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PRIDE AND PREJUDICE IN STORIES OF MEDIEVAL TRAVEL AND MIGRATION

INTRODUCTION

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The idea that the Middle Ages were inaugurated by 'barbarian invasions' (*Völkerwanderungen*)—large-scale migrations of people that in one fell swoop swept away the well-ordered world of Roman antiquity for a landscape of unorganized, Dark-Age tribalism—has lost ground in scholarship.[1] So has the idea that—after this era of explosive movement—medieval Europe was paralysed by lack of mobility,[2] with people confined to their local community and anyone who dared to travel beyond its boundaries regarded as deeply suspicious. Yet medieval society was more complex than that, as shown not least

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[1] Peter J. Heather, *Empires and Barbarians: The Fall of Rome and the Birth of Europe* (Oxford, 2010); Guy Halsall, 'The Barbarian Invasions', in Paul Fouracre (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. i: *c.500–c.700* (Cambridge, 2005), 35–55; Peter Geiss and Konrad Vössing (eds.), *Die Völkerwanderung: Mythos – Forschung – Vermittlung* (Göttingen, 2021); Mischa Meier, *Geschichte der Völkerwanderung: Europa, Asien und Afrika vom 3. bis zum 8. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* (Munich, 2021). See also the contributions to Brill's series 'Transformation of the Roman World'.

[2] John F. Romano (ed.), *Medieval Travel and Travelers: A Reader* (Toronto, 2020), p. xi: 'The popular conception is that medieval people traveled little'. For historiographical overviews, see also Romedio Schmitz-Esser, 'Travel and Exploration in the Middle Ages', in Albrecht Classen (ed.), *Handbook of Medieval Culture: Fundamental Aspects and Conditions of the European Middle Ages*, 3 vols. (Berlin, 2015), iii. 1680–704; Albrecht Classen, 'Time, Space, and Travel in the Pre-Modern World: Theoretical and Historical Reflections. An Introduction', in id. (ed.), *Travel, Time, and Space in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Time: Explorations of World Perceptions and Processes of Identity Formation* (Boston, 2018), 1–75; Michael Borgolte, 'Medieval Era Migration: An Overview', in *The Encyclopedia of Global Human Migration* (Chichester, 2013), at [https://doi.org/10.1002/9781444351071.wbeghm355].

(and with remarkable ease) by Arno Borst's seminal book on 'Forms of Life in the Middle Ages' (*Lebensformen im Mittelalter*), whose fiftieth publication anniversary is commemorated in this issue by Levi Roach's review in our 'Classics Reread' series.[3] The contributors to this issue, too, underline that although *any* movement away from home was arduous and often even dangerous, people in the Middle Ages exercised a degree of mobility that may still be surprising to some modern onlookers. The contributions to this volume also highlight, however, the ambiguity with which travellers and migrants of the medieval period were viewed by their contemporaries. Some of the surviving sources condemned people on the move, especially when they were perceived to be travelling without purpose or when their movements were suspected of posing a danger or inflicting harm. Other authors, by contrast, celebrated their accomplishments on the road or indeed imagined their historical roots in adventurous movements of migration.

Prejudice against Travellers and Migrants

To be sure, prejudice against and hostility towards people on the move was far from exceptional, especially when these people did not fall under the umbrella of (Catholic) Christianity, and even more so when their movement came with the spectre of violence. The campaigns of the Vikings from the eighth to the eleventh centuries and of the Mongols in the thirteenth, just like those of the Huns and the Avars in the fourth and fifth centuries, were depicted with extreme hostility in medieval literature.[4] Here, the predatory raids and military clashes that did occur and caused understandable concern were

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[3] Arno Borst, *Lebensformen im Mittelalter* (Frankfurt am Main, 1987), esp. 219–37.

[4] Caitlin Ellis, 'Remembering the Vikings: Violence, Institutional Memory and the Instruments of History', *History Compass*, 19/1 (2021), at [https://doi.org/10.1111/hic3.12644]; Ann Trudy Fielding, 'The Image of the Mongols in Western European Imagination (1220–1500)' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Cambridge, 2005); Diederik Burgersdijk, 'Creating the Enemy: Ammianus Marcellinus' Double Digression on Huns and Alans (*Res Gestae* 31.2)', *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*, 59/1 (2016), 111–32.

turned into apocalyptic scenes, and their initiators into bloodthirsty monsters devoid of humanity. Such themes are found, for instance, in the historiographical accounts of the Magyars' activities before forces led by Emperor Otto I put an end to their raids in the Battle of Lechfeld, near Augsburg, in 955. Not only did the Magyars invade, loot, and torch entire cities, so that 'smoke and skies red with fire revealed where each band was', as the monk Ekkehard (b. *c*.980) claimed in his history of the monastery of St Gall,[5] but the abbot and chronicler Regino of Prüm (d. 915) branded them 'a people fiercer and more cruel than any beast':[6]

> Moreover, rumour has it, they eat meat only raw, they drink blood, and they carve up the hearts of people they take captive to devour as a remedy, unaffected by compassion and unmoved by any sentiments of piety.[7]

Worse yet, as non-Christians, they lacked the right faith—a flaw that rendered people on the move suspicious even when they were perfectly peaceful and, in fact, often already settled. This flaw was thus imputed to Jewish people, whom medieval Christians imagined as eternal migrants despite their often long-standing presence in Europe. In later medieval chronicles, such as those written in St Albans, such interpretations of the relationship between Christianity and the Jewish diaspora became personified. The figure of the 'Wandering Jew', in Ann Matter's words, 'takes on all of the characteristics of the whole Jewish community in Christian culture', in which Jews were believed to be punished for their alleged role in the death of Jesus of Nazareth. The 'Wandering Jew' is thus cursed with 'a fugitive presence' and has 'no home until the end of the world.'[8] Of course, medieval Christians

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[5] Georg Heinrich Pertz (ed.), *Scriptores rerum Sangallensium: Annales, chronica et historiae aevi Carolini*, MGH SS 2 (Hanover, 1829), 105. All translations are my own, unless otherwise indicated.

[6] Friedrich Kurze, (ed.), *Reginonis abbatis Prumiensis Chronicon cum continuatione Treverensi*, MGH SS rer. Germ. 50 (Hanover, 1890), 131.   [7] Ibid. 133.

[8] E. Ann Matter, 'Wandering to the End: The Medieval Christian Context of the Wandering Jew', in Franklin T. Harkins (ed.), *Transforming Relations: Essays on Jews and Christians throughout History in Honour of Michael A. Signer* (Notre Dame, 2010), 224–40, at 232; Jean-Claude Schmitt, 'La genèse médiévale de la

themselves contributed much to this perception, repeatedly robbing Jewish people of their homes and forcing them into exile, as after the expulsion of Jews from England in 1290 or from the Palatinate of the Holy Roman Empire in 1390, among numerous other instances.[9]

Yet even Christians were not safe from prejudice if their movement was perceived to pose a risk to local communities. Mercenaries who roamed the land in pursuit of employment were seen as a threat not only due to their martial profession but also because of a supposed lack of loyalty, even if their arrival did not herald war to begin with.[10] The Third Lateran Council in 1179 held that the destructiveness of their activities was, in fact, equal to 'the ways of pagans'.[11] Indeed, 'when no respectable tie bound a warrior to a cause or group', then that warrior, as Steven Isaac concludes, risked being seen as 'a

légende et de l'iconographie du Juif errant', in Juliette Braillon-Philippe and Pierre Birnbaum (eds.), *Le juif errant: Un témoin du temps* (Paris, 2001), 55–76; George K. Anderson, *The Legend of the Wandering Jew* (Providence, 1965), 16–37.

