

Discourse on Pilgrimage in Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* and Margery Kempe's *The Book of Margery Kempe*

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À cause des profondes crises économiques et politiques d'Angleterre, au XIV-ème siècle, l'augmentation de la piété chrétienne s'exprime surtout par des pèlerinages et par la contemplation mystique. Margery Kempe (1373-1438) et Geoffrey Chaucer (1340-1400) provenaient du même milieu social, les deux appartenant à la bourgeoisie prospère, mais chacun ayant reçu une éducation différente et leurs différents parcours spirituels influençant leurs perceptions sur la réalité et la manière dont ils ont regardé le pèlerinage. Dans mon étude, j'identifie quelques traits du discours sur le pèlerinage dans le livre de Margery Kempe et «Les contes de Canterbury» de Geoffrey Chaucer. J'argumente que, malgré la visible différence entre ces deux oeuvres, ils ont un fondement commun de leurs discours, et ce fondement est la juste doctrine de l'Église.

Mots-clés: littérature anglaise, Geoffrey Chaucer, Margery Kempe, pèlerinage

Medieval reality was shaped by religious conventions and the lives of ordinary people as well as those of kings followed the rules of Christian behaviour and the precepts of the Church. Even if sometimes there were instances of tension between the English kings and the Popes (King John's conflict with Pope Innocent III was such an example), medieval rulers were bound by the laws of God and could not govern without the support of the Church and of their barons.

Chaucer, a well-educated "esquire of the royal household" (Strohm 3), was one of the medieval authors whose work was read by the king, whereas Margery Kempe, an illiterate daughter of a prosperous burgess, wrote her "short treatyse" (as the first line in the proem calls it) because she felt compelled by her devotion to God to share her experiences with other devout Christians. Their style was appropriate for their respective purposes and the reader can easily discern Chaucer's wish to entertain and Kempe's desire to record her religious revelations honestly.

Analysing *The Canterbury Tales* and *The Book of Margery Kempe* more deeply the reader realises that beyond their recognizable and divergent purposes there are several similar features which bring the two works together. Pilgrimage is the setting of both works whether as a pretext, plainly, in Chaucer's *Tales* or implicitly in Margery's account of her life. I intend to show that their discourses on pilgrimage have common characteristics and the reality of pilgrimage was presented as an enlightening experience by both of them. On the other hand they were both interested in the people who undertook the pilgrimage and there is social criticism in the different manners they describe their fellow pilgrims.

1. Pilgrimage – A Spiritual Experience

Pilgrimage has always been perceived as a religious experience and as such it involves not only divine revelations at the end of it, but also hardship and sacrifice, as a means of demonstrating the pilgrims' determination and steadfastness. Overcoming the adversities to be found during the pilgrimage, as well as assuming a humble and low position, notwithstanding the social status of the pilgrim, were "part of a mentality that regarded physical mortification as essential for spiritual elevation" (Oancă 148). In order to reach Canterbury the medieval English traveller had to walk or ride, while in order to go to Jerusalem, they went to Venice, from where they sailed to Palestine and rode accompanied by friars or other guides to visit the holy sites there. The pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela also involved travelling by ship from Bristol.

Despite the effort that such journeys implied, there was a constant interest in going on pilgrimages throughout the Middle Ages, and even some saints (like Saint Francis of Assisi¹) went to Jerusalem. The rise of the number of pilgrims in the 13th and 14th centuries was partly due to the fact that in that period the Church emphasized the doctrine regarding "the human nature of Christ" (as complementary to His divine nature), a doctrine articulated by the belief of "the body of Christ's presence in the Eucharist"² (Dickens 19). The same interest in His human nature led to an increase awareness of His historical existence which led to the desire to visit geographical places associated with Christ. The wish to visit the places where Jesus walked was also in accordance with the Biblical teaching stating that Christians should identify themselves with Christ. Visiting sanctuaries associated with other saints was a way of following their examples. The belief in miracles taking place at different saints' shrines was also an incentive because health, or the lack of it, was a great worry for the medieval person.

Perhaps the most important reason for undertaking a pilgrimage was to achieve the forgiveness of sins. It has been shown that pilgrimages were recommended as penance by medieval confessors (Webb 51-63). Yet it must be stated that pilgrimage could also be an attempt to break with the familiar and to experience an adventure while remaining in the frame of accepted conventions, an adventure approved by the Church.

