A LATE MEDIEVAL
ITINERARY TO ENGLAND[*]

Michael Van Dussen

THE unassuming vellum wrap of Prague, Knihovna metropolitní kapituly
H.15 advertises the manuscript as "Liber Wenceslai militis"—the book of
Wenceslaus (Václav), knight.[1] Its primary text is a copy of the *Liber Kalilae
et Dimnae* of Raymond de Béziers (fols. 1r–89v), a book of exemplary beast
fables which, as the explicit tells us, was translated in Paris (*translatus Pari-
siis*). The manuscript's final gathering, however, fols. 90r–99v, is of greatest
interest for what it tells us about the manuscript's history. Unlike the pre-
ceding gatherings, written in at least one other separate hand, the external
sides of the outer bifolium of this gathering, fols. 90r and 99v, are badly
soiled—those they enclose are scarcely less so, suffering also from water
damage in several places—suggesting that the gathering may have been
separate before the manuscript was bound in its present form.[2] The contents
help to corroborate this conclusion by placing the gathering in the context of
extensive travel. They include a text on the planets, prayers to St. Christopher,
patron of travelers, together with an image of Christopher carrying the Christ
Child across the torrent, and sections of an itinerary on fols. 92r–93r and 99r,
which, when combined, extends from Prague to London, and then onward to

[1] For the catalogue description, see Antonín Podlaha, *Soupis rukopisů knihovny metro-
politní kapitoly Pražské*, vol. 2 (Prague, 1922), 127–28, no. 1070. This manuscript is also
discussed briefly in Marek Suchý, "England and Bohemia in the Time of Anne of Luxem-
bourg," in *Prague and Bohemia: Medieval Art, Architecture and Cultural Exchange in Central
Europe*, ed. Zoë Opačić (Leeds, 2009), 8–21 at 10 and 17.

[2] It is possible that the traveler obtained his copy of the *Liber Kalilae et Dimnae* on his
visit to Paris and that he later bound it with his notebook, which became the manuscript's final
gathering. The notebook may have originally contained six bifolia, not five (as is now the case),
since the traveler, on fol. 92v, refers to other texts that have been recorded "in isto sexterno" (in
this sexternion). But since nothing appears to be missing from the texts that are now included in
the gathering—that is, there are no partial texts—it is likely that the sixth, outer bifolium (if it
did exist) was used as a wrapper and (judging by the soiling on the current outer bifolium) was
lost or redeployed before the gathering was bound with the *Liber Kalilae et Dimnae*.

the port city of Southampton.[3] This final gathering, then, appears to be the private notebook of a traveler, perhaps the knight named "Wenceslaus" who inscribed his name on the cover—the only explicit indication, though hardly revealing, of its owner's possible identity.

There is evidence that the traveler was Czech. Fol. 99v includes a Czech courtly lyric,[4] probably (though not certainly) in the same extremely casual *cursiva currens* hand as the rest of the gathering.[5] The Czech word *obora* (hunting ground) also appears within the otherwise Latin itinerary, as do the Czech forms of Mainz (Mohuč) and Aachen (Cáchy). His purpose for traveling is unclear. Experimental inscriptions on fol. 57v—that is, not in the final gathering, and so not necessarily bearing any relation to it—may suggest that he was a diplomat. On this otherwise blank folio we find a reference to Václav IV (†1419), "Wenceslaus Dei gracia Boemie Rex," and, a few lines below, "Serenissimo principi" twice in a *cursiva libraria* hand (with *textualis formata* initials) that would be appropriate for the salutation situated on the top line of an official letter. Yet the difference in skill between this hand and that of the notebook is so striking that it is difficult, though not impossible, to believe the same person was responsible for both.[6]

Though the itinerary itself is not lengthy, covering only portions of fols. 92r–93r and 99r, and is generally sparing with its descriptive detail, it never-

---

[3] The entire contents of the final gathering are as follows: fols. 90r–92r, three verse eulogies for Anne of Bohemia (not one, as in the catalogue description)—"Anglica regina" (90r), "Femina famosa" (90v), and "Nobis natura florem" (90v–92r); 92r–93r, itinerary, France and England (93v vacat); 94r, verses on pride; 94v–95r, a prayer to Christ; 95r, a prayer to the Virgin ("Benedicatur hora in qua deus homo natus," not listed in the catalogue); 95v–96r, prayers to St. Christopher; 96r, drawing of St. Christopher carrying the Christ Child; 96v–97r, penitential verses; 97r–99r, *De planetis;* 99r, itinerary, Brussels to Calais (not from "Brixen" to "Cadiz," as in the catalogue description), and Prague to Brussels; 99v, Czech courtly lyrics and a musical staff.

[4] The lyric, insofar as it can be deciphered, is as follows: "abych wyedyel ze by tobye / me sluzenye bylo myle / zbyl bych smutka u tey dobye / s tvu(?) pomoczy(?) . . . myle" ("If I knew that my service was pleasing to you, I would be rid of sadness at the same moment. With your help I would . . . happily").

[5] I follow Derolez's adaptation of Lieftinck's terminology (Albert Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books from the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Century* [Cambridge, 2003]). The hand (or possibly, hands) of the final notebook is continuous, rounded, and vertically compressed. It is consistent with notarial hands from late fourteenth- to mid-fifteenth-century Bohemia, suited to producing documents quickly, though (in this case) with little care for execution, and clearly for personal use. Cf. the document (from 1419) in Hana Pátková, *Česká středověká paleografie* (Prague, 2008), 210 (top).

[6] That said, it is possible that the manuscript was inscribed by more than one person on the same journey, e.g., a secretary and a knight-diplomat. In any case, these possibilities are purely speculative and should be taken as such.

theless reveals a substantial amount of information about how the traveler interacted with his surroundings and how those surroundings helped to facili-tate this interaction, particularly by means of posted descriptive documents, or *tabulae* (discussed below). It is important to bear this fact in mind when we read this text, and perhaps others like it, because it encourages us to recognize that its narrative is not entirely the product of its author's unmediated observations. In other words, this itinerary is significant for what it reveals about the ways in which curiosity-based travel was encouraged and supported in the later Middle Ages.

Before turning to the more revealing portions of the itinerary, we should get a sense of the route it covers.[7] The traveler set out from Prague, and it is apparent that his curiosity about his surroundings increased as he traveled beyond the Bohemian and German lands. This section of his itinerary (fol. 99r bottom; see map, "Route from Prague to Brussels") consists entirely of a list of places and the distances between them, e.g., "De Praga ad Rakownik vii; et ad Masczow v; et ad Cubitum vii" etc., with the exception of a brief comment
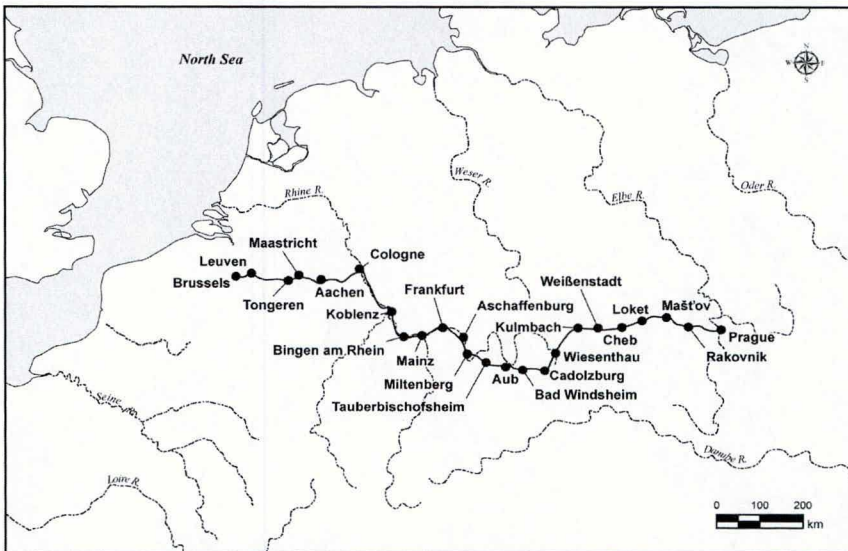