[9] Robin Mundill, 'Banishment from the Edge of the World: The Jewish Experience of Expulsion from England in 1290', in John Tolan (ed.), *Expulsion and Diaspora Formation: Religious and Ethnic Identities in Flux from Antiquity to the Seventeenth Century* (Turnhout, 2015), 85–101; Nureet Dermer, 'Between Foreigners, Strangers and Jews: The Changing Perception of Parisian Jews on the Eve of the 1306 Expulsion', *Medieval Encounters*, 27/4–5 (2021), 308–34; Jonathan Ray, *After Expulsion: 1492 and the Making of Sephardic Jewry* (New York, 2013), chs. 1–2; Gerd Mentgen, 'Die Judenvertreibungen im mittelalterlichen Reich: Ein Forschungsbericht', *Aschkenas*, 16/2 (2008), 367–403. See also Benjamin Scheller, 'Vertreibung als Disambiguierung: Die Ausweisung der Juden aus England (1290), Frankreich (1394), Spanien (1492) und dem Königreich Neapel (1510) im Vergleich', in Markus Bernhardt (ed.), *Inklusive Geschichte? Kulturelle Begegnung – Soziale Ungleichheit – Inklusion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Frankfurt am Main, 2021), 120–48.

[10] Nikolas Jaspert, 'Mobility, Mediation and Transculturation in the Medieval Mediterranean: Migrating Mercenaries and the Challenges of Mixing', in Laila Abu-Er-Rub et al. (eds.), *Engaging with Transculturality: Concepts, Key Terms, Case Studies* (Abingdon, 2019), 136–52; Hunt Janin and Ursula Carlson, *Mercenaries in Medieval and Renaissance Europe* (Jefferson, NC, 2013); John France (ed.), *Mercenaries and Paid Men: The Mercenary Identity in the Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2008).

[11] Giuseppe Alberigo et al. (eds.), *The General Councils of Latin Christendom from Constantinople IV (869/870) to Lateran V (1512–1517)*, 2 vols. (Turnhout, 2013), i. 146.

stranger not only to the land he plundered, but also to God's mandated order.'[12]

In other instances, it was fears of economic competition that created 'fierce anti-alien feeling', as migrants in London, frequently with Italian, French, Dutch, or German backgrounds, experienced throughout the later Middle Ages and well into the early modern period.[13] Whether simple weavers or skilled goldsmiths, their impact on the labour market and their cultural otherness led to abuse and violence: everyday insults that denounced migrants as 'erraunt theves and their wifes strong erraunt hores' might be a matter for the courts,[14] but charges of economic harm done to the livelihoods of London citizens sometimes had even graver consequences. A sermon that proclaimed 'alyens and strau[n]giers eate the bread from the poore fatherles chyldren, and take the liuynge from all the artificers, and . . . from all merchauntes' was the prelude to the Evil May Day of 1517, when the homes and shops of foreigners were ransacked—a comparatively mild outcome in this case, as xenophobia had also led to lethal attacks on London's immigrants in the Middle Ages.[15]

[12] Steven Wayne Isaac, 'Down upon the Fold: Mercenaries in the Twelfth Century' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Louisiana State University, 1998), 328–9.

[13] James L. Bolton, *The Alien Communities of London in the Fifteenth Century: The Subsidy Rolls of 1440 and 1483–4* (Stamford, 1998), 39–40. See also William Mark Ormrod, 'Enmity or Amity? The Status of French Immigrants to England during an Age of War, *c*.1290–*c*.1540', *History: The Journal of the Historical Association*, 105/364 (2020), 28–59; Francesco Guidi-Bruscoli and Jessica Lutkin, 'Perception, Identity, and Culture: The Italian Communities in Fifteenth-Century London and Southampton Revisited', in William Mark Ormrod, Nicola F. MacDonald, and Craig D. Taylor (eds.), *Resident Aliens in Later Medieval England* (Turnhout, 2017) 89–104; Bart Lambert and Milan Pajic, 'Immigration and the Common Profit: Native Cloth Workers, Flemish Exiles, and Royal Policy in Fourteenth-Century London', *Journal of British Studies*, 55/4 (2016), 633–57; Joseph P. Huffman, *Family, Commerce, and Religion in London and Cologne: Anglo-German Emigrants, c.1000–c.1300* (Cambridge, 2002), esp. ch. 7.

[14] The National Archives, Kew, STAC 2/21/121, cited in Joshua Thomas Ravenhill, 'The Experiences of Aliens in Later Medieval London and the Negotiation of Belonging, 1400–1540' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of York, 2019), 154.

[15] Edward Hall, *Hall's Chronicle: Containing the History of England, during the Reign of Henry the Fourth, and the Succeeding Monarchs, to the End of the Reign*

Economic concerns also applied to individuals who merely passed through towns and villages in search of a living, be they itinerant merchants or vagrant labourers. But these groups had another problem: 'because they were perceived to be mobile, their good character could not be pledged by a neighbour, nor could they be relied upon to take up arms when needed—just as other visitors to the city (even quite wealthy foreign merchants) were equally strange and untrustworthy'.[16] In a face-to-face society, transitory presence was a potential problem. This suspicion of travellers and migrants whose place of residence—or at least place of origin—was uncertain or non-existent features in Lane Baker's contribution to this special issue, which discusses the first accounts of the Romani's arrival in Central and Western Europe. The German-speaking chroniclers of the Middle Ages, Baker stresses, painted a picture that was not yet as consistently negative as the condemnations of Romani by later, early modern commentators, who have unjustly dominated the historical perception of Romani migration in medieval Europe for too long.

Vagrants, however, were quickly suspected of evil intent. In the Icelandic sagas, '[t]hey are depicted as scurrilous, mercenary, treacherous and manipulative, and rarely have social or kinship links of significance.'[17] Vagrant beggars were in a category of their own, in medieval Iceland and elsewhere, because medieval charity was focused on

of Henry the Eighth (London, 1809), 587. See also Brodie Waddell, 'The Evil May Day Riot of 1517 and the Popular Politics of Anti-Immigrant Hostility in Early Modern London', *Historical Research*, 94/266 (2021), 716–35; Len Scales, 'Bread, Cheese and Genocide: Imagining the Destruction of Peoples in Medieval Western Europe', *History: The Journal of the Historical Association*, 92/3 (2007), 284–300.

[16] Sarah Rees Jones, 'Household, Work and the Problem of Mobile Labour: The Regulation of Labour in Medieval English Towns', in James Bothwell, Peter Jeremy Piers Goldberg, and William Mark Ormrod (eds.), *The Problem of Labour in Fourteenth-Century England* (Woodbridge, 2000), 133–53, at 142. See also Vito Piergiovanni, 'The Itinerant Merchant and the Fugitive Merchant in the Middle Ages', in Laurent Mayali and Maria M. Mart (eds.), *Of Strangers and Foreigners (Late Antiquity–Middle Ages)* (Berkeley, 1993), 81–96; Stephen Moore, 'Perceptions of Vagrancy in Extant Legal Records throughout the Later Middle Ages, 1100–1400' (unpublished MA dissertation, Carleton University, 1993).

