**Travel, Mobility, and Culture in Europe, 1250-1500**

**Abstract**

The objective of the chapter is to sketch out some of the more significant and widespread cultural dimensions and impacts of mobility and travel for Latin Europe in the later Middle Ages. The first section traces the relationship of the journey to faith in a religious culture in which mobility and journeying is inextricably bound up with the post-lapsarian human condition. In the second section travel, the traveller and mobility as sites of danger, whether to the traveller or to society, are considered. The third and final section surveys some of the impacts of later medieval patterns of travel and mobility on the formation of cultural identities, and on European writers’ capacities and strategies for social and cultural critique and self-reflection.

**Introduction**

The period between 1250 and 1500 was a remarkable one in the European history of travel, cultural contact, and exploration. In the 1240s and 1250s in response to the perceived threat of Mongol expansion, King Louis IX of France and Pope Innocent IV separately sent missionaries and diplomats on several—thousand--mile journeys to treat with the Mongol Khans, initiating a period of contact that would last for more than a century and have profound effects.[[1]](#endnote-1) Towards the end of the period, Portuguese navigators rounded the Cape of Good Hope and eventually crossed the Indian Ocean to make landfall in Calicut. Christopher Columbus and Amerigo Vespucci reached the shores of a new world, just as approximately 80,000 Jews were expelled from Spain, eventually reaching destinations from Portugal to Navarre to Italy, and North Africa.[[2]](#endnote-2) Throughout this same period, ordinary people incorporated travel into their everyday lives as they visited pilgrimage sites from the small and local to the large and international.[[3]](#endnote-3) Documents from the period also leave us a picture of mercantile communities in different countries whose prosperity is founded in a culture of mobility.[[4]](#endnote-4) Our period was also significant in the history of the founding of universities, and saw inception of the international culture of humanism, both of which mobilised people within their countries and beyond: scholars to masters; masters to schools; poets and scholars to patrons.[[5]](#endnote-5) It was also a period in which conflicts displaced people in all sorts of ways: from the mass movement of soldiers from England and Wales to the continent during the hundred years war to capture and transit of hostages to the creation of exiles.[[6]](#endnote-6) Professed religious, often thought less mobile by reason of the vow of *stabilitas loci* taken by most monks, travelled more than one might be inclined to think. Indeed, the early thirteenth century saw the foundation of the Franciscan and Dominican mendicant orders, whose mobility was put to the service of the papacy in matters of diplomacy and mission.[[7]](#endnote-7) Largely founded in the twelfth century, the military orders --the Knights Templar, Knights Hospitaller and Teutonic Knights -- often required their members to travel to areas of need, and continued to grow throughout at least part of our period.[[8]](#endnote-8) But ordinary clerics and monks could find also themselves propelled into movement by the great councils and synods of the church. It is a period in which women as well as men travelled; records tell of itinerant queens ruling territories, women undertaking pilgrimage in substantial numbers, and noble or royal women moving to marry.[[9]](#endnote-9)

An article of this length cannot, of course, attempt a history of all such movements; the notes to this section should provide ample initial orientation for the curious.[[10]](#endnote-10) Rather, its brief is to consider the sketch out some of the more significant and widespread cultural dimensions and impacts of mobility and travel for Latin Europe in the later Middle Ages.[[11]](#endnote-11) Focusing on Christian traditions in Europe, the first two sections explore two linked paradigms that framed medieval Christian Europeans’ concepts of and approaches to travel and mobility.[[12]](#endnote-12) Firstly, I trace the relationship of the journey to faith in a religious culture in which mobility and journeying is inextricably bound up with the post-lapsarian human condition. Secondly, I consider travel, the traveller, and mobility as sites of danger, whether to the traveller or to society. The third and final section surveys some of the impacts of later medieval patterns of travel and mobility on the formation of cultural identities, and on European writers’ capacities and strategies for social and cultural critique and self-reflection.

*Journeys of Faith*

The later Middle Ages inherited from its early medieval, early Christian and Jewish forebears a paradigm that encouraged believers to think of life as a form of journey and of the journey as signifying life, a paradigm that helped to create later medieval thinking and practice about journeying, and particularly pilgrimage. As Dee Dyas has shown, this model of exile as a punishment for human misdeeds or simply a test of faith can be traced back to the Hebrew Bible. Adam and Eve wander in the world as a punishment for their sin; Abraham was commanded to leave his land and travel as a stranger in the lands his successors will one day colonise; the Israelites live in slavery and in exile until called by God to the promised land, ‘flowing with milk and honey’, a land ‘promised on oath to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob’ (*Exodus*, 3.17; 33.1).[[13]](#endnote-13) These biblical stories of exile and wandering followed by the promise of return or arrival at one’s new or promised homeland were of course richly allegorical. and this allegorization begins even in the New Testament, which, according to Dyas, set ‘earthly exile against heavenly citizenship, temporary suffering against eternal joy’.[[14]](#endnote-14)

In this model, the journey, or period of exile from friends, family and home, with its hardships and temptations, becomes a figure for Christian life, and the homecoming a figure for the Christian’s eventual welcome to the Father’s heavenly home.[[15]](#endnote-15) These notions fed into some of the influential myths of journeying inherited and created by the later Middle Ages. The eighth or ninth-century *Voyage of St Brendan* was translated and recast multiple times in the period, popularising the notion of the journey as a period of hardship, faith-testing, and spiritual learning and growth, thus a necessary prelude to obtaining the promised land.[[16]](#endnote-16) Popular devotional reading such as the St Patrick’s Purgatory narratives and the *Visio Tnugdali* tradition, in which a traveller or dreamer journeys through the various regions of the afterlife, emphasised similar connections and culminated in Dante’s *Divine Comedy*. In the case of St Patrick’s Purgatory, the textual tradition also had a hand in the promotion of place-pilgrimage to its supposed site at Lough Derg.[[17]](#endnote-17) The powerful potential of the journey as a religious figure to sublimate mundane human experience is fully realized in works such as Guillaume de Deguileville’s powerful and influential fourteenth-century allegorical work *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*.[[18]](#endnote-18) Indeed Dyas has suggested that it in the Middle Ages ‘it is in fact the process of journeying through life, rather than travelling to holy places, which constitutes the primary meaning of pilgrimage’.[[19]](#endnote-19)

Late-medieval European culture, then, both drew upon and fed into a powerful and emotionally-charged matrix of thought about the relationship between the earthly life, journeying, and the afterlife. This leads to an important question: how did this way of conceptualizing journeying bear upon travel as practice and experience?