One of the painful aspects when undertaking the pilgrimage was separation from loved ones and joining a group of pilgrims who were unknown and sometimes unfriendly, or encountering such people on the way. Margery Kempe travelled with her husband in England, but he could not really protect her from malicious slander, such as the charge of heresy.

¹ In 1219, Saint Francis wanted to preach to the Muslims and he did so in front of the Sultan Malik al-Kamil, but without success. Then he visited Palestine and the Holy Places and left for Venice in the summer of 1220.

² The Corpus Christi Feast started to be celebrated in the second half of the 13th century.

Geoffrey, the pilgrim, was not esteemed by his fellow travellers, as can be seen from the fact that his first story (that of Sir Topaz) is rudely interrupted by the Host. On the other hand the atmosphere created by the stories is pleasant and the pilgrims are sociable with one another, except for the angry words (and bawdy stories) exchanged by the Miller and the Reeve and respectively by the Friar and the Summoner. There are many stories said by Chaucer's companions (including his rather boring Tale of Melibeus) in which the reader can find traces of honest devotion, surprisingly told by people who had been described as superficial and callous (especially the Pardoner and his tale).

When Margery recounts her pilgrimage to Jerusalem, where she went unaccompanied by her husband, she has a rather "Chaucerian sort of attitude" (Dickens 173) when she describes her fellow pilgrims. Her piety was sometimes acknowledged by the other pilgrims, even if her personality was not liked and, as a result, when she, according to one of her visions, arranged to travel on a different ship from the one on which all the other pilgrims had booked passage, her companions joined her on the galley she chose (Ch. 28). On the other hand her narrative shows that she was often abandoned by her travelling companions, despite the fact that her fellow pilgrims were protected by divine intervention.

After the great calamities of the 14th century (the Great Famine of 1315-1317, with effects felt as far as 1322), the dawn of the Hundred Years' War (1337-1453) and the Black Death (from 1348 to 1370 with a new wave every few years), English Christians³ needed a strengthening of their belief in God's compassion and a reassurance that God could and would protect them. Carrying out a pilgrimage was a trial, but it brought the forgiveness of a pilgrim's sins, and the hope for bodily health, as well as spiritual growth.

2. Margery Kempe's Authentic Devotion

Margery Kempe, often regarded as a mystic writer, had a very unusual life and undertook a rather unusual task when she decided to record her memories. The events of her life, as they were recorded, were rather disconnected, but her visions were very vivid and even theatrical, since in her revelations she witnessed the Nativity and the Passion and she carried out long dialogues with Jesus Christ.

The Book of Margery Kempe consists of two unequal parts: the first book (89 chapters) describes her earlier life, her pilgrimages in England, and those to Jerusalem, Rome, Assisi and Santiago de Compostela, and the second book (10 chapters) records her voyage to Germany with her daughter-in-law, her stay in Danzig and her pilgrimage to Wilsnack. She returned home through Aachen.

Margery's story started with the crisis she went through after giving birth to her first child, a difficult birth, which left her traumatized, desperate and almost hysterical. She calmed down and came to her senses only after she had received a vision of Jesus Christ dressed in a purple mantle, surrounded by a bright light, who

³ In the 14th century the number of pilgrims going to Santiago de Compostela was greater than in the previous century (Le Goff *Dictionar Tematic al Evului Mediu* 611).

spoke to her. In other words the first important event in her life, worthy of being mentioned in her *Book*, was the first dialogue she had with Christ.

After twenty years of marriage and her father's death, Margery started her life of pilgrimage, which she felt as a calling. In the tenth chapter (of the first book) she mentions that "this creature was moved in her soul to go and visit certain places for spiritual health" (Kempe 57) and later on, in the fifteenth chapter "...our Lord commanded her in her mind – two years before she went – that she should go to Rome, to Jerusalem, and Santiago de Compostela and she would gladly have gone" (Kempe 67). Margery's pilgrimages were another outward sign of her devotion to God.

It is perhaps necessary to mention one of the distinctive aspects of her piety, namely her excessive weeping and loud wailing which disturbed all her companions⁴ and which was mostly to blame for the fact that she was repeatedly abandoned by her fellow travellers. Moreover she took to wearing white clothes (as a symbol of chastity) and liked talking about Jesus Christ and his Gospel.

