to the north, and Samaria between them. Biddulph places Jerusalem in Palestine, however. Matar interprets such insistence on Old Testament divisions of space as an elision of Arab and Turkish history and Ottoman administration in the region; as a "[superimposition of] faith on political geography to produce a name that was both unchanging and divinely confirmed." Biddulph, *Travels*, 123; Lithgow, *Totall Discourse*, 214-5; Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen*, 132; Sandys, *Relation*, 141; Timberlake, *Discourse [1603]*, 24.

Although Timberlake's narrative had been changed by 1608 to remove the attribution of Jerusalem's barrenness to Christ's prophecy, Biddulph's narrative contains a strong rebuttal of this view, which must have been current elsewhere:

> whereas they say no signe of the City is to bee seene, grounding their assertion vpon a place of Scripture falsly applied, and sayth that Christ promised to destroy Ierusalem, and not to leaue one stone vpon another that should not be ouerthrowen: If they read the place Luke 21:6 they shall finde that spoken of the Temple which they apply vnto the City. (Biddulph, *Travels*, 124)

For Biddulph, the question of the decadence of the landscape is less a pretext for invective about the moral culpability of the Jews or the Ottomans and Arabs than an opportunity to disclose a closer and corrective reading of Luke's gospel.

Lithgow also offers a view of the fertility of the "Holy Land" which has a moral cast. He writes that it had once been the most fruitful land in the world, but, "by experience, I found now the contrary, and the fruitfulnes thereof to be changed, God cursing the Land together with the *Iewes*" (*Totall Discourse*, 214). Although he does not attribute the diminution of fertility to Christ's prophecy, he seems to be aligning himself with the view that the land reflects the piety or sinfulness of its inhabitants, reminiscent of Ezekiel, chapters 5-8, 10-12. Indeed, the whole earth grows old; the sun, moon and stars grow weak: "Time from olde antiquity, running all things to deuasted desolation, making the strong things weake, and weake things feeble, at last it returneth all things to iust nothing ... an infallible Argument of the dissolution to come by the day of iudgement." There are echoes in this of the apocryphal second book of Esdras, which Achsah Guibbory notes is used by Henry Reynolds in his *Mythomystes* (1632) to support his view of history as a pattern of universal decay: "For the world has lost its youth, and the times are beginning to grow old.... For worse evils are still to come than those you have seen happen. For the more the world grows weak with age, the more evils will increase upon those who live in it."[167] Guibbory points out that although the view of history as tending towards decay was most influential in the English context in the first two or three decades of the 1600s, it co-existed and competed with conceptions of history as cyclical or tending towards progress, or combinations of these models (Guibbory, 5-28). Just as the pattern of decay is not uncontested, Lithgow goes on to acknowledge two exceptions to the

[167] Achsah Guibbory, *The Map of Time: Seventeenth-Century English Literature and Ideas of Pattern in History* (Urbana; Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 6.

interpretation of landscape as manifesting decline. Galilee and Palestine are extremely fertile, some parts yielding two annual harvests, so that "I hold it neuer a whit more decayed now, than at any time when the glory of *Israel* was at the highest." Lithgow seems to oscillate between the impulse to impose an eschatological interpretation on the territory of Judea and to offer a more differentiated and pragmatic account of the landscape as he finds it.

George Sandys writes about the landscape of Palestine in similar terms. It was once "A land that flowed with milke and hony," "no part empty of delight or profit" (G. Sandys, *Relation*, 141). However, "those rich lands at this present remaine waste and ouergrowne with bushes, receptacles of wild beasts, of theeues and murderers, large territories dispeopled, or thinly inhabited ..." (G. Sandys, *Relation*, "To the Prince"). Nabil Matar points out that narrative erasure of inconvenient inhabitants and exploitation of apparent failures to cultivate the land are a shared feature of descriptions of both the Levant and the New World and serve a purpose of undermining claims to possession (*Turks, Moors and Englishmen*, 136-7). Matar locates the origin of this strategy in the Crusades which, as we have seen in Chapter 1, depended upon the assumption that non-Christian inhabitants, by virtue of their religion, had no rights to possession. However, when Sandys proceeds to the conventional commentary on the possession of the "Holy Land" in Muslim rather than Christian hands, he gives an explanation which diverges from this rhetorical purpose. He interprets the continuation of the Holy Land in Muslim rather than Christian hands as a manifestation, not a cause, of its decadence:

> A Countrey it seemeth anathemated, for the death of Christ, and slaughter of so many Saints: as may be conceiued by view of the place it selfe; and ill successe of the Christian armies: which in attempting to recouer it haue endured there so often such fatall ouerthrowes, or else, in reputing it a meritorious warre, they haue prouoked the diuine vengeance. (G. Sandys, *Relation*, 145)

Although Sandys' allusion to a curse on the land superficially resembles Lithgow's sense of a land forfeited by sinful inhabitants, this statement combines novel observations on the land's current state and government. The first statement specifically explains the land's barrenness through the death of Christ and the saints there. Instead of the covenant-type explanation, which imagines the possibility that moral reformation and renewed piety could bring about the restoration of the land to

Christian hands, Sandys sees the death of Christ and the saints as tainting the territory with a curse so enduring that it permanently resists conquest by Christian armies. The next statement modifies this proposition, offering the possibility that the "meritorious warre" is itself a transgressive, philosophically untenable enterprise which might have determined the land's barrenness. Indeed, Sandys' history of the Christian kings of Jerusalem dwells on the moral decline of their lineage and "their finall ouerthrow procured by home bred treason," emphasizing the fallibility of the enterprise of the crusade (G. Sandys, *Relation*, 145). Haynes suggests that Sandys is torn between these two views of the territory: first, as a Holy Land blessed by the presence of Christ and its previous status as a promised land; second, as a territory cursed from the execution of Christ (Haynes, 108). Sandys, he suggests, settles on a strategy which accommodates both, using the term the "Holy Land," but as an archaism, at a safe historical distance.

By the late 1630s, the view of the land as having lost God's special endorsement was to be fully and explicitly stated by Thomas Fuller in a manner that resonates with the engagements with Palestine discussed here:[168]

> When the Jews were no longer Gods people, Judea was no longer Gods land by an peculiar appropriation; but on the other side, God stamped on that countrey an indelible character of desolation, and so scotched it with his anger, that it will never change colour, though Christians should wash it with their bloud. It is labour in vain therefore for any to endeavour to reestablish a flourishing kingdome in a blasted countrey ....[169]

Taylor suggests that strategic evasion of taxation on the part of Palestinian peasants could be a partial cause of the apparent aridity and poverty of Palestine, and that travellers' assertions of barrenness constitute a misreading of what they see (Taylor, *Englishman*, 93). Amy Singer's study of Ottoman administration near

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[168] A direct line of influence obtains between Fuller and Sandys; Fuller cites Sandys' *Relation* to corroborate his assertion that Palestine has been rendered barren. Fuller, *Holie Warre*, 2.

[169] Fuller, *Holie Warre*, 15. Cited by Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen*, 161-2. Matar comments that Fuller's refutation of the notion of holy war was motivated by a desire to quell its appropriation for "what religious zealots viewed as the impending holy wars of Britain." As further dissuasion Fuller argues that God had allowed the "Turks" and the "Saracens" to occupy the land for 460 years, long enough "to create a right"; it was superstitious to visit Jerusalem "placing transcendent holinesse in the place, and with a wooden devotion to the materiall Crosse." He also adds that saints Hilarion and Jerome were apparently indifferent toward the holy places, and warns that crusades effect little but the draining of treasuries.

Jerusalem during the sixteenth century records reproofs or fines for peasants who abandoned land or left it untilled, thus reducing the wealth which it could generate for the pious foundations or military or administrative officials to whom its revenues had been granted.[170] She also notes instances of peasants cultivating hidden fields, which facilitated the withholding of revenues. These are isolated instances, however, not widespread patterns or organised resistance to Ottoman administration (Singer, 116-7). Such practices would probably not have affected the appearance of the terrain sufficiently to make travellers see fertile land as barren or tilled land as uncultivated.

Taylor is right, however, in suggesting that travellers' descriptions of Palestine's barrenness are motivated and rhetorical rather than strictly empirical. There, travellers tend towards a moral interpretation absent from descriptions of other territories, as if the events which it has accommodated transform it and leave it indelibly marked. By contrast, in Sandys' treatment of the fertility of Egypt, the richness of the land does not express the moral character of the people inhabiting it. The flooding of the Nile plain is a natural phenomenon separate from the human sphere, and defies men's attempts to understand it. Admittedly, Sandys alludes to testimonies that the fall of Antony and Cleopatra was "prognosticated" by two years of drought in the 10th and 11th years of Cleopatra's reign, but this is an exceptional portent, not a sustained correlation (G. Sandys, *Relation*, 94-9). A negative correlation between the moral condition of inhabitants and the appearance of the land is tersely offered by Moryson for Constantinople and its environs: "the Countrey is no lesse pleasant than the inhabitants are wicked" (Moryson, *Itinerary*, pt. 1, 263). On the other hand, Burns notes a tendency in Lithgow's description of Rome to moralise the landscape (Burns, 63-5). In fact, Burns even states that "Rome seems more foreign and foreboding than Palestine." What joins Rome and Palestine – and distinguishes them from Egypt – is their place in the rhetoric of eschatology and in attempts to reconcile history and prophecy. However, in Rome, moral decline is marked by its faded or decaying monuments; in Judea, it is expressed in the soil and the natural landscape.

Certain Protestant travellers, such as Lithgow, Biddulph and Sandys, may not be willing to accept that the footprints on Mount Olivet were left by Christ at his

[170] For a discussion of "non-cultivation and migration," see Singer, *Palestinian Peasants*, 99-101. Cited by Taylor, *Englishman*, 78.

Ascension.[171] However, some appear keen to believe that Palestine's inhabitants have caused its alteration from a land of plenty to one of want. The way in which the landscape is inscribed as a consequence of its relation to divine will or presence has been transformed from the late medieval pilgrimage narrative to the Protestant narrative of travel. The enduring willingness to see Palestine as physically inscribed and preserving in its material condition the marks of its scriptural history, however, connects the earlier with the later texts. Depending on the traveller-writer's purposes, ethnography becomes enmeshed with prophecy and agricultural commentary interacts with the rhetoric of just possession. The contradictory representations of the same territory reveal that the relation between travellers' descriptions and actuality can be arbitrary or distorted by religious, cultural or racial prejudice..

