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PILGRIMAGE AND TRAVEL WRITING IN EARLY SIXTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND: THE PILGRIMAGE ACCOUNTS OF THOMAS LARKE AND ROBERT LANGTON

Rob Lutton*

Abstract: By 1500 more than 500 written accounts of the Jerusalem pilgrimage alone had been produced in the West, and yet such works continued to be written and, increasingly, printed. How did these works retain their popularity, who was writing them, and why? To address these questions, this article compares two early sixteenth-century English printed pilgrim guidebooks. It examines their distinctive features, charts their authors' careers and social and professional networks, and identifies, for the first time, the author of *The Pylgrymage of Sir Richarde Guylforde*, printed by Richard Pynson in 1511. It reveals the different ways in which two educated and eminently well-connected clerics adapted a conventional literary genre to address shared concerns and interests. Both works demonstrate how humanist learning, religious reformism, heresy, and new ideas about the nature and purpose of travel were reshaping religiously orthodox conceptions of pilgrimage before the Reformation.
Keywords: England, pilgrimage, travel, humanism, writing, reading, printing, orthodoxy, heresy, reformism.

The middle-ranking English ecclesiast Robert Langton was licensed to go on pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostella, Rome, and other destinations in October 1511. He probably departed soon afterwards.[1] His extensive travels in France, Spain, Italy, and Germany are documented in *The pylgrimage of Master Robert Langton clerke to saynt James in Compostell and in other holy places of Crystendome*, printed by Robert Copland in 1522.[2] An introduction explains how the work sets out the towns that Langton visited followed by a gloss "declarynge many thynges conteyned in the same townes." It then makes this statement about the Jerusalem pilgrimage:

> And as for the way with pylgrymage and knowledge of the same to Jerusalem and places of the holy lande I remyt you to mayster Larkes boke made of the same, wherin he comprehendeth all thinges concernynge that holy pylgrymage, in so muche that ye redynge the same shall seme rather to se it then rede it. And to me and other englysshe pylgrymes that went this yere it was grete light guyde and conducte by the which we knewe many thinges that by the freres there we sholde not haue knowen. And though in y^{t} werke he putteth not his name I trust it is put in libro vite for that blyssed and good dede.[3]

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[1] Henry Summerson, "Langton, Robert (1470–1524)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [Hereafter *ODNB*].

[2] English Short Title Catalogue [Hereafter ESTC], 2nd ed. 15206. A single copy survives in Lincoln Cathedral Library and a facsimile edition can be found in *Two Pilgrim Itineraries of the Later Middle Ages*, ed. Robert Brian Tate and Thorlac Turville-Petre (Santiago 1995) which supersedes *The Pilgrimage of Robert Langton*, ed. E.M. Blackie (Cambridge, Mass. 1924).

[3] *Two Pilgrim Itineraries* (n. 2 above) fol. 2a (p. 95). Langton's text does not date his travels, but the phrase "…that went this yere…" implies that he visited Jerusalem on the same trip, that is at some point between leaving England in 1511 or, more likely, 1512 and his return in 1514. Langton's arms in the surviving stained glass from his antechapel at the Queen's college Oxford include emblems that reference St Anthony of Egypt and St Catharine of Sinai which suggest he also reached these destinations: ibid. 153–156 and plates 2 and 3. See also, R.B. Tate, "Robert Langton, Pilgrim (1470–1524)," *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 39 (1995) 182–191, at 189–190.

Until now the identity of "mayster Larkes boke," which Langton and his fellow pilgrims found so useful, has remained a mystery. The present article makes a case for the identification of both the book and its author and assesses the implications of these findings for the changing nature of English pilgrimage and travel writing in the early sixteenth century. In so doing it joins other recent contributions to the field of medieval pilgrimage and travel writing that attend to the historical specificity and significance of particular works that were part of a very large genre. Whereas scholarship has rightly drawn attention to the conventional and derivative nature of the pilgrimage literature of the later Middle Ages, not least because of its heavy intertextual borrowing, more recent work has emphasized its variety, and the ways in which individual authors worked within established conventions to assert their own interests and aims; what F. Thomas Noonan terms "variation within sameness."[4]

By 1500 more than 500 written accounts of the Jerusalem pilgrimage had been produced in the West.[5] Perhaps the most well-known, Sir John Mandeville's *Book of Marvels and Travels*, was enormously popular across Europe as a whole, and in England retained its place as the standard reference work on the sacred sites of the Holy Land. This was in large part owing to its artful blend of alleged first-hand experience and wide range of written sources. At least four English translations were made in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries and several other English versions survive from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.[6] In addition to Mandeville's *Book* there are fewer than a dozen surviving late medieval accounts of the Jerusalem pilgrimage written wholly or in part in English. They include William Wey's *Itineraries*, the anonymous *Of that most blessed Viage to thee hooli Citee of Hierusalem* and that by the Norfolk priest Richard Torkington.[7] In addition to writings

[4] F. Thomas Noonan, *The Road to Jerusalem: Pilgrimage and Travel in the Age of Discovery* (Philadelphia 2007) 169–175. On the conventions of the genre see, for example, Jonathan Sumption, *Pilgrimage: An Image of Mediaeval Religion* (London 1975) 257–261; Josephie Brefeld, *A Guidebook for the Jerusalem Pilgrimage in the Late Middle Ages. A case for computer-aided textual criticism* (Hilversum 1994); Colin Morris, "Pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages," in *Pilgrimage: The English Experience from Becket to Bunyan*, ed. Colin Morris and Peter Roberts (Cambridge 2002) 141–163, esp. 143–149 and Diana Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage, c. 700 – c. 1500* (Basingstoke 2002) 174–181. For studies that emphasize variety and change see Kathryne Beebe, "Knights, Cooks, Monks and Tourists: Elite and Popular Experience of the Late-Medieval Jerusalem Pilgrimage," in *Elite and Popular Religion*, ed. Kate Cooper and Jeremy Gregory, Studies in Church History 42 (2006) 99–109; Michele Campopiano, "Islam, Jews and Eastern Christianity in Late Medieval Pilgrims' Guidebooks: Some Examples from the Franciscan Convent of Mount Sion," *Al-Masāq* 24:1 (2012) 75–89; and Kathryn Blair Moore, "The Disappearance of an Author and the Emergence of a Genre: Niccolò da Poggibonsi and Pilgrimage Guidebooks between Manuscript and Print," *Renaissance Quarterly* 66 (2013) 357–411.

[5] Donald R. Howard, *Writers and Pilgrims: Medieval Pilgrimage Narratives and their Posterity* (Berkeley 1980) 17, 29. See also Brefeld, *Guidebook* (n. 4 above); Nathan Schur, *Jerusalem in Pilgrims' and Travellers' Accounts: a Thematic Bibliography of Western Christian Itineraries, 1300–1917* (Jerusalem 1980); Christian K. Zacher, "Travel and Geographical Writings," in *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050–1500,* ed. Albert E. Hartung, 11 volumes (New Haven 1986) 7.2235–2254, 7.2449–2466.

[6] *Mandeville's Travels*, ed. M.C. Seymour (Oxford 1967) p. xiii; John Mandeville, *The Book of Marvels and Travels,* trans. Anthony Bale (Oxford 2012), pp. ix, xvi–xvii; Rosemary Tzanaki, *Mandeville's Medieval Audiences. A study in the Reception of the Book of Sir John Mandeville, 1371–1550* (Aldershot 2003); Zacher, "Travel and Geographical Writings" (n. 5 above) 7.2239–2240.

[7] *The Itineraries of William Wey, Fellow of Eton College, to Jerusalem, A.D. 1458 and A.D. 1462 and to Saint James of Compostella, A.D. 1456, From the Original Manuscript in the Bodleian Library*, Printed for the Roxburghe Club (London 1857). Brefeld, *Guidebook* (n. 4 above) 70 and idem, "An Account of a Pilgrimage to Jerusalem," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 101 (1985) 134–155. *Ye Oldest*

that circulated in manuscript, accounts of the journey to Palestine began to be printed in the two last decades of the fifteenth century. There was clearly a commercial market for such material and the increasing difficulties of pilgrimage to the Holy Land by the late fifteenth century owing to Turkish military advances in the Mediterranean may have fueled demand for purportedly first-hand literary accounts of the experience, which had, regardless, always been beyond all but the better-resourced pilgrim.[8] One of the earliest continental printed works was the enormously popular and lavishly illustrated account of the pilgrimage of Bernhard von Breydenbach, dean of Mainz. It was first published in Latin in 1485 and again in 1486 in Mainz. It was translated into German, Flemish, Spanish, and French, but not English, before 1500.[9] Numerous editions of Mandeville's *Book* were printed on the continent in the late fifteenth century and the first English edition was produced by Pynson, probably in 1496. Wynkyn de Worde issued the first of his three extant editions of Mandeville in 1499.[10] Around the same time de Worde printed *Informacion for Pylgrymes*, which drew heavily on William Wey's *Itineraries*, and a further two editions in 1515 and 1524,[11] and *The Pylgrymage of Sir Richarde Guylforde*, an account of Sir Richard Guldeford's Jerusalem pilgrimage of 1506, was published by Richard Pynson in 1511.[12] All of these projects, Langton's included, were commercially motivated and would have been considered relatively "risk-free."[13] Indeed, perceived demand extended beyond pilgrimage accounts to descriptions of the holy sites of Palestine; for example, in 1510 and 1513, respectively, de Worde and Pynson printed *The dystruccyon of Jherusalem by Vespazyan and Tytus*.[14]

It is in the specific context of this new and healthy market for printed pilgrim guidebooks in the early sixteenth century that this article assesses the significance of Langton's and Larke's books. Why did pilgrim guidebooks continue to be produced and, increasingly, printed in the early sixteenth century, who was writing them, and what were these works like? Was there anything new about them and what do such innovations suggest about changing attitudes to pilgrimage and travel, and to writing about pilgrimage and travel? There was travel writing in the later middle ages that was

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 1884); R.B. Wheler, "Torkington's Pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1517," *The Gentleman's Magazine* 82:2 (Jul.–Dec., 1812) 316–319.

[8] Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage* (note 4 above) 174–178. Morris, "Pilgrimage to Jerusalem" (note 4 above) 141–143, 162.

[9] Hugh W.M. Davies, *Bernard Von Breydenbach and His Journey to the Holy Land, 1483–1484. A Bibliography* (London 1911) pp. i–xix; Bernhard von Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam* (Mainz 1486); S.H. Steinberg, *Five Hundred Years of Printing* (London 1955, new ed. revised by John Trevitt, 1996) 18–20.

[10] M.C. Seymour, "The Early English Editions of *Mandeville's Travels,*" *The Library*, 5th ser. 19 (1964) 202–207, at 202–203.

[11] Zacher, "Travel and Geographical Writings" (note 5 above) 7.2249.