Route from Prague to Brussels

[7] My description here follows the presumed order in which the traveler moved from place to place rather than the order in which the sections of the route appear in the manuscript and the edition below. It is tempting to think that the bifolia of the final gathering were once arranged differently, but this does not seem to have been the case. The inner bifolium, fols. 94r–95v, in-cludes a prayer to Christ extending from fol. 94v to fol. 95r. See below, "Sequence of Com-position," for a discussion of the order I propose for the itinerary's composition

about a tower in Koblenz where one may hire a boat for the trip up the Rhine to Cologne.[8] His route to Brussels follows some of the major east-west trade and travel thoroughfares across the Empire, overlapping closely with the Main-Eger route.[9] Distances are not listed from Frankfurt to Koblenz, pre-sumably because he traveled that stretch on the Rhine by boat (though he does list distances between some other cities that were situated along the river—for instance, between Koblenz and Cologne, where he certainly traveled by boat).

The section of the itinerary that details the route from Brussels to Calais by way of Paris (fol. 99r top; see map, "Route from Brussels to Calais") is
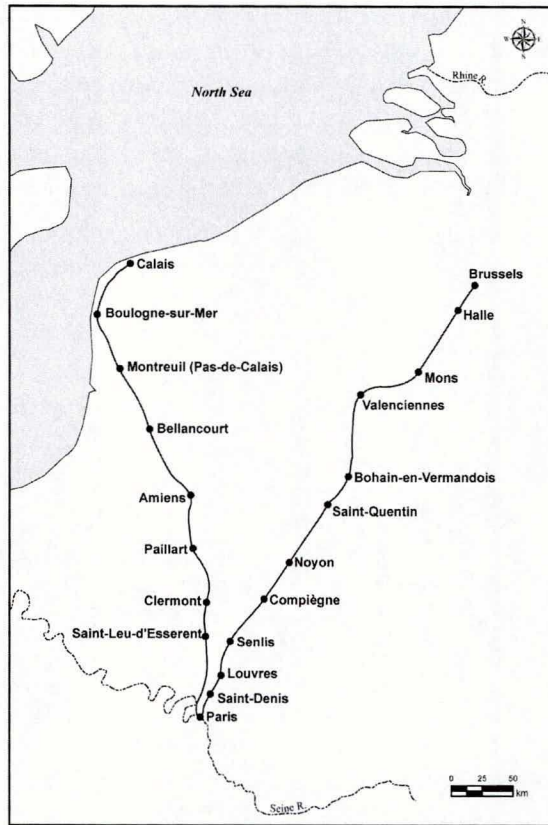
Route from Brussels to Calais

largely functional as well. In this laconic section, however, the traveler makes some references to people he noticed and points of interest such as relics kept at major churches along the route (Noyon, Saint-Quentin, and Saint-Denis).[10]

The sections described above, from Prague to Brussels and Brussels to Calais, appear toward the end of the gathering, removed from the other sections of the itinerary, and it is likely that at least some of the notes in this part of the gathering were recorded in the manuscript before the knight departed from Prague (see below for detailed discussion of the sequence of composition). Earlier, on fols. 92r–93r, we find much more detailed descriptions of Paris and its environs as well as the route through England. This is where we start to get a real sense of the traveler's interests. He chooses mainly to describe bridges, architecture, and monuments, as well as the relics held in particular churches; and he also refers to notable customs and legendary histories associated with a number of the places he visits. In this respect the character of his descriptions resembles that of the extremely popular *Book of John Mandeville* and other travel narratives, as well as the many antiquarian accounts that men like John Leland and John Stow would write in the sixteenth century.[11]

The description of the traveler's route through Paris on fol. 92r–v does not seem to follow any particular, continuous route, and at times it is not entirely clear what he is describing—a problem complicated by the fact that the manuscript is largely indecipherable at two points in its description of the city. In general, however, the traveler's interests were in Parisian architecture and relics, primarily on the Île de la Cité (e.g., the Sainte-Chapelle and Notre Dame), but also elsewhere throughout the capital and its outskirts (e.g., Louvre Castle and the Duc de Berry's Hôtel de Nestle).

From Paris, he traveled northwest via Amiens to Calais (according to the section on fol. 99), where he crossed the channel to Dover. As with the description of Paris, in the English portion of his itinerary (fols. 92v–93r; see

---

similar to that of Nicholas von Popplau from 1483–86. Popplau's diary was edited by Gustav A. Stenzel in *Scriptores rerum Silesiacarum* 3 (Breslau, 1847).

[10] In general, however, his itinerary follows the main commerce route between Brussels and Paris. See Steven A. Epstein, *An Economic and Social History of Later Medieval Europe, 1000–1500* (Cambridge, 2009), 82.

[11] See below for further discussion. *The Book of John Mandeville* was translated into Czech in the late Middle Ages, and a fifteenth-century Bohemian manuscript of *Mandeville* is now London, British Library Add. 24189; for a facsimile of the manuscript (with illuminations but no text), see Josef Krása, *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville: A Manuscript in the British Library* (New York, 1983). For an edition of the Czech translation of *Mandeville*, see František Šimek, ed., *Cestopis tzv. Mandevilla* (Prague, 1963).

map, "Route through England") notes concerning the distances between towns are intermingled with his descriptions of what he witnessed in them, and this section comprises the longest and most detailed section of the text. He traveled from Dover to Canterbury, where he briefly describes the shrine of Thomas Becket. Then he passed through Rochester to London,[12] where the traveler visited several sites, moving from London Bridge to Westminster Abbey, on to Westminster Hall, and then to St. Paul's. The rest of his itinerary took him to Windsor Castle (where he tells of King Arthur and of Percival's encounter with the Red Knight),[13] then Guildford, Alton, and finally South-ampton.[14] It is likely that he left England from the port of Southampton, but
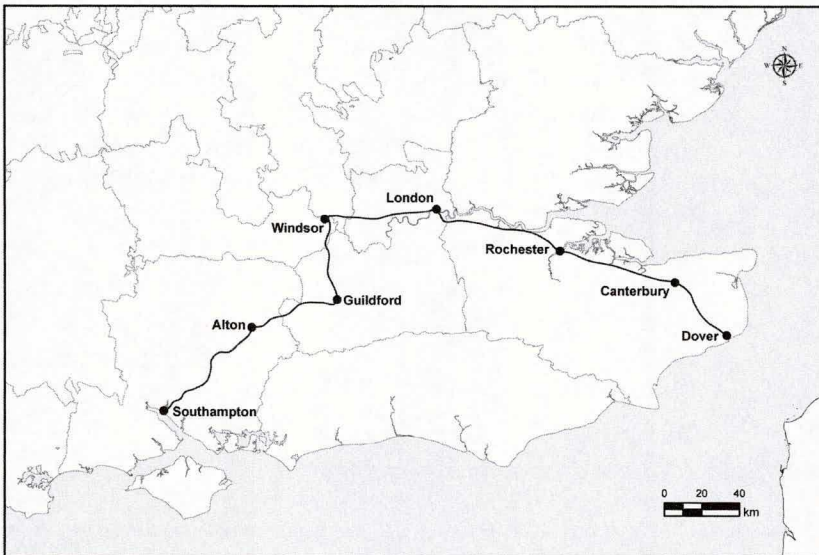
Route through England

---

[12] From Dover to London he followed the standard Watling Street route.