"Pilgrims" and "Pilgrimage"

Uses of the term "Holy Land" and the concomitant sense that the inscription of divine will is legible in the landscape grow out of and diverge from late medieval and even earlier pilgrimage writing. Similarly, early modern uses of the terms "pilgrim" and "pilgrimage" proceed from and adapt late medieval uses. N. H. Keble sees hostility to pilgrimage as a "marked feature of early Protestantism," and states that the term was consequently appropriated and redirected in Protestant writing.[172] Donald Howard also asserts that by the seventeenth century, and Purchas' and Lithgow's uses of the term "pilgrimage" in the titles of their works of travel beyond religious shrines, the word had become quite detached from the context of place pilgrimage (D. R. Howard, 6). By the time of Purchas' great anthology, Howard contends, "pilgrimage" signified any "one-way journey to a destination, made for a purpose worthy of reverence. Purchas' use of the word in his titles already shows secularization: his pilgrims'

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[171] Moryson and Timberlake make no comment on the authenticity of the marks; Biddulph and Lithgow reject them as spurious; Sandys reproduces the claim with the qualifier "they say"; "A Particular of My Journey" and John Sanderson report it with apparent approval, although Sanderson displaces responsibility for the claim onto "all those Christians [who] hould assueredlie that it is the signe of Our Saviours foote." Biddulph, *Travels*, 135; Lithgow, *Totall Discourse*, 283; "A Particular of My Iourney," 20v-21r; Sanderson, *Travels*, 104; Sandys, *Relation*, 199.

[172] N. H. Keble, "'To Be a Pilgrim,'" 241-2. Keble concentrates on allegorical uses of pilgrimage and shows that this impulse to stress the life- or spiritual pilgrimage rather than the place pilgrimage continued to assert itself in English religious discourse from early sixteenth-century Lollardy to Protestant writing throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

purpose was to return home with knowledge" (D. R. Howard, 6). Even by the time of Lithgow's use of "peregrination" in his title eleven years earlier in 1614, Howard believes, "the word had lost all associations with pilgrimage – it meant 'travelling,'" a migration of use which, as we have seen, Gregory Martin vociferously resisted in 1583 (D. R. Howard, 112). Howard believes that there was a necessary hiatus in the use of terms relating to pilgrimage to describe travel in the sixteenth century, noting that it was never used to describe English humanistic tours of Europe or exploratory travel in the New World. "It was only when the pilgrimage had disappeared as an institution that a writer like Samuel Purchas could think of 'pilgrimage' as an image of travel in general," writes Howard (107).

Howard's explanation does not adequately account for the uses of "pilgrim" and "pilgrimage" in English writing about Jerusalem after the Reformation.[173] Philip Edwards finds in several late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century English dictionaries that the meanings first given for "pilgrim" are those of a traveller to a shrine and/or for the purposes of devotion, although he also cites two in which the meaning of devotional traveller is subordinated to that of wanderer.[174] He also suggests, concentrating on Purchas' utilisation of "pilgrim" in the context of North American colonisation, that Purchas' use represents not so much a broad and unified shift in the terminology as an idiosyncratic and weakening application of it (Edwards, 101).

While Sandys and Moryson omit direct discussion of the term, and the anonymous "Particular of a Journey" avoids making use of the terms "pilgrim" or "pilgrimage," four of the authors under discussion here make use of the terms in ways which deserve some attention. It has already been noted that Lavender's criticism of Timberlake's use of the term "pilgrim" assumes its incompatibility with Protestant orthodoxy, associating it with superstition and the "worship [of] reliques." In Timberlake's *Discourse,* the term "pilgrim" appears twice on the title page to refer to

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[173] Indeed, Howard is somewhat inconsistent in his own use of these terms. He asserts that Sandys and Lithgow travelled to Jerusalem as "travel writers," not "pilgrims," but in the same paragraph describes Lithgow's journey as a pilgrimage, and locates the Scotsman's expressed contempt for his fellow travellers "in the good old tradition of pilgrimage writings." Howard, *Writers and Pilgrims*, 112.

[174] Edwards, *Pilgrimage and Literary Tradition*, 20. For definition of "pilgrim" as devotional traveller, he cites Edward Phillips' *New World of English Words* (1658), John Kersey's *Dictionarium* (1708), Nathan Bailey's *Dictionarium Britannicum* (1730) and William Crakelt's version of a *Spelling Dictionary* by John Entick (first published 1784). For dictionaries which favour the meaning of wanderer, he gives Thomas Blount's *Glossographia* (1656) and Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary* of 1755. William Sherman also assumes the continuing valency of the "devotional traveller" meaning in the early modern period. William Sherman, "Stirrings and Searchings (1500-1720)," in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 24.

him and his companion and replaces Timberlake's proper name in the 1603 and 1608 editions, although he is easily identifiable thanks to the naming of his companion, John Burrell, and his ship, the *Trojan*. It appears again on the second page of the narrative, as Timberlake refers, apparently unselfconsciously, to their adoption of "our Pilgrimes habit" outside of Cairo, and on the fifth to refer once again to his fellow traveller Burrell.[175] However, upon entry into Jerusalem, Timberlake switches to the term "companion" when referring to Burrell, and neither of the two usages of the term which take place in the account of the city and satellite holy sites refers to the two Englishmen (*Discourse* [1603], 6, 17). Only in the final sentence, and back in Egypt, does Timberlake revert to it in self-reference: "On the morow being the 11. I went aboord my Ship the Troyane, in perfect health and safetie, I thanke my God, hauing bin out in my Pilgrimage from Alexandria iust 50. daies" (Timberlake, *Discourse* [1603], 26). The journey *to* Jerusalem is a "pilgrimage," but this designation is avoided for the visits *within* the city, the context in which its use will most explicitly implicate him in Catholic practice.

Sanderson also alludes to pilgrims and pilgrimage on several occasions in the full account of his journey to Jerusalem, including the title, "The Pilgrimadge of John Sanderson from Constantinople to the Holie land ...."[176] None of the subsequent occurrences suggests a radical redirection of the signification of "pilgrimage" away from the journey to a holy place, although Sanderson's allusion to his Jewish travelling companions as his "pilgrime mates" implies a broadening of its terms of inclusion to allow it to connote Jewish as well as Christian pilgrims (Sanderson, *Travels*, 112). His principal Jewish companion, a wealthy merchant, like Sanderson leaves his commercial preoccupations behind him on the journey (once he has concluded some business further up the Syrian coast, at least). The merchant leaves all his gold behind him at Damascus, carrying with him to Palestine only "two or three thousand [ducats of gold] which he spent of almes and disboursed for books in the Holie Land" (Sanderson, *Travels*, 96). Sanderson's autobiographical writings describe extensive travels in the Levant, but only this journey, quite unconnected to activities of the Levant Company, is described as a pilgrimage. Other uses of the term can be

[175] Taylor contends that the publisher was responsible for the inclusion of the term in the title, but she does not account for its use in the narrative, and mistakenly states that the term describing Timberlake's travelling habit does not appear in the printed versions. Taylor, *Englishman*, 221.

[176] The is given on fol. 127r of the manuscript, British Museum Lansdowne MS 241. For other uses of the terms "pilgrim" or "pilgrimage," see Sanderson, *Travels*, 105, 107, 112, 118.

found outside of the Holy Land journey, but they occur in the context of life as pilgrimage: "this wourlds pilgrimage," "the 56th year of my pilgrimadge," "my worldly pilgrimadge" (Sanderson, *Travels*, 17, 20). The coexistence of uses of "pilgrimage" to refer both to the journey through life and to the journey to Jerusalem provides evidence that both meanings continued in play in the early years of the seventeenth century, and that place pilgrimage was less transgressive a concept than Howard has suggested. When Purchas comes to print Sanderson's manuscript in 1625, he disrupts and recasts his author's use of the term "pilgrimage" in the editorial remarks placed after Sanderson's travel account:

> the rather that my Countreymen may be advised, before they adventure this Jerosolymitan Pilgrimage; Superstition on the one side and Tyrannie on the other endangering the best Pilgrimage, which is the peacable way of a good Conscience to that Jerusalem which is above. (Purchas, vol. 9, 478)

The dialogue between text and margin plays out the still unsettled meaning of the term "pilgrimage," but Purchas does not have the last word on its use.

William Lithgow, who appears to be quite close to Biddulph in the strength of his anti-Catholicism, diverges from him and Purchas on the usage of "pilgrim" and "pilgrimage." In the eighty pages from his entrance into Galilee until his departure from Gaza, Lithgow uses the term "pilgrim" to describe himself ten times.[177] Since Lithgow is often eager to remind the reader of his zeal in avoiding doctrinal contamination from the Franciscans, this relatively frequent usage suggests that Lithgow does not share Biddulph's automatic association of the term "pilgrim" with idolatrous practices. Burns recognises Lithgow's self-designation as a pilgrim, and explains this by recourse to a new, Protestant sense of pilgrimage as a spiritual trial, not a journey to a centre of veneration. Thus, according to Burns, his journey in Palestine is a pilgrimage, but no more so than his travels in what would become Greece. However, the occurrences of the term "pilgrim" are noticeably more numerous in the section on Palestine: in a passage of the *Totall Discourse* of comparable length, treating the journey from Venice and through the Adriatic and Aegean, for example, I counted only three uses of the term, and one use of

[177] Lithgow, *Totall Discourse*, 213, 226, 228, 237, 245, 246, 258, 259 [margin], 264, 285. This includes one instance in which Lithgow reports that someone else referred to him as a "pilgrim" (245).

"pilgrimage."[178] In several instances in Palestine, the term "pilgrim" is used when Lithgow is discussing the financial transactions (at the traveller's expense) involved in visits to the holy places (Lithgow, *Totall Discourse*, 213, 226, 264). This has two simultaneous but somewhat contradictory effects. It emphasises the entanglement of pilgrimage in economic transactions, a common theme in the attacks of reformers as well as orthodox sceptics such as Erasmus. It also hints at a certain solidarity with the other visitors to the holy sites who are, like Lithgow, subjected to the financial "extortions" of Ottomans or Arabs. Under this pressure the Protestant sceptic and the pilgrim are less easily distinguished. Lithgow's narrative slips between Catholic-Protestant and Christian-Muslim opposition in the usage of the term "pilgrim."

Early modern Protestant travellers' descriptions of their own journeys continue to use the terminology of pilgrimage, which had evidently not been suppressed or silenced in the decades before Purchas. Chapter 3 demonstrated that such vocabulary could be turned to purposes which were at odds with the practice of place pilgrimage: by this means Erasmus displaced the need for relics or holy places with scripture as an interface with the divine. Similarly, the uses of this vocabulary in narratives of travel manifest the desire to redefine, modify and redirect, most obviously by emphasising the involvement of financial transactions in the pilgrimage just as Erasmus had decades earlier. On the other hand, the continued uses of this vocabulary to describe travel to holy places demonstrate that the paradigm of pilgrimage continues to exert a strong influence on Protestant travellers, and that they engage with it, use it, and find new applications of it as they travel in Palestine.

NEGOTIATIONS OF THE PRACTICES OF PILGRIMAGE

Definitions of pilgrimage are negotiated by Protestant travellers to Jerusalem not only in descriptors of their journeys but also in their participation in traditional pilgrimage practices or their refusal to take part. Travellers often focus on the materially oriented practices which received negative attention in reformers' attacks on pilgrimage. Donald Howard claims that "to the Protestant ... mentality, there was a special horror

[178] Lithgow, *Totall Discourse*, 43-123. "Pilgrim" occurs on pp. 60, 80 and 113; "pilgrimage" on p. 110. Each reference occurs in the context of discussion of Lithgow's labours and sufferings on his "wanderings."

in the physical aspects of religion," but the responses of travellers examined here are sometimes ambivalent or contradictory as well as resistant (D. R. Howard, 105). Mementoes and objects consituting physical evidence attract particular attention in the early modern English accounts of Jerusalem. Although certain souvenirs are rejected, not embraced, in other cases they serve as devices providing objective, external and verifiable proof of the events recorded in narrative. There are various strategies for incorporating it into the problematic narrative plane, in which authority and credibility are subject to challenge. The description, transcription or illustration of such objects seems often to be regarded as adducing authority to the narration and accounting for the time during which the traveller has been absent.