[12] *The Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde to the Holy Land, A.D. 1506 from a copy believed to be unique from the press of Richard Pynson*, ed. Sir Henry Ellis, Camden Society, o.s. 51 (London 1851).

[13] *Information for Pilgrims Unto the Holy Land*, ed. E. Gordan Duff (London 1893), pp. xi–xvii; Pamela Ayers Neville, "Richard Pynson, Kings Printer (1506–1529): Printing and Propaganda in Early Tudor England," unpublished PhD thesis, University of London (1990) 106; A.S.G. Edwards and Carol M. Meale, "The Marketing of Printed Books in Late Medieval England," *The Library* 6 (1993) 95–124.

[14] ESTC, 2nd ed. 14518, 14517.

not religiously focused or motivated, but writing about travel that was deemed worthy of publication, which increasingly meant printing, remained writing about pilgrimage right up to the early sixteenth century.[15] However, the literature of pilgrimage was broad and varied and its writers by no means all shared the same conceptions as to what pilgrimage as travel was or, for that matter, how to write about it. Despite the conventions of a well-established genre, writers of pilgrimage accounts were faced with choices which became all the more important as printing widened the potential audience for travel literature and orthodox humanist reformers, lollards, and early Protestants mounted critiques of pilgrimage in the early sixteenth century. Newly printed works had to be at once properly devout, entertaining, informative, and up-to-date, and suitable for both actual and "armchair" travellers. The two works that I discuss in detail below reveal some of the ways in which writers, patrons, and printers responded to this challenge. They document the sorts of practices of pilgrimage, and reading about pilgrimage, that well-educated and connected clerical writers considered to be edifying and correct for their contemporary audiences.

The article is divided into two halves. The first half identifies master Larke and sets out what we know about his education, career, piety, and social and professional connections, before making a case for the identification of his book. The second compares Langton's and Larke's careers and networks before going on to compare their respective pilgrimage guidebooks. The relative abundance of information on the cultural interests, social networks, political roles, and religious affiliations of these two writers has allowed me to situate their works firmly within a specific context. This makes it possible, not only to describe some of the changes that were taking place in pilgrimage and travel writing by the early sixteenth century but to point to some of their underlying causes.

One important aspect of the context for the writing of these two works was the world of learning and, in particular, humanism. The term humanism, as it was understood in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, is best defined as "the idea that classical learning is valuable or efficacious."[16] In England, learned interest in classical antiquity before the first decade of the sixteenth century was heavily indebted to Italy, especially the Italian universities, connections with which were fostered by royal patronage. After 1500 there was a growing community of English humanists which enjoyed domestic patronage at court and in the city of London.[17]

Because of the interchange of scholars, ecclesiasts, diplomats, and devout travellers, and of books and ideas between England and Italy, humanism and pilgrimage were mutually reinforcing. Scholars have drawn attention to the

[15] Noonan, *Road to Jerusalem* (n. 4 above) 17–28. For an excellent introduction to non-religious travel writing in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Western Europe see J.R. Hale, "Introduction," in *The Travel Journal of Antonio De Beatis. Germany, Switzerland, The Low Countries, France and Italy, 1517–1518*, trans. J.R. Hale and J.M.A. Lindon and ed. J.R. Hale (London 1979) 1–56.

[16] Alistair Fox, "Facts and Fallacies: Interpreting English Humanism," in Alistair Fox and John Guy, *Reassessing the Henrician Age: Humanism, Politics and Reform, 1500–1550* (Oxford 1986) 9–33 at 31 and Daniel Wakelin, *Humanism, Reading, and English Literature*, *1430–1530* (Oxford 2007) 7.

[17] James Kelsey McConica, *English Humanists and Reformation Politics Under Henry VIII and Edward VI* (Oxford 1965) 74. On fifteenth-century English humanism's Italian influences see R. Weiss, *Humanism in England during the Fifteenth Century*, 2nd ed. (Oxford 1957) and Michael Wyatt, *The Italian Encounter with Tudor England: A Cultural Politics of Translation* (Cambridge 2005).

relationship between travel and learning within humanist networks. For example, Anthony Bale highlights the rise of the "pilgrim-scholar" among "orthodox English humanists" in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries for whom pilgrimage was a literary as well as a practical endeavour. These pilgrim-readers and writers critically employed existing works to frame and relate their individual experiences of travel.[18] As we shall see, our two guidebook authors were both university educated, one studied in Italy, the other had Italian connections, and both were closely associated with major humanist figures. Comparison of their works, therefore, sheds new light on how pilgrimage (and so travel) writing, developed within early sixteenth-century English humanist circles and, specifically, how practices that might broadly be defined as "reading" that were centred around books and texts[19] became central to the experience of travel.

Another important aspect of the context of the writing of these two guidebooks is religious reformism. Not all those who sought the Christian reform of society in the early sixteenth century were humanists in the strict sense of being committed to classicism, but Tudor humanists undoubtedly shared "an interest in classical learning as an alternative to medieval scholasticism" as well as "a desire to replace outworn medieval institutions, conventions, and methods." Humanism, therefore, was perhaps the most important of a number of impulses for religious reform.[20] According to McConica, the interests of the early English humanists were "…largely centred on the Erasmian blend of classical culture and religious reform, and accommodate[d] a wide variety of concerns, from pietism to translations of the classics."[21] McConica has been criticised for overemphasizing the coherence of Erasmian reformism, and it is clear that the relationship between Christianity and classicism was somewhat vexed, but it is nevertheless the case that English humanists, including Colet, More, and Erasmus, shared "a belief in the need to recover a purified Christianity," even if they had different conceptions of how to achieve this.[22] Another one of my concerns here, therefore, is to examine how religious reformism was brought to bear upon traditional literary forms associated with pilgrimage. The overwhelming interpretation of pilgrimage literature by modern scholars as conventional—and thus by implication traditional—has tended to foreclose consideration of the ways in which writers engaged with religious controversies and debates surrounding the practice of pilgrimage, but the two works examined here suggest that despite adhering to

[18] Bale's examples include the late fifteenth-century pilgrim writer William Wey: Anthony Bale, "'*ut legi*': Sir John Mandeville's Audience and Three Late-Medieval English Travellers to Jerusalem," *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 38 (2016) 201–237. Other scholars have discussed the ways in which writers of pilgrimage accounts plundered the existing guidebooks whilst making their own personal insertions but they have not tended to give serious attention to these writers as critical readers and compilers, for example: J.G. Davies, "Pilgrimage and Crusade Literature," in *Journeys Toward God. Pilgrimage and Crusade*, ed. Barbara N. Sargent-Baur (Kalamazoo 1992) 1–30, esp. 6–11; Mary B. Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World. Exotic European Travel Writing, 400–1600* (Ithaca 1988) 127–131; Suzanne M. Yeager, *Jerusalem in Medieval Narrative* (Cambridge 2008) 18–19, 21–23.

[19] For the identification of this set of practices in fifteenth-century England see Wakelin, *Humanism* (n. 16 above) passim.

[20] Fox, "Facts and Fallacies" (n. 16 above) 18 and 32. Others included lollardy and the secular courts.

[21] McConica, *English Humanists* (n. 17 above) 74.

[22] Fox, "Facts and Fallacies" 18–22 at 22.

established genre conventions, pilgrimage writers not only paid regard to debates and disquiet about the practice of pilgrimage but began to reshape the genre.

In the second half of this article I focus on two aspects of these debates and how they are handled by Larke and Langton: relics and indulgences. The accumulation of large numbers of relics of dubious provenance and veracity at shrines throughout Europe, and the multiplication of images of saints during the middle ages, together with large numbers of indulgences attached to pilgrimage sites, rendered the cult of saints and the whole practice of pilgrimage increasingly vulnerable to scepticism and rationalist criticism. A longstanding tradition of critique of what were seen as the more superstitious and mechanical aspects of pilgrimage was sharpened by the development of more inward-looking and Christocentric forms of spirituality from the eleventh century that began to gain wide-scale interest among the laity by the fourteenth. These reconceived pilgrimage as more of a way of life than a ritual practice.[23] In England, Wycliffite critiques of the cult of saints and pilgrimage from the late fourteenth century onwards fueled popular as well as elite criticism, but also made it more dangerous to voice such reservations.[24] Nevertheless, in educated circles open scepticism remained possible, Erasmus's *Pilgrimage for Religion's Sake* first printed in 1526 being the most famous example. This was loosely based on Erasmus's experiences of pilgrimages to Our Lady of Walsingham and Becket's shrine at Canterbury between 1512 and 1514. Its deeply satirical treatment of relics and indulgences and criticisms of contemporary pilgrimage attracted considerable controversy.[25] One of my aims here is to assess the impact of this sceptical critique of pilgrimage on pilgrimage writing more widely in the early sixteenth century. As I will show, the publication of Larke's and Langton's works suggests that orthodox critiques of pilgrimage were not incompatible with new types of popular pilgrimage writing, which remained rooted in convention but began to show signs of adaptation to reformist agendas. These two well-educated and connected early sixteenth-century writers appear to have been sympathetic to such concerns, but nevertheless retained a commitment to devout travel and the cult of saints, in some sort of reformed state, as

[23] 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 1998) 199–233, esp. 219–231; Diana Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England* (London 2000) 239–261; idem, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West* (London 1999), 235–254; Ronald C. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England* (London 1977) 191–202. For a succinct statement on the development of Christocentrism see William Abel Pantin, *The English Church in the Fourteenth Century* (Cambridge 1955) 190–191. On indulgences see R. N. Swanson, *Indulgences in Late Medieval England: Passports to Paradise?* (Cambridge 2007) 278–418, 469–481.

[24] See, for, example, Anne Hudson, *The Premature Reformation: Wycliffite Texts and Lollard History* (Oxford 1988) 301–309; Margaret Aston, "Lollards and Images," in Aston, *Lollards and Reformers: Images and Literacy in Late Medieval Religion* (London 1984) 135–192; Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England* (n. 23 above) 241–252.