[13] The Arthurian connection to Windsor was established primarily by the efforts of Edward III in 1344 and following, and Windsor would subsequently become the focal point of the re-vived cult of Arthur in England. In 1344 Edward expressed his intention of founding an Order of the Round Table there, and his chivalric Order of the Garter, established in 1348, had its spiritual headquarters in St. George's Chapel, Windsor. For discussion, see Nigel Saul, ed., *St. George's Chapel Windsor in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2005), passim; and Julian Munby et al., eds., *Edward III's Round Table at Windsor* (Woodbridge, 2007), passim. The references to Arthur, Percival, and the Red Knight in the Bohemian itinerary suggest that the cult was in full swing at the time of the traveler's visit.

[14] His route may have followed what is now called the Pilgrims' Way, though it is difficult to be sure, as he mentions only a few locations (presumably those he intended to reach by the end of each day's journey) along the way.

there is almost no indication as to where his route took him from there.[15]

If the towns mentioned in the itinerary represent stopping points on the route, the traveler's average journey when on land is approximately 35 km/22 miles per day. Between Prague and Brussels his average is a bit longer (38 km/24 miles); between Brussels and Calais it is shorter (29 km/18 miles); and then in England he averages 38 km/24 miles per day.[16] The actual distances between most of the identified places could be traveled by horse in a day, with only a few exceptions (between Cologne and Aachen, for example, at a distance of approximately 72 km/45 miles), and the traveler may have had the option of stopping between the named points. While traveling by river— between Koblenz and Cologne, for example—he could also have traveled farther at a stretch than he could have done on horseback. It should be emphasized that these averages are based on actual distances between towns along the route and do not correspond to the traveler's own measurements in any consistent way. For instance, where the actual distance between Paris and Saint-Leu-d'Esserent, and then between Saint-Leu-d'Esserent and Clermont is distinctly unequal (44 km and 20 km, respectively), he records equal distances (in both cases, vi). Elsewhere his figures are more proportional even if not entirely accurate. On the continent, he appears to record most distances in Bohemian miles (1 Bohemian mile = 7.53 km), though in one instance he specifies French miles (line 10 in the edition below).[17] When he reaches England, however, he seems to use English miles, perhaps because he employed an English guide.[18] Noting this helps to explain why the numbers he uses to record distances between English towns tend to be much higher than the numbers he uses on the continent (the distance between Windsor and Guildford, for example, is xxv). There are two exceptions to this practice in his itinerary for England, however: he seems to revert to Bohemian miles between Dover and Canterbury, and again between London and Windsor.

In the section on England, one of the most remarkable aspects of the description of London is what it reveals about textual displays and how they

---

[15] A possible return through France is discussed below ("Sequence of Composition").

[16] These figures do not include anomalous distances, for instance, between locations that are in doubt, or portions of the journey that were almost certainly traveled by water.

[17] A French mile in the Middle Ages was 1.624 km; see Ronald Edward Zupko, *French Weights and Measures before the Revolution: A Dictionary of Provincial and Local Units* (Bloomington, Ind., 1978), s.v. "mille".

[18] Prior to standardization under Elizabeth I, an English mile was most commonly 5000 feet or approximately 1.52 km; see Ronald Edward Zupko, *A Dictionary of Weights and Measures for the British Isles: The Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century* (Philadelphia, 1985), s.v. "English Mile."

facilitated a visitor's interaction with the city's architecture and monuments. At Westminster Abbey, for example, the traveler writes,

> ibi est sepulcrum pulcrum aureum beati Edwardi et alia multa sepulcra regum et reginarum, et specialiter sepulcrum Regine Anne, que fuit filia Inperatoris Karoli IIII[ti] et Boemie regis; et ibi sunt epitaphia multa, que superius sunt scripta in isto sexterno (lines 24–27).

The "epitaphia multa" are three eulogies of Anne of Bohemia, which are transcribed immediately preceding the French and English portions of the itinerary, at the start of the gathering on fols. 90r–92r. I have edited and discussed these eulogies in detail elsewhere,[19] and so here I mention them only in conjunction with his interest in and reliance on other textual displays.

Despite the fact that the itinerary employs no first-person pronouns or self-reflexive descriptions, the initial impression is that its author is reporting first-hand experiences, in the sense of recording his own observations, measurements, etc. Yet some of the descriptions were clearly mediated. His account of St. Paul's, for example, begins

> Eclesia sancti Pauli infra limites continet iii arcas et dimidiam, rodam dimidiam, et sex virgas constratas. Longitudo eiusdem eclesie dc et xc pedes, latitudo c et xxx pedes. Altitudo occidentalis testudinis continet ab arca c et ii pedes. Altitudo nove testudinis lxxx viii pedes. Campanilis altitudo cc et lx; altitudo lignorum cc lxx iiii pedes (lines 36–40).

A description like this one seems suspect as a first-hand report; the traveler would have been in no position to measure each of these dimensions personally. Confirming this suspicion is a passage in London, British Library Harley 565, fol. 2r, with the following, nearly identical, description:[20]

> Ecclesia sancti Pauli London' continet infra limites suos tres acras terre et dimidiam, unam rodam et dimidiam et sex virgas constratas. Longitudo eiusdem ecclesie continet dclxxxx pedes. Latitudo eiusdem ecclesie continet cxxx pedes. Altitudo occidentalis testudinis continet ab ara cij pedes. Altitudo testudinis nove fabrice continent ab ara lxxxviij pedes. Cumulus ecclesie continet in Altitudine cl pedes cum cruce. Altitudo fabrice lapidie campanilis eiusdem ecclesie continet a

---

[19] Michael Van Dussen, *From England to Bohemia: Heresy and Communication in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2012), chap. 1 and appendix A.