In her book *Margery Kempe's Dissenting Fictions*, Lynn Stanley asserts that "Just as we commonly distinguish [...] between the pilgrim Geoffrey and the poet Chaucer, so in this study I draw a distinction between Margery, the subject and Kempe her author"(3). The organization of the material of the book seems lax, as if indeed random memories are placed together side by side, but in the narration the term "this creature" is used to describe Margery. These stylistic elements confuse the reader and leave the door open for several interpretations of the book.

The name that Kempe uses in the proem to introduce her story was "a short treatise and a comforting one for sinful wretches, in which they may have great solace and comfort for themselves (...)" (Kempe 33). So one of the functions of the book was to teach "its readers strategies for managing the emotional, and ultimately spiritual, damage brought on by feelings of uncertainty, unworthiness, and despair" (Krug 218). Such a perspective draws the attention to the didactic purpose of all the elements in the story: the parables, the visions and also the pilgrimage.

Kempe's discourse on pilgrimage is not a continuous rendering of misfortunes, which are solved by God's intervention and direct speech to Margery. There are many fragmented episodes that recount events from Margery's life. And although the insistence is on her spiritual growth, there are other details from her life that

⁴ Her cries and tears were hard to understand, since most Christians viewed piety as quiet and reclusive, so her fellow travellers were reluctant to stay with her: "And therefore many people slandered her, not believing that it was the work of God, but that some evil spirit tormented her in her body or else that she had some bodily sickness" (Kempe 75). In another instance a friar whose preaching attracted many people sent her away, "I wish this woman were out of the church; she is annoying people" (Kempe 188).

give a complex form to her *Book* and prevent the critic from placing it in the literary-spiritual category of confessions or other known narrative classifications⁵.

Because of her unusual and extreme behaviour she had to defend herself several times against accusations of Lollardy, since the Lollards liked to preach, and they talked against swearing. She does so in front of the actively anti-Lollard Archbishop of York (ch.52-53). Yet she refused to stop talking about God and she went on to quote the Bible, while the parable of the priest, the bear and the pilgrim was an example of her “preaching”. Clearly Margery did not talk in a pulpit, but her stories were powerful nevertheless.

Several incidents of her life are narrated as individual episodes as if to make up a collection of stories. Furthermore, Kempe’s work is not devoid of fictional tales, the best example being the “parable” of the bear, the priest and the pear tree, which I have just mentioned. The parable, in which a priest sees a bear eating flowers from a pear tree and then defecating them, is told “as a signifier of Margery’s orthodoxy”, because she does not link “sacramental efficacy to priestly virtue” (Staley 7-9). The meaning of the parable, explained in the following lines, by the palmer (a pilgrim to Jerusalem), is that the priest, because of the divine grace he has received at his ordination, is the radiant pear-tree, but since he is sinful and immoral, he is equally the bear, who cannot appreciate the magnificence of the flowers, and who might destroy their virtuous essence, unless he repents.⁶ This fragment has been considered a “tale” (Staley 6), which shows that Kempe also collected tales.

During her travels in England, she was accompanied by her husband, who was her kind and humble, but rather inefficient, protector, since he abandoned her several times, just when people started to reprimand her. During her pilgrimage to Jerusalem, Rome and Santiago, she was not accompanied by him and often she found it difficult to organise her journey and to care for herself when she was ill, especially since even her maid deserted her: “Also this company, which had excluded the said creature from their table so that she should no longer eat amongst them, arranged for a ship for themselves to sail in. They bought containers for their wine and arranged bedding for themselves, but nothing for her” (Kempe 102). As was to be expected, God helped her in this instance too, showing that Margery’s only steadfast companion is Christ.

Many such occurrences in her subsequent pilgrimages show that Margery’s calling was to be alone with God and in order to be herself she had to distance

⁵ Although sometimes it has been labelled as an “autobiography” (Collins 9, Dinshaw 222), *The Book of Margery Kempe* has equally been considered a mystical work (Windeatt 227) or a “treatise” to help other people deal with their divine visions (Krug 218).

⁶ Unlike the Lollards, who considered that the sinful priest were unworthy of celebrating mass and therefore they could not give the Holy Mysteries to Christians, Margery admitted the power of Ordination and did not preach against sinful priests, but merely urged them to repent, a traditional request, since the call to penitence was as old as the Old Testament and the prophets.

herself from the others⁷. She “lived a life of pilgrimage” (Dickens 165), and she liked to have religious books read to her, and, in time, she established herself in the community of Lynn, her native town (Kempe 190), even though she always remained different from the others.