[17] Jamie Cochrane, 'Gossips, Beggars, Assassins and Tramps: Vagrants and Other Itinerants in the Sagas of Icelanders', *Saga-Book*, 36 (2012), 43–78, at 44.

helping members of the community who, often through bodily injury or deficiency, were unable to support themselves. By contrast, people suspected of being merely unwilling to work, especially outsiders, evidenced by their ability to travel from place to place, were seen as a burden on a locality's welfare resources and the so-called *bonum commune*, that is, the common good.[18] In fact, vagrancy, where interpreted as a choice of lifestyle, was so contemptible to some medieval observers that it rendered even religious men suspicious. In 1319, when the archbishop of Dublin, Alexander Bicknor, 'bitterly complained of the Mischiefs arising from the Straglers and Beggars that infested the City and Suburbs', he convinced the city's mayor to remove 'idle Person[s] within his Liberties', and importantly, 'even the begging Friers were not excused.'[19]

In their choice of poverty and reliance on alms, the mendicant orders, such as Dominicans and Franciscans, traversed Europe rather than confining themselves to solitude as hermits or enclosure in monasteries. This rejection of 'fixedness of place' (*stabilitas loci*)—a popular idea in Christian monasticism—met with criticism as early as the sixth century, when the Rules of the Master and of Saint Benedict denounced *gyrovagi*—'those who wander':

> they ask to rest their restless feet after journeying; using travel as a pretense, what they really desire is to relieve not their feet but their bellies . . . Never staying put, they are forced by traveling every day to beg, sweat and groan, instead of living and working in one place . . . they prefer to travel than stay still. Ever wandering through different lands, they have no idea where they might support their weariness, or even where they might find their burial.[20]

[18] Kellie Robertson, *The Laborer's Two Bodies: Literary and Legal Productions in Britain, 1350–1500* (New York, 2016), 184–90; Esther Cohen, 'Vagrancy', in John Block Friedman and Kristen Mossler Figg (eds.), *Trade, Travel, and Exploration in the Middle Ages: An Encyclopedia* (New York, 2000), 623–4; Miri Rubin, 'The Poor', in Rosemary Horrox (ed.), *Fifteenth-Century Attitudes: Perceptions of Society in Late Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1994), 169–82.

[19] James Ware, *The Whole Works of Sir James Ware Concerning Ireland*, ed. Walter Harris, 2 vols. (Dublin, 1764), i. 331–2.

[20] Translated in Daniel Caner, *Wandering, Begging Monks: Spiritual Authority and the Promotion of Monasticism in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, 2002), 10.

To be sure, the mendicants would have maintained that not all those who wander are lost. And they had a convincing argument on their side:[21] after all, Jesus of Nazareth had not only been poor, but also born on a journey, and had spent his life wandering before commanding his disciples to 'go into all the world and preach the gospel to all creation' (Mark 16:15).

Travellers and Travel Accounts

The ideal of *stabilitas loci* notwithstanding, evangelization was one justification for religious men to travel even before the mendicants elevated religious vagrancy to an ideal (although many of them settled eventually). The famous early medieval chronicler Bede (d. 735) described in his *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* how it was 'mostly monks' who had risked the crossing from Ireland and the Continent that preached to the peoples of Britain and eventually converted them to Christianity.[22] Much more mundane reasons to be on the road sprang from the administrative needs of monasteries, chapters, and churches, which required monks, canons, and priests to travel regularly to see each other, their bishops (perhaps even the pope in Rome), and other magnates.[23]

[21] Benedikt Mertens, '"Vidi quasi vias ipsorum multitudine plenas" (1 Cel 27): Die evangelische Wanderschaft in der Praxis und Debatte der Minderbrüder im 13. Jahrhundert', *Wissenschaft und Weisheit*, 63/1 (2000), 9–60.
[22] Janneke E. Raaijmakers, 'Missions on the Northern and Eastern Frontiers, *c.*700–1100', in Alison Isdale Beach and Isabelle Cochelin (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West* (Cambridge, 2020), 485–501, at 485. See also Conrad Leyser and Hannah Williams (eds.), *Mission and Monasticism* (Rome, 2013); Joachim Bohlem (ed.), *Der missionarische Charakter des abendländischen Mönchtums* (Grevenbroich, 2001), p. iii.
[23] Olivier Delouis, Maria Mossakowska-Gaubert, and Annick Peters-Custot (eds.), *Les mobilités monastiques en Orient et en Occident de l'Antiquité tardive au Moyen Âge (IVe-XVe siècle)* (Rome, 2019); Peter Erhart and Jakob Kuratli Hüeblin (eds.), *Nach Rom gehen: Monastische Reisekultur von der Spätantike bis in die Neuzeit* (Vienna, 2021); Helena Vanommeslaeghe, 'Wandering Abbots: Abbatial Mobility and *stabilitas loci* in Eleventh-Century Lotharingia and Flanders', in Steven Vanderputten, Tjamke Snijders, and Jay Diehl (eds.), *Medieval Liège at the Crossroads of Europe: Monastic Society and Culture, 1000–1300* (Turnhout,

Certainly, travel was a necessity for many medieval people as a matter of occupation.[24] The administration of entire realms required even kings to remain on the move, although the notion of itinerant kingship (*Reisekönigtum*) is most famously associated with the German kings and emperors, whose permanent movement through their lands, without centralized courts or official capitals, remained the norm throughout the Middle Ages.[25] Mobility was even more essential to the duties of government agents—such as messengers, envoys, sheriffs, justices, and heralds—who ensured that rulers remained in touch with their subjects, dispersed possessions, and foreign powers.[26] From the twelfth century onwards, knights would follow the king into war or, when there was no war, join the tournament

2017), 1–28; Notker Wolf, 'Mönche auf Reisen: Ein Kontrapunkt zur "stabilitas loci"?', in Jakob Kuratli Hüeblin and Peter Erhart (eds.), *Vedi Napoli e poi muori: Grand Tour der Mönche* (St Gallen, 2014), 11–16; David Lepine, '"Loose Canons": The Mobility of the Higher Clergy in the Later Middle Ages', in Peregrine Horden (ed.), *Freedom of Movement in the Middle Ages: Proceedings of the 2003 Harlaxton Symposium* (Donington, 2007), 104–22.

[24] Marianne O'Doherty and Felicitas Schmieder (eds.), *Travels and Mobilities in the Middle Ages: From the Atlantic to the Black Sea* (Turnhout, 2015); Horden (ed.), *Freedom of Movement in the Middle Ages*; Paul B. Newman, *Travel and Trade in the Middle Ages* (Jefferson, NC, 2011); Norbert Ohler, *The Medieval Traveller*, trans. Caroline Hillier (Woodbridge, 2010); Margaret Wade Labarge, *Medieval Travellers: The Rich and the Restless* (London, 1982). See also n. 1.