[25] "A Pilgrimage for Religion's Sake (*Peregrinatio religionis ergo*)," in *Collected Works of Erasmus: Colloquies* 40, trans. and annotated Craig R. Thompson (Toronto 1997) 619–674. For Erasmus's replies to the Paris theologians who attacked aspects of this work see for example ibid. 669 n. 160, 673 n. 182. Further works by Erasmus containing sceptical criticism of relics and indulgences include "The Shipwreck," "Faith," "The Exorcism," "Rash Vows," and "The Usefulness of the Colloquies": ibid. 658 n. 71 and 661 n. 93. For wider discussion of humanism's critique of pilgrimage and its medieval antecedents see Marie-Christine Gomez-Géraud, *Le Crépuscule Du Grand Voyage. Les Récits des Pèlerins à Jérusalem (1458–1612)* (Paris 1999) 29–139.

beneficial aspects of the Christian life. Indeed I shall go so far as to argue that, while they approached the task of providing a new sort of devout pilgrimage guidebook in their own distinctive ways, their common endeavour marked the first phase of the European Catholic reshaping of the literature of pilgrimage that began in earnest with the Counter Reformation.[26]

I have mentioned how humanism helped to foster the connection between pilgrimage and learning and gave new momentum to questions about what orthodox devout pilgrimage should be. I conclude this introduction by reflecting on how it also reconfigured the purpose and practice of pilgrimage as travel. Pilgrimage had never been a purely religious concern undertaken only for individual spiritual salvation; it also offered opportunities for adventure and discovery and pleasures and rewards that were as much educative as pious. What Noonan describes as the expansion of "pilgrimage's frame of narration," is a process that began to be evident in pilgrimage writing in the fourteenth century, most famously in Mandeville, but also in the works of Ludolfus of Suchem, Joannes de Hese, Symon Simeonis, Marino Sanuto, and others.[27] Longstanding medieval condemnations of the thirst for knowledge of the world and the seeking of new experiences as harmful *curiositas* became more and more out-dated, and over the next two centuries there emerged a new less strictly Christian understanding of pilgrimage. Not all proponents of the new learning approved of this, with Erasmus being the most famous sceptic of the value of both *curiositas* and the more conventional practices of the pilgrim but, nevertheless, devout travel was increasingly reconfigured "as a journey of education," a practice of learned and engaged self-improvement as much as a spiritual quest for salvation.[28] Noonan has demonstrated how these works remained of interest up to the eighteenth century with some being printed for the first time, not because they represented an alien and outdated religious practice, some curiosity from the past, but because they contained vivid accounts of individual travellers' engagement with an expanding world.[29] It was from the late seventeenth century that the development of travel and travel writing as practices of self-improvement and education in Europe culminated in the Grand Tour. However, although scholars of the Grand Tour have placed its roots in late medieval humanism, they have not identified any significant change in English travel writing before the 1540s.[30] I argue here that in a similar way to how these two guidebooks foreshadow later Catholic reform of pilgrimage literature, they also mark an important

[26] On the Counter-Reformation literature see Gomez-Géraud, *Le Crépescule du Grand Voyage* (n. 25 above).

[27] Noonan, *Road to Jerusalem* (n. 4 above) 21–28, at 21; *Marino Sanuto's Secrets for True Crusaders to Help them to recover the Holy Land, Part XIV of Book III, written in A.D. 1321*, trans. Aubrey Stewart, Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society 12 (London 1897).

[28] Justin Stagl, *A History of Curiosity. The Theory of Travel, 1550–1800* (Chur, Switzerland; Reading 1995) 47–49 at 48; Noonan, *Road to Jerusalem* (n. 4 above) 21–26; Christian K. Zacher, *Curiosity and Pilgrimage: The Literature of Discovery in Fourteenth-Century England* (Baltimore; London 1976) 4–5. On Erasmus's disinterest in travel *per se* see Hale, "Introduction" (n. 15 above) 20–21 and for his attacks on pilgrimage see below.

[29] Noonan, *Road to Jerusalem* (n. 4 above) passim.

[30] See, for example, Edward Chaney, *The Evolution of the Grand Tour. Anglo-Italian Cultural Relations since the Renaissance* (London; Portland, Or. 1998) 5, 54 n. 21, 58–101, 203–204.

early stage in the shift to writing about travel as something broader than a narrowly defined religious journey. I demonstrate this by attention to two aspects of these texts: first their attention to pilgrimage as travel for its own sake, which included the allure of adventure, personal experience, and empirical witnessing and, second, their interest in the world and its past, most clearly expressed in their attention to classical antiquities and non-biblical history. However, before examining the features of these two pilgrimage guidebooks in detail, I shall identify master Larke and "mayster Larkes boke."

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There was more than one master Larke in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The most likely candidate is Thomas Larke, the brother of Thomas Wolsey's mistress Joan Larke of Thetford. Their father was Peter Larke, innkeeper, who may have served twice as mayor and once as coroner of the same town.[31] Thomas Larke was chaplain to Henry VII by 1507, by which date he was engaged by the king to supervise the works on King's College Chapel.[32] Wolsey was also a royal chaplain by 1507 and it was probably around this time that he began his relationship with Mistress Larke. In fact, it is possible that his acquaintance with the Larkes of Thetford began at court with Thomas. Wolsey rapidly rose to power under the patronage of the leading royal councillors (Richard Fox, bishop of Winchester, and Sir Thomas Lovell), became the king's almoner in the new regime of Henry VIII in November 1509, was a councillor by 1511, and effectively became chief minister.[33] Perhaps owing to Wolsey's patronage, "Thomas Larke, clerk, the King's Chaplain" was granted a canonry and prebend of St Stephen's College, Westminster on 14 November 1511.[34] Around the same time he joined Wolsey's household and by June 1516, in a letter to Erasmus from Andreas Ammonius, humanist scholar, poet, and the king's Latin secretary, he was noted as having "more influence than anyone with the archbishop of York [Wolsey]." Larke remained Wolsey's confessor, servant, and close friend until his death in July 1530, just four months before the cardinal's own.[35]

[31] *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, 1509–47*, ed. J.S. Brewer et al., 21 vols. (1862–1932) [Hereafter *L&P*], I.2.3499; Francis Blomefield, *An Essay Towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk*, 2nd ed. continued by Charles Parkin, 11 vols. (London 1805–1810) II.132–147.

[32] According to the unpublished history of the building of King's College Chapel by John Saltmarsh referenced in Charles Crawley, *Trinity Hall: The History of a Cambridge College, 1350–1975* (Cambridge 1976) 26.

[33] Sybil M. Jack, "Wolsey, Thomas (1470/71–1530), royal minister, archbishop of York, and cardinal," *ODNB*; A.F. Pollard, *Wolsey* (London 1929, this ed. London 1965) 306; Peter Gwyn, *The King's Cardinal: The Rise and Fall of Thomas Wolsey* (London 2002) 1–4.

[34] *L&P*, I.1.969. John Venn and J.A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, 10 vols (Cambridge 1924), III.48. Crawley, *Trinity Hall* (n. 32 above) 26; Pollard, *Wolsey* (n. 33 above) 306.

[35] *L&P*, II.1.629, 2290; III.1.955, 1283; III.2.1916; IV.2.3619, 4056; IV.3.6524; *The Correspondence of Erasmus*, trans. R.A.B. Mynors and D.F.S. Thomson, 15 vols. (Toronto 1974–2012) [hereinafter *Correspondence of Erasmus*] III, letters 298–445 (1514–1516), annotated by James K. McConica, letter 429; Jack, "Wolsey" (n. 33 above). Tate and Turville-Petre correctly speculated that this was the Thomas Larke to whom Langton referred, but did not identify his book: *Two Pilgrim Itineraries* (n. 2 above) 135.

As for Thomas Larke of Thetford's education, it is probable that he incepted as doctor of civil law at Cambridge in 1478.[36] This would accord with his East Anglian origins and, although it would put him in his mid-seventies by his death in 1530, this was not incredibly old by relatively well-to-do sixteenth-century standards. One might question what he was doing between 1478 and 1507, but new evidence is set out below that supports both his longevity and begins to fill in his career before he entered royal service.

Larke's later career suggests that he was extraordinarily gifted and at the center of new humanist-inspired cultural developments. To begin with, he took a major role in administering some of the most important building projects of Henry VIII's reign. After his initial involvement he became official surveyor of the king's works at King's College Chapel, Cambridge, up to the completion of the main structure in July 1515 and was still involved in the glazing of the twenty-six great windows in 1526 with scenes from the life and passion of Christ and of the Virgin.[37] He also supervised the work at Bridewell palace on the river Fleet outside the walls of the city of London, Wolsey's first house. When Wolsey became archbishop of York in 1514, he acquired York Place in Westminster, and Bridewell passed to the King in 1515, but Wolsey continued to oversee the work on Bridewell, and Larke remained immediately in charge as paymaster. His own London house was nearby.[38] The third building project with which he was involved was Wolsey's Cardinal College (now Christ Church), Oxford from 1525.[39] That Larke was entrusted with the oversight of so many of the iconic new building projects of Henry's reign points to the fashionability of his tastes as much as his administrative nous.

In addition to his service to the crown and Wolsey, Larke filled other offices that indicate his considerable abilities and interests. He was archdeacon of Sudbury 1517–1522 and then archdeacon of Norwich 1522–1528,[40] and master of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, from some point between 1517 and 1520 to 1525.[41] He was very

[36] A.B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500* (Cambridge 1963) 353.

[37] *The History of the King's Works*, ed. H.M. Colvin, 6 vols. (London 1963–1982), III.1, ed. H.M. Colvin, D. R. Ransome and John Summerson, 8 n., 14–15, 189–193; Robert Willis, *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*, ed. J.W. Clark (Cambridge 1886), 475, 480, 498–500; "King's College," in *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments of the City of Cambridge*, Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (London 1959) 98–136.

[38] He received the last payment for work on Bridewell in 1521: *L&P*, II.2.1471, 1536, 1474, 1475; III.2.1535, 1537; Simon Thurley, "The Domestic Building Works of Cardinal Wolsey," *Cardinal Wolsey: church, state and* art, ed. S.J. Gunn and P.G. Lindley (Cambridge 1991) 76–102, esp. 80, 83; *History of the King's Works* (n. 37 above) III.1.8 n., 14–15.

[39] *L&P*, IV. 2.2734; John Newman, "Cardinal Wolsey's Collegiate Foundations," in Gunn and Lindley, *Cardinal Wolsey* (n. 38 above) 103–115, at 110. Thurley, "Domestic Building Works" (n. 38 above) 80.

[40] Identified as the same individual "M. Thomas Larke D.C.L" in John Le Neve, and B. Jones, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, 1300–1541, 4: Monastic Cathedrals* (London 1963) 28, 32 and Larke, surveyor of the king's works, is identified as "Archdeacon of Norwich' in the 1526 contract for glazing the windows of King's: Willis, *Architectural History* (n. 37 above) 500. See also the discussion in Crawley, *Trinity Hall* (n. 32 above) 26 n. 2.

