

As the Crow Flies: Roads and Pilgrimage*Valerie Allen**John Jay College of Criminal Justice,
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Christian pilgrimage is conventionally allegorized as a linear, forward, teleological progress toward a final destination. Consider Augustine's powerful and influential caution in representing the Christian life as a journey toward heaven during which we either dawdle on the road, enjoying (*frui*) as an end what we should use (*uti*) as a means, or we press on, eager to "enjoy" our destination;¹ or John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, in which Christian's route "is as straight as a Rule can make it." "There are many ways... and they are Crooked, and Wide: but ... [the right] only being straight and narrow."² My purpose in this paper is to ask how the material experience of the road's detours and digressions complicates this ideate pilgrimage, and suggest that if in theory the destination determines the road it is as much the case that in reality the road determines the destination; or consider that if there are certain road networks because there are pilgrims, it is equally the case that there are pilgrims because there are roads. The argument applies generally, but pertains here to the experience of travel in late medieval England, particularly to Margery Kempe, the fifteenth-century wife and business-woman of Lynn, Norfolk, who records her revelations and pilgrimages in the narrative known as the *Book of Margery Kempe*.³

The good condition of roads was never something to be taken for granted, by pilgrim, merchant, or any traveler. As a town dweller reared in the thick of local business and politics, Margery Kempe must have been acquainted with civic obligations to repair and maintain the street directly outside the home. Maintenance of the road, relationships with it, the sense of it as a lifeline to occupation and community was a daily, immediate, conscious and time-demanding solicitude.⁴

So personal was the sense of responsibility for roads that wealthy testators fairly routinely left monies for their repair. Often mentioned alongside gifts to the poor and imprisoned, road-repair was a corporal act of mercy toward the vulnerable

traveler.⁵ In his testament dated July 10, 1407, William Vescy, a mercer of York and parishioner of All Saints, North Street, makes a bequest to mend the infrastructure in and around York.⁶

To the repair of the road near the Horsefair⁷ in the suburbs of York 20/-, of the bridge betwn. Ugglebarnby⁸ and Sleights⁹ 6/8, to the bridge of Sutton, nr. Elvington¹⁰ 13/4, to the repair of the road from Tadcaster¹¹ to York 10/-.

These are main roads and bridges between satellite towns and cities around the city of York, ranging in distance from about one to fifty miles, the largest amount of money going to the road closest to him (around the Horsefair). Vescy, a merchant, has to have used and known them well, have known what it was to have had carts stuck in mud and overturn in the Horsefair, or animals and merchandise washed away when falling through the unsafe bridges. This is someone who understands that without the road, there is no market, there are no merchants. Roads do not just happen, and cannot be assumed.

In the same testament Vescy supplies a methodical itinerary for various pilgrimages-by-proxy that he required to be made for the good of his soul.

Furthermore I bequeath for one faithful man to travel for me and in my name to the house of St. James beyond the seas, 7 marks.

Also for one faithful man to travel for me and in my name, first to Lincoln, giving there in offering and alms 4d., thence to Walsingham giving there in same 5d., thence to St. Edmundsbury giving there 4d., thence to Canterbury giving there 6d., and at Bromholm 1d., to the crucifix in the church of St. Paul's, London, 1d., and to the shrine there 1d. And at Hayls in offerings and alms to York 4d. Total 2/2, and for his trouble and expenses 20/-.

Also for a man to travel to Beverley, in alms 8d., and for his trouble and expenses. 2/-.

Also for one to go to Bridlington,¹² in alms 7d., and for trouble and expenses. 2/6

Also for one to go to Scarborough, in offerings there 2d., and at Thorpbasset 1d., for his trouble 2/4, and alms at both places 6d.