Pilgrim Certificates

From the mid-sixteenth century there begin to appear frequent references to certificates written by the Franciscan Father Guardian, the direct authority over pilgrims in Jerusalem. Haynes characterises the certificate as "the product of the same medieval Catholicism that sold indulgences." This, he continues, "completes the reduction of the pilgrimage to a commodity, a process that began for most pilgrims with buying a package tour in Venice" (Haynes, 105). The acquisition of such certificates could be interpreted, however, as a gesture towards verification, which maintains an investment in the issuer's authority, as well as commodification, which emphasises the object itself. Evidence collected by Diana Webb demonstrates that, as early as the 1320s, ecclesiastical authorities demanded certificates in order to be sure that penitential pilgrimages within western Europe had been completed.[179] Medieval certificates satisfied the demand for evidence in a system in which the accomplishment of pilgrimage had communal and judicial meanings, as well as private and individual ones. Demand for such testimonies could have reached the Franciscans soon after their installation in Jerusalem in the 1330s, or the practice may have been exported by them to Palestine. None of Webb's examples refers to

[179] Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West*, 51-4, 134. For primary documents relating to the issue of certificates, see pp. 57, 59, 62, 160. From the records reproduced by Webb, it appears that after the ecclesiastical authorities had verified that these certificates had been obtained, they remained in the possession of the pilgrim or the person in whose name a pilgrimage had been undertaken. Certificates of Muslim pilgrimage to Jerusalem, Medina and Mecca survive from even earlier, from the years 1193-1229, according to Morris, *Sepulchre of Christ*, 258.

pilgrimage to Jerusalem and no such certificate receives mention in an English late medieval pilgrimage narrative; the practice of noting them in accounts of travel appears to have emerged only in the early modern period.[180]

In the first English instance of such a reference, the certificate occupies the place in which one might expect to find the pilgrimage narrative itself. In the 1553 narrative of John Locke's pilgrimage to Jerusalem, the Father Guardian's certificate replaces the first-person record of the visit to the holy places. While his account of the sea passage from an unspecified port, presumably in England, had been relatively expansive, there is no narration of his visits once he has arrived in Joppa. Instead, as Haynes notes, there appears a Latin certificate written by the "Vicar generall" of Mount Sion (presumably the Father Guardian) with this preface:

> What I did, and what places of devotion I visited in Ierusalem, and other parts of the Holy land, from this port, may briefly be seene in my Testimoniall, under that hand & seale of the Vicar generall of Mount Sion, which for the contentment of the Reader I thought good here to interlace.[181]

The certificate testifies to Locke's visits to the Holy Sepulchre, Calvary, Mount Sion, Mount Olivet, the tomb of Mary, Bethany, Bethlehem and several other places within and without the city of Jerusalem, and is dated to the sixth of September, 1553. The certificate's inclusion suggests the desire to supplement the narrative record with a document which the seal or signature of an identifiable authority at the traveller's destination invests with legitimacy. In this instance, this corroborating evidence does not simply support the first-person narrative, but stands as a substitute for it. The omission of a first-person narrative be a consequence of timing. Since the pilgrimage must have begun while Edward VI was still alive, but been recorded in the early months of the reign of Mary Tudor, during which the religious reforms instituted by Henry VIII and Edward VI began to be reversed, the evasion of a first-person narration may be a device to cope with the flux in England's official religion. Although the phrase "places of devotion" commits the author to a position favourable

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[180] Gomez-Géraud notes a parallel practice, usual among early modern Catholic pilgrim-writers, of including a letter attesting to the traveller's initiation into the Order of the Holy Sepulchre. Gomez-Géraud, *Crépuscule du Grand Voyage*, 294*n*.

[181] Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations*, vol. 5, 91. The certificate is not translated, breaching Hakluyt's promise in his preface to the first edition that, "if the same were not reduced into our common language, I have first expressed it in the same termes wherein it is originally written ... and thereunto in the next roome have annexed the signification and translation of the wordes in English." Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations*, vol. 1, xxiii.

to pilgrimage, it avoids extended, direct engagement with an experience of travel whose narration might betray a confessional allegiance uncomfortable to its exponent in the present or future.

Although the importance of this certificate relative to the pilgrimage narrative as a whole is exceptional, the inclusion of such documents is common in early seventeenth-century narratives. The attitudes to the issuing of certificates among Protestant travellers vary. John Sanderson includes documentation proving the accomplishment of his visit, although, since he has avoided the Franciscans' hospitality, the Greek Patriarch at Jerusalem and his Jewish travelling companions are the authorities by whom the documents are issued.[182] Henry Timberlake refers briefly and in neutral tone to his certificate:[183] "So, hauing my Pattent sealed with the great seale of the *Pater Guardian*, and another Letter pattent, shewing that I washed in the water of *Jordane*: the 31. of March I departed from Ierusalem ... (Timberlake, *Discourse* [1603], 24). George Sandys' account of his acquisition of a certificate from the Father Guardian is rueful, dismissing the provision of certificates as a ploy by the Father Guardian to draw even more money from the over-taxed wallets of pilgrims: "The *Pater-guardian* would needs thrust vpon vs seuerall Certificates, which returned him as many *Zecchines*." [184] Such emphasis on the costs of acquisition might be motivated by an awareness of the criticisms of the economic aspects of the pilgrimage. The claim of reluctant acquisition, even enforced purchase, pre-emptively defends the traveller against the accusation that he is squandering money on pilgrimage abroad rather than charity at home.

Lithgow, like Sandys, also records the receipt of the Father Guardian's "patent" as a financial transaction, but without apparent criticism. Of all the travellers, he gives the fullest account:

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[182] Sanderson quotes these documents in Italian, but they are omitted from Foster's edition. Instead Foster includes the English translation which appeared in *Purchas his Pilgrimes*. Purchas (cited by Foster) claimed to have had in his own hands the originals of these documents. Purchas, ed., *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, vol. 9, 480; Sanderson, *Travels*, 121, 123, 125.

[183] Taylor points out that the certificate relating to a visit to the Jordan is not corroborated by the narrative. She argues that Timberlake secretly visited the Jordan without the Father Guardian's knowledge, and then extracted a certificate from him on condition that he refrain from publicising it. This is based on conjecture and the presence of one day in Timberlake's itinerary which is not accounted for; it is impossible to prove. If, as Taylor surmises elsewhere, the text of Timberlake's narrative was written as a private letter without a thought of publication and printed without his consent, it is not clear why he would have omitted his account of the trip to the Jordan.

[184] Sandys, *Relation*, 200. *Chequins*, or *zecchins*, were a unit of currency in use in Venice, throughout the Ottoman Empire, and as far away as India. At the time of Sandys' and Lithgow's journeys, they would have been worth approximately nine shillings sterling. Bosworth, *Intrepid Scot*, 35.

> Then the Guardians *Secretary*, presented me my Patent vnder their Great Seale; & that cost me 3. Chickens of Gold. The beginning whereof I recall, although the principall, be lost in the Inquisition of Malaga, was thus: *Frater Gaudentius Saybantus ordinis minorum regularis obseruantiae Sancti Antonii Dei & Apostolica sedis gratia, sacri montis Sion Guardianus, Terrae sanctae gubernator & custos; ac in partibus orientis Apostolicus Commissarius, salutem in Domino sempiternam. Notum vobis facimus, &c.* The Contents whereof, reciting all the memorable things I saw within the *Holy Land,* there was therunto annexed their Great Seale, sticking fast, or locked in vpon the lower face of the parchment, the impression whereof, had the Effigies of the twelue Apostles, and Christ in the midst: hauing this Circumscription about: *Magnum sigillum sacri montis in Sion Guardianus.* The model whereof is affixed in the former page. (Lithgow, *Totall Discourse*, 286-8)

Lithgow includes a rendering of the seal (see figure 13). The transcription and the reproduction seek to surmount the problem of the translation of an object of external, corroborating evidence into narrative form which is subject to greater doubt and scepticism.

In spite of the certificate's imbrication in the pilgrimage towards which Lithgow appears otherwise to be so sceptical, the subsequent narrative reveals that it takes on an almost talismanic quality. It holds a special power against murder and assault. In Provence on his return journey, Lithgow became aware that he was being followed by "three *French* murderers". Having applied in vain to an innkeeper for protection, he appealed to the bandits to consider his poverty and travails in the Holy Land.

> Alas, I am a poore stranger, newly come from *Ierusalem*, and the Sepulcher of Iesus Christ, and after long trauailes, and loe there is my Patent: ... Good gentlemen consider the dangers that I haue past amongst Infidels, and let not your Christian hands rob me of my turmoyled life ....
>
> This spoken, and much more, they neuer searched me, nor touched my Wallet, but went to Counsell, where they concluded vppon my forwardness in opening my body and other things to them, that I had no money, and therefore confirmed my life, which for the former respect, and the *Holy Graues* sake

was granted. Whereupon packing vp my Relickes agayne, they called for Wine ....[185]

From the centrality of the "patent" and the Holy Sepulchre in this account of Lithgow's escape could be inferred either some faith in the document's intrinsic protective power or a pragmatic awareness of its efficacy in disarming malefactors inclined to superstitious reverence for Christ's tomb. This is a delicate moment as far as narrative authority is concerned. The anecdote is performed on two levels: by Lithgow as narrator and by Lithgow as traveller. The traveller manipulates the convention of safeconduct for pilgrims to ensure his survival, but this prejudices the position of Lithgow as Protestant narrator, resolutely resistant to the sacred or devotional aspects of travel to Jerusalem. Melodrama and overstatement in the report of his own speech ensure that the anecdote may be recounted while assuring the reader of Lithgow's insincerity.[186]

Lithgow's subsequent uses, however, suggest that his attitude to the certificate is not purely pragmatic. Even after his return to England on completion of this journey, he continued to carry the certificate with him when travelling. It served a similar purpose of protection against Calabrian murderers on his second journey (Lithgow, *Totall Discourse*, 351). He also brought it on his third journey eight years later in 1620. When Lithgow fell foul of the secular and ecclesiastical authorities at Malaga, he appealed (unsuccessfully this time) to this certificate, as well as other documents, as evidence that he was a *bona fide* traveller, not a spy (*Totall Discourse*, 453). When he was rescued, it was still on his mind. He requested Sir Richard Halkins, one of the Englishmen who assisted him, to reclaim "my Gold, my eight Patents, my Booke of Armes, and his Maiesties Letters and Seales," but without success (Lithgow, *Totall Discourse*, 482). Almost a full year after his return, he was still campaigning at the court of James VI and I for the return of the belongings lost during this ordeal, naming the "patents" among them. The certificate is first described in the 1632 edition, only after it has been taken away from Lithgow. Lithgow's detailed reconstruction of the certificate twenty years after receiving it and his narration of the document's loss a decade after the event signal the importance that the object held for him. In the introduction of the certificate into the narrative plane,