Place pilgrimage in the later Middle Ages was shaped by the notion of visiting a site -- a ‘holy place’, sometimes termed a sacred centre-- sanctified in some way by the touch of God.[[20]](#endnote-20) This was often the relic-sanctioned shrine of a holy person whose sanctity has been demonstrated through miracles.[[21]](#endnote-21) For some, that might mean a journey to the land that was, in the words of the immensely popular pilgrimage narrative, *The Book of Sir John Mandeville*, ‘blessed and hallowed and consecrated by the precious blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ’.[[22]](#endnote-22) But ideas of place pilgrimage also continued to be shaped by the Old Testament notions, alluded to above, of the journey itself as arduous and thus penitential.[[23]](#endnote-23) The great preacher Jacques de Vitry (d. 1270), in a sermon intended for ordinary men and women, drew a direct connection between the journey of the pilgrim and the wanderings of Abraham in exile, as well as assuring would-be pilgrims that, through suffering on their journey as Christ suffered on his, they could ensure their presence at the Resurrection.[[24]](#endnote-24) In the later Middle Ages, under the influence of increasing devotion to the person of Christ, place pilgrimage increasingly entailed travelling to the scenes of Christ’s suffering and, ideally, experiencing a vivid connection to event and place that involves the pilgrim in the suffering Christ’s pain.[[25]](#endnote-25) Even the Dominican preacher and pilgrim Riccoldo da Montecroce, travelling just before the fall of Acre in 1291, berates himself for insufficient devoutness, because he does not immediately ‘die of sorrow or joy’ from seeing the site of the crucifixion of Christ, and nor does he ‘truly see with the eyes of my body my Lord hanging from the cross’, but only ‘with the eyes of faith’.[[26]](#endnote-26) Just over a century later, the English mystic Margery Kempe not only fell into bouts of uncontrollable weeping that seized control of her entire body at the sites of Christ’s suffering, but also seemed to revel in the exclusion and abuse she received at the hands of her fellow-pilgrims, both of which serve to underscore her connection to and imitation of Christ.[[27]](#endnote-27) In Margery’s text in particular, the notion that the sufferings she experiences in her earthly pilgrimage will merit subsequent reward surfaces regularly.[[28]](#endnote-28)

 The important medieval paradigm of journeying for faith, and of the journey as a livable, performable figure of the Christian’s journey towards the heavenly home, had significant cultural effects. Travelling to the Holy Land on pilgrimage became for many a mass transit phenomenon and a collective experience, particularly after the Franciscans were granted occupancy and access privileges to the holy sites by the Egyptian Sultan in 1333 and the title of official custodians of the Holy Places for the Catholic Church by Clement IV in 1342.[[29]](#endnote-29) Under Franciscan guidance, pilgrims’ tours and thus experiences were closely controlled and curated.[[30]](#endnote-30) Anthropologists and medievalists alike have in recent decades queried and nuanced earlier theories of pilgrimage as a liminal phenomenon, and the extent to which medieval pilgrimage created a kind of ‘communitas’ and ‘social antistructure’ in which normal social hierarchies were inverted or disrupted.[[31]](#endnote-31) Yet it is important to recognise that medieval pilgrims’ reports of their journeys do often emphasise the community of pilgrims in different, context-dependent ways. At times it is compared to a family or a monastery; at times it is more like a congregation.[[32]](#endnote-32) Dominican Riccoldo da Montecroce’s describes leading and participating in activities designed to bring the community of faithful pilgrims together as one as they evoke and indeed recreate New Testament events, including Christ’s entry into Jerusalem and the women’s discovery of the empty tomb after the Resurrection.[[33]](#endnote-33) Scholars have also recently begun to consider how this creation of community around the experience of pilgrimage extends beyond the experience itself and permeates European culture, involving people mentally in pilgrimage, and bringing them into a community of pilgrims even if they did not undertake the journey themselves.[[34]](#endnote-34) The creation of Holy Sepulchre copies and ‘mini-calvaries’ across Europe enabled communities to participate in, and make their own, the culture of Holy Land pilgrimage near their own homes.[[35]](#endnote-35) Religious and secular pilgrims and non-pilgrims alike shared accounts of journeys to the Holy Land or Rome that allowed them to relive journeys, or experience them for the first time, creating an image of the Holy Land that was, as Anthony Bale has put it, more of a meme -- shared cultural property -- than an individually-experienced and described reality.[[36]](#endnote-36) Pre-humanist scholar Petrarch was so confident in his knowledge of this shared cultural property that he produced a guide to the Holy Land for his friend Giovanni Mandelli without having travelled there, reasoning that ‘we generally know many things we have not seen and do not understand many things we have seen’.[[37]](#endnote-37) The compelling resonance of pilgrimage as a shared cultural experience -- an experience familiar, paradoxically, even to those who have *not* experienced it -- explains something of the power of Chaucer’s *Canterbury Tales*, which ultimately uses its depiction of a fractious but nonetheless cohesive ‘companye’ of pilgrims to draw in readers into a broader fellowship: that of Christians on the pilgrimage of life*.*[[38]](#endnote-38)

 *Travel Dangers*

The idea of the journey as a test of faith or endurance, and thus as a figure for the ‘real’ pilgrimage that is the journey of life brings us to a second key cultural paradigm: the conceptualization of travel, or its consequences, as dangerous. This conceptualization of travel was of course founded in very real dangers. Long-distance, and, to some groups in particular, even short distance journeys, could pose serious risks. Pilgrims’ guides and narratives of their journeys to the Eastern Mediterranean record dangers ranging from the sinking of crowded galleys to attacks by bandits to fleecings by untrustworthy guides.[[39]](#endnote-39) The *Book of Margery Kempe*’s third-person account of the English mystic’s travels and pilgrimages in Northern Europe records her fears of shipwreck, of robbery, and of physical and sexual attack.[[40]](#endnote-40) For those travelling further afield, political instability, sickness, and expropriation may be added to the list of potential dangers and, for missionaries, that of persecution by the authorities of the lands they were sent to convert.[[41]](#endnote-41) As well as being very real, however, the physical dangers and discomforts of travel clearly form part of its mythology in cultural production, a point that Shayne Legassie makes when he underscores the deep links between the medieval concepts of travel and ‘travail’.[[42]](#endnote-42) These links are particularly visible in imaginative literature. Under the guidance of their abbot, the monks of the *Navigatio sancti Brendani*, with two exemplary exceptions, are preserved or rescued from the terrifying dangers of oceanic travel: the island of the smiths; the giant fish Jasconius; hunger, thirst, and dangerous indulgence in foreign food and drink; being driven hither and thither by wind, and being becalmed.[[43]](#endnote-43) The escape of Custance, heroine of Chaucer’s Man of Law’s Tale, from the terrible physical and sexual dangers that her enforced journeys impose upon her are heralded as proof of divine intervention on her behalf.[[44]](#endnote-44)