Also for one to go to Whitby, in offerings 6d., alms 7d., and for his trouble, 3/-.¹³

Vescy clusters the shrines together according to their proximity to each other. Compostela, the only foreign trip, stands first and alone. Thereafter the trajectory of pilgrim places follows the map in orderly fashion. From Lincoln to Norfolk

(Walsingham), to Suffolk (Bury St Edmunds), down to Canterbury in Kent, back up to north Norfolk for Bromeholm—this sole location seems to be out of sequence, down again to London, across to the west side of the country to Gloucestershire for a visit to Hailes, then up to east Yorkshire to Beverley and to Bridlington, Scarborough in north Yorkshire, Thorpbasset in the East Riding, and Whitby in north Yorkshire. Vescy mentally walks his way through the localities much as another testator might walk through domestic rooms bequeathing objects as they come into view or spring to mind.¹⁴ In doing so, he constructs what Michel de Certeau calls a tour or itinerary, which in essence recites a travel story—“after you’ve been to Beverley you go to Bridlington” and so on.¹⁵ In contrast to the more abstract representation of space rendered by the map, the tour or itinerary represents space as an action to be performed and is exemplified in pilgrim *descriptiones* such as John Mandeville offers. In Mandeville’s phrase, Vescy is “telling the way” (“I schall tell the weye þat þei schull holden thider”).¹⁶ Bromeholm, the only irregularity in the trajectory, might suggest that Vescy is working from memory and forgot one, only to mention it out of sequence.

With Vescy’s sharp sense of the road, whether pilgrim route or eroded commercial thoroughfare, contrast Margery Kempe, whose pilgrimages took place only a few years after the making of Vescy’s testament. Her lack of concrete awareness of the roads she traversed continuously around England (and abroad) is striking. True, most of the time she is working from memories some twenty years old,¹⁷ but some of those memories—such as her experiences in Jerusalem—are extremely vivid, suggesting that she could visualize well enough what was important to her, that “she excludes almost everything but what she sees as the spiritually significant side of life,”¹⁸ and roads, the experience itself of traveling, the business of getting there do not generally count as significant.

The journey to York, for example, required choices simply assumed in Margery’s narrative. Two main choices presented themselves to the traveler coming from the south: the straightest, flattest route heading directly north of London through Stamford, Newark, Pontefract and into York from the southwest via Tadcaster; or the more circuitous route circling west through Leicester, then northeast to Lincoln, crossing the Humber by ferry, and approaching York from the east. The advantage of the longer, hillier route lay in avoiding the rivers flowing into the Wash.¹⁹ Coming from Lynn and therefore unable to avoid those eastern rivers, Margery’s route could have continued directly north, but instead she picks up the longer route through Leicester (1.49) that heads northeast over the Humber. From mention of her entanglements with the Duke of Bedford’s men, who were intent upon arresting her, she clearly started her return trip to Lynn by crossing the Humber (1.53, 1.55). Many criteria must have informed the choice of route to York, yet all we hear of are the places she visited including Bridlington and Hull, access to adjacent shrines probably being the decisive factor in her choice of itinerary.

Time and again she relates how the obstacles she encountered on the road

resolve themselves apparently magically, “Than sche toke hyr wey to-Norwych-ward”²⁰ (Margery being still weak from childbirth); “& so sche had euyr mech tribulacyon tyl sche cam to Iherusalem.”²¹ From the time the Lord tells her to go somewhere and her arrival there, no time seems to elapse, and when it does, the lack of detail can be frustrating. The point for Margery is not *how* the Lord providentially arranges for her transportation but *that* he does.

Sithyn þe creatur wolde a sped hir forth as sche was comawndyd,
&, whan sche cam to þe watyrs syde, alle þe botys weryn forth
to-Cambrygge-ward er þan sche cam. þan had sche mech heuynes
how sche xulde fulfillyn owr Lordys biddynge. And a-non sche
was bodyn in hir sowle þat sche xulde not ben sory ne heuy, for
sche xulde ben ordeyned for wel a-now & sche xulde gon safe
and come saf a-3en. & it fel so in-dede.²²

The instant dissolutions of obstacles in her itinerary bring to mind those poorly planned endings to adventure comics: “with a mighty leap, our hero was free.” In their implausibility, they realize the fantasy of medieval romance of defying the traveler’s frustration at “being burdened by the weight of his own body, for weeks or months on end” by means of flying carpets or brass steeds that transport you anywhere in the world within seconds.²³ In an age when every inch of ordinary land travel was felt on the limbs, these romances of magic travel transcend the ordinary physics of motion. Margery’s disregard for the tedium of the road emphasizes the providential, even miraculous quality of her experiences.