[185] Lithgow, *Totall Discourse*, 336-7. The patent serves a similar purpose against Calabrian murders on his second journey (351).
[186] Burns notices a similar device in Lithgow's anecdotes near the Jordan. Burns, "Lithgow and His 'Science of the World,'" 154.

the lost object of proof is recreated and contemplated once more. The reason for Lithgow's tenacity regarding these documents is not clear. It might have proceeded from faith, stubbornness or his sense of the importance of retaining evidence of his travels and achievements. In any case, Lithgow seems to have cherished the possession of the letters patent, even if he scorned their original religious context.[187]

Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary* situates the use of the certificates in their financial context more explicitly and fully than Sandys and Lithgow. He discusses them in relation to travellers' practice of making wagers on their successful completion of a journey and their safe return. Moryson's own brother Henry had laid a substantial wager of this kind on his return. Moryson gives an account of his brother's motivation and justification in undertaking such a wager, explaining that the course of action was required partly because of the penury endured by many younger sons.[188] His account of this practice also illuminates the monetary value which pilgrim certificates could hold: the documents were required for returning travellers to claim the money laid out in such wagers. Moryson explains that the friars at Jerusalem included in the certificate reference to distinguishing physical characteristics "for better credit," and, presumably, to make the certificates less transferable (Moryson, *Itinerary*, pt. 1, 235). Certificates were also subject to forgery, however, as Moryson acknowledges:

> My selfe did familiarly know an English Gentleman, who shortly after comming to *Scanderona*, and there taking ship to pass by this shoare to *Ioppa*, and so to *Ierusalem*, if an honest man had not forewarned him, had by the treason of a *Ianizare* in the way bin sold for a slaue to the inland Turks .... And he was so terrified with the danger, as he returned into *England* without seeing *Ierusalem*, to which he had then a short iourney, only carrying with him a counterfet testimonie and seale that he had been there because he had put out so much money vpon his return. (Moryson, *Itinerary*, pt. 1, 214)

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[187] The pilgrimage patent is not the only document that protects Lithgow; on his way to Canea (Khaniá) in Crete, Lithgow is set upon by four bandits, and his life is spared because they find the letters of recommendation proving his intention of making a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. In a gesture which perhaps parodies the princes' and Father Guardian's provision of letters patent, the bandits "gaue me a stamped piece of clay, as a token to shew any of their companions, if I encountred with any of them," presumably to exempt him from any further violence. Lithgow, *Totall Discourse*, 80.

[188] Moryson compares this practice with betting on horses, or on the practice among "Earles, Lords, Gentlemen, and all sorts of men" of laying out money for repayment on birth of a child. However, he admits that he was persuaded against the idea after hearing the responses of his friends and "obseruing (as a stranger that had beene long out of my Countrey) that these kind of aduentures were growne very frequent, whereof some were vndecent, some ridiculous, and that they were in great part vndertaken by bankerouts, and men of base condition." Moryson clearly feels compelled to justify his brother's course of action, and devotes two full pages to a discussion of this practice. Moryson, *Itinerary*, pt. 1, 198-9.

Henry was less lucky than this Englishman of frail courage and weak scruples, dying, as I mentioned before, at Belen, eight miles southeast of İskenderun. Although Henry Moryson's certificate ceased to be of monetary value after his death, Fynes kept his brother's certificate with his own, and later projected onto the certificates an identity with their carriers' physiological states. Taking out his and his brother's pilgrim certificates at İskenderun after Henry's death, he observed a strange change:

> I was not a little astonished, to see that they being both at the same time cut out of the same skin of parchment, and written with the same hand and inck, yet that of my brother was in all parts eaten with wormes, when mine was altogether vntouched. And after I did more wonder, that to this day the same Testimonie giuen to my brother is no more eaten with wormes, then at that time it was, and mine still remaines vnperished. (Moryson, *Itinerary*, pt. 1, 250-1)

Since Moryson started writing the *Itinerary* in 1609, and took the next eight years to complete it, this passage indicates that he must have been saving the certificates for between 13 and 21 years by the time of writing. The certificate is no piece of ephemera, but a document carefully preserved throughout Moryson's subsequent migrations and one which he implies that he contemplated again in the moment of writing. Translating the function of the certificate from one of description and verification to one of sympathetic decay, Moryson makes use of the pilgrim certificate as a physical artefact which exists in uncanny metonymy with the body of the person for whom it has been issued.

By the seventeenth century, the certificate is no longer a token of satisfaction in a system of penitential pilgrimage, but derives meaning from a system of credit. It carries this meaning reliably only to the extent that it refers exclusively to its legitimate bearer. This sense of physical identity is so strong in Moryson's narrative that the certificate is represented as decaying in sympathy with its possessor. In other cases, the emphasis on the cost of acquisition of these objects introduces Reformation critiques of pilgrimage as involving profits and commodities. The certificates still serve powerful purposes in narrative, however: as pretexts for the assertion of the traveller's independence from superstition or credulity or, conversely, as objects of proof corroborating claims made elsewhere in the narrative.

Relics and Tattoos

Two other kinds of physical proof of the visit to Jerusalem receive attention in post-Reformation accounts: the acquisition of relics and the Jerusalem tattoo. The first, as we have seen, interested late medieval pilgrims also, while the second has no precedent in late medieval travellers' accounts.[189] Whereas most of the early modern travellers simply accepted their certificates of the Jerusalem pilgrimage, their responses to the practices of relic-taking and tattooing were more varied.

For some the discussion of relics or tattoos provides opportunities for a display of scorn for Franciscan or Catholic superstition. Biddulph does not refer to the pilgrim's tattoo, but, as indicated already, he concentrates his disdain for "superstitious devotion" on the pilgrim's pursuit of relics and veneration of holy places (Biddulph, *Travels*, 87). Running along such predictable lines of anti-Catholic polemic, Moryson also describes sceptically the relics available, stating that they have no worth except in the curiosity of their outrageous claims.[190] He and his brother used the excuse of their anticipated journey through Ottoman territories to avoid carrying

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[189] Mordechay Levy states that "tattooing European pilgrims in Jerusalem is relatively recent when compared to its uninterrupted practice among Arabs and eastern Christians since late antiquity and throughout the Middle Ages. The earliest known cases of European pilgrims being tattooed in the Holy Land occurred in 1564, in Jaffa, and 1602, in Bethlehem." English abstract to Mordechay Levy, "Towards a History of Jerusalem Tattoo Marks among Western Pilgrims," *Qatedrah le-tôldôt Eres Yísra'el el we-yîššûbah* 95 (2000): 184. The following account is made of the tattooing in a 1672 travel account: "there were two or three Christians come from *Bethlehem*, whose art is to make the Figure of our Saviours Sepulcher, or what Holy Story you please, upon your Arm; they make it of a blew colour, and it is done by the continuall pricking of your Arm with two Needles; they began presently to go to work on some of us, and having presented us the Patterns of abundance of Prints, every one took his Fancy." R. B., *A journey to Jerusalem*, 23-4. An early seventeenth-century Dutch chronicle identifies the "blew colour" as a mixture of ink and oxgall, according to A. M. Koldeweij. Although Koldeweij believes this practice to date as far back as the first centuries of the Christian church, and to have been adopted by Crusaders, his primary sources attesting to the practice date to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. See A. M. Koldeweij, "Lifting the Veil on Pilgrim Badges," in *Pilgrimage Explored*, ed. J. Stopford (York: York Medieval Press, 1999), 161-2. Bosworth notes that the word *tattoo* itself does not enter English use until the late eighteenth century. Bosworth, *Intrepid Scot*, 88. See also Thomasin Westcott, "Pilgrimages that left their mark," *Church Times*, 30 April 2004, 15-6.

[190] "We being now to take our iourney from *Ierusalem*, many Christians and Iewes brought vs diuers toies, to buy and carry with vs, being of no worth, saue onely that they were far fetcht, namely, beades for Papists to number their praiers, and also crosses, both made of the earth whereof they say *Adam* was formed, or of the Oliue trees of Mount *Oliuet*, or of *Terebinth*, (vnder one of which trees they say the Virgin *Mary* rested, when shee carried Christ an Infant to be presented in the Temple,) .... Besides, our Franciscan Friars gaue each to his friend and the Guardian to vs all, *Agnos Dei*, Dust and little stones taken from the foresaid monuments, for a great treasure to be carried to our friends at home." Moryson, *Itinerary*, pt. 1, 235. For a brief account of the position of such relics in Catholic early modern pilgrim narratives, see Gomez-Géraud, *Crépuscule du Grand Voyage*, 520-1. Gomez-Géraud sees relic-taking and pilgrim graffiti as attempts to soften and redress the severance between pilgrim and holy place which takes place on departure.

such "trash" and receiving the traditional pilgrim's tattoo at Bethlehem as their fellow pilgrims did (Moryson, *Itinerary*, pt. 1, 237).

More acquiescent attitudes to relics than these are to be found in these travellers' narratives, however. John Sanderson notes the practice of making relics from pieces of a tree against which the Virgin is said to have rested on the flight to Egypt. Although the surviving manuscript account of his journey does not refer to his own acquisition of relics, a marginal note has been added to the version printed by Samuel Purchas:

> Of these Crosses and Pater-noster Beades, Rosaries, I did bring from thence, and at my returne presented my brother and some others, having onely reserved for myself one Crosse, two paire of Beads, and two Girdles, which are the length of the Sepulcher. These Crosses, Beades, and Girdles are brought to us by poore Christians to sel, they saying that they are holy things, for that they had been put into the Sepulcher: I, as the custome was, and as other Christians did, did buy of them and brought from thence. (Purchas, vol. 9, 468)

Sanderson stops short of agreeing that these third-class relics are "holy things" and offers the poverty of the sellers as a justification for the purchase. His participation in one of the financially charged – and therefore especially suspect – practices of pilgrimage is thus translated in his narration into an act of charity. Sanderson thus quietly reintegrates the material aspects of pilgrimage with charity, which Erasmus and Latimer had claimed were divorced. In his adherence to the shared custom of purchasing these objects, Sanderson does not define himself as an "anti-pilgrim" but participates in the "custome" of pilgrims. This is an opportunity for repudiation, but Sanderson does not take it.