[41] John Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, 3 vols. (Oxford 1854) III.679: incorrectly identifies "Robert Larke" as master of Trinity Hall from 1520. Cooper has Thomas as Master from 1517: Charles Henry Cooper and Thomas Cooper, *Athenae Cantabrigienses*, 2 vols. (Cambridge 1858–1861) I.38. See also Crawley, *Trinity Hall* (n. 32 above) 26–27. And see below for references to Larke's lodgings in Cambridge.

generously rewarded by Wolsey with a number of livings, none of which would have required residency. [42]

Larke was highly esteemed by some of the most prestigious proponents of the new learning, including Erasmus, with whom he appears to have developed a close friendship. Erasmus lived in Queens' College, Cambridge from 1511 to early 1514, and Larke lodged nearby at the Boar's Head.[43] Before leaving Cambridge Erasmus wrote to Ammonius in December 1513 and described Larke as "the most courteous man and the truest friend of all my English acquaintance" (virum omnium quos in Anglia noverim humanissimum[44] candidissimumque), and in another letter to Ammonius in August 1516 he declared that he would "write from Brabant to the Archbishop of York and to Lark."[45] In a letter to Richard Pace in 1518 Silvestro Gigli, the Italian bishop of Worcester and Wolsey's chief agent at Rome, sent his compliments to Larke "whose modesty and virtue everyone talks of."[46]

Working so closely with Wolsey meant that Larke was deeply involved in royal diplomacy and there are glimpses of his importance and influence. For example in August 1520 Charles V's ambassador wrote to Larke to convey a message to Wolsey; in 1521 Girolamo Ghinucci, papal nuncio in England, pressed Larke to advance his bid to Wolsey for the see of Worcester; and in 1526 John Taylor, another royal chaplain to Henry VII and English ambassador to France wrote to him and another of Wolsey's servants, about his travels with the itinerant French court.[47] Larke would often have been at the very centre of diplomatic intrigue. In 1524–1525 Larke's house in Blackfriars, London, was used to harbour the French agent and Genoese friar, Jean-

[42] These include the rectory of Winwick, Coventry, and Lichfield Diocese, from 1515 to 1525 (that this was the same Thomas Larke is suggested by the fact that on his resignation the rectory passed to Thomas Wynter, Wolsey's son and Larke's nephew): *L&P*, IV.3.3095 and *Victoria County History: Lancashire*, ed. William Farrer & J. Brownbill, 8 vols. (London 1906–1914) IV.122–32; the canonry and prebend of Welton Ryval, at Lincoln Cathedral, from 1514 (as in the other cases above he is identified as *magister* and D.C.L): John Le Neve, and H. P. F. King, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, 1300–1541, 1: Lincoln Diocese* (London 1962) 128 and John Le Neve, and Joyce M. Horn, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, 1300–1541, 12: Introduction, Errata and Index* (London 1967) 43; and perhaps a prebend at Beverley for an unknown period sometime between 1517 and 1526: *L&P*, IV.1.2001. See also R.T.W. McDermid, "The Constitution and the Clergy of Beverley Minster in the Middle Ages," unpublished PhD diss., Durham University (1980) A.83 n. Once again, Thomas Wynter, also held a prebend at Beverley by 1526: Pollard, *Wolsey* (n. 33 above) 309. Although he does not appear to have ever held the living of East Dereham, Norfolk, it seems Wolsey was trying to secure it for him in 1520: *L&P*, III.1.1030 and Blomefield, *History of the County of Norfolk* (n. 31 above) X.53–59, 204–218 and see below for his institution to Foulsham in 1494. The Thomas Larke who was dean of Chichester, 1517–1518, was almost certainly a different individual, as was the Thomas Larke M.A. who was prebendary canon of Lyme and Halstock at Salisbury, also 1517–1518: John Le Neve, and Joyce M. Horn, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, 1300–1541, 7: Chichester Diocese* (London 1964) 5; John Le Neve, and Joyce M. Horn, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, 1300–1541, 3: Salisbury Diocese* (London 1962) 66. There may have been yet other Thomas Larkes, as the name is attached to the rectory of Morborne, Hunts., 1484–1510 and of Kettering, Northants., 1512–1515: Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses* (n. 34 above) III.48.

[43] Crawley, *Trinity Hall* (n. 32 above) 26; *The Victoria History of the County of Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely*, ed. L.F. Salzmann et al., 11 vols. (Oxford 1938–2002): III, *The City and University of Cambridge*, ed. J.P.C. Roach (1959) 166–191.

[44] "humanissimum" can equally be translated "most cultured," "most refined," or "most educated."

[45] *Correspondence of Erasmus* (n. 35 above) II, letters 142–297 (1501–1514), annotated by Wallace K. Ferguson (1975), letter 283; IV, letters 446–593 (1516–17), annotated by James K. McConica (1977), letter 455. For the Latin of the 1513 letter see: *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, ed. P.S. Allen, 12 vols. (Oxford 1906–1958) I.548.

[46] *L&P*, II.2.4068.

[47] *L&P*, III.1.955; III.2.1916; IV.1.1938.

Joachim de Passano, sieur de Vaux, and then the French ambassador, the chancellor of Alençon, Jean Brinton, for secret talks with Wolsey prior to signing the Treaty of the More in April 1525.[48] Wolsey himself used Larke's house as lodgings and for official business around this time; in a letter to the cardinal in that same year Norfolk referred to words he had spoken "in your bedchamber at Mr Lark's house."[49] In 1527 Larke appears to have been rewarded for his role in the negotiations with a pension of 100 crowns or £25 from the French crown in exchange for the surrender of English possessions under the terms of the treaty.[50]

Larke's will of 20 April 1529 sheds light on his piety and his social and professional circle. To a fairly standard dedication of his soul "to the mercy of almyghtye god my Redemer" and "oure Blessyd ladye seynt marye mother of mercye" he added St John the Baptist and St Oswald, king and martyr. He asked for burial in the south aisle of the London Blackfriars church "whereas my grave stone now lyeth," bequeathed £6 13s 4d for dirige, mass of requiem and other observances at his burial, £3 6s 8d for his month's mind and the same amount for wax on the two occasions, all fairly modest if not especially austere. He left beds and other household goods and money to various servants and made his "kynnesman," presumably his brother, Peter Larke, one of his executors. As supervisors to his will he appointed Stephen Gardiner, his successor as master of Trinity Hall and future bishop of Winchester, and William Holgill master of the Hospital of the Savoy.[51] Gardiner had been in Wolsey's service since 1523 and had probably been a fellow of Trinity Hall when Larke was master. He had earlier studied the classics and Greek there and went on to support humanistic reform of the universities' curricula.[52] Another clerical administrator, Holgill, had worked as surveyor of the king's works at the Savoy Hospital from 1510 and became its first master in 1519. He was also Wolsey's steward as archbishop of York and surveyor of works at his palace at Southwell.[53]

From lowly origins, not dissimilar to Wolsey's, Larke rose to be a royal and ecclesiastical administrator of considerable standing and achievement. The cardinal's patronage was undoubtedly crucial but to have made the impression that he did on the likes of Erasmus suggests rare natural ability and a notable degree of cultural sophistication. Learned and well-connected, at times Larke was at the center of political and diplomatic affairs and mixed with the most important humanist figures of

[48] *L&P*, IV.1.1083, 1233 (de Vaux's letter to Larke); Edward Hall, *Henry VIII,* 2 vols. (1904) II.26–7; Gwyn, *King's Cardinal* (n. 33 above) 386, 389–393, 398, 406–407.

[49] *L&P*, IV.1.1265.

[50] His brother Peter Larke received a pension of 25 crowns: *L&P*, IV.2.3619.

[51] Kew, The National Archives, PROB 11/25/9. Gardiner is named "mastir doctor Stephyns" as he was commonly known at this time.

[52] C.D.C. Armstrong, "Gardiner, Stephen (c. 1495x8–1555)," *ODNB*; Fox, "Facts and Fallacies" (n. 16 above) 27.

[53] *History of the King's Works* (n. 37 above) III.1.14, 16, 202, 206; *A History of the County of London: vol. 1: London with the Bars, Westminster and Southwark*, ed. W. Page (London 1909) 546–549; John Guy, "Wolsey and the Tudor Polity," in Gunn and Lindley, *Cardinal Wolsey* (n. 38 above) 54–75, at 69 n. He also served as JP for the East Riding of Yorkshire in 1525 and 1529: Thurley, "Domestic Building Works" (n. 38 above) 94.

his age. What evidence is there to identify him as the author of what Robert Langton called "mayster Larkes boke" and, equally importantly, what was this book?

Langton implies that he and his companions took the book with them to Jerusalem and states that it provided such vivid description of the holy sites that it was more like seeing them than reading about them. In what may be a secular clerk's anti-fraternal sideswipe, he claims that it was so authoritative and detailed that it surpassed the knowledge of the official Franciscan guides of the convent of Mount Syon and, presumably, their guidebooks. He also explicitly identifies the book as not revealing its author's name but, somewhat perplexingly, only ever calls it "mayster Larkes boke."[54] Scholars have generally speculated, without any substantial evidence, that Langton was referring to the anonymous *Informacion for Pylgrymes Unto the Holy Londe* first printed by de Worde in 1498.[55] There is some logic to this. *Informacion for Pylgrymes* is anonymous, was first printed some years before Langton's own travels and, given that he recommended "mayster Larkes boke" to his readers as the best up-to-date guide on the Jerusalem pilgrimage, it would make sense that it was a printed work and so potentially more widely available than a manuscript account.[56] In addition, large parts of *Informacion for Pylgrymes* are in English, including the bulk of a fairly terse narrative account of a pilgrim band's journey to and throughout the Holy Land. Langton himself wrote in English and would surely have had the linguistic limitations of his audience in mind when recommending the work. However, whilst scholars appear to have assumed that *Informacion for Pylgrymes* was the only anonymous account of the Jerusalem pilgrimage in English printed before Langton's own journey in or around 1511, this is not the case. Until now no one has suggested that a much better contender for "mayster Larkes boke" is *The Pylgrymage of Sir Richarde Guylforde*, the account of Sir Richard Guldeford's Jerusalem pilgrimage of 1506, printed by Richard Pynson in 1511.[57]

The anonymity of *The Pylgrymage of Sir Richarde Guylforde* has been noted but perhaps overlooked because of the work's self-declared patron and subject. What does it tell us about its writer? He identifies himself as a priest and Guldeford as his master, and so it is reasonable to assume he was Guldeford's chaplain and confessor.[58] It fulfills all of the criteria we can infer from Langton more satisfactorily than *Informacion for Pylgrymes*. It was printed only months before Langton's departure in 1511 and so would have been readily available and up-to-date, especially as it

[54] See above for the Langton's approbation. On the Franciscans and their guidebooks see Brefeld, *Guidebook* (n. 4 above) and Campopiano, "Islam, Jews and Eastern Christianity" (n. 4 above) passim.

[55] ESTC (2nd ed.) (n. 2 above) 14081; *Information for Pilgrims*, ed. Duff (n. 13 above). For this identification see R.J. Mitchell, "Robert Langton's *Pylgrymage*," *The Library*, 5th ser., 8 (1953) 42–45, esp. 44–45, John Parker, *Books to Build an Empire. A Bibliographical History of English Overseas Interests to 1620* (Amsterdam1965), 27 and Zacher, "Travel and Geographical Writings" (n. 5 above) 2249, 2253.

