di Fidanza); the second section contains the *Liber descriptionis Terre Sancte* written by Burchard of Mount Sion (ff. 36–62v) and *Priester John's Letter* (ff. 62v–65).[2]

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barberiniano Latino 2687 [= V]
Parchment, late 14th century; 48 ff. Digital version not available.
Riccoldo's *Liber*: ff. 1–12v.

The Vatican manuscript was probably copied in Florence before the end of the 14th century. It was part of a bigger manuscript that contained 22 texts concerning the description of the world based on biblical events. Today it contains Riccoldo's *Liber*, a description of the Holy Land (ff. 12v–30), a description of the wonders of Rome (ff. 30–37) and the Latin version (version LA) of Marco Polo's *Milione* (ff. 37–48v). This manuscript was probably known by the Florentine humanist Domenico Bandini who read it for the redaction of his *Fons memorabilium universi*.[3]

Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, H.II.33 [= T]
Paper, early 16th century, 330 × 325 mm; 269 ff. Digital version not available.
Riccoldo's *Liber*: ff. 235–246.

The third Latin manuscript is kept in the National Library of Turin. This is a copy from the end of the 15th century, or possibly the beginning of the 16th century. It was copied in the Venetian region by a humanist interested in the Islamic religion. It contains Robert of Ketton's translation of the Qur'an (ff. 7–205v), a *Cronica Saracenorum* (ff. 207–223v), Herman the Dalmate's translation (ff. 224–232v), Riccoldo's *Liber peregrinationis*, *Letters* I and III (ff. 246–246v) and his *Contra legem Sarracenorum* (ff. 247–267v). The first part of Riccoldo's text, dedicated to the pilgrimage to the Holy Land, is missing; the scribe was only interested in the ethnographic description of Asiatic peoples, of heretics and of the Islamic religion.[4]

2 *Priester John's Letter*, a fictional work about an imaginary Christian emperor living in the Far East, was often believed to be true during the Middle Ages. Travellers such as Wilhelm von Rubruk, Marco Polo and Jordan Català tried to find his kingdom, obviously without result. See Simion & Reginato 2015, an article which contains rich and complete bibliographical information.

3 See esp. Gautier Dalché 2003; Gadrat-Ouerfelli 2013; 2015, p. 53.

4 Casali 2008–2009.

Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 40 Weiss. [= W]
Paper, 15th century (1460/70), 293 × 210 mm; 110 ff. Digital version: http://diglib.hab.de/?db=mss&list=ms&id=40-weiss&lang=en.[5]
Riccoldo's *Liber*: ff. 73v–94v.

Ms. W was copied between 1460 and 1470 by the Carthusian monk Heinrich von Diessen in Cologne, who also copied a collection of travel accounts and descriptions of the world for Nicholas of Cusa. This manuscript contains Pipino's Latin translation of Marco Polo's *Milione* (ff. 1–57v),[6] Odoric of Pordedone's *Relatio* (ff. 57v–73v),[7] Riccoldo's account and Wilhelm von Boldensele's *Liber de ultramarinis partibus* (ff. 95–110r),[8] all of which will be discussed further below. In any case, it is clear that Heinrich von Diessen, who made many comments and annotations, was interested in the description of the world as he even attempted to draw up a map of the Asiatic continent.[9]

Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cord. Guelf. 41 Weiss. [= X]
Paper, mid-15th century, 295 × 217 mm; 254 ff. Digital version: https://diglib.hab.de/?db=mss&list=ms&id=41-weiss.[10]
Riccoldo's *Liber*: ff. 160vb–179rb.

Ms. X was copied in the middle of the 15th century. It is now composed of three sections, the first and the second copied in the Flemish region, the third somewhere along the Rhine. The first section contains Cicero's *Oration in Verrem* (ff. 1–50), the second section contains a description of Flanders (ff. 51–88), and the third section contains Roger Bacon's *De regionibus* (ff. 91–120v), the Latin translation (version L) of Marco Polo's *Milione* (ff. 121–160v), Riccoldo's *Liber*, Burchard's *Descriptio Terre Sancte* (ff. 179v–197v), Odoric's *Relatio* (ff. 225–236v), John of Plan Carpine's *Historia Mongolarum* (ff. 236v–254v) and a *Pilgrim's book* (ff. 197v–224v). As we can see, the interest of this manuscript to its readers lies in its travel accounts and descriptions of the world.[11]

5 See the description by Butzmann 1964, pp. 159–160.
6 On this version, see Dutschke 1993; Gadrat-Ouerfelli 2015, pp. 63–94.
7 Recently published by Annalia Marchisio, see Odorico da Pordenone. *Relatio de mirabilibus orientalium Tartarorum*, ed. Marchisio (2016).
8 Deluz 1972; 1997.
9 Gadrat 2006; 2010; Gadrat-Ouerfelli 2015, pp. 293–315.
10 See the description by Butzmann 1964, pp. 161–164.
11 This manuscript is studied by Paolo Chiesa (2014).

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 3343 [= P]
Paper, 15th century (*post* 1470), 298 × 205 mm; 173 ff. Digital version not available.[12]
Riccoldo's *Liber*: ff. 80v–85v.