Ideas about the dangers of travel and what it meant to risk one’s physical or spiritual safety worked differently among different communities. Among the Franciscan and Dominican orders, charged with the longest-distance journeys in the service of ecclesiastical diplomacy and conversion in the later Middle Ages, the risks run by missionary friars in pursuit of a harvest of souls become important to their individual and collective identity. Emotive letters and compilations outlining how bands of intrepid friars had attained the palm of martyrdom circulated around Franciscan and Dominican houses in Europe; such stories were sometimes incorporated into their orders’ chronicles, and even painted onto the walls of their European convents.[[45]](#endnote-45) Such promotional efforts were no doubt intended to underpin a sense of shared, universal mission between European Friars and their brethren in *partes infidelium* (the lands of the infidels). These retellings of stories of the success of intrepid missionaries among the *gentes* (unconverted tribes), triumphantly spreading the faith even as they were martyred, were called upon to support orders’ claims to authority. An Italian interpolated version of the *Chronicle* of Nicholaus Minorita, features a report of a papal consistory meeting in the 1320s in which a Franciscan bishop traded fierce words with Pope John XXII and a Dominican over the extent and longevity of each order’s activities in the East, and the amount of blood each order has shed in pursuit of their dangerous missions.[[46]](#endnote-46) Both orders’ commitments to distant, dangerous missions was intertwined with their authority. For pilgrims and missionaries alike, then, the physical dangers and hardships experienced in travel were proofs of merit and played a crucial role in the formation of individual and shared identities. But thee is evidence, too, that inventive writers saw the comic potential of the trope of the intrepid traveller facing spiritual and moral dangers on a journey into distant, wild regions. A set of reminiscences, certainly inauthentic, added anonymously to Italian manuscripts of Franciscan missionary Odorico da Pordenone’s account of his travels through the Indies to China relate the friar’s comical attempts to escape a father’s imprecations to the friar to have sex with his daughter, apparently in accordance with local custom. Pope Pius II, in his autobiography, reminisces, tongue-in-cheek, on how fear of physical dangers of his 1435 journey as a young cleric through the ‘uncultivated, savage’ Scottish borderlands prevented him from taking advantage of such an offer from two young local women.[[47]](#endnote-47)

Travel and mobility in the later Middle Ages were, however, sometimes seen as having the potential to generate dangers with more troubling social, political, religious and cultural resonances.[[48]](#endnote-48) In theology, political theory and poetry alike, travel and mobility were in some quarters seen as potentially destabilizing to social body and the individual soul. Many scholars have pointed out that notions of the potential spiritual dangers of pilgrimage formed part of a contradictory attitude to the phenomenon that dates back to late antiquity.[[49]](#endnote-49) Debra Birch cites a series of twelfth-century criticisms pertaining to the waste of money spent by pilgrims that would be better spent alleviating suffering, and of the spiritual usefulness of pilgrimage at all, if pilgrims simply take their vices with them.[[50]](#endnote-50) Giles Constable has shown how criticism of monks and nuns from enclosed orders who have eschewed their vow of stability to undertake pilgrimage or crusade focuses on how these put at risk both their own spiritual health and that of their monastic houses.[[51]](#endnote-51) Critics of place-pilgrimage also highlighted what they perceived as a fundamentally-misguided substitution of temporal, earthly goals for spiritual, eternal ones in the veneration of Jerusalem. ‘Christ gave the price of His blood not to acquire the land of Jerusalem but rather to acquire and save souls’, wrote the Cistercian abbot Adam of Perseigne (d. 1221).[[52]](#endnote-52) Such criticism grew during the course of the later Middle Ages; condemnations of pilgrims’ motives and practices are to be found in the writings of orthodox theologians and advocates of movements dubbed heretical alike, and can be as explicit as Thomas à Kempis’s warning that ‘[t]hose who make many pilgrimages rarely find salvation’, or as implicit as Geoffrey Chaucer’s backhanded, innuendo-laden praise for the well-travelled Wife of Bath’s exceptional knowledge of ‘wandrynge by the weye’.[[53]](#endnote-53)

The effects of spiritual and societal dangers thought to be associated with mobility were not confined to pilgrims, of course. It is often remarked upon that, following the Black death of 1348-50, monarchies and city states across Europe responded to actual or potential labour shortages and the threat of economic instability arising from these with, among other measures, restrictions on freedom of movement for specific classes (often, but not always or exclusively, agricultural labourers).[[54]](#endnote-54) But the social and cultural dangers identified in many sources are sometimes more subtle and intangible than this. Thethirteenth-century political treatise known as *De regimine principum*, the first part of which is normally attributed to Thomas Aquinas, sets out some of the perceived problems of allowing foreign travellers to one’s city:

A city that needs a multitude of mercantile transactions for its own sustenance must endure continual interaction with foreigners. According to the doctrine of Aristotle, this commonly corrupts the customs of citizens because foreigners, nourished on other laws and usages, necessarily act in many ways that differ from the customs of the citizens. When their example provokes the citizens to act in similar ways, civil intercourse is disturbed.[[55]](#endnote-55)

The *De regimine*’s phrasing here gestures towards thread of concern that surfaces in unexpected places across the literature of the Middle Ages: that of the capacity of mobility, and the interaction between cultures and communities that it requires, to somehow weaken or destabilize the self or the self’s community. In his *Topographia Hiberniae*, written and revised in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries in justification of English conquests in Ireland, but recopied and read throughout the later Middle Ages, Gerald of Wales expresses concern about the corrupting influence of communications with the native Irish on the English.[[56]](#endnote-56) The deracination of a people for the purposes of conquest elsewhere is presented as a double-edged sword even by Marco Polo, in his otherwise laudatory account of the origins of the Tartars and the empire of the Great Khan (1298). Those Tartars who have moved to conquered regions are no longer ‘true tartars’, but ‘greatly debased’, having adopted ‘the habits, manners and customs’ of the conquered.[[57]](#endnote-57) Climates and environments as well as the manners and customs are also blamed for certain places’ corrupting influence on travellers. Petrarch warns the dedicatee of his *Itinerarium*, Giovanni Mandelli, to stay away from Cyprus, where it is ‘as though people’s temperaments have conformed to physical environment’ and ‘French arrogance, Syrian luxury, and Greek flattery and deceit all meet’.[[58]](#endnote-58)

 Finally, the associations between travel, mobility, cultural contact, and danger often extended to perceptions of travellers and those whose professions required mobility. Throughout the later Middle Ages, popes made repeated attempts to prevent or minimize trade between Christians and ‘infidels’. Merchants (and indeed cities) who, without special licence, failed to comply with the papacy’s total or partial embargoes were seen as not only potentially aiding the enemy militarily (particularly if they traded in militarily useful materials), but also as endangering their own souls.[[59]](#endnote-59) It has been noted above that monastic pilgrimage was a cause of suspicion in the period, but even the mendicant orders, whose rules were designed to permit the mobility their missions required, found themselves attracting suspicions on this account. Members of the Dominican *Societas peregrinantium propter Christum*, the section of the order to which overseas missionaries were attached, were accused even within their own order of failing to carry out their duties in the East and instead evading discipline by their wanderings. Other accusations included abusing their privileges by investing in mercantile activity and treating with the merchants of Alexandria in contravention of papal prohibition.[[60]](#endnote-60) Mendicant practices of travelling locally to beg for their orders and preach aroused opprobium too.[[61]](#endnote-61) From such criticisms emerged the familiar images of the unscrupulous, wandering Friar, breaking vows with impunity or defrauding the credulous with travellers’ tall tales that we find in the works of Chaucer, Boccaccio and contemporaries.[[62]](#endnote-62) Stories of wandering, dangerous Friars, of course, formed part of a wider tradition concerning the dangers to the ‘host’ community or family of the attractive but untrustworthy stranger temporarily resident in their midst: stories exemplified in the *Canterbury Tales* alone by the Miller’s and Reeve’s tales accounts of the tricks of wandering students and the Shipman’s Tale’s distinctly unstable, roving monk, Don John.