[20] London, British Library Harley 565 consists primarily of a chronicle of London from 1189 to 1443 and John Lydgate's poem on the triumphal entry of Henry VI into London (NIMV 3799). A text preceding the tabular transcriptions is dated the twenty-first year of Henry's reign, or 1443/4, providing a *terminus ante quem* for this part of the manuscript (material added during the reign of Henry VIII appears later in the manuscript).

plana terra cclx pedes. Altitudo fabrice lignee eiusdem campanilis continet cclxxiiij pedes.[21]

Preceding this description in Harley 565 is the heading "Copia tabule pendentis ad columpnam iuxta tumulum ducis Lancastr' in Ecclesia sancti Pauli London'." This heading also helps to explain why the Bohemian traveler then proceeds to describe the duke of Lancaster's tomb immediately after the passage quoted above (the Harleian transcription does not).[22] *Tabulae* usually took the form of wooden boards that had parchment leaves pasted over them. Texts were written on these leaves, some of them descriptive (as with the example cited above), others containing histories of a church's foundation, lists of kings, indulgences associated with a site, and so on. These *tabulae* were found throughout Europe, though in England very few survive today. The so-called "Magna Tabula Glastoniensis," now Oxford, Bodleian Library Lat. hist. a. 2, is one of the few that do survive, though its dimensions (more of a large, wooden codex than a board) are probably exceptional. Two other surviving examples come from York Minster, but judging from antiquarian accounts (particularly those that predate 1666, the year of the Great Fire in London), many more once existed.[23]

It is possible that the Bohemian traveler relied on information from other *tabulae* in St. Paul's as well. At one point in his record he mentions a cross in the church that Joseph of Arimathea made. The reference is to the so-called "Rood at the North Door", which was indeed associated with Joseph of Ari-

---

[21] *A Chronicle of London from 1089 to 1483,* ed. N. H. Nicolas (London, 1827), 174.

[22] There was at one time, though not necessarily by the early fifteenth century, a "tabula pensilis" next to and describing John of Gaunt's tomb, as recorded in William Dugdale, *A History of St. Paul's Cathedral in London* (London, 1658), 91.

[23] Studies of and significant references to *tabulae* in England include Jeanne Krochalis, "*Magna Tabula:* The Glastonbury Tablets," in *Glastonbury Abbey and the Arthurian Tradition,* ed. James P. Carley (Cambridge, 2001), 435–567; Felicity Riddy, "Glastonbury, Joseph of Arimathea and the Grail in John Hardyng's Chronicle," ibid., esp. 278–79; G. H. Gerould, "The Legend of St. Wulfhad and St. Ruffin at Stone Priory," *Publications of the Modern Language Association* 32 (1917): 323–37, and " 'Tables' in Medieval Churches," *Speculum* 1 (1926): 439–40; N. Denholm-Young, "The Birth of a Chronicle," *Bodleian Quarterly Record* 7 (1933): 325–28; W. A. Pantin, "Some Medieval English Treatises on the Origin of Monasticism," in *Medieval Studies Presented to Rose Graham,* ed. Veronica Ruffer and A. J. Taylor (Oxford, 1950), 200–201, 207–8; J. S. Purvis, "The Tables of the York Vicars Choral," *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 41 (1966): 741–48; *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries IV: Paisley-York,* ed. N. R. Ker and A. J. Piper (Oxford, 1992), 824–25; and Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England II: c. 1307 to the Early Sixteenth Century* (London, 1982), 495, and *Legends, Traditions, and History in Medieval England* (London, 1992), 331–32. For a discussion of *tabulae* in Central Europe, see Zdeňka Hledíková, "Tabulae, Tabulae ecclesiae," *Studie o rukopisech* 39 (2009): 9–32.

mathea and was a popular pilgrimage destination.[24] The cross was also accompanied by at least one *tabula* as well as a narrative text in stained glass. As Felicity Riddy has noted, in London, British Library Lansdowne 204, a marginal note (at fol. 42r) accompanying the story of the recovery of the cross in the Chronicle of John Hardyng reads "How the Roode at the north dore which Agrestes caste in [th]e se in Wales came vp fletynge in Themse at Caerlud now called London in Lucius tyme kyng of Bretayne as is comprised in a table afore the Rode at Northdore and in a story in a window byhynde the sayd Rode."[25] The "table afore the Rode at Northdore" is possibly the same as the *tabula* recorded on fol. 2v of Harley 565 (which records three *tabulae* in total, all from St. Paul's), located on a pillar between the tombs of John of Gaunt and the former bishop of Rochester, Roger Niger (†1241). This table begins "Anno Domini C^{mo} xl°. Invencio ymaginis crucifixi ad hostium Boriale sancti Pauli London'. in magno fluuio Thamisie. per Lucium primum Regem Anglie Christianum."[26] As we read in Stow, Gaunt's tomb, destroyed in the fire of 1666, was located "on the north side the Quire."[27] The pillar situated between Gaunt's tomb and that of Roger Niger, however, could not reasonably be described as standing "afore the Rode at Northdore," as the note in the Lansdowne manuscript describes; according to Hollar's floor plan of St. Paul's, this section of the choir was too far to the east of the transept (the North Door was located at the north end of the transept) to be described in such a way, and so the Landsdowne reference is likely to yet another *tabula,* not recorded in Harley 565.[28] Additionally, the *tabula* transcribed in the Harleian manuscript that mentions the cross does not specifically state that Joseph made the cross (it speaks rather of its "inventio"), though the inscription in stained glass that was once located behind the cross, or else a posited *tabula* situated close to it, may have done so. A similar reference is found, however, in the anonymous *Lyfe of Joseph of Armathia* that Pynson printed in 1520: "The rode of northdore of London also dyd he [i.e., Joseph] make / Moche lyke as our lorde was on the rode done / For this Joseph fro the crosse hym dyd take. / And loke howe a man may make by proporcion / A deed ymage lyke a quycke by cunnynge / So lyke the rode of northdore Jesu henge deed / For Joseph made it nere semyng / Unto our lorde enclynynge his

---

[24] See the sources cited in Riddy, "Glastonbury," 279 n. 26.

[25] Ibid., 278.

[26] *Chronicle of London from 1089 to 1483,* 174–75.

[27] John Stow, *A Survey of London,* vol. 1, ed. Charles Lethbridge Kingsford (Oxford, 1908), 336.

[28] Hollar's engraving of the floor plan is in Dugdale, *A History of St. Paul's,* 161–62.

heed".[29] I suggest that the Bohemian traveler relied on a similar description that was located near the cross for his account.

One striking feature of this itinerary, as I have noted above, is the resemblance it bears to the many antiquarian surveys from the sixteenth century and later, written by men like John Leland, John Stow, William Camden, and William Dugdale. Detailed descriptions and measurements of architecture such as we find in this itinerary are comparatively rare in the later Middle Ages, though perhaps not so rare as some have suggested.[30] We seldom find a similar kind of approach to architecture and monuments—what later historians would call "antiquities"—in medieval travel narratives *per se,* but as we have seen in the previous discussion, such details and emphases were perhaps more common than we now realize, written on *tabulae* that were available for public reference. Since so few of these tabular documents survive, however, we may now have a distorted view of late medieval attitudes toward the kinds of details they describe (usually associated with early modern antiquarianism) and of how widespread this descriptive practice might have been. In travel writing more specifically, we do find similar descriptions in *The Book of John Mandeville,* which is a significant precedent despite the fact that the many versions of that text do not represent the first-hand observations of its purported author. A few decades after the H.15 itinerary was likely written, William Worcester, Sir John Fastolf's secretary and an early humanist, also began writing his *Itineraries,* meticulously recording architectural measurements (his hallmark was measurement in steps), his descriptions resembling those of later antiquarians to such an extent that his most recent editor calls Worcester "the first English layman to deserve the title of antiquary, and the first recorded Englishman, whether lay or cleric, to display that particular blend of interests, historical, topographical, and architectural, which has ever since been an outstanding characteristic of the English approach to antiquity."[31] Perhaps Worcester deserves this title at the front of a long line of English antiquarians, but as we have seen, comparable descriptions could be found in

[29] See STC 14807 (n. sig.).