[25] Boris Bove, Alain Salamagne, and Caroline zum Kolk (eds.), *L'itinérance de la cour en France et en Europe: Moyen Âge–XIXe siècle* (Villeneuve-d'Ascq, 2021); Julie Elizabeth Kanter, 'Peripatetic and Sedentary Kingship: The Itineraries of the Thirteenth-Century English Kings' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, King's College London, 2011); John William Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship and Royal Monasteries in Early Medieval Germany, c.936–1075* (Cambridge, 1993); Hans Conrad Peyer, 'Das Reisekönigtum des Mittelalters', *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 51/1 (1964), 1–21.

[26] Michael Borgolte, 'Experten der Fremde: Gesandte in interkulturellen Beziehungen des frühen und hohen Mittelalters', in Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo (ed.), *Le relazioni internazionali nell'alto medioevo* (Spoleto, 2011), 945–92; Richard Gorski, 'Justices and Injustice? England's Local Officials in the Later Middle Ages', in John C. Appleby and Paul Dalton (eds.), *Outlaws in Medieval and Early Modern England: Crime, Government and Society, c.1066–c.1600* (Abingdon, 2016), 55–74; Wim van Anrooij, 'Heralds, Knights and Travelling', in Erik S. Kooper (ed.), *Medieval Dutch Literature in its European Context* (Cambridge, 1994), 46–61.

circuit to hone their skills and pursue fame.[27] Some well-to-do off-spring were sent to be educated at Europe's multiplying universities, often far away from their homes.[28] Sons of townspeople joined the student population in order to acquire the educational foundation to run their family business, while others took apprenticeships in other branches of the enterprise that often led them away from their home towns.[29] Frequently, their commercial occupations required them to travel between centres of trade, like the merchants of the Hansa, who dispatched a constant stream of goods—and countless people to transport them—all over Europe on roads, rivers, and seas.[30] Even serfs, who were otherwise 'bound to the soil' and thus had any voluntary

[27] David Crouch, *Tournament: A Chivalric Way of Life* (London, 2006); Richard W. Barber, 'Chivalry in the Tournament and *Pas d'armes*', in Robert W. Jones and Peter Coss (eds.), *A Companion to Chivalry* (Woodbridge, 2019), 119–38; Karen Watts and Alan V. Murray (eds.), *The Medieval Tournament as Spectacle: Tourneys, Jousts and Pas d'armes, 1100–1600* (Woodbridge, 2020); Stefan Krause and Matthias Pfaffenbichler (eds.), *Turnier: 1000 Jahre Ritterspiele* (Munich, 2017).

[28] Pauline Spychala, 'Omnibus qui causa studiorum peregrinantur: Mobilités sociales et géographiques des universitaires allemands, hongrois et slaves des universités françaises (1330–1500)' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Université de Paris-Est Sup, 2021); William James Courtenay, Jürgen Miethke, and David B. Priest (eds.), *Universities and Schooling in Medieval Society* (Leiden, 2000); Alan B. Cobban, *The Medieval English Universities: Oxford and Cambridge to c.1500* (London, 1988), 300–11.

[29] Beata Możejko, 'Young Burghers from Gdańsk at European Universities in the Late Middle Ages', in Martin Nodl (ed.), *Středověká univerzitní vzdělanost* (Prague, 2017), 135–68; Edelgard E. DuBruck, 'Late-Medieval Merchants: History, Education, Mentality, and Cultural Significance', *Fifteenth-Century Studies*, 28 (2003), 97–110; Klaus Wriedt, 'Schule und Universitätsbesuch in norddeutschen Städten des Spätmittelalters', in id., *Schule und Universität: Bildungsverhältnisse in norddeutschen Städten des Spätmittelalters. Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Leiden, 2005), 27–44.

[30] Chris Wickham, *The Donkey and the Boat: Reinterpreting the Mediterranean Economy, 950–1180* (Oxford, 2023); David Jacoby, 'The Migration of Merchants and Craftsmen: A Mediterranean Perspective (12th–15th Century)', in id. (ed.), *Trade, Commodities and Shipping in the Medieval Mediterranean* (Aldershot, 1997), 533–60; David W. Griffiths, 'Exchange, Trade, and Urbanization', in Wendy Davies (ed.), *From the Vikings to the Normans* (Oxford, 2003), 73–106; Justyna Wubs-Mrozewicz and Stuart Jenks (eds.), *The Hanse in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Leiden, 2012).

mobility curtailed, occasionally had to travel to fulfil their obligations to their lords.[31]

   While travel was thus indispensable to turning the wheels of this world, ideas around pilgrimage suggested that travel to the holy sites of Christendom might even ease access to the promises of the next.[32] People from all stations of life took up the pilgrim's staff, from farmers and workers of modest means who visited nearby relics to burgesses, nobles, princes, and kings, who could afford to undertake even the costly journey to the Holy Land. Among the selection of stereotypical pilgrims in Geoffrey Chaucer's fourteenth-century *Canterbury Tales* is the fictional character of Alison, better known as the Wife of Bath. Her presence reminds us that medieval women—whether as pilgrims, as nuns taking care of their convents' affairs, as princesses sent to wed princes abroad, or as wives and maids who followed their husbands and masters on campaigns—were no strangers to travel either.[33] Perhaps the most famous example of a

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[31] Paolo Tedesco and Steffen Patzold (eds.), *Beyond the Manorial Economy: Peasant Labour and Mobility in Carolingian and Post-Carolingian Europe*, special issue of *Journal of European Economic History*, 48/3 (2019); Paul Freedman and Monique Bourin (eds.), *Forms of Servitude in Northern and Central Europe: Decline, Resistance, and Expansion* (Turnhout, 2005). See also Tom Scott, 'The Survival of Serfdom in Western Europe', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte: Germanistische Abteilung*, 136/1 (2019), 51–75.

[32] Diana Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage, c.700–c.1500* (Basingstoke, 2002); Jenni Kuuliala and Jussi Rantala (eds.), *Travel, Pilgrimage and Social Interaction from Antiquity to the Middle Ages* (Abingdon, 2021); Klaus Herbers and Hans Christian Lehner (eds.), *Unterwegs im Namen der Religion: Pilgern als Form von Kontingenzbewältigung und Zukunftssicherung in den Weltreligionen / On the Road in the Name of Religion: Pilgrimage as a Means of Coping with Contingency and Fixing the Future in the World's Major Religions* (Stuttgart, 2014).