***New Cultures of Mobility and Travel***

The changing pattern of medieval Europeans’ mobility had important cultural impacts. As Robert Bartlett showed in his ground-breaking work, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization, and Cultural Change 800-1350*, internal and external expansion -- and the modes of mobility from all levels of society that these required -- were critical to the profound cultural change, towards an ‘expansive and increasingly homogeneous society’ that took place during this period .[[63]](#endnote-63) According to Bartlett, the age saw the ‘Europeanization’ of forms of cultural expression from personal names, to iconography, to religious cult, to coinage, and in many other areas, all facilitated through increased mobility, at a range of social levels, between the lands forming part of this emerging metageographical conceptual unit.[[64]](#endnote-64) Medieval western European literary culture before 1350 was profoundly shaped, for example, by what Bartlett has termed the ‘aristocratic diaspora’ that helped spread shared stories, world views, ideals and knowledge along with Latin and vernacular languages from the former Carolingian Empire across a region that stretched from the British Isles to the Holy Land.[[65]](#endnote-65) During the period 1250-1500, the distances travelled increased, and, due in part to increased numbers of travellers and in part increasing literacy levels, so did the numbers of travellers’ accounts of their movements in circulation. What, then, were the cultural effects of these later medieval trends? In the final section of this article, I look briefly at three significant, interconnected areas: the perceived value of travel and of the new forms of knowledge it generated; the roles of this new travel-knowledge in shaping individual and shared cultural identities; and travel’s potential to open up new perspectives on one’s self and one’s society.

The capacity of travel and mobility to impact upon the social and cultural status of the traveller in various contexts in the later Middle Ages has been well recognised. Legassie has investigated the relationship between the enhancement of traveller’s reputations and status and the development of a ‘prestige economy of long distance knowledge’; Marco Polo’s status is enhanced, for instance, through the process of travel, the opportunities it affords him to demonstrate his abilities, and the curation of the story in his *Book*. [[66]](#endnote-66) The same author has put the case that Castilian Pero Tafur’s early fifteenth-century travels served to prove his knightly virtues, and thus his claim to aristocratic status at home.[[67]](#endnote-67) Similarly, Mary Fischer has argued that the Northern Crusades in Prussia and Lithuania became a proving-ground for knights travelling from all over Europe in the fourteenth century, cementing the link between journeying, masculine, military prowess, and membership of a social and cultural elite.[[68]](#endnote-68)

But changing patterns in long-distance travel and mobility also shaped the shared cultural identities of non-travellers and their communities. As medieval travellers and their amanuenses boasted of undertaking journeys to places more distant than ever before, interest and excitement in their discoveries grew. Access to the knowledge that these travellers brought back became, in some quarters, not just -- or not even -- an end in itself or a means subordinated to a clear external purpose, but a marker of social, cultural or intellectual prestige. As Marco Polo’s *Book* and other accounts of the Empire of the Great Khan began to circulate in literate circles in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, these inspired a fashion for all things exotic and oriental, and, more specifically, Tartar. In Italy, scholars have identified vogues for Tartar forenames and styles in circles from Genoese merchants to the scions of noble families, while in England, Edward III in 1331 held a Tartar-themed pageant at Cheapside.[[69]](#endnote-69) Over the course of the fourteenth century, the new geographical, ethnographic knowledge generated through long-distance travel appears to have gained a certain cultural cachet among the ruling classes. Objects associated with the further reaches of the expanded world become objects both of display -- showing the vast reach of one’s knowledge -- and exchange, sealing diplomatic ties between powerful nobles. The Aragonese Infante, Don Juan, son of Pedro IV, seems to have been particularly partial to making diplomatic gifts with a veneer of exoticism. In the 1380s, the prince had two copies made of Juan Fernández de Heredia’s translation of Marco Polo to give to the Count of Foix and the Duke of Berry.[[70]](#endnote-70) He also appears to have been instrumental in Aragonese Crown’s ordering of Mallorcan world maps from the most experienced mapmakers of the day, furnished with recent information gathered directly or indirectly from long-distance travellers about the furthest reaches of the known world. The most famous surviving example, thought to have been gifted by the Aragonese crown to the young French King Charles VI some time after its creation in 1375, is the Catalan Atlas now in the Bibliothèque nationale. It features information derived from Marco Polo, among a range of other anonymous, but certainly often eyewitness, sources. Something of the cultural significance of such a gift can be gathered from Don Juan’s instructions concerning it. He required his agent to find the map’s maker, ‘Cresques lo juheu’ (Cresques the Jew) and learn about the map in order to pass that knowledge, along with the artefact itself, to the thirteen-year-old King.[[71]](#endnote-71) Through his gift, the Aragonese Infante was able to intimate to the young king his superior knowledge of the world and his generosity in sharing it, and at the same time confirm their shared membership of an exclusive noble elite, set apart in part by their access to such exclusive knowledge.

Moving into the early fifteenth-century, we find similar examples of prestigious artefacts of travel knowledge being deployed to signal shared membership of an exclusive nobility. John the Fearless, Duke of Burgundy, in 1413 presented his uncle, the Duke of Berry with the magnificent *Livre des Merveilles* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fr. 2810), a collection of exquisitely-written and lavishly illuminated exotic travel texts. No doubt the nephew, attempting to shore up relationship with his uncle following a period of hostility, was mindful in choosing this diplomatic gift of Berry’s known taste for exotica and tales of eastern wonders, as manifest in his ownership of six tapestries featuring scenes of the Great Khan.[[72]](#endnote-72) To share, in exquisitely written and decorated codices, knowledge of the furthest reaches of the world brought back by recent travellers, was to signal one’s participation in the shared cultural values and prestigious, exclusive knowledge of the highest rank of western European nobility and royalty.