[30] See the comment in William Worcester, *Itineraries,* ed. John H. Harvey (Oxford, 1969), xii. Descriptions of architecture are more common than detailed measurements, as witnessed, for example, in the many pilgrimage narratives written throughout the medieval period, with particular emphasis on sites associated with biblical events. These include *The Book of John Mandeville* and several of its sources. Earlier, at the start of the twelfth century, Sæwulf records similar descriptions on his trip to and from Palestine; see Thomas Wright, *Early Travels in Palestine* (London, 1848), 31–50. I thank Sebastian Sobecki for bringing this text to my attention.

[31] Worcester, *Itineraries,* ix–x. On his humanist reading and associations, see Daniel Wakelin, *Humanism, Reading, and English Literature 1430–1530* (Oxford, 2007), 93–125.

a number of English structures well before Worcester set out, and they (along with the enormously popular *Book of John Mandeville*) played their part in stimulating similar approaches and attitudes.

<div align="center">SEQUENCE OF COMPOSITION</div>

As the preceding discussion makes clear, the sections of what I regard as a single itinerary on fols. 92r–93r and 99r do not appear in order, nor do they serve a uniform or consistent purpose. Here I propose an explanation for the sequence and character of the various parts of the text, which cannot entirely be considered in isolation from the contents and organization of the rest of the gathering. The order of the descriptions in the manuscript is as follows: France (92r–v), England (92v–93r), Brussels to Calais (99r top), Prague to Brussels (99r bottom). The sections on fol. 99r are almost exclusively practical in nature (distances between towns, where to hire a boat, etc.), and the sections on fols. 92r–93r are dominated by what might be called points of interest: curiosities, measurements, etc. These general distinctions break down in places, but they represent the differences between the sections with sufficient accuracy. One important fact that should also be mentioned is that when all sections are combined and rearranged, they comprise a continuous route from Prague to Southampton, with stops positioned evenly along the route, each within a day's journey from the one that precedes and follows. No alternative routes are provided. Amiens, Saint-Denis, and Paris are referenced in two separate sections, the only overlap in the text, but this can be accounted for by the different purposes that each section is intended to serve (one is largely practical, the other entirely descriptive) and the possibility that the traveler passed back through these places on his way back to Prague. The sequence of composition that I propose is as follows:

1) The traveler begins writing at the end of a gathering, at the bottom of the folio (fol. 99r). Still in Prague, he records distances from that city to Brussels. He also records information on where to hire a boat in Koblenz (to travel up the Rhine to Cologne), a detail he likely obtained from the report of someone familiar with the route. It is of course possible that he recorded this section as he traveled or even after reaching Brussels, but if so, he did not elect to record any points of interest (as he would start to do in the next section). It is unlikely that he would have recorded this section after the fact, as it would have been extraneous were it not intended for practical use during the trip.

2) He then begins traveling from Brussels to Paris (and eventually northwest to Calais). He may have received information about stops along the way in advance, but in any case he gradually incorporates points of interest with

his utilitarian notes about distances and places, suggesting at least partial composition en route or after the fact. He writes this section on fol. 99r just above the section on Prague to Brussels, but because this section includes interesting details encountered en route, it must have been written later than the section below it. The details he includes (a reference to a hunting ground and to his own measurement of a body of water he saw there; boys jumping at Louvres; relics, etc.) are not expansive, but they seem to mark a gradual recognition of what his itinerary could be in addition to a record of practical items. Finally, as will become significant later, this section carefully notes distances and places from Brussels to Calais, as well as the (apparently incorrect) distance by ship to Dover, just as in the section from Prague to Brussels.

3) The traveler does not include a similar section (in which practical details predominate) marking out his route through England, though he returns to his practice of recording measurements of distance, etc. part way through his westward trip through the realm. It should be noted that the final gathering in the Prague manuscript begins with transcriptions of three verse eulogies for Anne of Bohemia (fols. 90r–92r), which end just above the beginning of the description of France at the bottom of fol. 92r. I see no reason to think that the descriptions of France and England were recorded before the eulogies were transcribed. This would have been impossible, in fact, as the eulogies themselves are referenced in the description of Westminster Abbey on fol. 92v ("et ibi sunt epitaphia multa, que superius sunt scripta in isto sexterno"; lines 26–27). This sequence indicates that this part of the itinerary was, if not an afterthought, then at least something that was begun well into the journey through England, and certainly after (or upon) his visit to Westminster.

I suggest, in fact, that he began writing the section on England before that of France. He set out headings for "Francia" and "Anglia" on fol. 92r and 92v respectively, presumably planning out the amount of space he would need to describe details for each. The section on France becomes extremely cramped at the end (though of course these cramped notes could have been added later), to the point of mingling with the next heading ("Anglia") and the first few lines of the description of England. It is possible that the section "Francia" was written from memory, and entirely in England; but given the detailed description of steps, numbers of towers, etc. in this portion of the itinerary (lines 8 ff.), I think it more likely that he left space for his notes on France, proceeded to take notes on his journey through England, and then returned to fill in the space reserved for France as he passed back through on his return trip. This would help to explain why he begins the description with Amiens, then moves to Saint-Denis, and finally to Paris.

In any case, from the description of Westminster Abbey onward, the descriptions are the most expansive of the entire text; they seem to have been written en route, particularly since they include the text from a *tabula* at St. Paul's, which the traveler must have transcribed as he stood before it. From there, his notes begin to incorporate practical information (distances, inns, etc.) with points of interest. Since practical information was not entered consistently for the route from Dover to London beforehand, such information was added retroactively (note the insertions of distances above the line, the signes-de-renvoi, etc. in that section, lines 18–21 of the edition below).

In sum, the traveler's purpose in writing the itinerary evolved as he went, beginning with exclusively practical details (Prague to Brussels), incorporating a number of curious observations (Brussels to Calais), and then, upon discovery of the eulogies of Anne of Bohemia in London, transitioning to a nearly exclusive discussion of points of interest, and gradually incorporating (and retroactively inserting) the kind of practical information with which he began. As he had already recorded practical information for France on fol. 99r, he found it unnecessary to incorporate such notes in his more detailed description of France on fol. 92r–v (which, I suggest, was written last of all).

DATING

Precise dating of the H.15 itinerary is not possible, though relative chronology can help narrow the window during which it could reasonably have been written. Evidence comes primarily from the description of London, particularly the accounts of Westminster Hall and Abbey. The fact that the traveler records measurements of Westminster Hall and describes its beautiful wooden ceiling means that the account could not have been written earlier than 1394, the year Richard II commissioned Henry Yevele with the ceiling's construction.[32] Adding strength to this claim, we have seen that the traveler also transcribed three verse epitaphs of Anne of Bohemia at Westminster Abbey, which likewise could not have been written before 1394, the year of the queen's death. Further, the timber ceiling at Westminster Hall was not completed until 1402, after Richard had died. This does not necessarily mean that the ceiling must have been finished by the time the Bohemian traveler described it, but because he recorded measurements of the hall and was able to

---

[32] *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in London,* vol. II: *West London Excluding Westminster Abbey* (London, 1925), 121.

remark on the beauty of its ceiling's construction, it unlikely that his trip fell much before 1402. It is safe, then, to assign ca. 1402 as a *terminus a quo*.