Lithgow discusses both the tattoo and the relics available in Palestine at some length. He reports having cut a hunting rod from a turpentine, or terebinth, tree at the banks of the river Jordan to present to King James "as the rarest gemme of a Pilgrimes treasure" (Lithgow, *Totall Discourse*, 258). This statement betrays, voluntarily or involuntarily, an inclination to cherish material objects on the basis of their origin in a famous and venerable place, if not a holy one. The association of the descriptor "pilgrim" with such a relic returns it to the meaning against which Biddulph has warned. It means that the term escapes the context of the "life" pilgrimage and takes on an unambiguously material, place-oriented sense. In recompense for saving a

certain Friar Lorenzo from falling off a mountain, Lithgow recalls that he accepted twelve crosses made of olive wood from Mount Olivet, forty pairs of chaplets of the same material and three pairs of "Garters and Girdles of the *Holy Graue*" (*Totall Discourse*, 285). His lack of enthusiasm for this reward enables him to record an aversion to relics in the narrative. Lithgow was eager, however, to acquire the relics, as well as the gold, clothes and rings, of three unfortunate Germans who died at Cairo of excessive consumption of Cyprus wine (*Totall Discourse*, 285, 302-3). As in the case of certificates and other documents for whose return Lithgow petitioned, his motives in this acquisition of relics are partly pragmatic. Nonetheless, Lithgow does not disown the interest in the relics themselves, although he could have narrated an ostentatious discarding of them. Indeed, Lithgow proudly mentions elsewhere that the garters and girdles formed part of his gift to Queen Anne on his return.[191] Lithgow's return to this topic at the end of his first book on his arrival in England also gives a sense of a more acquiescent attitude to relics: "I also ended there [in Paris] my first, my painefull, and Pedestriall Pilgrimage. Whence shortly thereafter visiting *Englands* Court, I humbly presented to King *Iames*, and Queen *Anne* of euer blessed memories; and to his present Maiesty King CHARLES, certayne rare Gifts and notable Relickes, brought from *Iordan* and *Ierusalem*" (Lithgow, *Totall Discourse*, 338). The recurring reference to the royal acceptance of the relics smoothes over their potentially questionable value. Relics also have a monetary value in pragmatic exchanges: Lithgow pays his captain for his passage from Alexandria to Malta with "a few relicts from Ierusalem" (Lithgow, *Totall Discourse*, 329).

Lithgow also acquires what is on first consideration an inalienable testament to his travel to Jerusalem. He submits himself to being tattooed at the Holy Sepulchre with the cross and the name of Christ. However, Lithgow commissions a modification to the conventional design from his Christian tattooist. Along with the arms of Jerusalem,

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[191] Lithgow says that in a cave outside of the town of Bethlehem where Mary and Joseph hid before fleeing to Egypt, some of Mary's breast milk spilled onto the ground. The earth of the cave, consequently, by "miraculous operation," brings milk to women struggling to nurse their children. Lithgow endorses this miracle on the basis of his eye-witness of its efficacy. He continues, "Of the which earth I brought with me a pound weight, and presented the halfe of it to our sometimes Gracious Queen *Anne* of blessed memory, with diuers other rare relicts also, as a Girdle, and a paire of Garters of the Holy Graue, all richly wrought in silke and gold, hauing this inscription at euery end of them in golden letters, *Sancto Sepulchro*, and the word *Ierusalem, &c.*" Lithgow, *Totall Discourse*, 279.

> I caused one *Elias Bethleete*, a Christian inhabitour of Bethleem, to ingraue on the flesh of my right arme, *The neuer-conquered Crowne of Scotland,* and *the now inconquerable Crowne of England,* ioyned also to it, with this inscription, painefully carued in letters, within the circle of the Crowne, *Viuat Iacobus Rex.*[192]

In fact, the tattoo is not inalienable: Lithgow later claims that the name and crown of King James were excised from his arm in 1620 as part of the torture directed by the Governor of Malaga, so that the traveller's body was made an accidental site for the hostility between states.[193] In the next edition, published in 1623, the description of the tattoo is substantially enlarged. As Burns points out, the Jerusalem cross is mentioned for the first time as forming part of the design (Burns, 155). An encomium of James is included, along with an image of the tattoo, an explanation that letters from Jesus' name "IHS" under the Jerusalem crosses stand for "Iesus Hominum Saluator," and an insistence that Lithgow subjected himself to the tattoo willingly. The image of the tattoo comes to be preserved in the printed text once it has been obliterated from Lithgow's body.[194] Burns suggests that the omission of the cross in the 1614 and 1616 editions may have been motivated by the desire to emphasise the independence of the gesture from the practices of pilgrimage, a gesture which became unnecessary after his suffering for his Protestantism at Malaga had cemented his claim to orthodoxy.

In each edition, Lithgow reports with some relish the Father Guardian's response to his modification of the conventional tattoo:

> Which when the Guardian vnderstood, what I had done in memory of my Prince vpon that Sacred Tombe, hee was greatly offended with me, that I should haue polluted that Holy place, with the name of such an Arch-enemy to the Romane Church. (*Totall Discourse*, 285-6)

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[192] Lithgow, *A most delectable and true discourse [1614]*, fol. R3v. This description is unchanged in the 1616 edition.

[193] Lithgow, *Totall Discourse*, 462. Koldeweij reports a confessionally-motivated tattoo excision half a century earlier in the Low Countries, by Protestants rather than Catholics. "[A] traveller to Jerusalem, the seventeenth-century Dutch Catholic martyr and Franciscan monk, Hieronymus van Weert (c. 1522-1572), had a tattooed Jerusalem cross on his chest and right arm. Before Hieronymus became one of the nineteen Martyrs of Gorcum, who were hanged by rebel Protestants on 9 July 1572, the eye-witness and hagiographer Rutger van Est (Estius) recorded that the hangmen brutally cut the Jerusalem cross out of his flesh." Koldeweij, "Pilgrim Badges," 162.

[194] In the 1632 edition, the image remains, as does the encomium, but the explanation of the arms of Jerusalem is removed. See figure 14.

Lithgow's attitude seems to be a mixture of idiosyncratic participation in the physically- and materially-oriented traditions of the Jerusalem pilgrimage and determination to signal his opposition to Franciscan authority. The practices are transmuted but not discarded. Their roles in offering proof that the traveller is not lying give them a compelling value in the defence against sceptics. In Lithgow's portrayal, these objects are less relics of saints or holy places than tokens of his own experience of pilgrimage. They are reminders not of a holy person or site but mementoes of dead pilgrims, of the gratitude of fellow travellers, of the present moment of travel rather than the landscape's historical association with Christ and the saints. These references to them are carried out tactically, manipulating the response which they provoke. The omission of the cross in the earlier version, and its disclosure in later revisions, reveal the strategy and selectivity which can operate in the traveller's self-construction.

Sandys does refer to the tattoo, but much more distantly than Lithgow or Moryson, reporting the practice as if there were no question of his participating in it. Equally aloof is his account of the relic-industry: "Most of the few inhabitants [of Bethlehem] *Greeks* and *Armenians*: who get a beggerly liuing by selling vnto strangers the models of the Sepulcher, and of the Grot of the Natiuitie; cut in wood or cast in stone, with crosses, and such like merchandize" (G. Sandys, *Relation*, 182). Sandys does not even admit the possibility of claims for the holiness of these objects, instead relating dispassionately the objects' place in a minor local industry. Sandys does occasionally mention relics in the form of chippings from the holy places, but only to note that their removal is an excommunicable offence (G. Sandys, *Relation*, 183, 197).

In the narrative of a traveller like Biddulph, hostile to practices associated with pilgrimage and suspicious of the Franciscans in Jerusalem, it is possible to identify a tendency to caricature the pilgrimage, to emphasise the veneration and hunger for the physical objects and remembrances of the pilgrimage at the expense of its potential for more spiritual and interiorised devotion. The criticism of these visible, material things recalls Erasmus' criticism of pilgrimage and advocacy of interior devotion, and its deployment disrupts the continuum between the visible and invisible so that the possibility of progress to one from the other is suppressed. Also in the Erasmian vein is the emphasis on pilgrimage as a commercial enterprise involving commodities and profits. Certain travellers, like Sandys and Lithgow, emphasise the financial

transactions which motivate the provision of relics and certificates. Where relics are collected, the degree of acquiescence and sincerity in the gesture varies. Sometimes relics provide a pretext for the assertion of a Protestant affiliation, for the distancing of the traveller from a superstitious practice or from credulous fellow pilgrims. Lithgow is capable of superciliousness on the matter when his clumsy friar offers relics as gifts, but is also covetous of the relics of fellow travellers and cherishes his own remembrances of the Holy Land as presents suitable for a monarch and his consort. Sanderson's acquisition of relics falls short of an endorsement of the practice, but is neither hostile nor reluctant.

As Haynes suggested, certificates and mementoes of the pilgrimage, even in the hands of Protestants, derive their meaning from a similar source as the meticulous recording of indulgences late medieval pilgrimage narratives: the desire to fix the experience and memory of pilgrimage in a physical object. In spite of Moryson's and Lithgow's very different uses of these documentary proofs of their visit to Jerusalem, their statements that they preserved them for years after their return suggest that they held some significance as repositories of memory or as evidence of claims which might be disputed; they were not mere "trash" to be discarded.[195] Pilgrimage certificates could provide confirmation of the successful completion of the journey witnessed by a verifiable representative of the stable Franciscan presence in Jerusalem. Franciscan authority is thus permitted some agency in Protestant narratives, however momentary it might be, and however vigorously contested elsewhere. At other moments reference to these objects provides a pretext for the narrator's display of an attitude of indifference or scorn. Biddulph most zealously takes advantage of this, but Moryson, Sandys and Lithgow also make less provocative or consistent use of the device. Although Lithgow, Sanderson and Moryson certainly do not seem to see relics and mementoes of Jerusalem and surrounding areas as containers of a holiness intrinsic to the land, their reported acquisition of them, and

[195] Three seventeenth-century certificates of pilgrimages to the Holy Land are noted in Pearson's *Guide to Manuscripts*. The certificate of Benedict Cöler, a German traveller to Jerusalem in 1612, is to be found in in BL MS Addit. 15,217. Scottish Record Office Yule Collection GD 90/2/69 testifies to the pilgrimage of Dom. William Fleming by Brother Hyacinthus Verona of Mount Sion on November 29, 1635. A similar certificate on vellum dating to April 15, 1663 confirms the pilgrimage of 23-year-old John Verney, great-nephew of Francis (see n. 29 above). John was a merchant at Aleppo for 12 years but later inherited the family estate and title and was created first Viscount Fermanagh in 1703. It is held among the private papers of the Verney family. Pearson, ed., *Guide to Manuscripts*, 17-8, 361, 398; Susan E. Whyman, *Sociability and Power in Late Stuart England: The Cultural Worlds of the Verneys 1660-1720* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), xiv, 48-54, 157; Zimolong, ed., *Navis Peregrinorum*, 58.

publication of that fact, suggests that they consider it possible to participate in the practice (and narrate this fact) without implicating themselves in wholesale acceptance of the beliefs which traditionally motivated it. In several instances the travellers allow themselves to become involved in the practices of pilgrimage and to acquire meaningful tokens from them. They modify the signification of these tokens and turn them to new purposes. The instances of relic-taking, certificate-acquiring, and tattooing attest to the recasting and redefinition of the practices by Protestant travel writers for new purposes of proof and evidence as well as for the display of anti-Catholic zeal.