From at least the early fifteenth-century, however, these changed patterns in travel and mobility and the knowledge exchange they generated shaped not just secular and noble, but learned and clerical communities too. Whether at the papal court, councils of the Church or general chapters, gatherings of clerics, monks and friars had often provided venues for the exchange of knowledge generated through religious travel, such as the exchange of information about missions and martyrdom discussed in the last section. However, with the ecumenical councils of the early fifteenth century, we see a step change in this trend. The Councils of Constance, Basel, and Ferrara-Florence generated a series of encounters and opportunities for exchange of knowledge concerning faraway places between delegates, their entourages, visitors and petitioners from near and far. News of Gadifer de la Sale and Jean de Béthencourt’s 1402 conquests of the Canaries, exchanged at the Council of Constance (1415-18), swiftly reached France through the offices of French Cardinal Guillaume Filliastre, while, at the same council, a monk from the far North West of the known world, Vadstena in Sweden, took the opportunity to copy the Lombard Franciscan Odorico da Pordenone’s account of its furthest eastern and southern reaches to take back to his home monastery.[[73]](#endnote-73) At the time of the Council of Florence (1437-45), which aspired to heal the divisions between the Eastern and Western Churches, the city was, as John Larner puts it, ‘filled with delegates from the whole Christian World, from Constantinople, Russia, and many parts of the east'. [[74]](#endnote-74) It is during this Council that papal secretary Poggio Bracciolini met Chioggian merchant Niccolò de’ Conti, just returned from 25 years in Asia, come to seek absolution from the Pope. He also records more doubtful information from the Christian Patriarch of an unidentified Central Asian region, and from a group of Ethiopians, all drawn to Italy by the council.[[75]](#endnote-75) As well as travellers from such far-flung regions, the council brought together delegates from across Europe and helped foster the development of a shared international, humanist geographical culture, with interests in both in classical geography and medieval long-distance travellers’ accounts of their discoveries.[[76]](#endnote-76)

The late-medieval travel cultures outlined in this chapter had one final very important impact that should be highlighted here; they provided new frameworks and tools for self-examination and reflection and for critical consideration of one’s home culture and society. It is no exaggeration, I argue, to suggest that these new frameworks helped to transform medieval people’s sense of the possible. We find travellers using their own accounts in this way from early on in our period. Dominican pilgrim and diplomat Burchard of Mont Sion returned from his journeys to the Eastern Mediterranean to produce not just a detailed verbal map of the Holy Land (1283-83), but also with information about the social organisation, religious practices and hierarchy of the Kingdom of Armenia. After recounting such wonders as the King and his nobles’ humble reverence before the Catholicus, the increased authority of monks compared to the reduced authority of priests and clerics, the harshness of criminal punishments, and the piety of the laity, Burchard notes ‘I saw many other highly commendable things in that land, both among the laity and among the clerics and monks, which in our land would scarcely be thought possible’.[[77]](#endnote-77) Just a few years later, Marco Polo’s *Book* (1298) famously brought back tales of marvellous the social organisation, political administration and urban planning of the Empire of the Great Khan and its constituent parts, commending the wisdom and effectiveness of administrative practices from the Emperor’s postal system to the medieval southern Chinese equivalent of the modern hotel register.[[78]](#endnote-78)

The notion that long-distance travel has the capacity to inspire useful critical reflection on social, political and religious organisation, on administration, on governance, and on the self becomes increasingly important in the later Middle Ages, and filters through into genres beyond the travel narrative. The immensely influential travel fiction, *The Book of Sir John Mandeville*, famously sees its protagonist’s complacency concerning his own Christian society punctured by the sharp criticisms of a well-informed Egyptian Sultan who offers his perspective, shaped by the stories of his many well-travelled spies, on the many was in which it falls short of Christian ideals.[[79]](#endnote-79) If only one could learn lessons in faith and behaviour from the Muslims, the *Book* implies, the Holy Land could easily be retaken for Christendom. Indeed, the idea that through traveling, in body or mind, one can truly know one’s own country, society or self becomes a trope that is revisited with increasing sophistication throughout the period. Petrarch, famously, uses his *Itinerarium* to Jerusalem to write a laudatory account the coastline of the Italian peninsula and its islands, whilst neglecting much of the Holy Land proper. As Bale notes, for Petrarch ‘to travel to Jerusalem, it appears, was to appraise one’s homeland’.[[80]](#endnote-80) We see a different deployment of a fundamentally similar idea underlying the organising principle of Chaucer’s *Canterbury Tales*. Chaucer’s unfinished collection attempts to set out a comprehensive and critical vision of society through the frame of a journey that places its members, temporarily, at a tangent to its norms. A little earlier in the fourteenth century, Giovanni Boccaccio had drawn upon then destabilized the trope to comic effect in *Decameron*  I.II, in which a Jewish traveller’s exposure to corruption in Rome triggers a set of reflections on Latin Christendom’s social and religious order that have an unexpected outcome. In Boccaccio’s story, a Parisian Christian urges his friend Abraham the Jew to agree to baptism, but Abraham refuses to do so until he has seen the behaviours of the head of the church, the pope, and his entourage in Rome. Knowing that his friend will witness the corrupt and dissolute lives of the Roman clergy, the Christian gives up any hope that his friend will convert. Abraham does indeed find the clergy of Rome ‘steeped in lust, greed, avarice, fraud, envy, pride, and other like sins and worse’. However, observing that, irrespective of such evident corruption, ‘your religion continues to grow in popularity, and become more splendid and illustrious’, he concludes that it must be ‘a more holy and genuine religion than any of the others’ and promptly requests baptism into the faith.[[81]](#endnote-81) Here, as in so many late medieval uses of the cultural trope of travel, we can trace a relationship between the journey, a resulting change of perspective (shared with listener or reader), and presentation of an alternative -- the possibility of transformation -- for one’s self or society. We can, I think, trace the influence of this trend on Thomas More’s *Utopia* of 1516*.* At the close of his account of an imagined journey to a remarkably sophisticated alternative commonwealth, the book’s fictionalized narrator, More, seems almost to evoke the spirit of Burchard of Mount Sion when he remarks wistfully that this society contains ‘many features […] which I might more truly wish for than expect to see in our own cities’.[[82]](#endnote-82) By the time we reach the early sixteenth century, then, changes in medieval patterns of mobility and travel have brought about significant cultural change, including the development of new frameworks for envisioning achievable social alternatives and for considering how oneself and one’s society might fall short of these.