At one end of the scale of Margery’s travels are her epic pilgrimages—Rome, Compostela, Jerusalem. At the other end are instances such as that which occurs when “on a day þe preistys cam to hir & askyd 3yf sche wolde gon too myle fro þen sche dwellyd on pilgrimage to a cherch stod in þe feld” (St. Michael’s Church at Mintlyn, just east of Lynn).²⁴ A pilgrimage of two miles? Or an afternoon walk by a devout woman? How do we distinguish? Did the people of Lynn who followed the unnamed “good frere” from town to town to hear his preaching go on pilgrimage or just a sermon crawl—is there any difference?²⁵ On one occasion Margery goes to the Shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham, “&, as sche was in þe wey þedirward, sche herd tellyn þat a frer schuld sey in a sermown in a lytel village a lityl owt of hir wey. Sche turnyd in-to þe cherch wher þe frer seyde þe sermown. . . . So sche went forth to Walsingham.”²⁶ She uses the same phrase of “turning in” to a church she passes on the way to Ipswich (to see off her daughter-in-law) in order to hear mass.²⁷ Indeed, it is only when she has “turnyd in” to do so that she hears the Lord’s command to travel overseas with her daughter-in-law. The next destination only reveals itself when she takes a detour. This verb “turn” is striking. Over two hundred years later, it occurs in ominous circumstances in John Bunyan’s *Pilgrim’s Progress*. Evangelist warns Christian to resist Worldly Wiseman’s efforts in “turning thee out of the way.” Speaking later to Faithful, Christian speaks of how “The Dog is turned to his Vomit again.” Those who had “turned aside” from the straight and

narrow way to view the silver mine in the hill of Lucre fell to their grief. Yet Demas, standing by the mine, still called to Christian and Hopeful to “turn aside hither.”²⁸ Margery’s “turning in” to somewhere adjacent to the road strictly means that she has stepped off the straight and narrow. The distinction between pilgrimage as a special trip to a special place and the ordinary *habitus* of life as a daily walk with God is not at all clear-cut—particularly in Margery’s case. Her epic pilgrimages aside, it becomes impossible to distinguish between formal pilgrimages to well known shrines such as Walsingham, York,²⁹ etc. from trips taken for some holy purpose—to speak with an anchoress, to offer at an altar, to catch mass at a little chapel. The Lord’s promptings have a certain practical logic to them, for Margery’s “pilgrimages,” like those ordered by William Vesey, are driven by vicinity: since one is in York, one should go also to Bridlington, and may as well take in Whitby while at it. Thus, on Margery’s return from Compostela by ship into Bristol “she abood not long þer but went forth to þe Blod of Hayles” in Gloucestershire, which was conveniently close.³⁰

In Margery’s generally vague memories of the ground underneath her feet, there are enough exceptions to make us suspect her selectivity to be deliberate. Outside the gates of the city of Canterbury, at evening, she stands alone because her husband had dumped her in exasperation, with people threatening to burn her as a heretic (1.13). After having been away on pilgrimage for most of two years, on disembarking in England, “þe forseyd creatur fel downe on hir knes kyssyng þe grownde.”³¹ And then there is the case of her second book, which, in contrast to the first, conveys a remarkable sense of the arduousness of the road. Too slow to keep up with the other pilgrims, she fell behind, “sche ran & lept as fast as sche myth tyl hir myghtys failyd.”³²

On þe next day þei made a-seth for her lodgyng, takyng þe wey to-Caleysward, goyng wery weys & greuows in dep sondys, hillys, & valeys tweyn days er þei comyn þedyr, sufferyng gret thrist & gret penawns, for þer wer fewe townys be þe wey þat þei went & ful febyl herberwe.³³

One can argue that it is the combination of old age and the force of more recent memories that changes Margery’s perception of the road and explains the contrast between the two books, but two questions remain, the first of which occupies me here: to what extent in Book I she deliberately eschews the real experience of the road for the ideal pilgrimage; and to what extent that shadowy first amanuensis might have edited her experience as she narrated it.³⁴ Given the occasions when she does recollect quite vividly, one suspects that her selective sense of place is intentional, that she “forgets” the road in order to remember the destination.