Responses to the Holy Places

Vitkus argues that Palestine serves as a crucible for Lithgow's Protestant faith, implying that the importance of the journey along a pilgrimage route lies in its oppositional relation to the identity that the Scottish traveller is constructing:

> For Lithgow, travel is a heroic endeavour because it is a dangerous test of body and soul – it is a grueling marathon of self-control, not an abandonment to irrational devotion or exotic sensuality. He advises all travelers to "constantly refraine from whoredome, drunkennesse, and too much familiarity with Strangers: for a Traveller that is not temperate, and circumspect in all his actions, although he were headed like that Herculean Serpent Hydra, yet it is impossible he can returne in safety from danger of Turkes, Arabs, Moores, wilde beasts, & the deadly operative extremities of heat, hunger, thirst and cold." (Vitkus, "Trafficking with the Turk," 44-5)

It is true that Lithgow is neither interested in "exotic sensuality" nor in an ascetic devotional journey. However, Vitkus misses an important part of Lithgow's meaning here. The traveller's survival is also a manifestation of a moral condition and the blessing of God, as the phrases which precede Vitkus' quotation from *The Totall Discourse* emphasize: "if they would that God should further them in their attempts, blesse their voyages, and graunt them a safe returne to their natiue Countries" (Lithgow, *Totall Discourse*, 204). Lithgow's safe completion of this part of the journey stands as evidence of his divinely-sanctioned and -rewarded temperance, and

contributes toward the authoritative narrating persona who resists temptation and contamination on his travels.

Vitkus makes much of Moryson's early disclaimer in the section on Palestine that

> I had not thought to expiate any least sinne of mine [by my journey]; much lesse did I hope to merit any grace from God.... I thought no place more worthy to be viewed in the whole world, then this City, where howsoever I gave all divine worship to God, and thought none to be given to the places, yet I confesse that (through the grace of God) the very places strucke me with a religious horrour, and filled my mind prepared to devotion, with holy motions. (Moryson, *Itinerary*, pt. 1, 217)

Vitkus uses this to argue that "[Moryson's] visit to Jerusalem and its monuments, which were entirely under the care of non-Protestants, becomes a trial of Moryson's powers of unbelief" (Vitkus, "Trafficking with the Turk," 39). Vitkus also claims that Moryson should be thought of as "typical of English Protestant travelers" in his anxiety about Palestine.

Although Vitkus' broader premise of travellers' anxiety and resistance to the traditional practices of pilgrimage is borne out in many Protestant accounts of Jerusalem, there are several problematic aspects to the way in which this particular argument is set out. First of all, there is a need to distinguish among individual Protestant attitudes – Biddulph's is rather different from Sandys' or Lithgow's, as we have seen in their responses to Jerusalem and pilgrimage practices. Each traveller negotiates the pilgrimage in a different way, and renders the experience in a different tone, determined by his particular strategies for the defence of credibility and orthodoxy. Even to designate the most consistently hostile, sceptical travel narrative such as that of William Biddulph as that of an "anti-pilgrim" brings a danger of obscuring some of the ulterior motives in the production of his narrative. It has been noted already that many of Biddulph's statements (or Lavender's statements on his behalf) disingenuously introduce Catholic-Protestant oppositions in order to differentiate him from his contemporary and compatriot travellers. Lavender's apparently scrupulous adherence to a Protestantism which rejects the validity of the pilgrimage is not simply a gesture relevant to a Protestant-Catholic opposition: as Taylor has noted, it also asserts the authority of and necessity for the Biddulph narrative at Timberlake's expense, opening up a potentially profitable place in the

book market (Taylor, *Englishman*, 220-2). These are not pure gestures of adherence to dogma. They also carry meaning in a system of commercial transaction and are determined by its forces as well as those of the pulpit.

Secondly, returning to the last quotation from Moryson, there can be no doubt that he begins by distancing himself from the conception of travel to Jerusalem as a good work meriting remission of sins, but this reservation is qualified by an acknowledgment that intensification of devotion is possible as a result of the visit. Throughout this passage the remarkable rhetorical oscillations between cautious delineation of motives and tentative endorsement of the experience of seeing the holy sites express the contradictory feelings with which Moryson experiences Jerusalem. It is true that much ambivalence and anxiety can be found in accounts of Jerusalem, but the claim that a trial of "unbelief" is always enacted is not justified by this citation – indeed, Moryson's acknowledgement of a feeling of "religious horror" actively contradicts it. It can instead be an exercise in mindfulness of the transparency of the objects as reminders of the divine, and in the discipline of looking through them to focus on God. There is little difference between this position and that taken in the sermons preached to arriving pilgrims by the Franciscan Father Guardian, who "affirm[ed] vs how good a thinge yt was to come with deuotione to visitte thesse holy places & perswad[ed] himselfe that our cominge was not outwardlye to beholde them but with sinceer hart & deuoute intent to praye vnto God for ourselues & frendes, & to praisse his holy name" ("A Particular of My Iourney," fol. 16r). Indeed, on the very frontispiece of two early modern Catholic narratives of pilgrimage to Jerusalem is included Jerome's admonition, "Non Hierosolymis fuisse, sed Hierosolymis bene vixisse, laudandum est."[196] These injunctions, like Lefèvre's pilgrim who looks beyond relics toward "the exemplars of those visible things, lying open to the eyes of the mind,"[197] insist on the priority of spiritual attentiveness and pure intention over the unthinking consumption of holy places and relics. To ignore this is to insist on seeing Catholic pilgrimage as it was caricatured by Protestant polemic, not as it may have been seen by many of its orthodox practitioners and exponents, including Felix Fabri

[196] "It is praiseworthy not to have been to Jerusalem, but to have lived well in Jerusalem." This appears at the lowest panel of the frontispieces in Aquilante Rocchetta, *Peregrinatione di terra santa e d'altre provincie* (Palermo: 1630); Jean Zuallart, *Il devotissimo viaggio de Gerusalemme* (Rome: 1587). See Gomez-Géraud, *Crépuscule du Grand Voyage*, 311, 313-5.
[197] See Chapter 3, 241.

in the fifteenth century and the Franciscans still in place in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Jerusalem.

Fynes Moryson's admission of a sense of "religious horror" at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is not without parallel in the written accounts of Englishmen in Jerusalem. The phenomenon is acknowledged by Colin Morris, who notes that William Lithgow also shows some susceptibility on arriving in Jerusalem.[198] Sandys, usually very measured in his observations of the sites of pilgrim devotions, makes several exclamations of intensified emotion during the narration of his visit to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. At the moment of entry, he records his indignation at the restrictions imposed upon Christian visitors to the church, which was under Ottoman guard: "O who can without sorrow, without indignation, behold the enemies of Christ to be the Lords of his Sepulcher!" (*Relation*, 161). Sandys' admission that the contemporary state and circumstances of the resurrection site are matters for grief betrays the traveller's difficulties in sustaining the pose of indifference to the physicality of the holy places. In Purchas' re-use of this section of Sandys' relation, he inserts after the "O" an asterisk corresponding to the following rebuke in the margin:

> Let his friends enioy him, and Heauen where is his glory: as for his Sepulcher, *He is risen, he is not there.* And what then haue his enemies, but what himselfe would not hold, and which could not hold him?

The insertion of the asterisk at this point interrupts this rare moment of elevated emotional intensity in Sandys, diverting the reader at the precise moment of exclamation beyond the narrative to the margin. It interrupts Sandys' emotional engagement with the contemporary state of the holy place, and contains it. The containment is visual as well as narrative: Purchas' note is typeset so that it occupies almost half of the lower right hand margin and the entire bottom margin, cupping Sandys' narrative (see figure 15). This correction by Purchas demonstrates the continuing lack of consensus in the first quarter of the seventeenth century over the degree of emotional engagement that a Protestant might properly admit at the holy place.

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[198] Morris, *Sepulchre of Christ*, 368. Morris is mistaken, however, in attributing Lithgow's general anti-Catholicism during the pilgrimage to his experiences at Malaga, which took place several years after the visit to Jerusalem. It is possible, however, that his sufferings there produced the more strident anti-Catholic tone which Burns has identified in Lithgow's 1632 *Discourse*. See p. 266 above.

Sandys' caution is once more in evidence when he introduces Calvary, "which may assuredly be thought the same: and if one place be more holy then another, reputed in the world the most venerable" (*Relation*, 164). He continues, "He is void of sense that sees, beleeues, and is not then confounded with his passions." Still drawing back from wholehearted agreement that any place may claim superior holiness, Sandys admits that a special intensity of religious experience is available there. Haynes points out that in this passage "the experience of holiness is not of a numinous presence, but of an especially intense act of believing," as if independent of place (112). However, Sandys does posit the visual apprehension of the place as the basis for the experience of religious passion, in line with Erasmus' statements on the advantages that the "religious aura" of a church can have for a man's spiritual engagement. Nevertheless, it is significant that his identification of "he [...] that [...] beleeues" is so guarded. Belief is placed as a necessary intermediary between sight and emotion, and disrupts the suggestion of automatic efficacy in the place itself. Although Sandys both evaluates and endorses the site's legitimacy, he conceals the exertion of his authority, displacing it onto an unnamed third person. This anonymous "he" simultaneously maintains the objectivity which might be compromised by a religious transport in the narrative first person, and avoids admitting that he is moved by a site interpreted and authorised by Franciscan friars and controlled primarily by Georgian Christians. A cautious syntactical ambiguity also serves Sandys later in his account of the same church, at the site of the Resurrection. He is struck by the thousands of pilgrims who come to the holy sepulchre at Easter

> [to] perform their vowes, and offer their teares here yearely, with all the expressions of sorrow, humilitie, affection, and penitence. It is a frozen zeale that will not be warmed with the sight thereof. And o that I could retaine the effects that it wrought, with an vnfainting perseuerance![199]

Sandys begins with another veiling of his emotional response in the casting of "frozen zeal" as the subject of this passive construction but, unlike the previous example, this gives way to a voicing in the first person of his longing for the peculiar effects which praying in that place at that time procured. What precisely, though, is the "sight" in Sandys' mind? Is it the holy sepulchre itself? Is it the sight of (fellow?) pilgrims enacting their penitence, recalling More and Erasmus' endorsements of the power and

[199] Sandys, *Relation*, 167. Sandys then transcribes a hymn "to my Redeemer" that he composed in that place. See the discussion in Haynes, *Humanist as Traveler*, 113-4.

importance of collective worship? Both alternatives are equally suspended in the sentence's ambiguity, but each one is dependent on some investment in pilgrimage to the holy place and on an undisrupted continuum from visible to invisible things. Whether it is the experience of a communal worship in which emotion is extravagantly exteriorised by pilgrims fulfilling their promises, or his apprehension of the dimensions, contours and textures of the place in which Christ was entombed and resurrected, Sandys posits an exceptional spiritual experience at this site, one whose memory and intensity he fears will quickly degrade as physical proximity is lost.

Conclusion

Travel from England and Scotland to Jerusalem manifested unexpected vitality in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, both in numbers of visitors and in generation of published narratives. The centre of gravity of the Englishman's pilgrimage shifted with the establishment of English merchant communities in Alexandria, Constantinople and Aleppo. These ports provided the starting point for the journeys of some, so that the pilgrim's journey was shortened by and entwined with the merchant's voyage. However, commerce does not satisfactorily explain why Englishmen travelled to Jerusalem after the Reformation. Jerusalem's mediocre economy offered few mercantile temptations, and none of the travellers, however resistant to the devotional aspects of his visit to Jerusalem, did much business there. Their accounts still emphasise more than anything else the relation of the places to Christ's birth, death and resurrection. Travellers characterise the landscape and its relation to these events in many different ways: as a landscape whose holiness drained away long since; a terrain of monuments degraded and effaced by the effects of pilgrimage; or a pattern of monuments and markers which imparts spiritual consolation and fervour unavailable anywhere else. Whether they adopt a pose of indifference, hostility, or qualified reverence, however, it is with this relation that they are most preoccupied, not with commercial possibilities or the composition of sustained ethnographic reports.