1. See P. Jackson, *The Mongols and the West*, London: Longman, 2005. [↑](#endnote-ref-1)
2. Felipe Fernandez-Armesto, ’Exploration and Discovery’, in C. Allmand (ed.) *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol.VII, c.1415-c.1500, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1998, pp. 175-201. J. Ray. *After Expulsion: 1492 and the Making of the Sephardic Jewry*, New York: New York University Press, 2012, p. 39. [↑](#endnote-ref-2)
3. See for instance the documentary sources gathered and translated in *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West*, ed. and trans by Diana Webb, London: Tauris, 2001. [↑](#endnote-ref-3)
4. The literature on mercantile mobility in the Middle Ages is vast. For a general orientation, see P. B. Newman, *Travel and Trade in the Middle Ages*, Jefferson, N.C. : McFarland 2011 and J.B. Friedman et al. (eds) *Trade, Travel, and Exploration in the Middle Ages: An Encyclopedia*, New York ; London: Garland 2000. For the English situation, see in particular T.H. Lloyd, *Alien Merchants in England in the High Middle Ages*, New York: St. Martin’s, 1982, and several essays (notably Childs, Jenks, Bolland) in C. M. Barron and A. F. Sutton (eds) *The Medieval Merchant*, Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2014. On the long distance travels of European merchants, see a series of articles by R. S. Lopez, including ‘European Merchants in the Medieval Indies: The Evidence of Commercial Documents’, *Journal of Economic History*, 3, 1943, 164-84. [↑](#endnote-ref-4)
5. On the mobility of scholars, see several essays in W. J. Courtenay and J. Miethke (eds) *Universities and Schooling in Medieval Society*, Leiden ; Boston: Brill 2000. On mobility and humanism see R. Black, ‘Humanism’, in Allmand (ed.) *The New Cambridge Medieval History,* Vol.VII, 269-72 and a questioning account in D. Rundle, ‘Beyond the classroom: international interest in the *studia humanitatis* in the university towns of Quattrocento Italy’, *Renaissance Studies* 27, 2013, 533-548. [↑](#endnote-ref-5)
6. On soldiers from Britain on the continent, see The Soldier in Later Medieval England project: <http://www.medievalsoldier.org/> (accessed 18 August 2017); on hostages, see M. Bennett and K. Weikert (eds) *Medieval Hostageship c.700-c.1500: Hostage, Captive, Prisoner of War, Guarantee, Peacemaker*, London: Routledge, 2017. [↑](#endnote-ref-6)
7. On *Stabilitas loci* see C.H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages*, 2nd edition, London: Longman, 1989, p. 27. On the mobility of the mendicant orders, see C. H. Lawrence, *The Friars: The Impact of the Early Mendicant Movement on Western Society*, rev. paperback edn, London: Tauris, 2013, pp. 181-217. [↑](#endnote-ref-7)
8. R. Lützelschwab, 'Western Monasticism' in Albrecht Classen (ed.) A *Handbook of Medieval Culture*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015, pp. 1126-32. [↑](#endnote-ref-8)
9. A. E. Bailey, ‘Wives, mothers and widows on pilgrimage: categories of ‘woman’ recorded at English healing shrines in the High Middle Ages’, *Journal of Medieval History*, 39, 2013, 197-219; Theresa Earenfight, *Queenship and Power in Medieval Europe*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan 2013, *passim* but esp. pp. 13-40; Zita Rohr, ‘On the Road Again: The semi-nomadic career of Yolande of Aragon (1400-1439)’, in M. O’Doherty and F. Schmieder (eds), *Travels and Mobilities in the Middle Ages: From the Atlantic to the Black Sea*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2015, pp. 215-24. [↑](#endnote-ref-9)
10. In addition to works cited in notes above and below, see also: M. W. Labarge, *Medieval Travellers: The Rich and the Restless*, London: Phoenix, 1982; N. Ohler, *Reisen im Mittelalter*, Munich and Zurich: Artemis, 1986, translated as N. Ohler, *The Medieval Traveller*, trans. by C. Hillier, Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1995; J. Verdon, *Travel in the Middle Ages*, trans. by G. Holoch, Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2003; P. Horden (ed.) *Freedom of Movement in the Middle Ages*, Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2007. [↑](#endnote-ref-10)
11. This conceptual territory is less well-trodden. See for example C. K. Zacher, *Curiosity and Pilgrimage: The Literature of Discovery in Fourteenth-Century England*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1976, and an important recent intervention by S. A. Legassie: *The Medieval Invention of* Travel, Chicago: University Press, 2017. [↑](#endnote-ref-11)
12. Inevitably, this results in problematic exclusions. Mobility in Islamic culture, including Al-Andalus, cannot be considered here for reasons of space, nor can the cultural practice and significance of mobility in medieval Judaism and the cultural impact of Jewish travels. Both are large topics and rightfully the subjects of dedicated articles and monographs in their own right. For initial English-language orientation see S. M. Toorawa, 'Thinking about travel in the medieval Islamic world', *al-ʿUṣūr al-Wusṭā: The Journal of Middle East Medievalists*, 20.2, 2008, 46-55; M. Jacobs, *Reorienting the East: Jewish Travelers to the Medieval Muslim World*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014, and E.N. Adler (ed.) *Jewish Travellers in the Middle Ages: 19 Firsthand Accounts*, New York: Dover 1987. [↑](#endnote-ref-12)
13. D. Dyas, *Pilgrimage in Medieval English Literature, 700-1500*, Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2001, pp. 12-20. Elsner and Rubiés also trace it to classical roots: J. Elsner and J. P. Rubiés, ‘Introduction’, in Elsner and Rubiés (eds), *Voyages and Visions*, Cambridge: Reaktion, 1999, pp. 8-20. [↑](#endnote-ref-13)
14. Dyas, *Pilgrimage in Medieval English Literature*,p. 25 [↑](#endnote-ref-14)
15. See for example two sermons on pilgrimage discussed in D. J. Birch, ‘Jacques de Vitry and the ideology of pilgrimage’, in J. Stopford (ed.) *Pilgrimage Explored*, Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1999, pp. 79-93. [↑](#endnote-ref-15)
16. W. R. J. Barron and Glyn S. Burgess(eds), *The Voyage of St Brendan: Representative Versions of the Legend in English Translation*, Exeter: Exeter University Press, 2005. [↑](#endnote-ref-16)
17. C. G. Zaleski, 'Saint Patrick's Purgatory: Pilgrimage motifs in a medieval otherworld vision', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 46.4, 1985, 467-85; For an instance of these visions as inspiring place-pilgrimage, see M. Purcell, ‘St. Patrick's Purgatory: Francesco Chiericati's Letter to Isabella d'Este’, *Seanchas Ardmhacha: Journal of the Armagh Diocesan Historical Society*, 12: 2, 1987, 1-10. [↑](#endnote-ref-17)