The one location where her sense of place poses no distraction from things spiritual and proves most vivid (despite the fact that her recollections are some seventeen or eighteen years old) is Jerusalem, where she spends three weeks. Riding on an ass (in imitation of Christ) she first catches sight of Jerusalem, and, in a

characteristic allegorizing move, interprets figuratively her material experience, for she prays to God “for hys mercy þat lych as he had browt hir to se þis erdly cyte Ierusalem he wold grawntyn hir grace to se þe blysfyl cite Ierusalem a-bouyn, þe cyte of Heuen.”³⁵ Margery appears to be speaking of a particular spot that Mandeville describes, some two miles away from the city. Mandeville’s is describing the shortest road to Jerusalem, the same route mentioned by Margery.

Also fro Ierusalem .ij. myle is the mountjoye a full fair place &
a delicyous and þere lyth Samuel the prophete in a fair tombe.
And men clepen it mountioye for it 3eueth ioye to pilgrymes
hertes because þat þere men seen first Ierusalem.³⁶

Mandeville notes the intensity of emotion associated with this first sight—hence its name *mons gaudii*. The name makes clear that the road is on an elevation, the view from which suddenly opens up to reveal the city for which they had long been away from home and family (in Margery’s case about six months). Falling off her ass with emotion is only the beginning of Margery’s affective response, for those three weeks in Jerusalem are marked by the beginning of her famous cryings, and her sense of place is acutely intensified at this time. Small wonder. Mandeville relates the specific detail of the place: there one can see the very tree from which Judas hanged himself; the house in which two of the apostles lived; the very hole made by the whipping post on which Jesus was scourged; the same stone on which Jesus sat to preach the Sermon on the Mount; and the footprint of Jesus’s left foot made on the Mount of Olives when he ascended to heaven.³⁷ Margery herself experiences that specificity when “sche stode in þe same place þer Mary Mawdelyn stode whan Crist seyde to hir, ‘Mary, why wepyst þu?’”³⁸

This first glimpse of Jerusalem offers Margery a vantage point from which she can see both her final destination and the road she has traveled thus far. As a traveling motif, it is a singular moment in the book, the closest she ever gets to an aerial view of her journey. These places of elevation are narrative tropes, moments of understanding and renewal of purpose. They are “maps” of the space traversed, to return to Certeau’s distinction. Dante employs the trope near the end of *Paradiso* (canto xxii), and Bunyan uses the motif to effect when the Shepherds of the Delectable Mountains take Christian and Faithful, lately escaped from the clutches of Giant Despair, to the top of the hill called Caution, from where they can see the giant’s victims and their narrow escape.³⁹ Margery’s moment at Mountjoy offers a position from which she can make sense of the road (and hence her life) with all its detours by casting it in terms of the means to an end.

It is no mere metaphor to speak of the road in this sense of instrumentality. As the title of his first chapter indicates, Mandeville’s intention is “to teche 3ou the weye,” which he does by listing off the roads and landmarks of the itinerary out of England to Constantinople.⁴⁰ In modern parlance, it is now only a figure of speech where Mandeville means it literally. The road and the way are synonyms, and “ways and means” are synonyms. Indeed, the earliest recorded use of the phrase

“ways and means” comes from the early fifteenth century.⁴¹ “Means” comes from an Insular French word (*mene*), originally for a personal mediator, and by the early sixteenth century in a more abstract sense for any method of effecting a result, as in its current use. Roads and instrumentality walk together as concepts. The road is itself the image of “means,” of that which exists for the purpose of getting us from one point to another. The very language of Middle English shows that traveling motion is how they think of the purposive act: John Paston writes (to his brother, also John) “Þat thys daye I was in verry purpose to Caleys warde, al redy to haue goon to þe barge.”⁴²

We might call this representation of the road as means to end the default understanding of roads, in which they function as connectors between settled communities. It is a paradigm of thought that is embedded in Augustinian thinking, that opposes sedentary and permanent on the one side to mobile and transient on the other, inviting us to assume that being most fully resides in being at rest, that we are most ourselves when we are home. This assumption belongs to a teleological model of natural motion dating back to Aristotle in which movement arises from lack—one moves because one is not at home, not at rest, not sedentary, not at one’s destination. Once there, travel is no longer a necessity. (One could hardly think of a better physics of motion to explain estates ideology—once in the “home” to which you were born, why move?) Although one is in a sense always on the move until reaching one’s eternal destination—and in that sense pilgrimage and the human condition are coterminous—the pilgrimage industry of the late Middle Ages, with its multiple shrines and hallowed places, capitalizes on the possibility of a contingently final destination on earth, a heaven attainable in the here and now.