[56] On the other hand, Tate and Turville-Petre speculate that the work Langton consulted was in manuscript rather than print and that it remains unknown: idem, *Two Pilgrim Itineraries* (n. 2 above) 84–85, 135.

[57] It survives in a single copy in the British Library: *This is the begynnynge, and contynuaunce of the Pylgrymage of Sir Richarde Guylforde, knyght, controuler unto our late soveraygne lorde kynge Henry the vii. And howe he went with his servaunts and company towardes* Iherusalem, ESTC (2nd ed.) (n. 2 above) 12549 and a modern edition: *Pylgrymage* (n. 12 above). 'Guldeford' is the most common contemporary spelling of the family name.

[58] *Pylgrymage* (n. 12 above) pp. v, 5, 17, 27 and 40.

documented a pilgrimage that had taken place only five years earlier. Apart from some citations from scripture and patristic writers, it is entirely in English. Its account of the Jerusalem pilgrimage and of the sacred sites of Palestine is much fuller and more detailed than that in *Informacion for Pylgrymes*. Half of its fifty-nine pages are given over to recounting the three weeks that Guldeford's chaplain spent in the Holy Land, visiting the customary places associated with the lives of Christ and the Virgin Mary, being in large part a direct translation, with some modification, of Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio*. Guldeford's writer either owned or had access to this work, which was never printed in its own right in England but, judging by its very wide circulation throughout continental Europe and translation into numerous vernacular languages, was considered current and authoritative. The *Peregrinatio* put great store on eyewitnessing which informed its unprecedented degree of detailed description of the Holy Land sites. Guldeford's writer also stressed the importance of eyewitness testimony and added his own detail to Breydenbach where he thought it necessary to do so.[59] This makes *The Pylgrymage of Sir Richarde Guylforde* by far the strongest contender for the title of "mayster Larkes boke," described by Langton as so comprehensive in its treatment of the Jerusalem pilgrimage that reading it was more like seeing the sites themselves. We might wonder why Langton did not simply reveal that "mayster Larkes boke" was one and the same as *The Pylgrymage of Sir Richarde Guylforde*, especially as he recommended the work to his readers. I suspect that this was because for anyone in Langton's social circle it was common knowledge that Larke was the author; by the time Langton wrote his guidebook Larke was in Wolsey's service, who was by then the king's chief minister. In this light Langton's approbation reads like an in-joke for the literary cognoscenti.

While there is no extraneous evidence to link *Informacion for Pylgrymes* with a master Larke, that is not the case with *The Pylgrymage of Sir Richarde Guylforde.* In 1494 a Thomas Larke was appointed to the rectory of Foulsham, Norfolk by Sir Richard Guldeford and Sir Thomas Lovell.[60] Guldeford and Lovell were, from 1485, part of the tight knit group of royal councillors and household officers around Henry VII, and the two are recorded as acting together on a number of occasions.[61] If this was our man, Guldeford knew Larke and was, to some degree, acting as his patron by 1494, but there is further, more conclusive evidence to connect him to Guldeford in a

[59] On Breydenbach see above and the discussion in Noonan, *The Road to Jerusalem* (n. 4 above) 35–42. For detailed discussion of Guldeford's chaplain's sources that also included Mandeville see Rob Lutton, "Richard Guldeford's Pilgrimage: Piety and Cultural Change in Late Fifteenth- and Early Sixteenth-Century England," *History: the Journal of the Historical Association* 98:1 (329) (2013) 41–78, esp. 58–63 and on its use of Mandeville in particular see Bale, "'*ut legi*'" (n. 18 above) passim.

[60] He held the living until 1515: Blomefield, *History of the County of Norfolk* (n. 31 above) 8.204–209. The advowson was normally held by Lord Morley but presumably was in the gift of the crown at this point in time. In 1503 Larke was also appointed rector of Swanton-Morley, only a few miles south of Foulsham, by Sir William Parker by right of his wife Lady Alice Morley, which Larke also held until 1515: Blomefield, *History of the County of Norfolk* (n. 31 above) 10.53–59. Swanton-Morley was very close to East Dereham, the living that Wolsey appears to have tried to secure for him in 1520 (see above). Dereham was only 12 miles from Larke's birthplace of Thetford.

[61] Steven Gunn, "Sir Thomas Lovell (*c*. 1449–1524): A New Man in a New Monarchy?," in *The End of the Middle Ages? England in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, ed. John L. Watts (Stroud 1998) 117–153 esp. 126, 132–133; Sean Cunningham, *Henry VII* (London 2007) 204.

proof of age case for Elizabeth Guldeford, wife of Richard's youngest son George Guldeford, that was held in 1522.[62] "Magister Thomas Larke" was the first witness and testified that he was chaplain to Sir Richard Guldeford in 1495–1496 and "for three quarters of that same year, on account of languishing with quartan fevers occupied a bedchamber or room in Guldeford's house at Halden in the parish of Rolvenden, Kent."[63] He is recorded as being "of the vill of Westminster, priest of one of the prebends of the king's free chapel of St Stephen, Westminster, aged sixty-six years and more" in 1522.[64] This almost certainly makes him the same Thomas Larke who was king's chaplain and surveyor of works by 1507, became a canon of St Stephen's, Westminster in 1511, and Wolsey's confessor and servant soon after. His relatively advanced age in 1522, which would put his birth at 1456 at the latest, also makes it entirely likely, as speculated above, that he incepted in civil law at Cambridge in 1478.[65]

The identification of "mayster Larkes boke" as *The Pylgrymage of Sir Richarde Guylforde* rests, not unreasonably, on the assumption that Thomas Larke remained Guldeford's chaplain for a further ten years until 1506 and travelled with him to Palestine. The account tells us that he returned to England without his master, who died in Jerusalem, on 9 March 1507.[66] This fits with his first appearance as king's chaplain in 1507. Larke may have owed this appointment to his master's former associate Sir Thomas Lovell who was still a royal councillor and one of Wolsey's early patrons at court, although it could equally have been secured by Henry Guldeford, Richard's third son, who was also a courtier and close companion of the young king Henry VIII.[67] Indeed Larke's presence at court helps to explain the publication in 1511 of his account of Guldeford's pilgrimage. Initially, Sir Richard may have intended it to aid his political rehabilitation on his return, and then his son may have seen it as a means to emphasize the continuity of his family's service to the crown, as well as a fitting tribute to his father. The young king appears to have been supportive, as it has all the appearances of a royal commission: it was printed by Pynson, the king's printer, and bears the arms of Henry VIII and the three castles of Katherine of Aragon. In the same year as its publication, Queen Katherine's father Ferdinand of Aragon launched a crusade against the Moors of North Africa; a supporting English force was dispatched to Spain under Thomas, Lord Darcy,

[62] Kew, The National Archives [Hereafter TNA], C 142/37/96. I am indebted to Andrew Hope for my knowledge of Larke's appearance in this case.

[63] TNA, C 142/37/96: "...fuit capellanus dicti Ricardi Guldeford militis et quod idem Thomas eodem anno videlicet per tempus trium quarteris eiusdem anni quartains languendo febribus cubiculum siue cameram tenuerit in domo hospicium dicti Ricardi Guldeford militis apud Halden in parochia de Rolvenden…"

[64] TNA, C 142/37/96: "Thomas Larke de villa Westm' clericus unius prebendariorum liboris capelle regis sancti Stephani Westm' etatis sexaginta & sex annorum et amplius."

[65] He may have served Guldeford for some years prior to 1494 but as yet nothing has come to light on this earlier part of his career.

[66] *Pylgrymage* (n. 12 above) 82.

[67] Jack, "Wolsey" (n. 33 above); Gunn, "Lovell" (n. 61 above); Keith Dockray, "Guildford, Sir Henry (1489–1532)," *ODNB*.

accompanied by Henry Guldeford as provost marshal.[68] Queen Katherine's own possible hand in its publication is discussed below.

The identity of the writer of *The Pylgrymage of Sir Richarde Guylforde* has remained a mystery to modern scholars until now, and evidence of the text's readership has been limited to the priest Richard Torkington. He used it as the basis for the account of his own pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1517, but does not state if he took it with him.[69] Robert Langton's enthusiastic endorsement of "mayster larkes book" provides an all too rare insight into the use of this sort of popular early printed literature by actual pilgrims to the Holy Land, and important additional evidence of the work's circulation. Heavy use of printed copies by pilgrims on the move, as much as lack of popularity might explain the absence of other surviving copies of *The Pylgrymage of Sir Richarde Guylforde*.[70] Attrition alone means that subsequent editions may have been printed but have not survived. Langton's approbation also suggests that by the second decade of the sixteenth century Larke's text had superseded Mandeville's *Book* as the pilgrim guide of choice for the discriminating English traveller to the Holy Land.

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This brings me back, in the second part of this article, to my opening questions about the changing nature of pilgrimage and travel writing in the early sixteenth century. The attribution of *The Pylgrymage of Sir Richarde Guylforde* to Thomas Larke makes a significant addition to our knowledge of travel writing and the interests and concerns of its writers and potential audiences at this time. In what remains of this article, first I compare Larke and Langton's careers, networks, and interests. Second, in order to comment on how these shaped their conceptions of pilgrimage and how they wrote about it, I compare certain features of their pilgrim guidebooks, before drawing some wider conclusions about how pilgrimage writing was changing before the Reformation.

Larke was Robert Langton's senior by some fifteen to twenty years but the two men shared much in common and may well have known one another. Langton was born in 1470 in Appleby, Westmorland. He owed his rapid advancement to the patronage of his uncle Thomas Langton and cousin Christopher Bainbridge. Thomas Langton studied in Italy, his experience as a traveller doubtless contributing to his service on various royal diplomatic missions in the late 1470s. He became bishop of Salisbury in 1485, provost of the Queen's College, Oxford in 1487, bishop of Winchester in 1493 and was nominated archbishop of Canterbury in 1501 but died of the plague only five days later. Robert Langton's cousin, Christopher Bainbridge, succeeded Thomas Langton as provost of Queen's and also studied in Italy. He

[68] Lutton, "Richard Guldeford's Pilgrimage" (n. 59 above) 48–51.

[69] Torkington's text survives in a single manuscript copy: London, British Library, MS Add. 28561 and see above.