18. On the two versions of this work within the context of Guillaume’s other pilgrimage allegories, and its influence, see the essays collected in M. Nievergelt and S. A. Viereck Gibbs Kamath (eds) *The* *Pèlerinage Allegories of Guillaume de Deguileville: Tradition, Authority, and Influence*, Cambridge: Brewer, 2013. On the longer history of the paradigm see M. Nievergelt, *Allegorical Quests from Deguileville to Spenser*, Cambridge: Brewer 2012. [↑](#endnote-ref-18)
19. Dyas, ‘Chaucer and the communities of pilgrimage’, in *Chaucer and Religion*, ed. by Helen Phillips, Cambridge: Brewer, 2010, p. 134. [↑](#endnote-ref-19)
20. For an anthropological discussion of what is a ‘holy place’, including a critique of Mircea Eliade’s notion of the ‘sacred centre’, see J. Eade and M. J. Sallnow, ‘Introduction’ in Eade and Sallnow (eds) *Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage*, London: Routledge, 1991, pp. 1-29. [↑](#endnote-ref-20)
21. On this practice of 'join[ing] Heaven and Earth at the grave of a dead human being', see most influentially P. Brown, *The Cult of Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981, p. 1. [↑](#endnote-ref-21)
22. *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, trans. byC. R. Moseley, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1983, p. 43. [↑](#endnote-ref-22)
23. D. Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage, c.700 - c.1500*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002, pp. 49-52. [↑](#endnote-ref-23)
24. Debra J. Birch, ‘Jacques de Vitry’, p. 83, p. 87. [↑](#endnote-ref-24)
25. See C. Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West: From Beginning to 1600*, Oxford: OUP, 2005, 328-36. [↑](#endnote-ref-25)
26. Riccoldo da Montecroce, ‘Itinerary’, in *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, 1187-1291*, trans. by D. Pringle, Ashgate: 2012, p. 373. [↑](#endnote-ref-26)
27. B. Windeatt (ed.), *The Book of Margery Kempe*, Longman: Harlow, 2000. On Margery’s *imitatio Christi* see S. Beckwith, *Christ’s Body*, London: Routledge, 1993, pp. 80-83. [↑](#endnote-ref-27)
28. See for example Windeatt (ed.), *Book of Margery Kempe*,pp. 170-72, where Margery’s visit is ‘for meryte and for mede’ according to Christ. [↑](#endnote-ref-28)
29. See P. Moukarzel, ‘Les franciscains dans le sultanat mamelouk des années 1330 jusqu’a 1516’, *Le Moyen Âge*, 120, 2014, 135-49 ; Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ*,pp. 302-3. [↑](#endnote-ref-29)
30. N. Chareyron, *Pilgrims to Jerusalem in the Middle Ages*, trans. by W. Donald Wilson, New York: Columbia University Press, 2005, pp. 82-84. [↑](#endnote-ref-30)
31. The notions of ‘communitas’ and ‘social antistructure’ were famously raised by V. and E. Turner in *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives*, NY: Columbia UP, 1978. Among critiques, see in particular Eade and Sallnow, ‘Introduction’, in *Contesting the Sacred*,pp. 1-29 and, more briefly, Dyas, ‘Chaucer and the communities of pilgrimage’, p. 133. [↑](#endnote-ref-31)
32. N. Chareyron quotes Felix Fabri on pilgrims as akin to a family or monastery in *Pilgrims to Jerusalem in the Middle Ages*, p. 49. On the social and national divisions between pilgrims, see pp. 50, 82. [↑](#endnote-ref-32)
33. Riccoldo da Montecroce, ‘Itinerary’, p. 369; pp. 373-4. On pilgrims’ re-enactments at the sepulchre, described as ‘guerrilla theatre’, see R. Ousterhout, ‘“Sweetly Refreshed in Imagination”: remembering Jerusalem in words and images’, *Gesta* 48:2, 2009, p. 159. [↑](#endnote-ref-33)
34. See in particular K. M. Rudy, *Virtual Pilgrimages in the Convent*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2011, and K. Beebe, *Pilgrim and Preacher: The Audiences and Observant Spirituality of Friar Felix Fabri (1437/8–1502)*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014. [↑](#endnote-ref-34)
35. See Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ*, pp. 230-245 (on Crusade-era Holy Sepulchre copies) and p. 369 (on local calvaries and sepulchres in the later Middle Ages). [↑](#endnote-ref-35)
36. A. Bale, ‘“ut legi”: Sir John Mandeville’s audience and three late medieval English travelers to Italy and Jerusalem’, *Studies in the Age of Chaucer*, 38, 2016, 208-210. [↑](#endnote-ref-36)
37. F. Petrarca, *Itinerarium: A proposed Route for a Pilgrimage from Genoa to the Holy Land*, ed. and trans by H. James Shey, Binghamton: Global Academic Publishing, 2004, p. 157. [↑](#endnote-ref-37)
38. For the relationship between the community in the *Canterbury Tales* (and pilgrim fellowships generally) and the wider Christian community, see Dyas, ‘Chaucer and the communities of pilgrimage’, pp. 132-42 [↑](#endnote-ref-38)
39. On reports of storms, shipwrecks and pirates in the Mediterranean, see Chareyron, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the Middle Ages*,pp. 64-67. See pp. 127-45 for reports of the rarer additional journey to St Catherine of Sinai that discuss brigand attacks. [↑](#endnote-ref-39)
40. B. Windeatt (ed.), *The Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. by Barry Windeatt, London: Longman, 2000, e.g. II, chs 3-7, pp. 396, 401, 402, 412. [↑](#endnote-ref-40)
41. J. R. S. Phillips, *The Medieval Expansion of Europe*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998, pp. 92-3 and C. Dawson, ‘Introduction’, in C. Dawson (ed.) *The Mongol Mission*, London: Sheed and Ward: 1955, pp. vii – xxxv (p. xxxiv). For friars’ descriptions of dangers and persecutions, see in particular the first letter of Franciscan missionaries to China John of Montecorvino (pp. 224-27) and Andrew of Perugia (pp. 235-237) in the same volume. [↑](#endnote-ref-41)
42. Legassie, *The Medieval Invention of Travel*, p. 2. [↑](#endnote-ref-42)
43. J. J. O'Meara and J. M. Wooding, ‘The Latin version’, in *The Voyage of Saint Brendan : Representative Versions of the Legend in English*, trans. by Glyn S. Burgess, Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2005, p. 35 (Jasconius); xii, p. 39 (wind, exhaustion, prayer). [↑](#endnote-ref-43)
44. L. D. Benson et al. (eds), *The Riverside Chaucer*, Oxford: OUP, 1988, pp. 87-104. [↑](#endnote-ref-44)
45. On the incorporation of records and letters concerning missionary activities and martyrdoms into chronicles, see M. O’Doherty, *The Indies and the Medieval West*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2013, p. 80. Ambrogio Lorenzetti’s Martyrdom of the Franciscans was painted in the Chapterhouse in Church of San Francisco, Siena, while a now lost painting of the execution of the Franciscans at Tana was in the cloister: A. McClanan, ‘The strange lands of Ambrogio Lorenzetti’, in R. Bork (ed.) *The Art, Science, and Technology of Medieval Travel*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008,pp. 89-92. [↑](#endnote-ref-45)
46. F. Zambrini (ed.) *Storia di fra Michele Minorita come fu arso in Firenze nel 1389 con documenti riguardanti i fraticelli della povera vita: Testi inediti del buon secolo*, Bologna: Romagnoli, 1864, pp. 69-70. The episode is appropriated by Umberto Eco, *The Name of the Rose*, trans. by William Weaver, London: Picador, 1983, pp. 343-44. I am endebted to Dr Melanie Brunner for this reference. [↑](#endnote-ref-46)