Ms. Paris 3343 is a 15th-century manuscript (*c.* 1470), copied between the North of France and Flanders. It contains *c.* 1,193 Latin and French texts and fragments copied by a French humanist. Only the last part of Riccoldo's *Liber*, concerning Muslims' virtues and faults, was copied. This fragment follows an extract of the 14th-century *Apparicion maistre Jehan de Meun* (ff. 79v–80) written by Honoré Bovet, which deals with a discussion between a Dominican and a Muslim about the Roman church.[13] The scribe of this manuscript was clearly interested in the Islamic religion.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 6225 [= Q]
Paper, second half of the 15th century, 210 × 150 mm; 266 ff. Digital version: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b100370665/f1.item.r=latin%206225.[14]
Riccoldo's *Liber*: ff. 154–162.

This 15th-century manuscript exclusively contains the last six chapters of Riccoldo's account of Muslims' faults. It is composed of seven sections copied in the German region and perhaps assembled by a preacher active against the Ottoman Empire's expansion. Some of the text concerns the Diet of Ratisbon of 1454;[15] it also contains an excerpt from Riccoldo's *Contra legem Sarracenorum* (ff. 164–175).

12 See the description: http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc61229t. For more information about the manuscript: Ouy 2006; Menegaldo 2015, p. 68.

13 Honoré Bovet, *L'apparicion maistre Jehan de Meun et le Somnium super materia scismatis*, ed. Arnold (1926); Paviot 2003, pp. 50–51: "L'auteur y présente en fait une critique de son temps. L'intervention du Sarrasin permet de rappeler l'état lamentable de l'Europe chrétienne vis-à-vis des Musulmans. Il souligne la division de l'Église qui a permis la conquête de la Grèce, la vie dans les délices que mènent les Francs. Par cet intermédiaire, Honoré Bouvet se permet aussi des attaques contre les marchands parjures, contre les officiers, contre l'Église de Rome."

14 See the description: http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc61229t.

15 E.g., f. 1: *Enumeratio Principum et Legatorum qui comitiis Ratisponae, tempore Friderici III. anno 1454, pro foedere contra Turcham interfuerunt*; ff. 6v–13: Joannis de Castillione, *Exhortatio in Turchos*

The Latin manuscripts' context: Cultural implications

The seven Latin manuscripts can be divided into two groups based on textual and physical data. I have renamed them, for practical purposes, the "Italian family" (mss. BVT) and the "North European family" (mss. WXPQ).[16]

This distribution corresponds approximately to Kappler's proposition. Even though he did not analyse each manuscript and he did not make an exhaustive *collatio* of all the witnesses, he proposed a separation of this group of manuscripts into two textual families. In his view, ms. B was the most authentic and original, while the other six manuscripts depended in different ways on it. This hypothesis contains a few imprecisions that I will not discuss here, but will try to summarize. The Berlin manuscript contains some 70 additions, handwritten by Riccoldo, concerning the distances that he covered in the Holy Land. The two Wolfenbüttel manuscripts contain a great number of these annotations, while in the Vatican and the Turin manuscripts they are lacking. I think that Riccoldo wrote a first version of his *Liber*, copied in the Berlin, Vatican and Turin manuscripts (the "Italian family"); after that, he added to the Berlin manuscript by indicating these distances, which were copied and modified by the copyist of the ancestor of the North European family and transmitted to the two Wolfenbüttel manuscripts (the "North European family"). Although this is a simplification, it is interesting to notice that textual and material facts correspond with one to another and with the diffusion of the text in geographical space and time.[17]

These two families of manuscripts form the basis of the two vernacular branches. The "Italian family" is the source of the two Italian translations that were created and copied in the Peninsula and circulated only in Tuscany, so that the direct link is evident. On the other hand, the "North European family" forms the basis of Jean le Long's French translation: as he translated it in 1351, a Latin version of Riccoldo's text must have travelled to Flanders or north-east France at some time between 1300 and 1350.[18]

We can, therefore, draw certain conclusions. Riccoldo's *Liber peregrinationis* was, firstly, read as a travel account and as a description of Asiatic wonders, as we can suppose from the Berlin, Vatican and the two Wolfenbüttel manuscripts (mss. BVWX).

16 Robecchi 2016a, p. 442.

17 See Robecchi 2020b, pp. 115–149.

18 See Robecchi 2016a; 2020a, pp. 56–60. I tried to demonstrate that Riccoldo's account reached the north together with Odorico's *Relatio*, written in *c.* 1330. I cannot exclude a passage from Tuscany to Veneto and then way up to Flanders or the Rhenian region, possibly following merchants' or intellectuals' itineraries.