[70] I am grateful to Ryan Perry for this point. Summerson is overly pessimistic in his assessment that Langton's work was an "apparent failure" because it survives in only a single copy: Summerson, "Langton" (n. 1 above) and see below. Only single copies survive of each of the editions of *Information for Pilgrims Unto the Holy Land*: Zacher, "Travel and Geographical Writings" (n. 5 above) 2249.

advanced to become archbishop of York and eventually cardinal and served as Henry VIII's ambassador extraordinary in the Roman curia from 1509 until his death in 1514. Robert Langton did very well from their patronage: he received his first prebend at the age of thirteen and became archdeacon of Dorset in the diocese of Salisbury three years later. From 1487 he studied at Queen's, Oxford, but by 1493 he was in Bologna and took his doctorate in civil law there in 1498. He seems to have returned to England that same year, and the degree was incorporated at Oxford in 1501. Langton collected further benefices before being made treasurer of York Minster in 1509 and, on his cousin Bainbridge's departure to Rome in September of that year, he was placed in charge of the administration of York diocese.[71]

Langton moved in very similar circles to Larke and was equally surrounded by advocates of the new learning. While on pilgrimage in the spring of 1514 he is recorded as being in Rome with his cousin Christopher Bainbridge before returning to England by early summer of that year, shortly after which he resigned his offices and took up residence in the London Charterhouse, where he requested burial in his will of 1524. His residence there placed him within the compass of the humanist circle of Thomas More and John Colet, Dean of St Paul's. In fact, he already knew Colet from at least 1509 when he walked alongside him in Henry VII's funeral procession.[72] In common with More, Colet, and his patrons and kinsmen, Langton was keen to promote learning. In his will he made cash bequests totalling at least £623, including £200 to the Queen's College to purchase land to build a schoolhouse in his home town of Appleby. This was in addition to the £300 he had already spent on the construction in 1516–1518 of his new antechapel at Queen's. He also left £10 for exhibitions of poor scholars in Oxford and as much money as was necessary to keep his godson at school. Other indications of his piety include 40s to the poor brothers and sisters of the hospital of St Julian, or God's House, Southampton. This had been granted to the Queen's College in 1343 from which time the provost was effectively the warden of the hospital. Langton had a house there and left his stuff therein to the dressing of the rood loft in the hospital chapel. He also gave small sums to the friars, £5 to the Charterhouse at Sheen and 40s to each of the other seven English charterhouses, except London, to be prayed for, and 20s to each of the houses of the brothers and sisters of the Bridgettine convent of Syon, at Isleworth. Langton's close connections with the Carthusians and Bridgettines speak of his reformist orthodox interests. He also left 40s to each of the debtors' prisons of Newgate Lodge and the Marchalsea, £10 to be given to poor people, and £5 to every church where he was rector, vicar, or canon, and 40s to be distributed among the poorest in each parish.[73]

[71] *Two Pilgrim Itineraries* (n. 2 above) 70–72; Tate, "Robert Langton" (n. 3 above) 182–191; R. Percival Brown, "Thomas Langton and his Tradition of Learning," *Transactions of the Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society*, new ser. 26 (1926) 150–245, esp. 155–158, 165–183; *The Register of Thomas Langton, Bishop of Salisbury, 1485–149*3, ed. D.P. Wright, Canterbury and York Society, vol. 74 (1985), pp. vii–xvi; Summerson, "Langton" (n. 1 above).

[72] Summerson, "Langton" (n. 1 above); Brown, "Thomas Langton and his Tradition of Learning" (n. 71 above) 166–168; Tate, "Robert Langton" (n. 3 above) 187–188; Will: Kew, TNA, PROB 11/21, fols. 165v–166r. For a transcription see *Two Pilgrim Itineraries* (n. 2 above) 149–150.

[73] *Two Pilgrim Itineraries* (n. 2 above) 149–150, 153; *A History of the County of Hampshire*, 5 vols, ed. H. Arthur Doubleday and William Page (London 1903–12) 2.202–205.

The two major humanist scholars and diplomats Cuthbert Tunstal and Richard Pace are named as supervisors of Langton's will. Both studied in Italy, Pace under the patronage of Thomas Langton and Christopher Bainbridge, and both worked for Wolsey.[74] Robert Langton himself appears to have been allied in some way with Wolsey, as the cardinal's arms are depicted in the surviving stained-glass from his new chapel at Queen's. It has been suggested, albeit without any firm evidence that, like his kinsmen, Langton was engaged in some capacity as a royal agent whilst on pilgrimage.[75] There are possible parallels here with Thomas Larke's career but it is unlikely Langton was as involved in diplomacy or as close to Wolsey. Larke may have learned important skills in espionage from Richard Guldeford who organized overseas spying missions to thwart the 1503 plot by the exiled earl of Suffolk, the Yorkist claimant Edmund de la Pole.[76] Whatever Langton's involvement in national affairs, both his and Larke's careers traversed the overlapping worlds of humanist learning, religious reformism, foreign travel, espionage, and diplomacy. Their contact with these different spheres informed their works, and may have fueled their interest in travel and writing about travel.

Aside from the works themselves, which I shall come to in a moment, of the two, Langton's own humanist credentials are perhaps the more immediately obvious: his uncle's patronage and his education at Bologna, his links with leading humanist scholars and ecclesiasts including Colet, his close association with the English charterhouses, and his own generous patronage of education. This notwithstanding, while Larke's closeness to Wolsey and surviving evidence of his friendship with Erasmus post-date the writing of his pilgrimage account, he may have first met Erasmus when in service to Sir Richard Guldeford whose family were already patrons of humanism. In the 1480s Sir Richard's father, John Guldeford, held the advowson of Tenterden parish church in Kent when the humanist John Morer was vicar. Morer was part of a network of well-educated clergy and remembered the famous Greek scholar Thomas Linacre, then studying in Florence, in his remarkable will. Sir Richard's second wife Jane Vaux, whom he married in 1489, was brought up in the household of Henry VII's mother, Lady Margaret Beaufort, an important patron of the new learning and moderate orthodox reform. Writing in 1519 to Richard's son, the courtier Sir Henry Guldeford, Erasmus asked to be remembered to Henry's mother and Richard's widow, Lady Jane, "whose acquaintance I owe to several conversations." Erasmus had visited England in 1499 and 1505–1506, and he may have first met Sir Richard and Lady Jane at court and so perhaps also Larke.[77]

The Guldefords' interests in the new learning may have owed something to their Italian connections. Sir Richard's marriage to Jane brought with it important and useful Italian relatives whom Larke made a point of mentioning in his book. At

[74] D.G. Newcombe, "Tunstal, Cuthbert (1474–1559)," *ODNB*; Cathy Curtis, "Pace, Richard (1483?–1536)," *ODNB*.

[75] *Two Pilgrim Itineraries* (n. 2 above) 154, 160–161, plate 4.

[76] Cunningham, "Guildford, Richard," *ODNB*; I.S. Leadam, "An unknown conspiracy against King Henry VII," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, new ser., 16 (1902) 133–158 at 155.

[77] The above account of the Guldefords' interests in humanism is a summary of Lutton, "Richard Guldeford's pilgrimage" (n. 59 above) 70–73.

Alessandria, north of Genoa, Guldeford's party was given hospitality by Lady Jane's "cosyns" Jeronimo and Agostino Pallavacino, and the Milanese nobleman Cristiforo Pallavacino travelled with Guldeford from Venice to Rhodes before breaking off to make an unsuccessful attempt to reach St Catherine's monastery at Mount Sinai via Alexandria and Cairo. After Sir Richard's death in Jerusalem, "my Sir Christofer Palvasyn," as Larke calls him, reappears in the narrative and persuades the patron of Larke's galley and his fellow pilgrims, not only to take him with them back to Venice, but to delay their departure from Palestine so that Cristoforo can visit the holy sites. Thus Guldeford's travels and Larke's account of them were also intended to reinforce and celebrate connections with a wealthy, sophisticated, and influential Italian family and underline a shared interest in travel per se.[78]

The ways in which Langton's and Larke's pilgrimage texts engage with learned and reformist concerns and interests demonstrate how pilgrimage and pilgrimage writing in England were being refashioned in the first decades of the sixteenth century. I have mentioned above how Larke read, translated, and adapted parts of Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio* and Mandeville's *Book* in light of his own experience of travel, and how, as such, his work is a good example of pilgrimage as literary and scholarly endeavour in the humanist mould. This is less obviously the case with Langton's work, although it does, as we shall see, demonstrate an interest in travel as travel. Moreover, whilst it is important to stress that both books are conventional in the sense that they remain fundamentally concerned with pilgrimage as a route to individual salvation and spiritual improvement, it is also the case that they approach devout travel in newly distinctive ways.

We start with indulgences and relics, before moving on to how they write about travel as educative experience. In a postscript Langton declares:

> This boke of pylgrymage to saynt James, and other holy places within Christendome I made for the instruction of good and devout people of Englonde that may be spared, Wyllynge to se suche holy places and relykes: and take payne on them for Crystes sake, and encrease of theyr merytes.[79]

This conventional emphasis on the penitential merits of pilgrimage, however, is not accompanied by the customary listing of indulgences attached to the holy sites. Most pilgrimage accounts and guidebooks mark or list the indulgences attached to particular sites and relics. A number include an introductory formula that explains the historical origin of indulgences, distinguishes between the greater and lesser sites and the value of indulgences attached to them, and explains how they are marked in the text.[80] In contrast, their only mention in Langton is in relation to the relics of San Salvador in Oviedo in northern Spain, about which he writes: "And grete pardon to them is graunted that vysiteth that place, lyke as it dooth appere by the lettres made there, and

[78] *Pylgrymage* (n. 12 above) 5, 46, 71–72. For more on the Pallavacini and their artistic and humanist interests including book collecting see Katherine A. McIver, *Women, Art, and Architecture in Northern Italy, 1520–1580* (Aldershot 2006).

[79] *Two Pilgrim Itineraries* (n. 2 above) fol. 14a (p. 131).

[80] See for example *The Itineraries of William Wey* (n. 7 above) 19–25.

printed of the same."[81] Henry Summerson suggests that these aspects of Langton's work "reflect the aspirations of Colet and his associates to recover a pre-scholastic piety." I would certainly agree, in the sense that they point to moderate orthodox reformism, whatever its precise origins. However, Summerson concludes that "in the early 1520s…such a position was out of step with popular devotion, perhaps explaining the apparent failure of…[Langton's] book."[82] On the contrary, there is no apparent reason to judge the work a failure or to rule out the possibility that it is representative of more widely held views, and therefore of a significant diversity of opinion on the value of indulgences before the Reformation, even at a more popular level.[83]

In this regard it is telling that although Larke retained indulgences as an important motive for pilgrimage they are also less prominent in his book than in most other accounts. In a similar fashion to Langton, Larke includes a passage at the end of his account of his itineraries in the Holy Land that explains the rationale for the different degrees of indulgence attached to different holy sites:

> And it is to be noted that euery holy place before rehersed in all this boke, being within the Holy Londe, where any miracle was shewed or any mystery was done by our blessyd Sauyour or any of his sayntes, or any mencyon made of any holy actes, there is at euery one of them vij yere and vij lentes of pardon; and at euery pryncypall holy place of the grete mysteryes is clene remyssyon de pena et culpa; and of thyse holy places, bycause they be so prevylegyd aboue other, therefore I haue made mencyon of y^{e} sayde plenarye remyssyon in the chapters of articles of the sayde pryncypall holy places, &c.[84]

He thus mentions the plenary indulgences to be gained at principal holy sites throughout his account, usually with the phrase "and there is clene remyssyon" and occasionally "*de pena et culpa*" but, in contrast to most other accounts including *Informacion for Pylgrymes*, does not mark the lesser indulgences of "seven years and seven lents." In this Larke took a different approach to Breydenbach, his main source, which also mentions lesser indulgences from time to time, as well as listing, in a separate section, the holy sites and their indulgences; something also done by William Wey.[85] Indulgences remained part of the rationale for his pilgrimage, but in Larke's conception of devout travel to the Holy Land they were less important than the actual experience of visiting the sites to which the pardons were attached, and of walking in the footsteps of Christ and the Virgin. Both guidebooks appear to represent an orthodox reshaping of writing about pilgrimage that was in tune with widely held

[81] *Two Pilgrim Itineraries* (n. 2 above) fol. 8a (p. 119). He thereby refers his reader to printed bills of indulgence displayed at holy sites. On these see Swanson, *Indulgences* (n. 23 above) 161–166.