[33] Leigh Ann Craig, *Wandering Women and Holy Matrons: Women as Pilgrims in the Later Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2009), esp. 39–49. See also Diana M. Webb, 'Freedom of Movement? Women Travellers in the Middle Ages', in Christine Meek and Catherine Lawless (eds.), *Pawns or Players? Studies on Medieval and Early Modern Women* (Dublin, 2004), 75–89; Bart Lambert and Joshua Ravenhill, 'Travelled Women: Female Alien Immigrants in Fifteenth- and Early-Sixteenth-Century London', in Caroline M. Barron and Martha Carlin (eds.), *Medieval Travel: Essays from the 2021 Harlaxton Symposium* (Donington, 2023), 155–73; Carole Anne Maddern, 'Female Mobility in Medieval English Romance: A Study of Travel and Transgression' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis,

well-travelled woman in the later Middle Ages is Margery Kempe (*c*.1373–1438), who is known not only to have journeyed from her English home to Gdańsk to visit her daughter-in-law, but also to have undertaken multiple pilgrimages.[34] Margery covered a vast distance between different sacred sites, from Wilsnack in Brandenburg all the way to Santiago de Compostela, Rome, and even Jerusalem, as her *Book*, hailed as the first autobiography in the English language, relates in fascinating detail.[35]

Indeed, the Middle Ages were a mobile period in which people found purposeful travel—as opposed to the aimless wandering of a vagrant, it would seem—perfectly justifiable and even respectable: 'to be widely travelled was, in the Middle Ages'—in anticipation of the early modern Grand Tour as a feature of elite habitus—'generally considered a mark of distinction'.[36] As early as the twelfth century, the theologian Honorius of Autun (d. *c*.1140) admitted that rather than seeking the forgiveness of sins, some pilgrims saw the reward of their travels not only 'in having seen pleasant places and beautiful buildings' but also 'in the praise they love'.[37] To claim the symbolic capital promised by travel, travellers brought back souvenirs associated with remote places, such as pilgrim's badges.[38] To write about

King's College London, 2001); Patrik Pastrnak, *Dynasty in Motion: Wedding Journeys in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (New York, 2023).

[34] Iulia-Andreea Milică, 'Women and Medieval Travels: The Book of Margery Kempe', *Acta Iassyensia Comparationis*, 2/18 (2016), 17–25; Albrecht Classen, 'Reisende Frauen im Mittelalter: Literarische Reflexionen europaweit, historisch belegte Reisende (Margery Kempe) und Reiseberichte für Frauen (Felix Fabri)', *Mediaevistik*, 34/1 (2021), 213–36.

[35] Margery Kempe, *The Book of Margery Kempe*, trans. Anthony Bale (Oxford, 2015).

[36] Labarge, *Medieval Travellers*, 251. See also Jan van Herwaarden, 'Pilgrimages and Social Prestige: Some Reflections on a Theme', in Herwig Wolfram (ed.), *Wallfahrt und Alltag in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit* (Vienna, 1992), 27–79; Rainer Babel and Werner Paravicini (eds.), *Grand Tour: Adeliges Reisen und europäische Kultur vom 14. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert* (Ostfildern, 2005).

[37] Yves Lefèvre, *L'Elucidarium et les Lucidaires: Contribution, par l'histoire d'un texte, à l'histoire des croyances religieuses en France au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1954), 435.

[38] Rachel Facius, 'Pilgrim Badges and the Magical Middle Ages: Aspects of the Cult of Saints, Magical Thinking, and Religious Identity', in Sergio Escribano-Ruiz, Magdalena Ewa Naum, and Jette Linaa (eds.), *Material*

one's journeys, as Margery Kempe had done, was another means to the same end, as a host of research on the literary works of medieval travellers demonstrates. Over the course of the Middle Ages, as Shayne Aaron Legassie has convincingly argued, 'travel was increasingly understood as an ennobling, taxing form of work, at once *physical and intellectual*'.[39]

Perhaps the most famous travel account of the Middle Ages is associated with Marco Polo (d. 1324). It heaps praise on the Venetian merchant's accomplishments on his journey beyond the borders of the familiar European landscape all the way to the capital of the Mongol Khan Kublai, which lasted from 1271 to 1295:

> from the day the Lord our God moulded our first father Adam with His hands until this very hour, there has never been a man, neither Christian nor pagan, Tartar nor Indian, nor of any other race, who has explored and discovered the truth about so many disparate parts of the world and its great wonders as has this Messer Marco Polo.[40]

Exchanges in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Archaeological Perspectives (Turnhout, 2021), 143–72; Detlev Kraack, 'Chivalrous Adventures, Religious Ardour and Curiosity at the Outer Periphery of the Medieval World: Inscriptions and Graffiti of Later Medieval Travellers', in Jean-Michel Mouton (ed.), *Le Sinaï de la conquête arabe à nos jours* (Cairo, 2001); Marcus Meer, 'Seeing Proof of Townsmen on the Move: Coats of Arms, Chivalric Badges, and Travel in the Later Middle Ages', *Journal of Early Modern History*, 25/1–2 (2021), 11–38.

[39] Shayne Aaron Legassie, *The Medieval Invention of Travel* (Chicago, 2017), p. viii (emphasis original). For historiographical overviews, see Mary Baine Campbell, 'Medieval Travel Writing (1): *Peregrinatio* and Religious Travel Writing' and Sharon Kinoshita, 'Medieval Travel Writing (2): Beyond the Pilgrimage', both in Nandini Das and Tim Youngs (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Travel Writing* (Cambridge, 2019), 33–47 and 48–61. See also Kim M. Phillips, 'Travel, Writing, and the Global Middle Ages', *History Compass*, 14/3 (2016), 81–92. For a bibliography of source texts and secondary literature, see also the database *European Travel Accounts of the Late Middle Ages*, at [https://digiberichte.de/], accessed 25 May 2023.

[40] Marco Polo, *The Travels*, trans. Nigel Cliff (London, 2015), prologue. See also Teresa Shawcross, 'The World View of Marco Polo's *Devisament dou monde*: Commercial Marvels, Silk Route Nostalgia, and Global Empire in the Late Middle Ages', in Christian Raffensperger (ed.), *Authorship, Worldview, and Identity in Medieval Europe* (Abingdon, 2022), 142–70.

Even earlier, between 1253 and 1255, the Franciscan monk William of Rubruck had embarked on a similar journey to evangelize the heartlands of the Mongol Empire.[41] His letter to Louis IX of France informed the king of the customs of the Mongols and other peoples of Eastern Europe and Northern Asia, which gave William the impression that he was 'entering another world'.[42] Informative as the *Itinerarium* is, William could not help but hint at his own courage, as in the case of one encounter which left him feeling 'as if I had escaped from the clutches of demons'.[43] Despite his suspicion, he acknowledged that the Mongols, whom he calls 'Tartars', were formidable adversaries, not least borne out by their—and perhaps also his own—toughness in terms of travel:

> I tell you with confidence that if our peasants—to say nothing of kings and knights—were willing to travel in the way the Tartar princes move and to be content with a similar diet, they could conquer the whole world.[44]

William of Rubruck's journey ended in the Holy Land, where a Dominican monk by the name of Felix Fabri (d. 1502) also journeyed over two hundred years later, in 1483–4, and penned an extensive travel account, his *Evagatorium in Terræ Sanctæ*.[45] Fabri stressed that his interest in the Holy Land was sincere and far removed from that of other visitors. He derided 'noblemen motivated by vanity', who were more concerned with scratching their names and coats of arms into various places; even the walls of the Holy Sepulchre were not safe, to the dismay not only of the local Muslim population but also

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[41] Shirin Khanmohamadi, 'The Look of Medieval Ethnography: William of Rubruck's Mission to Mongolia', *New Medieval Literatures*, 10 (2008), 87–114; Peter Jackson, 'William of Rubruck in the Mongol Empire: Perception and Prejudices', in Joan-Pau Rubiés (ed.), *Medieval Ethnographies: European Perceptions of the World Beyond* (Abingdon, 2009), 273–90.