More specifically in her first book but throughout her narrative, Margery regards the time on the road, the long process of getting there as lost days. She shows none of the *curiositas* (good or bad) in which most pilgrim travelogues indulge.⁴³ Most strikingly of all, she never speaks about getting lost on the road, only rarely about not knowing the way and needing to ask. Dumped yet again by her traveling companions on her arrival in Dover, she sets out for Canterbury alone, grieving “Þat sche knew not þe wey”—this telling witness to the ardors of travel recorded unsurprisingly in her second book (2.8). Her comments suggest that as often as not a traveling companion means having a guide; to travel alone, then, means having to ask the way. No doubt Margery often took a wrong turn or needed to ask directions, but if she did it plays no part in the narrative. Her roads seem predetermined. In contrast, getting lost is the lifeblood of much romance. It is the wandering that offers the occasion for miraculous or providential intervention. For all its difference in genre and intention, the Puritan *Pilgrim’s Progress* likewise is driven by a powerful sense of getting lost. Of the many characters that people the work, Christian, Faithful and Hopeful are the only three who make it to the celestial city; it is easier to get lost than to achieve the final destination. Deviation is literal—an off-the-road experience. Even the road, the one thread of

hope in Bunyan's work, can deviously turn into labyrinth and ambage. Staying on the straight and narrow requires more than mechanical obedience; it requires hermeneutic detection. One road can look like another and can defeat a pilgrim's interpretative skills.⁴⁴

They went then till they came at a place where they saw a way put itself into their way, and seemed withal, to lie as straight as the way which they should go; and here they knew not which of the two to take, for both seemed straight before them, therefore here they stood still to consider.⁴⁵

The Book of Margery Kempe is singularly uninterested in the way or in wandering off it and at the same time comprised of little other than wandering, of one detour after another, as if being on the road was an end in itself, as if Margery could inhabit and can "be" on the road more than when she was at home, ministering to her weak-pated, incontinent husband. Having been sent (by the Lord no less) "to dyuers placys of relygyon,"⁴⁶ she records how "Pan went þei forth to-Bridlyngton-ward and also to many oþer contres."⁴⁷ Telling her anchorite-confessor about how "sche had sped whyl sche was in þe contre," he "held it was gret myracle hir comyng & hir goyng to & fro."⁴⁸ For periods of "hir goyng to & fro," Margery is a kind of perpetual-motion machine (the concept is not anachronistic as Villard de Honnecourt gives us a sketch of one in the 1230s). It is clear that being on the road itself perpetuates the journey by generating the money to pay for being on the next stage of the road. Quite penniless on arriving in England after being in the Holy Land, she happens to meet up with other pilgrims: "Than had þis creatur neþyr peny ne halfpeny in hir purse. & so þei happyd to meten wyth oþer pilgrimys" (note the romance-like element of providential coincidence) who give her three half pennies on account of some holy tales she tells them.⁴⁹ A mystic, Margery is also a peddler of her wares, a semi-professional pilgrim,⁵⁰ paid by others to travel to a holy place to offer for them. She recounts how the Archbishop of York "had gret merueyl wher sche had good to gon wyth a-bowtyn þe cuntre, and sche seyde good men 3af it hir for sche xulde prey for hem."⁵¹