3. “Making Merry”: Chaucer’s Pilgrims

Margery’s attitude when travelling with others marked her as an unwanted companion and the thing that she was rebuked for was that she did not like to “make merry” but she wanted to talk about God. Listening to Chaucer’s stories, the pilgrims made merry, but they also heard about God, since some of the stories were parables (the Pardoner’s and the Friar’s tales), fables (the Nun’s Priest’s tale) or downright devotional (the Prioress’s, the Second Nun’s and the Parson’s tales). It is true that on the other hand some stories were lewd comedies (the Miller’s, the Reeve’s, the Merchant’s and the Sea Captain’s tales).

For Chaucer the pilgrimage is a literary artifice to present the social interaction between people of different social classes and divergent personalities. These people represent an audience for the tales, thus keeping one another company. The Host, who joined them and played the role of their guide and the moderator of the story-telling, was the one to propose the telling of stories and also suggested the reward, a free meal at his inn.

Chaucer, the narrator, mentions at the beginning that the pilgrimage was undertaken in order to receive Saint Thomas of Canterbury’s mediation to strengthen the pilgrims’ health and to thank for the help which they had already been given, yet no other open mention is made of their destination. “(...) to Canterbury they come,/ The holy blessed martyr there to seek,/ Who gave his help to them when they were sick” (Chaucer 1). On the other hand the stories about the miracle of Virgin Mary and St Cecilia’s life could have projected a reverent atmosphere appropriate to a religious pilgrimage; in addition the Parson’s Tale is a sermon about the seven deadly sins and the importance of penance.

The pilgrimage from London to Canterbury, a pilgrimage which was usually well coordinated, started from one of the several inns in Southwark, and it took four days to finish it. On the first day the pilgrims stopped in Dartford, and on the second day they reached Rochester, then Ospring, and on the fourth day they reached Canterbury (Popescu 90). But Chaucer’s pilgrims did not complete it, since there was no mention that they arrived at Canterbury. On the other hand, “placing the Parson’s Tale at the conclusion of the Canterbury Tales must be [...]

⁷ “<If you want to travel in our party you must give a new undertaking, which is this: you will not talk of the Gospel where we are, but you will sit and **make merry**, like us, at all meals>. She agreed and was received back into their party. [...] Afterward it happened as this creature sat at the table with her companions, that she repeated a text of the Gospel which she had learned before, other good words, and then her companions said she had broken her undertaking. And she said: “<Yes, sirs, indeed I can no longer keep this agreement with you, for I must speak of my Lord Jesus Christ, though all this world had forbidden me>” (Kempe 101-102).

an absolute ending, for it ends with the absolute, with that truth which is our ultimate end” (Windeatt 228). The Retraction (or the Valediction) is a confirmation of this pious attitude and the narrator admits that he repents for the “works of worldly vanity” he either translated or wrote, since they might incite the readers to sin, because of their lasciviousness. The reader witnesses thus a certain change in the author, who although he could not complete the pilgrimage (or at least did not mention the completion of the pilgrimage explicitly) felt its redeeming quality and turned towards God like a penitent asking for forgiveness.

Although the general atmosphere is pleasant and the Host succeeds in quieting any incipient quarrelling, there are some obvious rivalries which are present also inside the stories, and these stories were inevitably coarse and vulgar, another proof that lack of forbearance and Christian charity could only lead to inferiority of mind and manners. The characters belonging to a religious profession are ridiculed⁸ as much as the others, and their stories covers the whole range of subjects and styles, from offensive and disrespectful stories (like those exchanged by the friar and the summoner), to a parable (the Pardoner’s) and a fable (the Nun’s Priest’s tale), to pious tales about divine miracles (the Prioress’s) and saints (the Second Nun’s), as well as a sermon delivered by the Parson. Yet, reading all these stories, one can only be surprised by their lack of originality, although they are vividly told.