Wes Williams has demonstrated that French Catholic pilgrimage narratives in this period are keenly informed by critiques of pilgrimage. As this chapter has demonstrated, the majority of English and Scottish accounts of Jerusalem are also

shaped by arguments against pilgrimage, taking on criticisms of the veneration of relics, of ceremony, of belief in the indwelling efficacy of holy places. In most cases the Protestant writers under discussion define carefully the extent of their own participation in the pilgrimage in order to defend themselves against accusations of superstition or religious irregularity. Many of them engage seriously with the vocabulary and practices of the Catholic pilgrimage. In some cases, their engagements result in the adoption of some of the terms and gestures of the Catholic pilgrimage or admission of heightened devotion, with careful qualifications and limitations. In others, travellers transmute or repudiate them, taking the opportunity to display a steadfast resistance to superstition but also forfeiting the transcendent aspects of the journey.

In Chapter 2 I sought to demonstrate that English late medieval pilgrimage narratives often accommodated simultaneously the functions of recording a completed experience of pilgrimage and generating or guiding future iterations. In the post-Reformation descriptions of Jerusalem, the balance shifts towards the accomplished journey. Motivations and justifications of the individual journey, which, as Chapter 3 demonstrated, were subjected to scepticism and scrutiny by Erasmus and other commentators, take on much greater prominence. It is no longer sufficient to offer, as Wey does, the holy places themselves as reasons to visit Jerusalem. This is not just a response to doctrinal questions, but also to secular discourses about the dangers inherent in travel, and concurrent development of precepts and norms for a discipline of educational travel. Advice for travellers emphasises the moral effects of travel on the traveller, obliging the traveller to defend the use he has made of the time abroad, and to display the learning and sophistication acquired there. The impulse to travel and its ends must be anatomised and defended. Justifications as varied as Moryson's impulse to emulate more experienced travellers, Sandys' desire for the satisfaction of "curiosity" and the acquisition of an "historicall relation," and Biddulph's wish to escape the pestilential air of Aleppo are consequently offered up. The location of motivation shifts from intrinsic value in the places of such strong self-evidence that it necessitates little apology to the mind or body of the individual traveller-narrator. The "Holy Land" is on show, but so also is the author travelling in it, who undertakes a display of knowledge, generic decorum and religious orthodoxy as he narrates his own movements. The literature of instruction for travel codifies observations for the traveller to make and record. Summaries of the history of Palestine and commentary

on its security, fertility and Ottoman administration come to overlie the rehearsal of the identifications of the holy places and displace the *imitatio christi*.

The heterogeneity of sources of information which can be found in certain late medieval pilgrimage narratives is succeeded in early modern accounts by a more scrupulous demarcation of information according to its origins, or at least a more zealous cultivation of the appearance of such boundaries and controls. Phrases which remind the reader who bears responsibility for the claims being made, such as "they (the friars) say," become a familiar mannerism of narration, punctuating early seventeenth-century narratives with varying degrees of frequency. The procession through the monumental spaces and pilgrim routes of Jerusalem is often halted for a declaration of an author's doubt or refutation, for the narration of his attempts at substantiation, for the juxtaposition of a putative holy place with his knowledge of scripture, or for a report of his own act of writing. These are not simple gestures of scepticism towards the Franciscans' claims: they provide opportunities for the disclosure of the authors' methods of verification and evaluation. Indeed, it is not to be assumed that such methods are employed as a simple or automatic consequence of authors' Protestant confession, since similar endeavours and acknowledgments of disbelief and doubt had been made by Erasmus, Lefèvre, Clichtove and other Catholic orthodox figures discussed in Chapter 3.

In spite of elaborate qualifications, protestations of scepticism and careful narration of events in which the early modern traveller's integrity is tested and proved, he does not always succeed in the project of securing an acquiescent readership: the insinuations of Biddulph against Timberlake, and of Sanderson and Kitely against Biddulph, demonstrate how limited is the power of the author to control fully the reception of his narrative. These interactions, as well as the borrowing made by Lithgow of Biddulph's narrative and of Adrichomius' and Zuallart's texts by Sandys, also demonstrate the extent to which authors of travel narratives still manifest a keen interest in each others' activities and continue to borrow from one another. The participation in a discourse of travel description beyond one's own text in the early seventeenth century is also visibly informed by preoccupations about intellectual property and commercial value, making it more adversarial than in late medieval pilgrimage narratives. Thus travel-authors not only borrow and adapt but object to one another's representations, correct each other, and assert the superior value, intellectual and commercial, of their own work.

While there is no doubt that non-devotional impulses are in play in early modern travel to Jerusalem (as they surely must have played a part in late medieval visits), a model which posits the relation between this kind of travel and the pilgrimage as one of direct opposition cannot accommodate the subtleties, gradations and manipulations which exist in early modern engagements with pilgrimage to the holy city. The "unbelief" invoked by Daniel Vitkus is not entirely absent from pre-Reformation pilgrimage narratives, since fourteenth, fifteenth and early sixteenth-century travellers are capable of looking sceptically on claims made for holy places. Furthermore, the one manuscript narrative which is possibly written by an English Catholic does not diverge wildly from its Protestant counterparts: it is itself an understated, cautious, at times ambivalent rendering of the experience of pilgrimage; an account that is congruent with the rigorous but orthodox treatments of Lefèvre d'Etaples discussed in Chapter 3.

The narratives under discussion here manifest less of the stark abstention from the most obviously materially-oriented practices of pilgrimage than the term "anti-pilgrim" implies. Indeed, the practices which are embedded in the more material aspects of the pilgrimage are suited to these travellers' obligations to produce evidence of the accomplishment of their journey, to satisfy the demand for proof in the face of a suspicious readership, to conform to the quasi-legal model of authority to which Hakluyt gives expression in his introduction. The English and Scottish travellers are highly attentive to tattoos, relics and certificates of pilgrimage and, in some instances, are happy to be burdened or marked with them once they leave. Perhaps, in certain cases, the emphasis on these practices proceeds from a willingness to caricature the Catholic pilgrimage and exaggerate its material aspects. However, the alacrity with which Sanderson and Lithgow embrace their relics, the regret of Lithgow upon losing his letters patent and the grief of Moryson on contemplating his dead brother's pilgrimage certificate all point to the emotional force which these tokens of pilgrimage can command. The tokens are cherished as proofs of the accomplishment of their journeys or mementoes of dead or absent companions rather than as objects to which some holiness has been transferred. In these cases, the gestures of participation, qualification and redefinition together delineate a zone of involvement in which sufficient experience can be gained to justify narration while allowing religious allegiance to remain demonstrably untainted.

The oppositional model of pilgrim and "anti-pilgrim" also threatens to obscure the variety of attitudes to pilgrimage and its distinct practices which has been demonstrated over the course of this chapter. The thesis that a Protestant traveller journeys to Jerusalem in order to undertake an exercise in scepticism (in conjunction with the desire to escape disease) may adequately explain Biddulph's voyage from Aleppo, but cannot account for more finely shaded narratives generated by other English and Scottish travellers' journeys to Jerusalem. Certain Anglophone Protestant travellers describe themselves as pilgrims, although this vocabulary is manipulated in several different ways. Some of them also admit to religious experiences at certain holy places which conform closely to the devotional experience which the Franciscan Father Guardian desires for them: veneration not of the places themselves, but of the divinity for whom the places serve as reminders. After the Reformation, it is possible to identify interest in places identified with the events of Christ's ministry and the saints' sufferings in Protestant travel accounts, but travellers' experiences of them must be represented in very different ways from those of late medieval pilgrims: these experiences are recounted carefully, defensively, with their strategies of evaluation and critique constantly on show.

Conclusion

By comparing Sandys' report of emotion among pilgrims at the Holy Sepulchre in the quotation on p. 365 with Felix Fabri's report of pilgrims' rendition of the *Te Deum* at the beginning of the Introduction, it is possible not only to reflect on the transformation in ways of writing about the Jerusalem pilgrimage which the arc between these texts includes, but to come to a better understanding of the nuanced and complex relations between late medieval and early modern ways of writing about the city and its holy sites. The relationship between late medieval pilgrimage texts and early modern travel narratives is one of profound change but not disjunction. Both Sandys' and Felix's accounts are preoccupied not only with visual apprehension of a holy place but with the individual's place in the collective experience of pilgrimage. Sandys' guarded longing for the "effects wrought" at Christ's tomb and his detached allusion to the "thousands of christians [who] performe their vowes, and offer their teares here yearely" place the narrator at one remove from the mass of pilgrims engaging in emotional "expressions of sorrow, humilitie, affection and penitence." By contrast, Felix's first-person account of the pilgrims' joy experienced "while we sang" ("*nobis sic cantantibus*") places him as an exultant participant. Nonetheless, an awareness of differentiation within the pilgrim group is not absent from the friar's account. Moreover, Margery Kempe's *Book* demonstrates that much more strongly marked tensions among individuals in the pilgrim group can be admitted by late medieval pilgrims. Conversely, Sandys' account hints at some attraction to the strongly affective and endlessly reiterated experience of devotion among pilgrims at the Holy Sepulchre, and to the exceptional effect of seeing Christ's tomb, even if in many other places he maintains an indifferent or critical attitude toward the pilgrimage and its sites.

Like many early modern travellers, Friar Felix and William Wey strive to reconcile the identifications at the holy places with scripture, and to overcome ambiguity in them, although with different motives and results. Late medieval and early modern Protestant accounts do not inhabit opposite ledges of a rupture created by the Reformation, but are ranged along a continuum running from belief to scepticism, from collective participation to individual resistance or pointedly private experience, from confidence that the sanctity of the "Holy Land" is self-evident to

empirically-oriented reappraisal of the claims for the holy places. Even within a single narrative, pre- or post-Reformation, some mobility along these continua is often visible.