The latest date at which the itinerary could have been written, I suggest, is 1413. In the traveler's description of Anne of Bohemia's tomb, he makes no mention of the unusual fact that it was a joint tomb, designed to hold both Anne and Richard. Arguments from negative evidence must proceed cautiously, but it is significant that Richard II was not actually buried in the tomb until 1413, when his body was translated to Westminster from King's Langley. In other words, the tomb was certainly designed for Anne and Richard, but it was not Richard's resting place, properly speaking, between 1400 and 1413. If he had been buried in the tomb at the time of the traveler's visit, the traveler would likely have mentioned the fact. Although absolute certainty eludes us, then, I think it reasonable to suggest that the itinerary was written between ca. 1402 and ca. 1413.[33]

EDITION

The following edition presents the itinerary in the order in which it appears in the manuscript (beginning with the detailed descriptions of France and England, and then the route from Brussels to Calais, followed by the route from Prague to Brussels). All punctuation is editorial and all abbreviations have been expanded. In the very few instances where it has been necessary to alter the text, manuscript readings are indicated in the apparatus, and supplied letters have been placed in angled brackets ⟨ ⟩. Scribal insertions are placed between back and forward slashes \ /. Where it has been impossible to determine a reading, I have supplied ellipses. Doubtful readings are listed and described accordingly in the apparatus. No attempt has been made to amend

---

[33] It is also at least possible to date the trip to sometime before 1411. The Duc de Berry's primary household in Paris, the Hôtel de Nestle, which the traveler references, was attacked that year by Parisian revolutionaries, and unrest also spread throughout the city. Parts of the residence were demolished or blocked, though the Hôtel remained de Berry's principal home in Paris until 1416. The reference to the residence in the itinerary is brief and undetailed, however, stating simply that the house of the Duc de Berry ("domus ducis Bituriensis") could be seen opposite the Louvre, so the fact that the traveler says nothing about the unrest provides no firm ground for positive assertions. On the unrest and damage to the duke's residence, see Stéfan Gouzouguec and Thomas Rapin, "Architecture in Paris in the Second Half of the Fourteenth Century: The Middle Ages Seen through the Eyes of Accountants," in *Proceedings of the Second International Congress on Construction History,* ed. Malcolm Dunkeld (Ascot, 2006), 1370. As far as the possibility of a later dating is concerned, it seems unlikely that it could be any later than 1419, the year of Václav IV's death, since he is mentioned on fol. 57v as "Wenceslaus Dei gracia Boemie Rex."

the author's frequently succinct and at times poor Latin phrasing (his Latin appears to have been little more than functional). Every attempt has been made to identify locations, measurements, and references to relics, monuments, stuctures, etc., though a few uncertainties remain. Identification and discussion may be found in the notes to the edition and in the discussion above.

Prague, Knihovna metropolitní kapituly H.15, fols. 92r–93r, 99r

[92r] Francia

Nota quod in Ambiantz habetur facies sancti Johannis Babtiste et eclesia pulcra. Et circa Sanctum Dionisium habetur manus sancti Thome cum carnibus cum qua palpavit latus Christi, et habetur una ydria ex sex que fuerunt in
5 Gana Gali⟨l⟩e. Et Parisius habetur corona Christi in capella pallacii Parisiensis. Et quivis equitaverit ad Sanctum Clauum, ibi est pons per quem nullus rex Francie equitat, timendo ne secum caderet, quia est [. . .].
[92v] Et habentur due turres circa beatam Virginem; in una sunt gradus ccc et lviiii; et habetur pulcrum castrum Lowrs ex opposito domus ducis Bituriensis;
10 et in distancia unius milliaris Francie habetur unum castrum, et vocatur Pus, et

---

5 Gana Gali⟨l⟩e] *marg.:* magnus(?) synus lxx *(and possibly* i*)*   capella] *interlinear note above:* et pars de g ... *(possibly a reference to another passion relic; a piece of the True Cross was also held at the Sainte-Chapelle)*   7 *the manuscript suffers from physical damage from this point to the end of fol. 92r, and the order of phrases is unclear (as a result of irregular spacing, etc.); a suggested (partial) reading is* de [. . .] lat[. . .] magna et coruna magna et mensa magna ad novum lapidem ubi examinatur aurum; et longitudo pallacii

---

2 Ambiantz: Amiens.

2–3 eclesia pulcra: Amiens Cathedral.

3 circa Sanctum Dionisium: Saint-Denis.

3–5 manus sancti Thome . . . Gana Gali⟨l⟩e: The hand reliquary of St. Thomas the Apostle is at the Benedictine Abbey at Saint-Denis, as was a fragment said to be from one of the vases from the Wedding at Cana (John 2:6), missing since World War I. See Michel Félibien, *Historie de l'abbaye royale de Saint-Denys en France* (Paris, 1706), 538 (Vase), 540 (Hand).

5 capella: The Crown of Thorns is currently held in Notre Dame Cathedral but was formerly kept in the treasury of the Sainte-Chapelle (the *capella* mentioned here), which was attached to the royal palace (now La Conciergerie).

6 ad Sanctum Clauum: The reference is to the Pont de Saint-Cloud (though I have not seen this spelling used elsewhere), located approximately six miles (9.5 km) west of the medieval walls of Paris. The legend that French kings refused to cross this precarious wooden bridge is attested elsewhere, at least in the early sixteenth century. See, for example *Chroniques de Jean d'Auton,* ed. Paul L. Jacob, vol. 3 (Paris, 1835), 115.

8 due turres circa beatam Virginem: Presumably the towers of Notre Dame Cathedral.

9 castrum Lowrs: Louvres Castle.

domus ducis Bituriensis: Hôtel de Nesle, the primary Parisian home of Jean, duc de Berry (1340–1416), located across the Seine from the Louvre. See Gouzouguec and Rapin, "Architecture in Paris in the Second Half of the Fourteenth Century: The Middle Ages Seen through the Eyes of Accountants," in *Proceedings of the Second International Congress* (n. 33 above), 1363–74.

10 distancia unius milliaris Francie: A French mile was 1.624 km; see n. 17 above.

Pus: Most likely Passy, located approximately one French mile from the western walls of the medieval city of Paris.

turres xi, et una magna in qua sunt gradus cccc et viii. Et circa Sanctam Katherinam est sepulcrum Christi consimile sepulcro Domini, continens tres ulnas Pragenses. Et sunt domus vi [. . .] Francie Boemie. Et est universitas magna. Reges Francie [. . .] lxxx [. . .] et pontes [. . .] admodum platearum; et
15 castrum pulcrum sancti Michaelis.