In his thirteenth-century customal, the *Coutumes de Beauvaisis*, Philippe de Beaumanoir concludes his chapter on roads with some words about the safeguarding of pilgrims, who are perceived as doing good ("ceus qui sont en voie de bien fere"), and therefore they are not to be interfered with, or harassed with unnecessary delay or arrest.⁵² Interfering with them is a bad thing to do ("c'est mal") as they are under the special protection of the king. For all travelers and merchants, safe passage on the roads is a public privilege ("des aismens communs") although it is pilgrims in particular who should be allowed to move freely. Roads stand as the index of community and the public health of the realm. Like the flow of blood around the body, the circulation of pilgrims around the roads through the realm was seen to carry the sanctity to the body politic. In her mobility, the pilgrim circulates and diffuses holiness for the common good. For all her apparent disregard for the road

as the empty conduit between wherever she is at any given moment and the next sacred place on her jam-packed itinerary, Margery, so eager for the certificate of sanctity, may have realized more than we can appreciate in her third-hand text that the straightest way, as the crow flies, might be the most circuitous.

Notes

My thanks to Ruth Evans for her helpful comments on a draft of this paper.

- 1 *De Doctrina Christiana* 1.3-4. Latin text in *Patrologiae Latinae, Cursus Completus*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne (Paris, 1844-1855 & 1862-1865, Electronic Database) 34:0015-0121.
- 2 John Bunyan, *Pilgrim's Progress*, ed. Roger Sharrock (London, 1966), p. 161.
- 3 *The Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. Sanford Brown Meech and Hope Emily Allen, Early English Text Society 212 (Oxford, 1940).
- 4 For general reading, see Brian Paul Hindle, *Medieval Roads*, 2nd edn (Aylesbury, Bucks., 1989); J. J. Jusserand, *English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages*, trans. Lucy Toulmin Smith (1889; repr. Boston, 1973); G. Salusbury-Jones, *Street Life in Medieval England*, 3rd edn (Hassocks, Sussex, 1975); F. M. Stenton, "The Road System of Medieval England," *The Economic History Review* 7 (1936), 1-21.
- 5 Jusserand, *English Wayfaring Life*, p. 38.
- 6 Rev. P. J. Shaw, ed., *An Old York Church, All Hallows in North Street: Its Mediaeval Stained Glass and Architecture* (York, 1908), p. 87.
- 7 The Horsefair was in the suburbs of York, north of the minster and beyond Gillygate. "The heavy traffic from the country was continually churning up the roads and constant complaints are recorded" (Angelo Raine, *Mediaeval York: A Topographical Survey Based on Original Sources* [London, 1955], p. 271).
- 8 A small village about four miles southwest of Sleights (see next note), and mentioned in Domesday Book.
- 9 A village about forty-three miles to the north-east of York, on the way to Whitby, which lies four miles beyond it.
- 10 About seven miles south-east of York, and mentioned in Domesday Book.
- 11 About ten miles west of York. According to Raine, *Mediaeval York*, p. 26, a Roman road ran between York and Tadcaster.
- 12 With Vescy making his will in 1407, this shrine was only a recent phenomenon. The trip to Bridlington, East Riding, directly east of York, lying on the coast, would have been to the twelfth-century Bridlington Priory, to visit the shrine of St. John of Bridlington, born in 1319 in nearby Thwing (about nine miles

west of Bridlington), dying in 1379, and canonized in 1401.