[82] Summerson, "Langton" (n. 1 above).

[83] On the problems of judging the success or failure of printed books and on the breadth of opinion on indulgences see above. On audiences for printed books in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries see, for example, Edwards and Meale, "The Marketing of Printed Books" (n. 13 above).

[84] *Pylgrymage* (n. 12 above) 55.

[85] For example, *Peregrinatio in terram* sanctam (n. 9 above) fol. 22v: "Omnibus hiis in locis supra assignatis est indulgentia septennis cum totidem carenis" cf. *Pylgrymage* (n. 12 above) 20; *Itineraries of William Wey* (n. 7 above) 30–51; Brefeld, *Guidebook* (n. 4 above) 50–51.

attitudes, particularly in learned circles, that "accepted and valued indulgences, but as a secondary aspect of a devotion primarily Christocentric and Passion-focussed."[86]

Despite its relative lack of interest in indulgences, Langton's book is a reminder that even the most educated pilgrim could retain an interest in relics by the early sixteenth century. He declared on his title page that his guidebook contained "the name of euery towne and the space betwene them, as well by fraunce & spayne as the dutche way and other londes. And of the relykes and wondres in certayne townes & places compendiously ordred..."[87] Seven double-column folios list in Latin the places visited with the occasional English gloss, followed by a further seven of commentary on the relics and other items of note in English. The relics are copious and colourful and include, to name but a few of those at Venice alone, four different thorns of Christ including one that flowered annually, part of Mary Magdalene's shoulder, the hand of St John the Baptist that he baptised Christ with, and St George's ear.[88] This seems a long way from the scepticism of Erasmus or Colet but Langton may have adopted a similar attitude to the Italian canonist Antonio de Beatis who wrote about the vast number of relics he saw in the churches that he visited in his travels across Western Europe in 1517–1518. The vested interests of a whole array of individuals and institutions had ensured that the abuse of relics had gone on for so long that it was often impossible to know which relics were authentic and which were fake but, nevertheless, for Beatis "to believe was godly, and relics may be venerated, with due caution as to their authenticity."[89]

Larke's treatment of saints' relics, if anything, is more circumspect and more clearly suggests the influence of reformist concerns about the more outlandish aspects of the relics industry.[90] Relics are mentioned but there is none of the close or extensive interest in them that is present in other accounts. For example, on the journey out he mentions how at Padua they witnessed "… a solempne procession, where at were borne many relyques …" and "In the sayde processyon we vysyted there many seyntes and relyques, as seynt Luke and seynt Mathye…" and saw the "… two tables of our blessyd Lady, which seynt Luke paynted with his awne handes at Padowa."[91] As if overwhelmed he writes: "The relyques at Uenyce can not be noumbred. There lyeth saynt Elyn, saynt Barbara, seynt Roke, seynt Zachary, seynt Jeruas, and Prothase, and many other seyntes and grete relyques, and at the monastery of seynt Nycholas there lyeth the holy body of seynt Nycholas, as they saye."[92] In contrast, Breydenbach contains a long and detailed list of the relics at Venice including an arm of St George, a portion of the true cross, a thumb of Constantine the son of St Helena, a chest-bone of St Mary Magdalene and one of the six jars in which water was turned into wine as

[86] Swanson, *Indulgences* (n. 23 above) 278–418, 469–481, at 417; Peter Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England* (Oxford 2002) 32.

[87] *Two Pilgrim Itineraries* (n. 2 above) fol. 1a (p. 93).

[88] Ibid. fol. 10a (p. 123).

[89] *The Travel Journal of Antonio de Beatis* (n. 15 above) 105, 121, 152, at 153. For scepticism about the authenticity of specific relics alongside continuing commitment to their veneration in William Wey and the anonymous *Itinerarium cuiusdam Anglici, 1344–1345* see Yeager, *Jerusalem* (n. 18 above) 45–46.

[90] Bernard, "Vitality and Vulnerability" (n. 23 above) 219–231; Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England* (n. 23 above) 242–261.

[91] *Pylgrymage* (n. 12 above) 6.

[92] Ibid. 7.

well as other detailed descriptions of relics not found in Larke's narrative.[93] Similarly, the description of Venice in the account of Wey's second pilgrimage repeats the list of relics to be found there, and it is far more extensive than that in Larke. Indeed, relics constituted one of Wey's ten reasons for taking the pilgrimage to Jerusalem.[94] Richard Torkington's account of his pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1517 includes added details about particular relics to the descriptions he took from Larke. For example, at Padua they included "… the Tong of Saynt Antony yet ffayer and ffressh which tong he convertyd myche peple to the ffeythe of Crist," "… the ffynger of Seynt luke that he wrote the holy gospel wt" and "… the holy body of Seynt Luce virgin, ye may see perfyghtly hyr body and hyr papys."[95] There is none of this sort of lurid description of the bodies of the saints in Larke's book, which is much more in keeping with the rational scepticism that would be voiced a few years later by Erasmus. At their most extreme, learned reformist attitudes to relics even went as far as revulsion, as when, for example, in *A Pilgrimage for Religion's Sake*, Ogygius's travelling companion Gratian Pullus, who is undoubtedly supposed to be Colet, is unable to conceal his disgust at the most visceral of Becket's relics at Canterbury.[96] This sort of outright critique is absent from Larke but, nevertheless, his rather different focus to other writers may have been informed by such reformist discourse.

Larke's handling of relics may reflect a deliberate attempt to provide a reformed but orthodox Jerusalem pilgrimage account to a growing English audience, perhaps with the support of senior figures at court and humanist scholars. Queen Katherine of Aragon's patronage of scholars of the new learning, of education and of the printing of religious literature was extensive, and the appearance of her arms beneath those of the king in *The Pylgrymage of Sir Richarde Guylforde*, suggests her active support of its publication. At the very least she would have approved of its reformist tone. She herself made pilgrimages to the shrines of Our Lady of Walsingham, St Mary of Caversham, and St Frideswide of Oxford, but seems to have been less than enthusiastic about the cult of relics. Her inward looking personal piety was akin to that practiced by other high status women in England such as Lady Margaret Beaufort.[97] That she developed a devotional interest in Christ's passion and in the physical memorialization of its sacred geography, is indicated by the chapel, akin to the Franciscan *sacri monti*, that she is reported to have had built on a hill in the London

[93] *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam* (n. 9 above) fols. 9v–10r; Davies, *Bernard Von Breydenbach and His Journey* (n. 9 above) pp. xii–xiv.

[94] *Itineraries of William Wey* (n. 7 above) 52–53, 89–90.

[95] *Ye Oldest Diarie* (n. 7 above) 9–10.

[96] "A Pilgrimage for Religion's Sake" (n. 25 above) 643, 667 nn. 145–146. A similar sentiment is expressed by the English clerk and diplomat John Taylor, the abovementioned correspondent with Larke and another member of Wolsey's circle, who wrote an account of his travels in France in the 1520s: *L&P*, IV.1.1938 p. 860; P.R.N. Carter, "Taylor, John (d. 1534)," *ODNB*.

[97] C.S.L. Davies and John Edwards, "Katherine of Aragon (1485–1536)," *ODNB*; McConica, *English* Humanists (n. 17 above) 53–66; M. K. Jones and M. G. Underwood, *The King's Mother: Lady Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby* (Cambridge 1992); Garrett Mattingly, *Catherine of Aragon* (London 1942, this edn. 1950) 136–140; Bernard, *Vitality and Vulnerability* (n. 23 above) 135, 148; C. Haigh and D. Loades, "The Fortunes of the Shrine of St Mary of Caversham," *Oxoniensia* 46 (1981) 62–72 at 67.

suburb of Aldersgate and which she named "the *Mount of Calvary*, because it was of Christ's Passion."[98]

Larke's humanist milieu may also explain other innovations in the way he wrote about the Jerusalem pilgrimage. Despite bearing many of the characteristics of a conventional and derivative genre, *The Pylgrymage of Sir Richarde Guylforde* is the first English narrative account of the Jerusalem pilgrimage to be printed in English from the perspective of an individual eyewitness moving through space and time.[99] It is also the first English account to provide detailed description of the journey home, and it may be the first anywhere to describe both outward and homeward journeys in their entirety. It is in his accounts of the journey that the sense of pilgrimage as travel emerges most clearly and where Larke makes some of his most original contributions to English travel writing as a genre: pilgrimage as adventure, personal experience, and empirical witnessing. Most striking in this regard is the long and dramatic account, taking up a quarter of the book, of the return voyage to Venice, which from Rhodes onwards was beset by contrary winds, terrifying storms, and long periods of tedious calm.[100] Larke's attention to pilgrimage as a journey experienced in real time and space that was not solely defined as devotional practice marks a significant moment of transition in printed English travel writing.

It is important to stress, however, that Robert Langton took a very different approach in his book, published some ten years after Larke's, eschewing narrative in favour of the well-established itinerary and guidebook format, yet praising Larke for his own contribution to the genre. Despite their similar backgrounds and interests, the differences between their works illustrate that there was no single humanist or reformist approach to writing about pilgrimage in the early sixteenth century. Nevertheless, both writers shared an interest in the world that meant they thought and wrote about pilgrimage as something broader than a narrowly defined religious journey.