Anglia

In Dobra unum pulcrum castrum et civitas parva, et mons ubi circa transitur. Et tunc in Caltinbergi \iv/ est sepulcrum sancti Thome Cartuariensis archiepresulis et multe ymagines auree et argentee, et eclesia valde pulcra, et
20 capelle multe pulcre, et specialiter sepultura episcoporum. \In Roczetr xxiiii

---

13 Et sunt domus vi] *followed by apparently four indecipherable words; the entire passage up to the end of the section appears to comprise a series of hastily written notes or afterthoughts that surround the title of the following section ("Anglia") but pertain to the description of France (and mainly Paris)* 17 et mons ubi] *sic, preceded by* et mons(?) transit, *with no sign of deletion* 18 \iv/ *inserted above the line*

11–12 circa Sanctam Katherinam . . . sepulcro Domini: Possibly a reference to the Hôpital Sainte-Catherine, on rue Saint-Denis. The hospital was associated with the Church of Sainte-Opportune, located on the opposite side of the street; it also had its own small chapel. See Christian Warolin, "L'hôpital Sainte-Catherine, rue Saint-Denis, et la confrérie des apothicaires de Paris," *Revue d'histoire de la pharmacie* 47 (1999): 417–21. This is more likely a reference to a replica of the Holy Sepulchre in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre on rue St.-Denis, in front of which was a monument to St. Catherine. See Maurice Vimont, *Histoire de la rue Saint-Denis* (Paris, 1936), "Plan de la rue Saint-Denis au Plan Terrier du Roi en Cinq Feuilles" (in vol. 1, foldout between pp. 368 and 369). For discussion of the different forms that replicas or models of the Sepulchre could take, see Justin E. A. Kroesen, *The Sepulchrum Domini Through the Ages: Its Form and Function,* trans. Margaret Koford (Leuven, 2000); and Pamela Sheingorn, *The Easter Sepulchre in England* (Kalamazoo, 1987).
12–13 continens tres ulnas Pragenses: An "ulna Pragensis" (loket pražský) is 0.598 meters. See http://www.jednotky.cz/delka/loket-prazsky/.
13–14 universitas magna: University of Paris.
15 castrum pulcrum sancti Michaelis: The connection to the preceding sentence is unclear. If the reference is to Mont Saint-Michel, which is far afield of the traveler's route, he would seem to be describing possessions or fortifications used by the French royalty, and not exclusively those located in Paris (and not all of which he is likely to have visited).
17 Dobra: Dover.
18 in Caltinbergi \vi/: Presumably the distance from Dover to Canterbury using the Bohemian mile as measurement (whereas in England the traveler typically records distances in English miles).
18–19 sepulcrum sancti Thome Cartuariensis archiepresulis: Tomb of Thomas Becket, Canterbury Cathedral.
20–21 In Roczetr . . . Londinum xxiiii: A signe-de-renvoi (#) indicates insertion of this passage from its position to the right of the section title (Anglia).
Roczetr: Rochester.

milliaria, ad Londinum xxiiii./ In Londonia sunt eclesie ccc et l et viii. Et est pons in quo sunt domus magne sicut una platea, et habet testudines xxi; et aqua cito transit supra cito infra, et hoc propter aquas maris. Et est unum claustrum Veismostr: ibi est sepulcrum pulcrum aureum beati Edwardi et alia multa sepulcra regum et reginarum, et specialiter sepulcrum Regine Anne, que fuit filia Inperatoris Karoli IIII^{ti} et Boemie regis; et ibi sunt epitaphia multa, que superius sunt scripta in isto sexterno. Ibi etiam est capella valde pulcra picta cum auro desuper et imaginibus et suscriptis; est alia cappella satis pulcra. Ibi etiam est unum pallacium, longitudo lx vi gladiorum et latitudo xviii gladiorum, et preparacio pallacii de lignis pulcra que nunquam est visa talis. In predicto claustro sunt statue marmoree et testudo de marmoreis circumscripcione et sculptura intus valde pulcra. Et ibi etiam est una testudo rotunda valde magna qua habet unam statuam valde subtilem in medio marmoream et combinatam ferro, que nunquam talis est visa testudo in tam magna rotunditate super una statua; et est capitulum eorum.

[93r] Eclesia sancti Pauli infra limites continet iii arcas et dimidiam, rodam dimidiam, et sex virgas constratas. Longitudo eiusdem eclesie dc et xc pedes,

---

36 arcas] *sic for* acras

---

21 milliaria: Other than the references to French and Bohemian miles in lines 10 and 68, the type of mile measurement used in the itinerary is not specified. In England, however, with two exceptions, the English mile appears to be used (approximately 1.52 km); see n. 18 above.

22 pons: London Bridge.

domus magne: Cf. *The Travels of Leo of Rozmital,* trans. and ed. Malcolm Letts, Hakluyt Society 108 (Cambridge, 1957), 51: "[the river Thames] is crossed by a long stone bridge, along whose whole length houses have been built."

24 claustrum Veismostr: Westminster Abbey

sepulcrum pulcrum aureum beati Edwardi: Tomb of Edward the Confessor.

25 sepulcrum Regine Anne: Tomb of Anne of Bohemia, first queen of Richard II.

26 filia Inperatoris Karoli IIII^{ti} et Boemie regis: Anne of Bohemia was the daughter of the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles IV.

26–27 epitaphia multa: For discussion of the epitaphs of Anne of Bohemia, see above and the fuller discussion and edition in my *From England to Bohemia,* chap. 1 and Appendix A.

29 pallacium: Westminster Palace.

longitudo lx vi gladiorum: A sword is used as a unit of measure in lines 29–30 and 60.

30 preparacio pallacii de lignis pulcra: A reference to the recently constructed timber ceiling of Westminster Hall.

36 Eclesia sancti Pauli: St. Paul's Cathedral.

36–37 continet . . . rodam dimidiam, et sex virgas: A *roda,* or rood, as a unit used to measure surface area, is the equivalent of 1010 square meters; as a unit of length it is equivalent to 201 meters. A *virga,* or verge, is equivalent to a yard (36 inches, or 0.914 meters). See Zupko, *Dictionary of Weights and Measures for the British Isles* (n. 18 above), s.v. "rood," "virga."

latitudo c et xxx pedes. Altitudo occidentalis testudinis continet ab arca c et ii
pedes. Altitudo nove testudinis lxxx viii pedes. Campanilis altitudo cc et lx;
40 altitudo lignorum cc lxx iiii pedes. Et ibi est sepulcrum sancti Pauli et sepul-
tura valde pulcra ducis Langastrie; et est crux magna quam fecit Joseff qui
sepelivit Christum et post venit per aquas ad Angliam. Et dicitur quod multa
miracula sunt per eam, et specialiter quomodo testimonium peribuit cuidam
mulierum de matrimonio prefato, et dixit, "vere tu coniunxisti matrimonium
45 cum ipsa per verba de presenti coram me, et testificatus est tibi taliter dicens."
Et eciam ibi est una magna campana etc. 5 milliaria a Londonia distat castrum
Vinzur, in quo sunt de fraternitate sancti Georgi xxiiii; et quolibet anno
faciunt solempniter missa et cetera officia; et dicitur quod ibi fuit Rex Artuss
et quomodo alii, videlicet Percifal et ceteri fuerunt ibi, et quomodo prima vice
50 perpetrando militarem statum venit a matre sua, et ibi occidit rubeum milli-
tem. Et in eodem castro est quoddam foramen tribus milliaribus longum sub
turri quadam, et in medio castri est mons, et in eodem pulcerrimum castellum
parvum rotundum ad modum rote; et castrum totum coopertum cum plumbo,
etc.
55   hospicium circa civitatem
Nota xxv milliaribus distat una civitas que vocatur Guldefordia. A Gulde-

---

38 pedes: A foot in the later Middle Ages was the same as at present, 12 inches (0.305 meters); see Zupko, *Dictionary of Weights and Measures for the British Isles,* s.v. "foot."