- 13 Shaw, ed., *An Old York Church*, p. 88. I have minimally edited Shaw's translation from the Latin original in The Borthwick Institute for Archives, University of York, Probate Register, 3, ff. 266v-8v. Compare with Vescy's modest remunerations the 5/- that the Archbishop of York offers to a man to escort Margery Kempe from out of the region (1.52). Vescy bequeaths considerably larger sums for road-repair than for the pilgrimages-by-proxy.
- 14 For example, see the testament of Isabel Wilton, made in June 1486. *Testamenta Eboracensia: A Selection of Wills from the Registry at York. Vol 4*, Publications of the Surtees Society 53 (Durham, 1869), p. 17.
- 15 Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Stephen Rendel (Berkeley, 1984), pp. 115-30.
- 16 *Mandeville's Travels*, Vol. 1, ed. P. Hamelius, EETS os 153 (1919; repr. Oxford, 1960), Prologue (p. 3, ll. 35-6).
- 17 See editors' introduction: *Book*, pp. vii-ix.
- 18 See introductory comments of B. A. Windeatt, in his translation of *The Book of Margery Kempe* (London, 1985), pp. 12-13. Diane Watt makes a similar observation in "Faith in the Landscape: Overseas Pilgrimages in *The Book of Margery Kempe*," in *A Place to Believe in: Locating Medieval Landscapes*, ed. Clare A. Lees and Gillian R. Overing (University Park, PA, 2006), pp. 170-87.
- 19 Alan Cooper, *Bridges, Law and Power in Medieval England 700-1400* (Woodbridge, 2006), pp. 2-3.
- 20 *Book*, 1.17 (p. 38, ll. 16-17).
- 21 *Book*, 1.28 (p. 67, ll. 8-10).
- 22 *Book*, 1.84 (p. 202 ll. 36-7-p. 203, ll. 1-7).
- 23 Norbert Ohler, *The Medieval Traveller*, trans. Caroline Hillier (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1989), p. xii.
- 24 *Book*, 1.83 (p. 200, ll. 7-9).
- 25 *Book*, 1.62 (p. 152, ll. 8-16).
- 26 *Book*, 2.2 (p. 227, ll. 19-27).
- 27 *Book*, 2.2 (p. 226, ll. 27-30).
- 28 *Pilgrim's Progress*, pp. 157, 194, and 225.
- 29 To offer at St. William's shrine (1.51).
- 30 *Book*, 1.45 (p. 110, ll. 33-4).
- 31 *Book*, 1.43 (p. 102, ll. 18-19).
- 32 *Book*, 2.7 (p. 239, ll. 11-12).
- 33 *Book*, 2.7 (p. 241, ll. 2-7).

- 34 On the problematics of identifying an authentic voice in Kempe's text, see Ruth Evans, "The Book of Margery Kempe," in *A Companion to Medieval English Literature and Culture, c. 1350-c.1500*, ed. Peter Brown (Oxford, 2007), pp. 507-21. On Kempe's heightened sense of the landscape in the second book, see Watt, "Faith in the Landscape," pp. 186-7.
- 35 *Book*, 1.28 (p. 67, ll. 18-21).
- 36 *Mandeville's Travels*, chap. 12 (p. 62, ll. 25-30). See chap. 15 for Mandeville's discussion of the various routes to Jerusalem; he identifies as the shortest route the one that Margery takes (i.e. via Venice to Jaffa). There is a *mons gaudii* outside a number of other major pilgrim cities including Compostela.
- 37 *Mandeville's Travels*, chap. 12 (p. 61, ll. 30-3; p. 63, ll. 1-2; p. 62, ll. 35-6; p. 63, ll. 1-2; p. 64, ll. 12-15; p. 64, ll. 7-11).
- 38 *Book*, 1.30 (p. 75, ll. 6-8).
- 39 Bunyan, *Pilgrim's Progress*, p. 237.
- 40 *Mandeville's Travels*, chap. 1 (p. 4).
- 41 For citations, see *OED*, s.v. *ways and means*.
- 42 June 3, 1473. *Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century*, Part I, ed. Norman Davis (Oxford, 1971), p. 463.
- 43 Christian K. Zacher, *Curiosity and Pilgrimage: The Literature of Discovery in Fourteenth-Century England* (Baltimore and London, 1976), especially chaps. 1-3.
- 44 Huston Diehl, in "Into the Maze of Self: The Protestant Transformation of the Image of the Labyrinth," *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 16 (1986), 281-301, contrasts Protestant to earlier medieval uses of the labyrinth. The medieval labyrinth always leads somewhere and is a centered model, with its core being Jerusalem or whatever desired destination. The center of the Protestant labyrinth, however, is the narcissistic self rather than God, and the aim is to escape the labyrinth rather than penetrate it.
- 45 *Pilgrim's Progress*, p. 246.
- 46 *Book*, 1.12 (p. 25, ll. 28-9).
- 47 *Book*, 1.11 (p. 25, ll. 19-20).
- 48 *Book*, 1.16 (p. 37, ll. 23-6).
- 49 *Book*, 1.43 (p. 102, ll. 20-2).
- 50 Jonathan Sumption, *Pilgrimage: An Image of Mediaeval Religion* (London, 1975) pp. 298-9.
- 51 *Book*, 1.54 (p. 134, ll. 29-32).
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