[42] William of Rubruck, *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck: His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke, 1253–1255*, trans. Peter Jackson (London, 1990), 97.   [43] Ibid. 98.   [44] Ibid. 278.

[45] Kathryne Beebe, *Pilgrim and Preacher: The Audiences and Observant Spirituality of Friar Felix Fabri (1437/8–1502)* (Oxford, 2014); Hilda F. M. Prescott, *Friar Felix at Large: A Fifteenth-Century Pilgrimage to the Holy Land* (New Haven, 1950).

Fig. 1: Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, dressed as a pilgrim bound for the Holy Land, depicted in a manuscript from the last quarter of the fifteenth century. British Library, London, Cotton MS Julius E IV/3, fo. 5ʳ. Photoengraving printed in William St John Hope and Viscount Dillon (eds.), *Pageant of the Birth Life and Death of Richard Beauchamp Earl of Warwick K.G. 1389–1439* (London, 1914), 18.

Fig. 2: Richard of Warwick kneels before the tomb in the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. British Library, London, Cotton MS Julius E IV/3, fo. 9ʳ. Photoengraving printed in Hope and Dillon (eds.), *Pageant*, 34.

the 'devoted and sincere pilgrim'—presumably someone like himself—'who had come to this sacred place at great cost and effort and through a thousand dangers'.[46]

[46] Felix Fabri, *Evagatorium in Terræ Sanctæ, Arabiæ et Egypti peregrinationem*, ed. Konrad Dieterich Hassler, 3 vols. (Stuttgart, 1843), iii. 94–5. For the wider phenomenon of travellers' graffiti, see also Kraack, 'Chivalrous Adventures'.
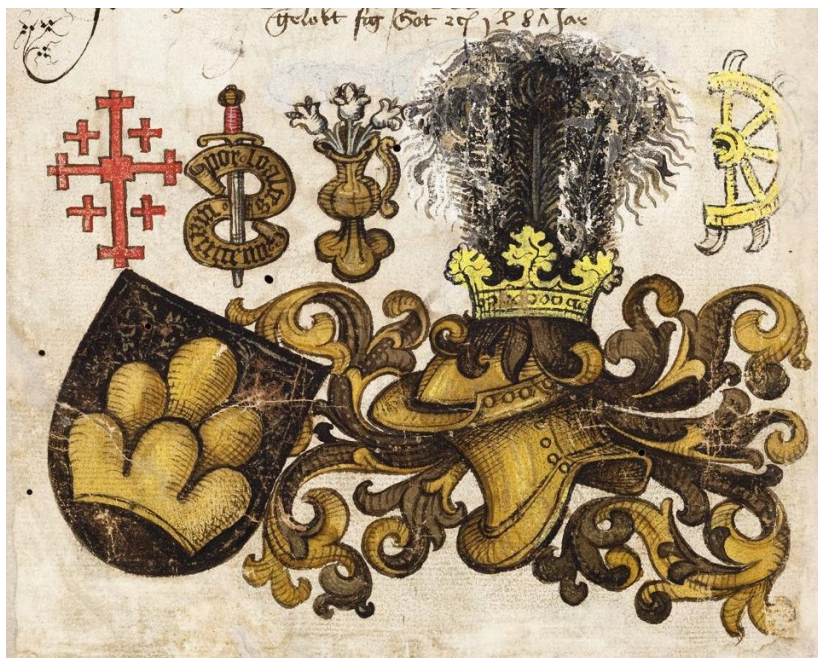
Fig. 3: Coat of arms and badges of pilgrimage sites and chivalric orders collected by Konstanz patrician Conrad Grünenberg in a copy of his travel account (*c.*1487). Badische Landesbibliothek, Karlsruhe, St. Peter pap. 32, fo. 50ᵛ.

Among these perhaps more vain than pious pilgrims was the earl of Warwick, Richard Beauchamp (1382–1439), whose pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1408 was immortalized (alongside his accomplishments on the battlefield) in the *Beauchamp Pageants* (Figs. 1–2). Similarly, the Konstanz burgess Conrad Grünenberg travelled to the Holy Land in 1486 and documented his experience — in both text and image (Fig. 3) — not just for himself but also for 'his supporters and friends'.[47] While the pilgrimage offered 'full absolution from sins and punishment', it worked wonders for Grünenberg's social status as well: in Jerusalem, he was admitted to the Order of the Holy Sepulchre, whose badge he

[47] Badische Landesbibliothek, Karlsruhe, Cod. St. Peter pap. 32, fo. 1ʳ, at [https://digital.blb-karlsruhe.de/urn/urn:nbn:de:bsz:31-1272], accessed 25 May 2023. See also Konrad Grünemberg, *The Story of Sir Konrad Grünemberg's Pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1486*, trans. and ed. Kristiaan Aercke, A. C. J. de Vrankrijker, and Walther Fränzel (Moncalieri, 2005).

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displayed in his travel account as proudly as he subsequently claimed the title of 'knight' (*Ritter*) for himself.[48]

The souvenirs sought by medieval travellers and mentioned in their accounts were not always so benign. When Leo of Rozmital, a Bohemian knight, embarked on his perambulation of Europe and reached the Iberian peninsula, he and his retinue visited not just Santiago de Compostela, but also the courts of the region's magnates.[49] After the king of Portugal invited him to choose a gift, the account by Rozmital's companion Gabriel Tetzel, from Nuremberg, states that the knight initially requested 'two Moors'.[50] A parallel report by Rozmital's squire claimed, in a more detailed reference to the cruel reality of medieval slavery and premodern forced migration,[51] that the king insisted on awarding the delegation two horses and two apes as well, since 'that which you ask [i.e. the slaves] is of no value', as 'no less than 100,000 or more Ethiopians . . . sold like cattle' were brought from his African possessions every year.[52]

[48] Folker Reichert, 'Zu Ehren Christi, zum Nutzen der Familie: Die Pilgerreise des Konrad Grünemberg', *Damals*, 48/3 (2016), 58–63; Klaus Graf, 'Adel als Leitbild: Zur Geschichte eines Grundwerts in Spätmittelalter und früher Neuzeit', in Horst Carl and Sönke Lorenz (eds.), *Gelungene Anpassung? Adelige Antworten auf gesellschaftliche Wandlungsvorgänge vom 14. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert* (Ostfildern, 2005), 67–81, at 67.

[49] Françoise Michaud-Fréjaville, 'Le voyage du seigneur Léon de Rozmital en Occident, un apprentissage?', in Société des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur public (ed.), *Voyages et voyageurs au Moyen Âge: XXVIe Congrès de la SHMES, Limoges-Aubazine, mai 1995* (Paris, 1996), 31–52; Denise Péricard-Méa, 'Leo von Rozmital, böhmischer Pilger und Botschafter (1465–1467) im werdenden Europa', in Daniel Doležal and Hartmut Kühne (eds.), *Wallfahrten in der europäischen Kultur / Pilgrimage in European Culture* (Frankfurt am Main, 2006), 109–20.

[50] Malcolm Letts (ed. and trans.), *The Travels of Leo of Rozmital through Germany, Flanders, England, France, Spain, Portugal, and Italy, 1465–1467* (Cambridge, 1957), 120.