The *Canterbury Tales* abundantly attests Chaucer’s genius in observing separate facts and details and afterwards recording and combining the things he noticed. His pilgrimage could be interpreted as a parade or carnival (Popescu 88-95) in which different social categories, with the weaknesses that define them in the eyes of the medieval spectator, tries to perform and entertain an audience. Chaucer created few stories, his “inventiveness consists in an art of context, of creating a structure which enables an interaction between materials which he has had the perceptiveness to bring together” (Windeatt 218). So Chaucer’s pilgrimage was in a way a stage, in which social types display themselves and the reader has to discern the positive from the negative examples in a complex process.

One of the most colourful and ambiguous characters, and perhaps one who succeeds in surprising the reader is the Pardoner. His profession, which is defining for each pilgrim, was one of the most disliked and dishonest, yet his story is one of the wittiest. It is actually a parable, which was both entertaining and didactic. He presents himself in his prologue in a very open way, an approach which is surprising especially since he admits to be a liar and a cheat, and even a vindictive person: “and when I preach/ I sting so hard, the fellow can’t escape slander and defamation, if so be/ He’s wronged my fellow-pardoners, or me”(Chaucer 396). To these defects he adds the sin of lechery, since he has “a pretty girl in every town” (Chaucer 397).

⁸ The characters who are the most consistent and who are not mocked in the least are the Knight, the Parson and the Franklin, and they are representative for the three traditional social classes: the aristocracy, the clergy and the peasantry.

Although it has been argued that Chaucer's pilgrims are not real-life "psychologically complex characters", but rather "composite portraits of an estate", and they "illustrate universal categories of human nature" (Benson 130), I will try to discuss the Pardoner as a Christian and to analyse if the pilgrimage has any spiritually beneficial consequences for him. The pardoner is presented as a despicable individual, who does not lack charm and intelligence, and whose sermons⁹, which condemn avarice, appeal to the rural parishioners. These people, who have listened to him, have answered by being generous and thus enriching him.

His tale is an example of a moral parable that he uses to charm the congregation in order to be given money. His characters are three depraved young men who go in search of Death in order to kill him, but end up deviously killing one another because they have found a heap of gold and are unwilling to share it.

Although he stated that he will only speak against avarice, he starts his tale by preaching against drinking in excess (and getting drunk), against gluttony, gambling, and swearing, and also against taking oaths, and perjuries. All these sins are mentioned in his tale, and they each contributes to the death of the three young wretched men. His story proves equally clever and stimulating, and the readers feel no compassion for the protagonists' deaths, and quite the opposite: their fate could be regarded as their rightful and just punishment.

The Pardoner ends his story the way he warned them that he usually finishes, but as expected his audience is not fooled and the Host openly refuses to venerate his so-called relics or to give him any money. The Pardoner is shocked at the Host's refusal, a proof that he thinks that after listening to his clever story his audience will be so moved, that they will disregard his earlier admissions. The knight's authority is necessary to calm down the Pardoner's anger and, at least superficially, order is resumed.

Does the Pardoner feel a change of heart, as the narrator himself seems to have felt (as shown by his Retractions) ? The answer should be negative, as there is no other mention of the Pardoner after he finished his tale. Yet I need to point out that he does not really emerge unchanged. Since his "speech" has not elicited the expected response, his overconfidence is damaged and even if his own avarice remains unchallenged and unaffected, his pride suffers a terrible blow, since "he was so angered that he wouldn't speak" (Chaucer 410). I also want to underline the fact that his anger is not spiritually disturbing, since they eventually make peace.

I have stated that Chaucer uses pilgrimage firstly as a fictional artifice to create a frame for his stories, secondly as a literary device to display several characters with their distinctive professions and personalities, as on a stage, and also thirdly,

⁹ He only had one, polished, sermon, which had a Latin motto "*Radix malorum est cupiditas*" (the correct quotation from 1 Timothy 6,10 is *radix enim omnium malorum est cupiditas* – the root of all evil is indeed cupidity) and whose purpose was not to draw people away from sin, a fact he was not interested in, but to make them give him money: "I preach for money and for nothing else" (Chaucer 396).

to show that as a result of undertaking this pilgrimage, there is, at least in himself (the narrator), and perhaps a little in other pilgrims as well, a spiritual change for the better, a stronger awareness of the presence of God or at least a challenge to the sinfulness of their nature by the disclosure of their sins or by the undoing of their pride.