At the end of the 15th century, it then became a sort of source of information about the Islamic religion: the fall of Constantinople in 1453 is to be seen as the major catalyst for a new need in Europe to understand and oppose Islamic expansion (mss. TPQ).[19]

The four "older" manuscripts (mss. BVWX) seem to stress an aspect that does not correspond to the original will of the author, but rather respond to the public's taste. Indeed, Riccoldo's aim, as he declares in the prologue of his text, was to write a guide for other friars who wanted to preach the Christian faith in the Orient, among the heretics: *Ut fratres qui vellent laborem pro Christo adsumere pro fide dilatanda sciant quo indigent et ubi et qualiter magis possunt proficere*,[20] he says. Only the younger manuscripts (TPQ) show an evident interest in Muslims and heretics.

THE TWO ITALIAN TRANSLATIONS

The two Italian translations have recently been studied by Meriem-Faten Dhouib and Andrea Bocchi.[21] They are transmitted by three manuscripts. The first translation (*Fi*) is contained in the manuscript Florence, Laurenziana Pluteo 89 N 104 Sup. 4 (*Fi1*: paper, early 15th century, 285 × 210 mm; 134 ff.) and Paris, Italian 99 (*Fi2*: paper, late 14th century/early 15th century; 100 ff.). The two are almost identical, and they were copied in Florence at the same time; their handwritten form is the so-called *mercantesca*. They contain the *Fioretti* of Saint Francis,[22] a catalogue of his miracles and examples, followed by a *Legend* of his life.[23] Riccoldo's account consists of the first part, the pilgrimage to the Holy Land.[24] The aim of the scribes is clear. The two bourgeois, possibly merchants, with enough wealth and cultivation, created a type of devout collection, maybe for their private meditation and prayer, following the example of Saint Francis and in the steps of Riccoldo, one of the most famous Florentine pilgrims and Dominicans of the 14th century. We can presume that it is not simply a fragment of the whole text, but rather a translation that was deliberately intended to be limited to the first part.

19 See the opinion of Emmanuelle Vagnon (2017, concerning Bernhard von Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio*, written after 1484, which seems to be "un compte-rendu utile, dans une atmosphère de polémique anti-turque et d'esprit de croisade" (p. 108).

20 Kappler 1997, p. 36.

21 Dhouib 2009; Bocchi 2017.

22 *Fi1*: ff. 7ra–63rb; *Fi2*: ff. 1–58ra.

23 *Fi1*: ff. 82rb–119ra; *Fi2*: ff. 61ra–89rb. *Fi1* adds *Considerazioni sopra le stimmate* of Saint Francis, ff. 63rb–82ra.

24 *Fi1*: ff. 120ra–128rb; *Fi2*: ff. 90ra–96ra. *Fi1* adds *Legend of Saint Eustache*, ff. 128va–134rb.

Andrea Bocchi recently published the edition of the second vernacular translation, named *Pi*. He clearly states that this translation was made in Pisa, probably in the monastery of Santa Caterina, a productive centre of vernacular translations.[25] Furthermore, this translation shows a strong interest in geographical, ethnographic and historical facts, much more than in theological aspects. The *Pi* translation is transmitted by the manuscript Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, (Magliabechiano) II.IV.53 (paper, second half of the 14th century, 300 × 220 mm). It is composed of two different sections: the first is dedicated to the *Liber peregrinationis* (ff. 1–25v) and also contains a part of Riccoldo's *Letters* (ff. 26–33v), *Priester John's letter* (f. 34) and numerous orations; the second section, copied in the 15th century and added in the 18th century, contains a translation of a surgical text (ff. I–CI: Guglielmo da Saliceto, *Chirurgia*). The first section clearly shows the interest of the copyist in the Orient and in religious practices.

I have tried to identify the Latin sources of these translations. The first translation (*Fi*) belongs to a textual tradition close to the Vatican manuscript, as it does not contain any of ms. B's additions of distances and notes. The second (*Pi*) belongs to a (missing) manuscript close to the Berlin manuscript, as it contains the additional distances but not all the notes; the ms. B and the *Pi* translation also share some errors, as Andrea Bocchi's study confirms.[26] Thus we can affirm that the two Italian versions derive from two manuscripts of the "Italian family", disseminated in Tuscany between Florence and Pisa in the 14th century, and that the readers were interested both in the pious aspects of Riccoldo's pilgrimage and in the description of a wondrous world contained in his account, similar to the situation testified by the oldest Latin manuscripts.

JEAN LE LONG'S FRENCH TRANSLATIONS[27]

Finally, the *Liber peregrinationis* was translated, once, into French. The translator was Jean le Long d'Ypres, a Benedictine monk, abbot of the famous and powerful monastery of Saint-Bertin in the city of Saint-Omer in the French region of Nord-

25 Bocchi 2017, pp. 29–30.

26 See Bocchi 2017, p. 20: "è probabile che il testo latino del *Liber peregrinationis* seguito dal volgarizzatore fosse assai vicino (comparativamente) all'originale, potendovi trovare lezioni corrette rispetto a quelle errate di B o, in un caso, integrate dal suo correttore che sappiamo essere lo stesso Riccoldo." See also Robecchi 2020b, pp. 153–158.

27 For a more detailed study of the French tradition of the text, its circulation and its readership, see Robecchi 2020a. Here I will limit myself to a few points.