[51] David Eltis et al. (eds.), *The Cambridge World History of Slavery*, vol. ii: *AD 500–AD 1420* (Cambridge, 2021); Youval Rotman, 'Migration and Enslavement: A Medieval Model', in Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, Lucian Reinfandt, and Yannis Stouraitis (eds.), *Migration Histories of the Medieval Afroeurasian Transition Zone: Aspects of Mobility between Africa, Asia and Europe, 300–1500 CE* (Leiden, 2020), 387–412. See also below, n. 67.

[52] Letts, *The Travels of Leo of Rozmital*, 106–7.

Stories and Realities of Migration

The promise of arduous journeys and faraway places as a source of pride proved even more attractive when combined with another source of honour in the Middle Ages—namely, descent. From late antiquity all the way to the early modern period, medieval authors were infatuated with the idea that certain peoples—usually their own—found their origins not just in a distant past, preferably with a fearsome forefather, but also in a remote place.[53] As the late Alheydis Plassmann, the most eminent scholar of these legends, observed, these so-called *origines gentium* 'never contain the claim that the *gens* always stayed in one place and that their origin is lost in the past'; on the contrary, 'a story of migration is the usual variant of choice.'[54] Inspired by Plassmann, Kiri Kolt, in her contribution to this special issue, identifies the same emphasis on movement in attempts at identity construction found in Hungarian *origines gentium*. At the end of the twelfth century, members of previously disparate groups were keen to embrace the idea of a larger Hungarian *gens* suggested by writers on Hungarian history, which accorded them their pride of place among the other Christianized peoples of Europe who already possessed remarkably similar origin stories. One popular theme of mobile continuity in these stories which influenced the Hungarian case, as Kolt shows, had classical or indeed mythical Greco-Roman

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[53] Susan Reynolds, 'Medieval *origines gentium* and the Community of the Realm', *History*, 68/224 (1983); Walter Pohl, 'Narratives of Origin and Migration in Early Medieval Europe: Problems of Interpretation', *Medieval History Journal*, 21/2 (2018), 192–221; Arnold Angenendt, 'Der eine Adam und die vielen Stammväter: Idee und Wirklichkeit der *Origo gentis* im Mittelalter', in Peter Wunderli (ed.), *Herkunft und Ursprung: Historische und mythische Formen der Legitimation* (Sigmaringen, 1994), 27–52.
[54] Alheydis Plassmann, '*Origines gentium* and the Long Shadow of Rome', in Linda Brady and Patrick Wadden (eds.), *Origin Legends in Early Medieval Western Europe* (Leiden, 2022), 405–23, at 417. See also Alheydis Plassmann, 'Das Wanderungsmotiv als Gründungsmythos in den frühmittelalterlichen *Origines gentium*', in Michael Bernsen, Matthias Becher, and Elke Brüggen (eds.), *Gründungsmythen Europas im Mittelalter* (Göttingen, 2013), 61–78; Alheydis Plassmann, *Origo gentis: Identitäts- und Legitimitätsstiftung in früh- und hochmittelalterlichen Herkunftserzählungen* (Berlin, 2006).

ancestry—namely, the Roman appropriation of the Troy myth in the figure of Aeneas and his escape, odyssey, and settlement in Italy.

In Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britannie*, another Trojan warrior by the name of Brutus, 'fourth in line from Aeneas', fled Italy after accidentally killing his father and experienced an odyssey of his own, which eventually led him to a land formerly called 'Albion'.[55] Here, the new masters—having purged the land of the 'giants' who previously inhabited it—now called themselves 'Britones or, by a corruption of the name, Britanni' after Brutus, who 'buil[t] himself a city, which he name[d] New Troy after the old; . . . today it is known by the different name of London.'[56] Just as Geoffrey of Monmouth casually created a foundation story for London and its urban population, so town clerk and chronicler Robert Ricart suggested that Bristol, like other British cities, had a Trojan founder by the name of Brennius, who 'first founded and billed this worshipfull Towne of Bristut that nowe is Bristowe'.[57]

Not all *origines gentium* were entirely based in fanciful fictions; some had a more or less loose connection to historical events. When the Venerable Bede wrote his *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, he named Angles, Saxons, and Jutes as the peoples who subjugated the British population and established multiple early medieval English kingdoms.[58] As new research shows, their military and migratory influx, however, might not have had as transformative an effect on early British society as Bede—and nationalists of much later centuries—tended to think.[59] Another *origo gentis* with a grain of truth at its

[55] Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The Historia Regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth*, vol. v: *Gesta Regum Britannie*, trans. Neil Wright (Cambridge, 1991), 27.
[56] Ibid. 28–33.   [57] Robert Ricart, *The Maire of Bristowe Is Kalendar*, ed. Lucy Toulmin Smith (London, 1872), 10. See also Peter Fleming (ed.), *The Maire of Bristowe Is Kalendar* (Bristol, 2015), 9–10.
[58] Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum; Historia abbatum; et Epistola ad Ecgberctum; cum Epistola Bonifacii ad Cudberthum*, ed. George H. Moberly (Oxford, 1881), 36.
[59] Kazutomo Karasawa, 'Historical Origins of a Mythical History: The Formation of the Myth Supporting Anglo-Saxonism Reconsidered', in Karen Louise Jolly and Britton Elliott Brooks (eds.), *Global Perspectives on Early Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2022), 171–89; Stephen J. Harris, 'An Overview of Race and Ethnicity in Pre-Norman England', *Literature Compass*, 5/4 (2008), 740–54;

centre is that narrated by the dean of St Quentin's monastery in Aisne. The chronicler of the *Historia Normannorum* (994–1015) presented the background of the dukes of Normandy as one of many adventurous journeys,[60] and of course the duchy's Norman lords were descended from seafaring Northmen who had settled (and raided) in France before the Frankish King Charles the Simple invested the Viking leader Rollo with the county of Rouen in 911.[61]

The Normans, like their Viking ancestors who settled in places as far apart as Greenland and Russia, are an excellent example of the mobility that continued to shape Europe in the medieval period. They probably had no more than a vague sense of 'Normanness', however carefully curated in their own *origines gentium* and other media. Still, various bands of aristocrats and knights of Norman heritage not only famously conquered England in 1066, but throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries also founded kingdoms and principalities in the Mediterranean, including, among other places, Sicily and the Levant.[62]

In the latter region, a band of Normans led by the infamous Bohemond (*c.*1054–1111) from the Norman possession of Taranto in southern Italy was part of the European expedition that established the Principality of Antioch, one of the so-called crusader states, in the wake of the First Crusade (1096–9). Although Pope Urban II had suggested

Erik Wade and Mary Rambaran-Olm, 'The Many Myths of the Term "Anglo-Saxon"', *Smithsonian Magazine* (2021), at [https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/many-myths-term-anglo-saxon-180978169/], accessed 29 May 2023.

[60] Alheydis Plassmann, 'Shifting Identities: The Normans and the Perception of the Norman *gens*', in Viola Skiba, Nikolas Jaspert, and Bernd Schneidmüller (eds.), *Norman Connections: Normannische Verflechtungen zwischen Skandinavien und dem Mittelmeer* (Regensburg, 2022), 248–61; Benjamin Pohl, *Dudo of Saint-Quentin's Historia Normannorum: Tradition, Innovation and Memory* (Woodbridge, 2015), esp. 198–202.