4. The Common Ground: Conformity with the Precepts of the Church

Although very different in both the forms and the contents of their works, the two authors I have chosen to talk about openly rejected heresy, especially Lollardy, which was the heresy the English Church was fighting against at the time. Margery successfully defended herself several times (at her meetings with the Archbishop of York, the Archbishop the Canterbury, the Bishop of Lincoln, the Dean of Leicester, etc.) and she was in contact with priests and recluses (like Dame Julian, who was probably Blessed Julian of Norwich), whose orthodoxy could not have been questioned.

Chaucer, as a royal official, always supported the authoritative position of the Church and this is hinted at in his work. Although in *Canterbury Tales* his opinions about Lollardy and the heretical views of the Lollards are not clearly stated, the reader still hears the Host's derisive view of the Lollards: "I think I smell a Lollard in the wind..." (Chaucer 146). The Sea-captain also expresses his dislike of the Lollards' teachings: "...We all believe in God above," he says, "But he [a Lollard] would only sow some heresy, /Or scatter weeds and tares in our clean wheat" (Chaucer 147). The language Chaucer uses in his *Canterbury Tales* is always reverent, although not pious, and he does never mock God or religious practices, even if he mocks the people who promote them (the Summoner, the Pardoner or even the Friar).

It is to be noted that the Parson, who is accused of being a Lollard, is not one, a fact shown by his very orthodox sermon. What is even more edifying for the symbolism of pilgrimage is his comparison of life with a pilgrimage, an association commonly made in medieval times: "And now may Jesus in His mercy send / To me the wit that I may be your guide / Upon that perfect glorious pilgrimage / Men call the heavenly Jerusalem" (Chaucer 462). His sermon, which is usually considered to be the last "tale"¹⁰, is the culmination of a spiritual pilgrimage, although the religious dimension of the pilgrimage is not plainly mentioned.

Margery, on the other hand, regarded pilgrimage as a means of consolidating her relationship with God. She chose to wander away from her familiar, and relatively comfortable, existence in Lynn in order to strengthen her relationship with God. She attained this strong connection especially when she had no friendly

¹⁰ The Host's words show this: "Now gentlemen and ladies", he began, / "We are short of one more tale – just one. / You've carried out my wishes and ideas; / We've heard, I think, from every rank and class / A tale; we've almost accomplished my plan. / God send the best of luck to him who tells / This last and liveliest of all tales! / Now, what are you – a curate, Mister Priest?" / Or else a full-fledged parson?..." (Chaucer 461).

human being to help her. Her pilgrimages were also tests, firstly to assess her orthodoxy (since she was given the opportunity to defend herself successfully against heresy) and, secondly, they were means of distinguishing between good Christians, who were willing to help her despite her extremely disturbing behaviour, and those who condemned and rejected her, thus placing themselves in opposition to God's will, since Margery never doubted the righteousness of her path, even when she had misgivings about her ability to follow it. The pilgrimage she undertook created a certain personal reality, separated from her ordinary life in Lynn, which in turn became unimportant and remained mostly unrecorded.

Educated readers cannot fail to see some affinities between *The Book of Margery Kempe* and *The Canterbury Tales*, such as: "an episodic structure [...] and a hint at an overarching internal structure that is never allowed to predominate, and a sophisticated use of words to convey and confuse meaning" (Staley 171-172). There are also clear similarities in the discourses on pilgrimage each of the two authors employ, namely the centrality of pilgrimage for the two works and the need for social interaction during pilgrimage. Even if the accent in Chaucer's work is on these social relations, while Margery is forced sometimes to do without them, they both admit to wanting them.

Conclusions

Margery Kempe in her *Book* and Geoffrey Chaucer in his *Canterbury Tales* give great importance to pilgrimage, which is essential to the narrative of both books. Their discourse endorses the official teaching of the Church about pilgrimage as a means of spiritual elevation, and of getting closer to God. On the other hand they both discuss pilgrimage as a social event, a moment when people from different social categories and having different interests interact and collaborate, and a setting when tensions inevitably arise and, predictably, are appeased.

When analysing these two authors I have realised that there is a certain complementarity to their discourse on pilgrimage: Kempe emphasises the pilgrims' need for a personal relationship with God, while Chaucer highlights the relations among travellers and their attitudes, and he points out their diversity of pursuits. The common ground for their narratives is their conformity with the teachings of the Church and the language they both use is consistent with orthodox religious doctrine.

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