Pas-de-Calais.[28] In 1351 he translated six works concerning the East and containing knowledge of the Asiatic continent. Four of these are travel accounts and geographical treatises: the first is the retranslation of the Latin *Flos historiarum*, originally written in French by Hayton of Corico and translated into Latin by Nicole Faucon, a description of the 14 kingdoms of Asia, the history of the Mongol Empire and the history of Arab conquests;[29] the second is Riccoldo's *Liber peregrinationis*, a description of the Middle East;[30] the third is the *Relatio* written by the Franciscan Odorico da Pordenone, describing the Far East;[31] the fourth is the *Liber de quibusdam ultramarinis partibus* written by the German Dominican Wilhelm von Boldensele, describing the Egyptian kingdom and the Holy Land,[32] and the last two works are the *Lettres*, a pair of letters exchanged between Khan Toghon Temür and Pope Benedict XII,[33] and a small anonymous treatise named *De statu, conditione ac regimine magnis Canis*, two texts about the Mongol Empire's relations with the papacy and about the situation in the Franciscan mission of Cathay.[34] By selecting these works, written in the first half of the 14th century, Jean le Long created what we can call a *summa geographica* of the knowledge of the Orient, of the friars' missions in the East, and of the description of the Mongol Empire and its relationships with the papacy in the 14th century. Jean le Long's textual source is a Latin manuscript that belongs to the "North European family";[35] thus he acted more as an editor than as a simple translator.

I surmise that the first readers of Jean le Long's translations were the 14th-century north-eastern French merchants and bourgeois lay people, principally fascinated by oriental marvels, exotic peoples and adventurous travels.[36]

28 The biography can be read in Andreose & Ménard 2010, pp. xxv–xxxix. See also Robecchi 2020a, pp. 19–23.

29 The original French and the Latin translation are edited in Kohler 1906; Jean le Long's French translation is edited in Dörper 1998.

30 See the edition in Robecchi 2020a. I also propose an edition of the "North European" Latin text.

31 Andreose & Ménard 2010.

32 Deluz 1972.

33 Concina 2018.

34 Gadrat 2007.

35 Robecchi 2016a, p. 450.

36 On this topic, see Robecchi 2019b. I try to affirm this by also basing my deductions on lexical and stylistic facts, as no explicit information is given by the translator.

The manuscripts of the French translations

The six translations have been transmitted by six manuscripts.

Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale 667 [= *A*]
Parchment, mid-14th century (1368), 325 × 250 mm; 130 ff. Digital version: http://memoirevive.besancon.fr/ark:/48565/a011323184966C4MLuB.
Riccoldo's *Liber*: ff. 46rb–84va.

This is the oldest manuscript. It was copied in 1368 (only 17 years after Jean le Long translated the six works mentioned above)[37] probably in St-Omer, the city where the translator was abbot. It contains only the six translations, and so it reflects the translator's original ambition. It is a modest manuscript, with a simple illustration on f. 1ra and a few decorations here and there. Rare, anonymous handwritten notes show generic interest in European personalities cited in the text (f. 43a *de Edoart roy Angloys*; f. 45va *des crestiens par Saint Loys*), in saints and biblical sites (f. 85rb *Saint Anastasius*; f. 92rb *de Saint Thomas Apoustre*; f. 85va *de Archa Noe*; f. 86va *de Job*; f. 85va *de l'Abre Sec*) and in Mongols' habits (f. 60rb *de inimico humani generis* and *de obediencia et concordia*).

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 12202 [= *B*]
Paper, late 15th century (*c.* 1480), 280 × 208 mm; 183 ff. Digital version: http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90615942.r=fran%C3%A7ais%2012202?rk=21459;2.
Riccoldo's *Liber*: ff. 56v–108.

This manuscript belongs to the same textual family as the Besançon manuscript; it was copied in the north-eastern region of France at the end of the 15th century. It too is a modest multi-textbook in one piece and produced in a single operation. It contains Jean le Long's work (ff. 2–172), an excerpt of Vincent de Beauvais' *Speculum historiale* concerning the life and death of Mahomet (ff. 172v–173), and the anonymous translation of a Latin legend about Mahomet and the rise of Islam, known as *Anonymus Pisanus* (ff. 173–184).[38] It is witness to a new state of the Europeans' relationships with Islam. After the fall of Constantinople in 1453, Christian knowledge of Islam became

37 As a note added by the scribe after the prologue states: *Et ad present abbé d'icellui lieu 1368* (and currently abbot of this monastery Anno Domini 1368) f. 1r.

38 See Robecchi 2016b.

necessary, whether it was for attempting to achieve reconciliation, or for promoting a new wave of crusades.[39]

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 12202 [= *C*] and *London, British Library, MS Cotton Otho D II* [= *D*]
C = Vellum, early 15th century (*c.* 1410), 290 × 200 mm; 146 ff. Digital version: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52510403h.r=francais%201380?rk=21459;2.
Riccoldo's *Liber*: ff. 53vb–94vb.
D = Vellum, early 15th century (1404–1410), *c.* 315 × 230 mm; 149 ff. Digital version: https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Otho_D_II&index=2.
Riccoldo's *Liber*: ff. 38ra–60vb.