[61] Pierre Bouet, 'Rollon et la fondation de la Normandie', *Études Normandes*, 7/1 (2018), 52–9; Jean-Baptiste Auzel (ed.), *La Normandie existe-t-elle? Être Normand au fil des siècles* (Saint-Lô, 2019), 48–65.

[62] Levi Roach, *Empires of the Normans: Makers of Europe, Conquerors of Asia* (London, 2022); Emily Anne Winkler and Liam Fitzgerald (eds.), *The Normans in the Mediterranean* (Turnhout, 2021); Keith J. Stringer and Andrew Jotischky (eds.), *Norman Expansion: Connections, Continuities and Contrasts* (Farnham, 2013).

to the European nobility that 'this land which you inhabit . . . is too narrow for your large population' when he called upon them to '[e]nter upon the road to the Holy Sepulchre',[63] the political units in 'Outremer' that were created as a result of the crusade were settled by few Europeans permanently and ultimately remained short-lived.[64]

Things were very different when it came to the crusades against Eastern Europe and its non-Christian populations. After the Wendish Crusade of 1147, this area experienced a significant increase in the migration of settlers from Western Europe into areas invaded and controlled by the Teutonic Order.[65] Their efforts continued a trend of violent conquest, peasant migration, and town foundation—the creation of a *Germania Slavica*[66]—that had begun under the Carolingians and Ottonians in the ninth and tenth centuries and had reached its first crescendo in the twelfth century, when chronicler and priest Helmold of Bosau (b. *c*.1120) marvelled at how 'all the country of the

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[63] Edward Peters (ed.), *The First Crusade: The Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres and Other Source Materials*, 2nd edn (Philadelphia, 2011), 28.

[64] Jan Vandeburie, '"*Maugré li Polein*": European Migration to the Latin East and the Construction of an Oriental Identity in the Crusader States', in Caroline Barron, Justin Yoo, and Andrea Zerbini (eds.), *Migration and Migrant Identities in the Near East from Antiquity to the Middle Ages* (London, 2019), 244–62; Piers D. Mitchell and Andrew R. Millard, 'Approaches to the Study of Migration during the Crusades', *Crusades*, 12/1 (2013), 1–12; Edward Peters, 'There and Back Again: Crusaders in Motion, 1096–1291', *Crusades*, 5/1 (2006), 157–71.

[65] Gregory Leighton, 'The Teutonic Order and the Origins of its State as an Example of a Crusading Landscape in Fourteenth-Century Prussia', in Torben Kjersgaard Nielsen and Kurt Villads Jensen (eds.), *Legacies of the Crusades: Proceedings of the Ninth Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East, Odense, 27 June–1 July 2016* (Turnhout, 2021), 285–304; Marius Ščavinskas, 'On the Crusades and Coercive Missions in the Baltic Region in the Mid-12th Century and Early 13th Century: The Cases of the Wends and Livonians', *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung*, 63/4 (2014), 499–527. See also Werner Paravicini, *Die Preußenreisen des europäischen Adels*, 3 vols. (Sigmaringen and Göttingen, 1989–2020).

[66] Jan M. Piskorski, 'Medieval Colonization in East Central Europe', in Charles W. Ingrao and Franz A. Szabo (eds.), *The Germans and the East* (West Lafayette, 2008), 27–36. See also Christian Lübke, 'Germany's Growth to the East: From the Polabian Marches to Germania Slavica', in Graham A. Loud and Martial Staub (eds.), *The Making of Medieval History* (Woodbridge, 2017), 167–84.

Slavs . . . was now, through the grace of God, made, as it were, one colony of the Saxons'.[67]

Similarly to how these migrations into Eastern Europe displaced and enslaved Slavic pagan populations in 'a cruel process of Christianization and Germanization, providing a religious gloss to ethnic cleansing and territorial aggrandizement',[68] Muslim populations on the Iberian peninsula suffered under the Reconquista. This development gradually brought to an end the *convivencia* that had allowed for modes of coexistence between Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Al-Andalus.[69] The sack of Granada in 1492 completed this almost eight-hundred-year-long conflict between Christian rulers from Northern Europe and Muslim rulers from North Africa, which had begun in 711 with the capture by Arab and Berber forces of the Visigothic Kingdom, one of the realms that had sprung from the 'barbarian invasions'.[70]

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As these latter examples also illustrate, the medieval period saw migration for centuries beyond the 'barbarian invasions'. Medievalists have shown that economic, social, and political contingencies and opportunities motivated or even forced people to migrate to new homes. Other travellers were on the move for a short time only in

[67] Helmold of Bosau, *The Chronicle of the Slavs*, trans. Francis Joseph Tschan (New York, 1966), 281.

[68] Christopher Tyerman, *The Crusades: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford, 2005), 47. See also Anti Selart, 'Slavery in the Eastern Baltic in the 12th–15th Centuries', in Simonetta Cavaciocchi (ed.), *Schiavitù e servaggio nell'economia europea: Secc. XI–XVIII / Serfdom and Slavery in the European Economy: 11th–18th Centuries* (Florence, 2014), 351–64.

[69] Pamela A. Patton, 'What Did Medieval Slavery Look like? Color, Race, and Unfreedom in Later Medieval Iberia', *Speculum*, 97/3 (2022), 649–97; Pieter S. van Koningsveld, 'Muslim Slaves and Captives in Western Europe during the Late Middle Ages', *Islam and Christian–Muslim Relations*, 6/1 (1995), 5–23.

[70] Jonathan Jarrett, 'Before the Reconquista: Frontier Relations in Medieval Iberia, 718 to 1031', in Manuel Delgado, Laura Lonsdale, and Javier Muñoz-Basols (eds.), *The Routledge Companion to Iberian Studies* (London, 2017), 27–40; Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (Philadelphia, 2003).

search of power, profit, or salvation, or perhaps out of sheer curiosity, and were able and often keen to return to their established abodes. Many were inspired to write about their experiences of travel or migration, whether as victims of violent incursions, as observers of strangers in their midst, or out of pride in their own or their ancestors' achievements as travellers.

The contributions to this special issue add further breadth to the diverse scholarship on medieval migration and travel, whose surface this introduction has only been able to scratch. In their focus on literary engagements with mobility and people on the move, the articles presented here underline the ambiguity of perceptions of mobility in the medieval period. Sometimes movement prompted derision and condemnation, while in other instances it served as a source of honour and distinction. Crucially, it appears to have been the person of the traveller or migrant that guided the judgement of their contemporaries. In this sense, the medieval experience of and engagement with mobility resembles the rather ambivalent views found in the present. Even now, attitudes which view movement — of refugees and migrants, for example — with suspicion and disdain coexist and compete with celebrations of the global mobility exercised by self-declared 'digital nomads' and cosmopolitans. The identity of the migrant or traveller, in continued relation to traits like religion, ethnicity, and the perceived benefit to local communities, remains the decisive factor in judging, permitting, and restricting human mobility, much as it was in the Middle Ages.

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