47. Odorico da Pordenone, *Le libro delle nuove e strane e meravigliose cose*, ed. by Alvise Andreose*,* Padova: Centro studi Antoniani, 2000, p. 182; Pius II, *Commentaries,*  Volume I, Books I-II, ed. by M. Meserve and M. Simonetta, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 2003, ch. 6, 10-15. [↑](#endnote-ref-47)
48. See for instance D. Dyas, ‘Chaucer and the communities of pilgrimage’, p. 138. [↑](#endnote-ref-48)
49. G. Constable, ‘Opposition to pilgrimage in the Middle Ages’, in *Religious Life and Thought (11-12 Centuries*), London: Variorum, 1979, IV, pp. 125-46. Dyas, *Pilgrimage in Medieval English Literature*,p. 10; Dyas, ‘Chaucer and the communities of pilgrimage’, pp. 134-5. [↑](#endnote-ref-49)
50. Birch, ‘Jacques de Vitry’, p. 85. [↑](#endnote-ref-50)
51. Constable, ‘Opposition to pilgrimage’, pp. 140-41. [↑](#endnote-ref-51)
52. Quoted in Constable, ‘Opposition to pilgrimage’, p. 143. [↑](#endnote-ref-52)
53. Thomas à Kempis quoted in Constable, ‘Opposition to pilgrimage’, p. 145; Geoffrey Chaucer, ‘General Prologue’, in Benson (ed.), *Riverside Chaucer*, pp. 21-36 (l. 467). [↑](#endnote-ref-53)
54. Measures are comparatively surveyed in S. Cohn, ‘After the Black Death: labour legislation and attitudes towards labour in late-medieval Western Europe’, *The Economic History Review*, N. S., 60.3, 2007, 457-85. [↑](#endnote-ref-54)
55. Ptolemy of Lucca and Thomas Aquinas, *On the Government of Rulers*, trans. by James M. Blythe, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005, p. 109. [↑](#endnote-ref-55)
56. On the recensions, see Nóirín Ní Bheaglaoi, ‘Two topographies of Gerald of Wales? A study of the manuscript tradition’, *Scriptorium*, 67:2, 2013, 377-93. Gerald of Wales, *The Topography of Ireland*, in *The Historical Works of Giraldus* Cambrensis, trans. by Thomas Wright Forrester, London: Bell, 1881, III, Ch. 24, pp. 137-38. [↑](#endnote-ref-56)
57. Marco Polo, *The Travels*, trans. by Nigel Cliff, London: Penguin, 2016, pp. 74-75. [↑](#endnote-ref-57)
58. Petrarch, *Itinerarium*, p . 171. [↑](#endnote-ref-58)
59. S. Stantchev*, Spiritual Rationality: Papal Embargo as Cultural Practice,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014, p. 88. On the licencing of exemptions, see M. Carr, ‘Crossing boundaries in the Mediterranean: papal trade licences from the Registra supplicationum of Pope Clement VI (1342–52)’, *Journal of Medieval History*, 41:1, 2015, 107-29. [↑](#endnote-ref-59)
60. J. Richard, *La Papauté et les missions d’orient au moyen âge (XIII-XV siècles)*, Rome: École française de Rome, 1977, p. 138, and n. 64. [↑](#endnote-ref-60)
61. For an overview of work on mendicant *terminario* and discussion of it in Scandinavian context, see J. G. G. Jakobsen, ‘Them Friars Dash About’: Mendicant *Terminario* in Medieval Scandinavia’, in O’Doherty and Schmieder (eds), *Travels and Mobilities in the Middle Ages*, pp. 3-29. [↑](#endnote-ref-61)
62. Chaucer, ‘General Prologue’, in *The Riverside Chaucer*, ll. 208-69; Giovanni Boccaccio, *Decameron*, trans. by G. H. McWilliam, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972, pp. 505-14. [↑](#endnote-ref-62)
63. R. Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization, and Cultural Change 950—1350*, London: Penguin, 1994, *passim*; quotation at p. 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-63)
64. Ibid., pp. 269-91. [↑](#endnote-ref-64)
65. Ibid., pp. 24-59. [↑](#endnote-ref-65)
66. Legassie, *The Medieval Invention of Travel*,p. 22; pp. 39; pp. 39-47. [↑](#endnote-ref-66)
67. Ibid. pp. 203-11. [↑](#endnote-ref-67)
68. M. Fischer, ‘The perfect, gentle knight: fourteenth-century crusaders in Prussia’, in O’Doherty and Schmieder (eds), *Travels and Mobilities in the Middle Ages*, pp. 163-88. [↑](#endnote-ref-68)
69. On these and other oriental, including Mongol, fashions of the period, see F. Reichert, *Begegnungen mit China: Die Entdeckung Ostasiens im Mittelalter*, Thorbecke: Sigmaringen, 1992, pp. 236-40. [↑](#endnote-ref-69)
70. J. J. Nitti (ed.), *Juan Fernández de Heredia’s Aragonese version of the Libro de Marco Polo*, Madison: 1980, p. x. [↑](#endnote-ref-70)
71. On the problems of securely identifying the Catalan Atlas with Don Juan’s intended gift see G. Grosjean (ed.) *Mapamundi: The Catalan Atlas of the year 1375*, Zurich, Dietikon, 1978, p. 12. [↑](#endnote-ref-71)
72. See D. H. Strickland, ‘Text, Image and Contradiction in the *Devisement dou monde*’, in S. C. Akbari and A. A. Iannucci (eds) *Marco Polo and the Encounter of East and West*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008, p. 25; F. Avril, ‘*Le livre des merveilles*, manuscrit 2810 de la Bibliothèque Nationale de France, in Marie-Hélène Tesnière, François Avril, and Marie-Thérèse Gousset (eds) *Marco Polo. Le livre des Merveilles*, Tournai : Renaissance du Livre, 1999, pp. 291-324. [↑](#endnote-ref-72)
73. P. G. Dalché, ‘L’oevre geographique du cardinal fillastre (d. 1428). Representation du monde et perception de la carte à l’aube des découvertes’,in D. Marcotte (ed.) *Humanisme et Culture Géographique à l’époque du Concile de Constance autour de Guillaume Fillastre*, Turnhout : Brepols, 2002, p. 305; O’Doherty, *The Indies and the Medieval West*, p. 170. [↑](#endnote-ref-73)
74. J. Larner, ‘The church and the Quattrocento renaissance in geography’, *Renaissance Studies*, 12.1, 1998, p. 33. [↑](#endnote-ref-74)
75. Poggio Bracciolini, De *L’Inde: Les voyages en Asie de Niccolò de’ Conti*, ed. and trans. by Michèle Gueret-Laferté, Turnhout: Brepols, 2004, pp. 165-67. [↑](#endnote-ref-75)
76. J. Larner, ‘Marco Polo and the Discovery of the World’ (New Haven: Yale, 1999), pp. 141-42. On the influence of the Council on the circulation of geographical and travel literature, see O’Doherty, *The Indies*, pp. 170-71. [↑](#endnote-ref-76)
77. Burchard of Mont Sion ‘Description of the Holy Land’, in *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, 1187-1291*, trans. by D. Pringle, Farnham: Ashgate, 2012, pp. 317-19. [↑](#endnote-ref-77)
78. For the Mongol postal system, see Polo, *The Travels*,pp. 128-29; for the ‘fine custom’ of recording the names and dates of guests in lodging-houses in Manzi, p. 211. [↑](#endnote-ref-78)
79. *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, pp. 107-8. [↑](#endnote-ref-79)
80. Petrarch, *Itinerarium*, pp. 158-69. A. Bale, ‘European Travel Writing in the Middle Ages’, in C. Thompson (ed.), *The Routledge Companion to Travel Writing*, London: Routledge, 2016, II, 603-637 (para. 26.24). [↑](#endnote-ref-80)
81. Boccaccio, *Decameron*, I.II, p. 85. [↑](#endnote-ref-81)
82. Thomas More, *Utopia* trans. by Dominic Baker-Smith, London: Penguin, 2012, p. 122. [↑](#endnote-ref-82)