Manuscripts *C* and *D* are "brothers": they were both copied in the first decade of the 15th century, in the same Parisian workshop. The Cotton manuscript belonged to Jacquette of Luxembourg after the 1430s, but she cannot be the original buyer, as she was not yet born when the manuscript was produced. It is a collection that includes Jean d'Arras' *Roman de Mélusine*: on the one hand, this association emphasizes the "pseudo-historical" role of the crusade fought by the sons of Melusine against Muslims; but on the other hand, it highlights the fictional and wondrous nature of Jean le Long's work.[40] The Parisian ms. *C* is not as rich as the Cotton ms. *D*: it is incomplete, since the spaces for illustrations are blank. Nevertheless, it is interesting for the numerous notes, more than 50, handwritten on the border: these reveal the same level of curiosity as the Besançon manuscript's reader, except that this reader seems much more interested in wonders and in strange creatures.

I won't look in detail at the 16th-century printed edition by Jean de Saint-Denys of Jean le Long's work, published in Paris in 1529 (= *g*; Riccoldo's *Liber*: ff. 30v–53). He printed the six translations as if they formed a unique text and he entitled it *L'hystore merveilleuse, plaisante et recreative du grand Empereur de Tartarie seigneur des Tartres nommé le grand Can*. He clearly desired to sell it as a *roman* of wonders and delight, and not as an encyclopaedic text. The source of this edition was a manuscript similar to *C*.

39 In fact, after 1453, a number of works on Islam made their appearance, such as the treatises of Nicholas of Cusa, Segovia, Jean Germain, Piccolomini, Juan de Torquemada, Alonso de Espina, Denys the Carthusian, etc. I do not want to delve into the field of Christian theological treatises on Islam, but I would like to thank Davide Scotto for these details.

40 See Robecchi 2019a, on the manuscript and the role of the *Roman de Melusine*.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 2810 [= *E*] and *Bern, Burgerbibliothek, ms. 125* [= *F*]
E = Parchment, early 15th century (*c.* 1410), 421 × 300 mm; 301 ff. Digital version: http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52000858n.r=fran%C3%A7ais%20 12202?rk=42918;4.
Riccoldo's *Liber*: ff. 268r–299v.
F = Parchment, mid-15th century, 325 × 235 mm; 287 ff. Digital version: http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/it/description/bbb/0125/Mittenhuber.

Ms. *E* (the famous *Livre des merveilles*) was commissioned by the powerful John the Fearless, duke of Burgundy, who presented it to his uncle, the influential bibliophile John duke of Berry, in 1413. MS *F* was copied for Charles, duke of Orleans, the duke-poet.[41] These were some of the most powerful men in 15th-century France, relatives of the kings of France.

The two manuscripts differ from the other four in their content and structure. They contain Marco Polo's *Devisement du monde* and John of Mandeville's *Livre des merveilles* or *Livre des voyages*.[42] Principally, ms. *F* is a *recueil* containing three pieces written at different times or places (one manuscript with Mandeville, one with Marco Polo and a third with Jean le Long's translations) and related in a unique manuscript according to the desire to emulate the more prestigious ms. *E*.[43]

The textual tradition of the French translations

We can divide the seven manuscripts in French into two textual families:[44] family α, formed by mss. *AB*; family β, formed by two sub-groups: γ, formed by mss. *CD*, and δ, formed by mss. *EF(H)*. The β family differs from α for obvious textual reasons, but also, and more significantly, for the social environment of its diffusion. The four β

41 During the Stockholm conference, Professor Stefan Schreiner kindly informed me of the existence of a 19th-century manuscript held in Moscow, in the Russian State Library, Ф.256 no. 602, that belonged to Nikolai Petrovič Rumyancev's personal library. This manuscript, that I name *H*, seems to be a copy of the *F* manuscript, as I have noticed from a comparison of their prologues. See Robecchi 2020a, pp. 83–84.

42 The two added texts belong to two different textual traditions, so that the Bern ms. cannot be the copy of the Parisian ms. For the section of Jean le Long's texts, on the contrary, *F* seems to be a *descriptus* of *E*.

43 For the history of the composition of this manuscript, see Robecchi 2017.

44 I will not consider here the print *g* and ms. *H*, but I can affirm that *g* seems to be a copy derived from *C*, while *H* seems to be a copy of *F*.

manuscripts (except *H*) belonged to noble families, while we can suggest that the α manuscripts probably belonged to bourgeois or lay persons interested in the geographical and religious aspects of Jean le Long's work (*vide supra*). Three of the four "noble" manuscripts contain *romans* (the *Roman de Mélusine* by Jean d'Arras, Marco Polo's *Devisement du monde* and Mandeville's *Livre des merveilles*) that explicitly emphasize the entertaining and wondrous character of Jean le Long's works. And perhaps, these four manuscripts reveal, rather more than the other two, the primary, original will of the translator. From his style and his modifications, we can deduce that Jean le Long has *mis en roman* six Latin works.[45] Nevertheless, the translation of two texts such as the *Lettres* and the *De statu*, much more documents and essays than accounts and stories, indicates that he also seriously considered the documentary and "scientific" dimension of his work, as the two α manuscripts seem to testify. It is important to remember that we cannot consider a text only by means of our modern critical standards. If we correctly consider the "entretissage de réseaux tantôt participatifs, tantôt concurrents"[46] that underlie medieval manuscript collections and the fluidity of genres in the late Middle Ages, our six manuscripts clearly speak of and reveal the elusive nature of this kind of literature; a kind of literature "sfuggente nel suo statuto letterario, refrattario all'attribuzione di facili etichette e valutazioni sommarie."[47] Scientific, theological and geographical interest can easily live together with marvels and amusement, in the same manuscript as well as in the same text.[48]