This thesis has considered the fertile influence on "pilgrimage writing" or "travel writing" of texts outside those categories: the literature of affective piety, for instance, Erasmus' critiques of pilgrimage, or the literature of advice for travellers. The broad chronological span of this thesis, however, has also imposed limitations on synchronic analysis. Certain promising and important avenues of investigation have been eschewed: the relations of English writing about Jerusalem to its Continental counterparts before and after the Reformation, for example, or consideration of representations of Jerusalem in comparison with travel accounts in other parts of the Levant or further afield. These areas invite further exploration. Material in the English anthologies of Richard Hakluyt and Samuel Purchas which relates to travel or pilgrimage to Jerusalem or to the Crusades also calls for further study. The use made of England's role in the Crusades and in medieval devotional travel to Palestine by these late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century editors has the potential to support, advance or complicate the arguments about the English Protestant writing about Jerusalem which have been offered here. Beyond the margins of the text, the fate after the traveller's return of the physical objects – the pilgrims' certificates and relics – which receive so much attention in early modern narratives might augment comprehension of the purpose and value which they were understood to have.[1]

In spite of the limitations imposed by this chronological span, the survey of changing modes of writing about Jerusalem over the period 1432-1632 has value. It offers opportunities to probe assumptions about the shift which took place in writing about pilgrimage or travel from the late medieval to the early modern period in specific and concrete examples. The context of writing about travel in Jerusalem is particularly suited to such a project because of the relative stability in the patterns of pilgrimage and the institutions which received visitors. This continuity throws into relief the changes in the framing of the narrative voice, in the ways of asserting or examining claims, and in the way that a text seems to conceive of itself as mediating, commemorating and advertising journeys which take similar pathways in comparable conditions. Concentration on either the early modern or late medieval material has

[1] See, for example, the objects described in Chapter 4, nn. 29 and 195.

tended to produce simplification of the preceding or succeeding material. Late medieval texts have consequently been described as "dry," "inarticulate" or only partially evolved precursors of early modern travel narratives, while early modern accounts have been represented as travel narratives absolutely emptied of belief or the devotional meaning imparted by the pilgrimage. Admittedly, such underestimates of the complexity or heterogeneity of this writing can occur even when it constitutes the main focus of criticism. More balanced consideration of the writing across the 200-year span which this thesis has studied has allowed complex relations among the narratives to be revealed and has helped to trace patterns of progress and transmutation in representation of pilgrimage and subordinate practices. It has also provided an opportunity to recognise the caricatures, contradictions and admissions of ambivalence in early modern travellers' engagements with the legacy of the medieval pilgrimage.

Discussion of both late medieval and early modern narratives in relation to the debates of the Reformation also qualifies the view that the Reformation opened a chasm between them. Christian pilgrimage has coexisted with critique almost from its inception. Once it is acknowledged that challenges to the usefulness, authenticity and legitimacy of pilgrimage existed before the sixteenth century, and outside reformers' circles, simplistic dichotomies which oppose medieval credulity to early modern rigour can be contested. An understanding of this fact also facilitates the recognition that pre-Reformation writers about pilgrimage were under pressure to establish authority, legitimacy and veracity as their successors were. More patient examination of this pre-Reformation writing also reveals that it was capable of responding to these demands, even if its strategies were very different from those which are visible in late sixteenth- and early-seventeenth century writing.

Appendix

Pilgrimage stops or commemorations reported in early modern English narratives of travel to Jerusalem and also attested in at least two pre-Reformation pilgrimage accounts.

Note: The commemorations or stops included here should be taken as minimum numbers in order to give a sense of the continuity between the stops recorded in pre-Reformation and post-Reformation narratives. Commemorations are only included if they are also recorded by at least 2 pre-Reformation pilgrimage narratives such as "The Way to Jerusalem," Wey's *Itineraries*, *The Information for Pilgrims*, *The Pilgrimage of Sir Richard Guildford* and *The Pilgrimage of Richard Torkington*. If a wider pool of pre-Reformation pilgrimage narratives were employed which included other commemorations, the number of commemorations recorded by early modern travellers might be increased.

Event	John Sanderson	William Biddulph	William Lithgow	Fynes Moryson	Henry Timberlake	George Sandys	"A Particular"	Total number of narratives in which event is recorded
House of the rich man		X	X	X	X		X	5
Chapel where Christ appeared to his mother after the resurrection (Church of the Holy Sepulchre)				X		X	X	3
Pillar to which Christ was bound and scourged in Pilate's house (Church of the Holy Sepulchre)		X	X	X	X	X	X	6
Where Christ appeared to Mary Magdalene (Church of the Holy Sepulchre)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	7

Event	John Sanderson	William Biddulph	William Lithgow	Fynes Moryson	Henry Timberlake	George Sandys	"A Particular"	Total number of narratives in which event is recorded
Chapel where Christ was imprisoned (Church of the Holy Sepulchre)		X	X	X	X	X	X	6
Where soldiers divided Christ's garments (Church of the Holy Sepulchre)			X	X	X		X	4
Where Helena found cross (Church of the Holy Sepulchre)				X	X	X	X	4
Where Christ was crowned (Church of the Holy Sepulchre)			X	X	X	X		4
Calvary: crucifixion (Church of the Holy Sepulchre)	X	X	X		X	X		5
Where Christ was nailed to the cross (Church of the Holy Sepulchre)		X	X		X	X	X	5
Where Adam's head was found (Church of the Holy Sepulchre)			X	X		X	X	4
Where Abraham would have sacrificed Isaac (Church of the Holy Sepulchre)				X	X (puts this adjacent to church)	X (puts this adjacent to church)		3

Event	John Sanderson	William Biddulph	William Lithgow	Fynes Moryson	Henry Timberlake	George Sandys	"A Particular"	Total number of narratives in which event is recorded
Graves of Crusader Kings (Church of the Holy Sepulchre)		X	X	X	X	X		5
Hole in which Cross stood (Church of the Holy Sepulchre)			X	X			X	3
Calvary: cleft in the rock (Church of the Holy Sepulchre)		X	X	X	X	X	X	6
Place of deposition / anointing (Church of the Holy Sepulchre)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	7
Tomb of Christ (Church of the Holy Sepulchre)		X	X	X	X	X	X	6
Middle of the earth (Church of the Holy Sepulchre)			X	X		X		3
Where Abraham would have sacrificed Isaac (Mount Moriah; cf. Church of the Holy Sepulchre)	X	X	X					3
Where Simon carried cross		X	X	X		X	X	5
Where Christ said, "do not weep for me"			X	X	X	X	X	5
House of Veronica		X	X	X	X	X	X	6

Event	John Sanderson	William Biddulph	William Lithgow	Fynes Moryson	Henry Timberlake	George Sandys	"A Particular"	Total number of narratives in which event is recorded
Via Dolorosa in general			X	X	X	X	X	5
Where Veronica gave Christ the cloth to wipe his face			X	X		X		3
Our Lady's swooning		X	X	X	X	X	X	6
Door through which Christ passed on His way to the crucifixion				X		X	X	3
Pilate's house	X	X		X	X	X	X	6
Where Pilate said, "Ecce homo"			X	X	X	X	X	5
Place of Pilate's judgment of Christ			X		X	X		3
Church of St Anne where Virgin Mary was born			X	X	X	X		4
Tower of David	X		X	X		X		4
Porta Aurea (Golden Gate)		X		X	X	X	X	5
Gate of Saint Stephen				X	X	X	X	4
The Temple enclosure	X (walls remaining)			X	X	X	X	5
Where St Stephen was stoned	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	7
Brook of Kedron		X	X	X	X		X	5

Event	John Sanderson	William Biddulph	William Lithgow	Fynes Moryson	Henry Timberlake	George Sandys	"A Particular"	Total number of narratives in which event is recorded
Where Christ was pushed into dry river bed after betrayal: prints are visible				X	X	X	X	4
Sepulchre of Our Lady	X		X	X	X	X	X	6
Sepulchre of Joseph, Joachim, Anne			X	X	X	X	X	5
Where Christ left the apostles	X				X	X	X	4
Sepulchre of Zachariah			X		X	X	X	4
Where James would hide from persecuting Jews			X	X	X	X		4
Place of arrest			X		X	X		3
Place of agony	X		X	X	X (from afar)	X	X	6
Where St Thomas received girdle				X	X	X		3
Where Judas betrayed with a kiss	X	X	X	X	X		X	6
Place where Christ wept over Jerusalem	X			X	X	X	X	5
Place of ascension	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	7
Footprints at the site of the ascension	X	X	X	X		X	X	6

Event	John Sanderson	William Biddulph	William Lithgow	Fynes Moryson	Henry Timberlake	George Sandys	"A Particular"	Total number of narratives in which event is recorded
Where Christ foretold judgment to come			X	X			X	3
Place from which Christ sent apostles for an ass	X			X	X	X	X	5
Where Christ rode on Palm Sunday	X	X		X				3
Where the apostles composed the creed		X		X	X	X	X	5
Where Christ taught the "Our Father"			X	X	X	X	X	5
Iron gate which Peter found open				X		X	X	3
Stone on which Our Lady watched the stoning of St Stephen				X		X	X	3
Well where Our Lady washed Christ's clothes		X	X	X		X	X	5
Tomb of Absalon	X		X	X	X	X	X	6
Where Isaiah was sawn in half				X	X	X	X	4
Natatoria (Pool of) Siloe	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	7
Where apostles hid during passion			X	X	X	X	X	5
Acheldama		X	X	X	X	X	X	6

Event	John Sanderson	William Biddulph	William Lithgow	Fynes Moryson	Henry Timberlake	George Sandys	"A Particular"	Total number of narratives in which event is recorded
Where the holy fire was hidden			X		X	X	X	4
Place of Ill-counsel (sacrifice to the idol Moloch)			X	X		X	X	4
Where Christ had Last Supper			X	X	X	X		4
Chapel where Holy Ghost descended to the apostles			X	X	X			3
Where James was beheaded			X	X		X	X	4
Sepulchre of David, Solomon, Ezekiah, Kings of Judea	X		X	X		X		4
Caiaphas' house	X		X	X	X	X	X	6
Where Christ was imprisoned			X	X	X		X	4
Stone on which cock crowed thrice			X	X	X	X	X	5
Peter's betrayal		X			X	X		3
Where Peter wept			X	X	X	X	X	5
Where Judas hanged himself			X	X		X	X	4
Where Christ cursed fig tree				X	X	X	X	4
Where Jews would have seized Mary's body as she was going to be buried				X	X		X	3

Event	John Sanderson	William Biddulph	William Lithgow	Fynes Moryson	Henry Timberlake	George Sandys	"A Particular"	Total number of narratives in which event is recorded
House of Annas			X	X	X	X	X	5
Tree to which Christ was bound in Annas' house			X	X	X	X	X	5
Where Peter was imprisoned and released			X	X	X		X	4
Where Zebedee father of James and John lived			X		X	X	X	4
Where David saw Beersheba bathing			X	X	X	X	X	5
Where star appeared to 3 Kings			X	X (fountain there)	X	X (fountain there)	X (fountain there)	5
Where angel took up Abacuk and took him to Babylon to Daniel in the lions' den		X		X	X	X	X	5
Grave of Rachel	X		X	X	X	X	X	6
Well for which David thirsted				X	X		X	3
Nativity (Church of the Nativity)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	7
Cradle (Church of the Nativity)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	7
Where Mary hid to extract milk before fleeing to Egypt			X	X	X	X		4
Tree where Mary rested on flight to	X		X	X		X		4

Event	John Sanderson	William Biddulph	William Lithgow	Fynes Moryson	Henry Timberlake	George Sandys	"A Particular"	Total number of narratives in which event is recorded
Egypt								
Where Elias would sleep		X	X	X	X	X	X	6
Towers and ruins where Jacob lived				X	X		X	3
Where angels appeared to shepherds				X	X	X		3
Where Lazarus was buried*		X	X	X	X	X	X	6
House of Simon the leper where Mary Magdalene anointed Christ's feet			X	X		X	X	4
House of Lazarus			X	X	X	X	X	5
House of Martha			X	X	X	X	X	5

* It is not always clear whether Lazarus' first or second burial is meant.

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