This can be seen most acutely in their interest in antiquities and more recent history. In Langton these include the burial places of Petrarch (whom he describes as "no saynt, but a grete clerke") and Peter of Abano ("a nygromancer") at Padua; Dante's tomb at Ravenna; Hannibal and the site of the battle of Cannae near Barletta; the Sybil's cave and Virgil's tomb at Pozzuoli under Naples; and Etna, and Scylla and Charybdis under Sicily.[101] The entry for Rome is the most interesting, as rather than

[98] It is identified by John Strype in his 1720 edition of John Stow's 1598 *Survey of London*: John Stow, *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster*, 6 vols. (London 1720) II, ch. 3, 61. I owe my knowledge of this chapel to Anthony Bale and, in turn, to Tom Chivers: http://thisisyogic.wordpress.com/2012/10/01/londons-golgotha/. On *sacri monti* see Annabel Jane Wharton, *Selling Jerusalem. Relics, Replicas, Theme Parks* (Chicago Ill. 2006) 97–143.

[99] Much of this paragraph is based on Lutton, "Richard Guldeford's Pilgrimage" (n. 59 above) 66–69.

[100] *Pylgrymage* (n. 12 above) 7–9, 64–65. Breydenbach contains a similar description of the trials of the return voyage: *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam* (n. 9 above) fols. 124r–127r and see the comments in Noonan, *Road to Jerusalem* (n. 4 above) 40.

[101] *Two Pilgrim Itineraries* (n. 2 above) fol. 9a (p. 121), fols. 10a–b (pp. 123–124), fol. 11a (p. 125), fol. 13a (p. 129). Peter of Abano (c. 1250–1315), professor of Medicine at the University of Padua was accused, and posthumously convicted, of heresy in the early fourteenth century possibly for his "astrological determinism and overly naturalistic explanations of the generation of the soul": Manu Radhakrishan, "Peter of Abano" in *The Oxford Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, ed. Robert E. Bjork, 4 vols. (Oxford 2010) 4.1285.

listing the relics there Langton referred the reader to "the boke called the meruayles and stacyons of Rome." (He presumably meant *The Stations of Rome*, the widely known guidebook to the relics and indulgences, rather than *Mirabilia Urbis Romae* which described the city's monuments.) Instead, he mentioned "certain antiquities" in the statue court of the Belvedere in the Vatican: the Apollo, the Venus Felix, and, only discovered in 1506, the extraordinarily striking statue of Laocoön with his sons' being overcome by sea serpents. Langton would have seen these statues only a few years after they had been brought together in the Belvedere courtyard by Pope Julius II and so the references are testimony not only to his fashionable cultural interests but the up-to-date credentials of his guidebook.[102]

In his book Larke mentioned the tombs of Livy and Antenor of Troy at Padua and about the "yle called Cyrigo" (Kythira) remarked:

> …whiche yle was sometyme called Citheria, where Helena the Grekysshe Quene was borne, but she was rauysshed by Paris in y^e^ next yle by, called Cicerigo [Antikythira?], doynge sacryfyce in the Temple, for the whiche rape followed the distruccion of Troye, as y^e^ famouse storye therof sheweth, knowen in euery tonge; and yet is the ymage of the same quene remayngyne in the Cytie of Asdrys, vpon the see of Archepelagus, in memory of the same rape, wrought moost sotely and craftly in fygne whyte marble; and the sayde yle Cirigo is directely ayenst the point of Capo Maleo in Morrea, and in the same yle was Venus borne, and in the same yle is Delphos, and it is all in Europa, and so is all the remenaunt of Grece; and beyond Grece, ouer a branche of the see, is Asya, wherin, almoste at thentre standynge Troia, with the chyef porte the yle of Tenedos, that stondeth in the see.[103]

On Crete he noted "this cytie of Candy (Heraklion) was somtyme the habytacle and lordship of y^e^ kynge Mynos" and "In ye same yle was Saturnus borne" and, quoted from the standard medieval school text, *Ecloga Theoduli*: "'Prymus Creteis Saturnus venit ab oris,' etc." He also mentioned the temple dedicated to Venus (Aphrodite) at Paphos on Cyprus, one of two major sites of her cult, the other being Kythira. [104] This appreciation of non-biblical marvels in both books reflects Langton's and Larke's interest in the classical world, but it also signals a widening of interest beyond the strictly devout imperatives for travel that had been fundamental to pilgrimage writing for centuries. I emphasized in the introduction to this article that this was not an entirely new development, but this shared feature of Larke's and Langton's books, both newly printed for an English audience in the early sixteenth century, suggests that this broadening of interest was becoming an increasingly important feature of travel writing by this time.

[102] *Two Pilgrim Itineraries* (n. 2 above) 86, fol. 11b (p. 126). Zacher, "Travel and geographical writings" (n. 5 above) 2239, 2452; *The Marvels of Rome*, ed. and trans. Francis Morgan Nichols (London 1986). On the statues see E.S. De Beer, "Robert Langton's *Pylgrimage*," *The Library*, 5th ser., 10 (1955) 58–59. Whereas E. M. Blackie sees the work essentially as uncritical and traditionalist compared to Erasmus and its classical references as being overshadowed by the lengthy lists of relics (Blackie, *Pilgrimage of Robert Langton* (n. 2 above) pp. xv–xxii) others have noted its distinctively humanist antiquarian interests: De Beer, "Robert Langton's *Pylgrimage*" 58–59; *Two Pilgrim Itineraries* (n. 2 above) 87.

[103] *Pylgrymage* (n. 12 above) 6, 12–13.

[104] Ibid. 14–15: "From Cretan shores came Saturn; he was first of all."

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The identification of Thomas Larke as the author of *The Pylgrymage of Sir Richarde Guylforde* enhances our understanding of its significance as a particular type of pilgrimage narrative at a particular moment in time. It places the work at the heart of the English ecclesiastical, political, and cultural establishment at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Langton, although not as involved in political life (as far as we know), was similarly positioned at the centre of things culturally; we might even say that both writers were associated with some of the most important figures in the intellectual and cultural avant-garde. Given their very likely exposure to contemporary controversies and debates surrounding pilgrimage as a practice, it is all the more significant that both of their books testify to pilgrimage's enduring religious vitality, and to the utility of pilgrim guidebooks as works of spiritual edification. This notwithstanding, they were not straightforward traditionalist ripostes to awkward questions about the spiritual legitimacy of pilgrimage, but rather, attempts to accommodate such concerns and to offer a reformed alternative. These questions, therefore, both shaped the way they went about writing their accounts and provided an incentive for their publication. However, the differences between the two texts are perhaps as interesting as the similarities. They reflect a more general plurality of opinion on the subject of pilgrimage, which can also be seen among leading humanist figures such as Erasmus, Colet, and More; disquiet and criticism were accompanied by a continuing belief in their efficacy.[105]

Although the questions surrounding pilgrimage, not least among the well-educated, were longstanding, the impulse for the printing of these works may have had something to do with the specific contexts of their publication. Larke's was presumably written in 1506 or not long after, but was not published until 1511. This was around the time he joined Wolsey's household and the latter's rise to power. It also coincided with a major anti-heresy drive by the English bishops in 1511–1512, including in Kent where efforts were focused on the Weald, somewhere Larke knew well through his service to Guldeford. This campaign, led by Archbishop William Warham, also Lord Chancellor, was part of larger plans for a province-wide programme of ecclesiastical reform launched at the Canterbury Convocation of 1510. So, at the same time as the heresy trials, Warham led a diocesan visitation to raise pastoral standards. This reformist activity went hand-in-hand with support for clerical education, and was informed by humanism; Warham was patron of Erasmus and other humanist scholars, and it was at his behest that Colet preached his famously forthright sermon on ecclesiastical reform to the Convocation of Canterbury in 1512.[106] This religious climate would have made Larke's reformist restatement of the spiritual

[105] See for example Bernard, "Vitality and vulnerability" (n. 23 above)) passim and the commentary in "A Pilgrimage for Religion's Sake" (n. 25 above) passim. On the "profound differences of outlook among those who have been classified as humanists" and references to the secondary literature see Diarmaid MacCulloch, "England," in *The Early Reformation in England*, ed. Andrew Pettegree (Cambridge 1992) 166–187 at 170.

[106] See for example Craig D'Alton, "Heresy hunting and clerical reform: William Warham, John Colet, and the Lollards of Kent, 1511–12," in *Heresy in Transition: transforming ideas of heresy in medieval and modern Europe*, ed. I. Hunter, J.C. Laursen and C.J. Nederman (Aldershot 2005) 103–114.

efficacy of pilgrimage particularly timely, and may help to explain why it appears to have had the backing of the court, including Queen Katherine.

Similarly, Langton returned to England in 1514 but his book was not published until 1522 when he had retired to the London Charterhouse under More's nose. By this time new evangelical ideas had arrived in England, and in 1521 Luther's works were being publicly burnt at St Paul's Cross in London and attacked by university theologians at Wolsey's instigation. In the same year Henry VIII published his *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum* in direct response to Luther, which he dedicated to Pope Leo X. As a result he was given the title of Defender of the Faith in October 1521. It seems reasonable to view the publication of Langton's book the following year as part of these responses to early evangelical attacks on traditional religious beliefs and practices, including pilgrimage, relics, and indulgences.[107] Both works, therefore, were published in contexts of reaction to the perceived threat of heresy. The criticisms of pilgrimage by 1522 remained essentially the same as those in 1511, even if the scale of the threat had grown. As close as they were to centers of power and currents of thought, Larke and Langton must have been aware of this religious and intellectual climate and were perhaps prompted to publish by senior reformist figures, most likely Wolsey and More, respectively, and perhaps others including Erasmus and Colet. This polemical context strengthens the case for seeing their books as forerunners of the Counter-Reformation flowering of Catholic pilgrimage literature on the Continent.[108]

Larke and Langton moved in circles where travel served political, religious, and cultural functions, and writing about travel was not a purely religious pursuit. Both men remained committed to travel as pilgrimage, and the printing of their works demonstrates a continuing interest in pilgrimage guides and narratives in England, and an enduring conviction among educated churchmen in their importance for the laity, but their books also signal a growing interest among writers and readers in pilgrimage as travel. These two guidebooks, printed for an English audience in the early sixteenth century, influenced and shaped as they were by Italian and northern European humanism, therefore mark an important early stage in the development of travel and travel writing as practices of self-improvement and education that would not reach full fruition until the late seventeenth century in the Grand Tour. This shift is readily identifiable in England by the second half of the sixteenth century,[109] but we can see its beginnings in the ways that these two supremely cultured and well-connected writers adapted the established literary modes of the pilgrim guidebook as they reflected on the purpose and meaning of travel.

[107] Peter Marshall, *Reformation England, 1480–1642* (London 2003) 28. I would like to thank David Gehring for alerting me to the possible significance of the timing of the publication of Langton's book.

[108] Gomez-Géraud, *Le Crépescule du Grand Voyage* (n. 25 above).

[109] See, for example, *Diplomatic Intelligence on the Holy Roman Empire and Denmark during the Reigns of Elizabeth I and James VI: Three Treatises*, ed. David Scott Gehring, Camden Fifth Series, vol. 49 (London 2016) 23–33.