CONCLUSIONS

Riccoldo's account travelled through centuries and through languages. Created as a guide for pilgrimage in the Holy Land, it became at the same time a geographical treatise on the Near East, a description of wondrous people such as the Mongols, and a theological treatise about heretics and Muslims, who are sometimes praised as perfect, faithful men, sometimes condemned as the devil's descendants. It is a complex work, the reception of which has changed through time and space.

We can therefore attempt to represent three different aspects of the manuscript transmission and reception of Riccoldo's *Liber*:

45 About the traductological questions of Jean le Long's work, see Robecchi 2019b.

46 Azzam 2005, p. 657.

47 Barbieri 2004, p. 157. The author talks about Marco Polo's *Devisement*, but we can easily apply his description to all the so-called "geographical literature".

48 We can find the same *mélange* in Marco Polo's *Devisement dou monde*; see Barbieri 2008, p. 51: "[the *Devisement*] incrocia sistematicità enciclopedica e coloriture romanzesche, didatticismo e fantasia."

1. Guide for the Holy Land and geographical treatise:[49]
Latin: BV, 14th century (Italy) – WX, 15th century (Northern Europe)
Italian: *Fi*, 14th century (Pilgrimage + geography of the Holy Land)
French: Ø (generic interest)

2. Description of wondrous people and wonders:
Latin: BV, 14th century (Italy) – WX, 15th century (Northern Europe) – T, 16th century (Italy)
Italian: *Pi*, 14th century
French: Jean le Long's translations, 14th century
Manuscripts *DEF*, 15th century (nobles) > addition of romances

3. Theological treatise about heretics and Muslims:
Latin: PQ, 15th century (France/Germany) – T, 16th century (Italy)
Manuscripts TQ > addition of Riccoldo's *Contra legem Sarracenorum*
Italian: Ø
French: B, 14th century > addition of Vincent of Beauvais and *Anonimus pisanus*

We can also remark that the association with other texts seems to follow a fairly similar pattern within the manuscripts:

- Riccoldo's *Contra legem Sarracenorum*: ms. lat. TQ (theological treatise)
- Riccoldo's *Epistolae*: ms. lat. T; ms. it. *Pi* ("theological" treatise)
- Marco Polo's *Devisement*: ms. lat. VWX; ms. fr. *EF* (travel account)
- Odorico's *Relatio*: ms. lat. WX and Jean le Long's translations (travel account)
- Boldensele's *Liber*: ms. lat. W and Jean le Long's translations (travel account)
- Burchard's *Descriptio*: ms. lat. BX (pilgrimage guide)
- *Priest John's Letter*: ms. lat. B; ms. it. *Pi* (fantastical description).

This is a very important point of Riccoldo's reception in the Middle Ages, as it demonstrates that medieval people could understand, exploit and take advantage of the different readings that this text could present. An attentive reading of literary facts and material sources demonstrates the richness of interpretations made possible by a comparative analysis of the manuscripts transmitting Riccoldo's text and the way these interpretations differ with time and space.

49 I could consider an additional distinction between guide for pilgrims and source of information for geographical treatises, but it will not change the results proposed here.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Sources

Andreose, Alvise & Philippe Ménard. *Le voyage en Asie d'Odoric de Pordenone traduit par Jean le Long OSB*, Geneva: Droz, 2010.

Bocchi, Andrea. *Il volgarizzamento pisano del* Liber peregrinationis *di Riccoldo da Monte di Croce*, Rome: Aracne, 2017.

Casali, Chiara. 'Il *Liber peregrinationis* di Ricoldo di Monte di Croce: La redazione del manoscritto Torino, BN, H.II.33', Ph.D. thesis, Milan: Università degli Studi di Milano, 2008–2009.

Concina, Chiara. 'Da Pechino ad Avignone e oltre. La corrispondenza tra Benedetto XII, il "qaghan" Toghon-Temür e i principi alani nella traduzione francese di Jean le Long (1351)', *Itineraria* 17, 2018, pp. 109–160.

Deluz, Christiane. 'Guillaume de Boldensele, *Liber de quibusdam ultramarinis partibus et praecipue de Terra sancta* (1336) suivi de la traduction de frère Jean le Long (1350)', Ph.D. thesis, Paris: Université Paris IV Sorbonne, 1972.