40–41 sepultura valde pulcra ducis Langastrie: Tomb of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster.

41 crux magna: Joseph of Arimathea was credited with discovering (and in some cases, with making) the Cross at the North Door of St. Paul's (discussed above). I have not found the miracle referenced here attested elsewhere.

46–47 castrum Vinzur: Windsor Castle.

47 de fraternitate sancti Georgi xxiiii: The Order of the Garter, associated with the College of St. George at Windsor Castle. It consisted of twenty-five (not twenty-four) knights and the king as the head (twenty-six in all).

48 Rex Artuss: King Arthur (cf. Czech Artuš).

49 Percifal: Percival.

49–51 quomodo[2] . . . occidit rubeum millitem: The passage refers to Percival's formative encounter with the Red (or Vermillion) Knight, recounted in several of the versions of the Percival/Grail narrative. See, for example, Chrétien de Troyes, *Le Roman de Perceval ou Le Conte du Graal,* ed. Keith Busby (Tübingen, 1993), ll. 834–1304; and Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Parzival,* in *Wolfram von Eschenbach,* vol. 1, ed. Karl Lachmann (Berlin, 1952), book 3.

51–52 foramen tribus milliaribus longum sub turri: Probably a reference to the moat around the castle, which is approximately three miles around.

52–53 pulcerrimum castellum parvum rotundum: The Round Tower at Windsor Castle, situated on a hill.

55 hospicium circa civitatem: The reference does not appear to be designated for insertion, but stands rather as an independent note, presumably to an inn near Guildford. I have not been able to identify the inns referenced in this section.

fordia est una civitas in distancia xvi milliaribus, et vocatur Altun. Hospicium circa Sanctum Georgium. Ad Hantun distancia xx v miliaria.

[99r] Bruxl ad Hal iii millaria; de Hal ad Berg Henigow ix; ad Vinshenad ix,
60   ubi est obora, et unus saltavit in aquam in longitudine v gladiorum meorum; ad Bohan vii; de Bohan ad Sant Quentin iiii, et ibi iacet sanctus Quintinus in magna eclesia; ad Sant Login xii, et ibi iacet sanctus Logius in magna eclesia; ad Cumpinion v; ad Sant Lis viii; ad Lowrs v, ubi pueri saltant per capita; de Lowrs a⟨d⟩ Sanctum Dionisium v; a Sancto Dyonisio ad Parisiis ii; et circa
65   Sanctum Dionisium ibi [. . .]. De Paris ad Sant Lus vi; ad Clermunt vi; ad Palleart viii; ad Ambiantz sex; de Ambiancz ad Blancort iiii; de Blancor⟨t⟩ ad Montorai xii; ad Boloniam vii, et de Bolonia ad Kalys vii; Kales per aquam xl milliaria Boemie.

---

59 Vinshenad] *the reading is doubtful*   65 *the sentence appears to be unfinished; a possible though illegible insertion appears below the paragraph*   66 Blancor⟨t⟩] *followed by a signe-de-renvoi (#); the location of the insertion is unclear, but it is perhaps the faint (almost indecipherable) passage immediately following this section (see preceding note)*

56–57 Guldefordia: Guildford.   Altun: Alton.

58 Hantun: Southampton.

59 Bruxl: Brussels.   Hal: Halle.   Berg Henigow: German form of Mons (in Hainaut).

Vinshenad: Probably a reference to Valenciennes, which was one of the retreats of the French royalty and had a hunting ground (see next note). The distance from Mons (and to Bohain-en-Vermandois) is in line with a typical day's journey for the traveler, and Valenciennes would be an obvious place to make a point of visiting in that area.

60 obora: Czech, "hunting ground."

et unus saltavit in aquam: The noun implied by "unus" is uncertain but likely refers to someone leaping into (or perhaps over) the water in the hunting ground. Presumably the length of the jump was impressive, so the traveler measured the distance ("in longitudine v gladiorum meorum") to keep a record in his notebook. I thank Pavel Soukup for this suggestion.

61 Bohan: Bohain-en-Vermandois.   Sant Quentin: Saint-Quentin.

62 Sant Login . . . sanctus Logius: Most likely Saint Eloi (Eligius) of Noyon.

63 Cumpinion: Compiègne.   Sant Lis: Senlis.   Lowrs: Louvres.

ubi pueri saltant per capita: I have found no other reference to this practice in Louvres.

64–65 a⟨d⟩ Sanctum Dionisium . . . circa Sanctum Dionisium: Saint-Denis.

65 Sant Lus: Saint-Leu-d'Esserent.   Clermunt: Clermont (département Oise).

66 Palleart: Paillart.   Ambiantz: Amiens.   Blancort: Bellancourt.

67 Montorai: Montreuil (département Pas-de-Calais).

Bolonia: Boulogne-sur-Mer.   Kalys: Calais.

67–68 xl milliaria Boemie: A Bohemian mile is 7.53 km (I thank Pavel Klenovský from the Czech Metrology Institute for this detail). See http://www.jednotky.cz/delka/mile-ceska/. Here forty Bohemian miles (301.2 km) is a gross overestimate (the distance from Calais to Dover is approximately 47 km).

De Praga ad Rakownik vii; et ad Masczow v; et ad Cubitum vii; et ad
70 Egram iiii; ad Veisynstat dorf iiii milliaria; ad Culmach sex; Veissenstat vii;
ad Kaluspurg ix; ad Winczhem v; ad Au v; Bischoffhem v; ad Milberg x; ad
Asnberg v; Francfurt, Mohucz, Pig, Coblenecz; ibi est turris ubi naves
comodant usque Colonia; a⟨d⟩ Czach x; \Tricht iiii/; ad Tungar iii; de Tungar
ad Lewel ix; de Lewl ad Brixl iiii.

---

73 usque] *the reading is doubtful*   \Tricht iiii/ *inserted above line*   iii] *preceded by
cancelled* iiii   de Tungar] ad Tungar MS

---

69 Praga: Prague.   Rakownik: Rakovník.   Masczow: Mašťov.   Cubitum: Loket.
70 Egram: Cheb.   Veisynstat dorf: Weißenstadt.   Culmach: Kulmbach.
Veissenstat: Probably Wiesenthau, at a distance that accords with a typical day's journey
for the traveler.
71 Kaluspurg: Cadolzburg.   Winczhem: Bad Windsheim.   Au: Aub.
Bischoffhem: Tauberbischofsheim.   Milberg: Miltenberg.
72 Asnberg: Aschaffenburg.   Francfurt: Frankfurt.   Mohucz: Mainz (Czech Mohuč).
Pig: Probably Bingen am Rhein.   Coblenecz: Koblenz.
73 Colonia: Cologne.   Czach: Aachen (Czech, Cáchy)   Tricht: Maastricht.
Tungar: Tongeren.
74 Lewel: Leuven.   Brixl: Brussels.

McGill University.