Deluz, Christiane. 'La Fleur des histoires de la terre d'Orient', in Danielle Régnier-Bohler ed., *Croisades et pèlerinages. Récits, chroniques et voyages en Terre sainte XIIe–XVIe siècle*, Paris: Laffont, 1997, pp. 803–878.

Dhouib, Meriem-Faten. *I volgarizzamenti del* Liber peregrinationis *di Riccoldo da Monte di Croce, con un'appendice sull'area semantica dell'Islam: Arabo, barbaresco, beduino, islamico/musulmano, maomettano, saraceno dalle Origini al Rinascimento*, Strasbourg: Imprimerie de l'Université de Strasbourg, 2009.

Dörper, Sven. *Die Geschichte der Mongolen des Hethum von Korykos (1307) in der Rückübersetzung durch Jean le Long, 'Traitiez des estas et des conditions de quatorze royaumes de Aise' (1351): Kritische Edition mit parallelem Abdruck des lateinischen Manuskripts Wroclaw, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, R 262*, Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1998.

Gadrat, Christine. '*De statu, conditione ac regimine magni Canis:* L'original latin du *Livre de l'estat du grant Caan* et la question de l'auteur', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 165, 2007, pp. 355–371.

Honoré Bovet, *L'apparicion maistre Jehan de Meun et le Somnium super materia scismatis*, ed. Ivor Arnold, Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1926.

Kappler, René. *Riccold de Monte Croce. Pérégrination en Terre Sainte et au Proche-Orient. Lettres sur la chute de Saint-Jean d'Acre*, Paris: Honoré Champion, 1997.

Kohler, Charles. 'Hayton. *Flor des estoires de la terre d'Orient*', in *Recueil des historiens des Croisades. T. II. Documents arméniens*, Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1906, pp. 111–253.

Laurent, Johann Carl Moritz. 'Itinerarius Fratris Ricoldi', in *Peregrinatores Medii Ævi quatuor*, Lipsiae: Hinrichs, 1864, pp. 105–141.

Odorico da Pordenone. *Relatio de mirabilibus orientalium Tartarorum*, ed. Annalia Marchisio, Florence: Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2016.

Robecchi, Marco. *Riccold de Monte di Croce,* Liber peregrinationis*, traduit par Jean le Long d'Ypres*, Strasbourg: ELiPhi, 2020a.

Studies

Azzam, Wagih, Olivier Collet & Yasmina Foehr-Janssens 2005. 'Les manuscrits littéraires français: Pour une sémiotique du recueil médiéval', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 83, pp. 639–669.

Barbieri, Alvaro 2004. *Dal viaggio al libro. Studi sul* Milione, Verona: Fiorini.

Barbieri, Alvaro 2008. 'Il "narrativo" nel *Devisement dou monde*: Tipologia, fonti, funzioni', in Silvia Conte ed., *I viaggi del* Milione*. Itinerari testuali, vettori di trasmissione e metamorfosi del* Devisement du monde *di Marco Polo e Rustichello da Pisa nella pluralità delle attestazioni*, Rome: Tiellemedia, pp. 49–75.

Butzmann, Hans 1964. 'Die Weissenburger Handschriften', in *Kataloge der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel: Neue Reihe, Bd. 10*, Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann.

Chiesa, Paolo 2014. '*Opus perfecti magisterii*. Un *Regimen de iter agentibus* ricavato da Bernardo di Gordon', in Francesco Lo Monaco & Luca Carlo Rossi eds, *Il mondo e la storia. Studi in onore di Claudia Villa*, Florence: SISMEL Edizioni del Galluzzo, pp. 153–178.

Dondaine, Antoine 1967. '*Ricoldiana.* Notes sur les œuvres de Riccoldo de Monte di Croce', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 37, pp. 119–170.

Dutschke, Consuelo Wager 1993. 'Francesco Pipino and the manuscripts of Marco Polo's travels', Ph.D. thesis, Berkeley: University of California.

Gadrat, Christine 2006. 'Les conceptions d'un géographe du XVe siècle', *Itineraria* 5, pp. 201–249.

Gadrat, Christine 2010. 'Le Livre de Marco Polo et les géographes de l'Europe du nord au XVe siècle', in Henri Bresc & Emmanuelle Tixier du Mesnil eds, *Géographes et voyageurs au Moyen Âge: Actes du colloque, Nanterre, 18–19 janvier 2008*, Nanterre: Presses universitaires de Paris Ouest, pp. 147–162.

Gadrat-Ouerfelli, Christine 2013. 'La "version LA" du récit de Marco Polo: Une traduction humaniste?', in Françoise Fery-Hue ed., *Traduire de vernaculaire en latin au Moyen* Âge *et à la Renaissance. Méthodes et finalités*, Paris: Études et rencontres de l'École des chartes, pp. 131–147.

Gadrat-Ouerfelli, Christine 2015. *Lire Marco Polo au moyen âge. Traduction, diffusion et réception du Devisement du Monde*, Turnhout: Brepols.

Gautier Dalché, Patrick 2003. 'Le paradis aux antipodes? Une *distinctio divisionis terre et paradisi delitiarum* (XIVe siècle)', in Dominique Barthélemy & Jean-Marie Martin eds, *"Liber largitorius": Études d'histoire médiévale offertes à Pierre Toubert par ses élèves*, Geneva: Droz, pp. 615–637.

Menegaldo, Silvère 2015. *Le dernier ménestrel? Jean de Le Mote, une poétique en transition (autour de 1340)*, Geneva: Droz.

Ouy, Gilbert 2006. 'Jean Lebègue (1368–1457), auteur, copiste et bibliophile', in Godfried Croenen & Peter Ainsworth eds, *Patrons, Authors and Workshops: Books and Book Production in Paris around 1400*, Louvain, Paris & Dudley: Peeters, pp. 143–171.

Paviot, Jacques 2003. *Les ducs de Bourgogne, la croisade et l'Orient (fin XIVe siècle–XVe siècle)*, Paris: Presses Universitaires Paris Sorbonne.

Robecchi, Marco 2016a. 'Riccoldo, Jean le Long e la sua raccolta odeporica: Traduttore o editore?', in Antonio Pioletti & Stefano Rapisarda eds, *Atti dell'XI convegno della Società Italiana di Filologia Romanza*, Soveria-Mannelli: Rubbettino, pp. 431–446.

Robecchi, Marco 2016b. 'Une légende de Mahomet inédite dans le ms. fr. 12202 de la BnF', *Billets*, online https://romane.hypotheses.org/, section romane de l'IRHT.

Robecchi, Marco 2017. 'Le ms. 125 de la Burgerbibliothek de Berne: De Charles d'Orléans à Jacques Bongars (en passant par Marie de Clèves)', *Medioevi* 3, pp. 157–192.

Robecchi, Marco 2019a. 'Le *Roman de Mélusine* du ms. BL Cotton Otho D II: Questions textuelles, extratextuelles et contextuelles', *Romania* 137, pp. 319–393.

Robecchi, Marco 2019b. 'Un traducteur au XIVe siècle: Réflexions pour l'étude du recueil de Jean le Long', *Le Moyen Français* 84, pp. 67–78.

Robecchi, Marco 2020b. 'Nuove proposte per la tradizione testuale del *Liber peregrinationis* di Riccoldo da Monte di Croce e delle sue traduzioni', *Studi Mediolatini e Volgari* 66, pp. 115–170.

Röhricht, Reinhold 1884. *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, Paris & Geneva: s.n.

Simion, Samuela & Irene Reginato 2015. 'Prete Gianni', in Eugenio Burgio, Marina Buzzoni & Antonella Ghersetti eds, *Giovanni Battista Ramusio, Dei viaggi di messer Marco Polo veneziano*, Venice: Venice University Press Edizioni Ca' Foscari, http://virgo.unive.it/ecf-workflow/books/Ramusio/main/index.html .

Vagnon, Emmanuelle 2017. 'L'apport du voyage en Terre sainte au savoir géographique. Le cas de Bernhard von Breydenbach', in Damien Coulon & Christine Gadrat-Ouerfelli eds, *Le voyage au Moyen Âge. Description du monde et quête individuelle*, Aix-en-Provence: Presses Universitaires de Provence, pp. 105–127.

Digital resource

http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc61229t.

STEFAN SCHREINER

Riccoldo da Monte di Croce in an East European Context

Some Remarks on the Reception of Riccoldo's Works in Russian and Polish Literature and Its Historical Context

RICCOLDO IN RUSSIAN

In the Russian Empire, Riccoldo's most important anti-Islamic book, his *Improbatio Alcorani*,[1] printed under various titles (see the Bibliography below), was known—at the latest—from the second half of the 15th century: first through Dimítrios Kidónis' Greek translation, second via the theologian and interpreter Maximos the Greek, alias Maksim Grek as he is called in Russian, and third through an anonymous Russian

1 Frater Riccoldus Florentinus de ordine predicatorum: *Improbatio Alcorani – Contra legem sarracenorum*, ed. Antonio de la Peña (Sevilla: impressus hispali: p[er] Stanislaum polonum, anno a nativitate domini iesu christi m.d. [1500] xx. die marcij), with its Spanish translation *Reprobación del Alcorán* followed in Sevilla: por Magno Herbst y Juan Pegnitzer, Año de Mill. & quinientos & uno año [1501], reprinted in Toledo: por maestro Pedro Hagenbach/aleman, Año de Mill. & quinientos & dos años [1502]. On the Sevilla edition and its Spanish translation see, Cándida Ferrero Hernández, 'De la Improbatio Alcorani a la Reprobación del Alcoran o la fortuna hispánica de un texto apologético', in *Miscellanea latina*, ed. María Teresa Muñoz García de Iturrospe y Leticia Carrasco Reija (Madrid: Sociedad de Estudios Latinos – Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2015), 537–543, and Pino Valero Cuadra, 'Traducción y combate por la fe: La Reprobación del Alcorán por Riccoldo da Montecroce en la España del siglo XVI', in *Revelación y traducción en la Orden de Predicadores*, ed. Antonio Bueno García (Mittelalter und Renaissance in der Romania 7) (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2018), 227–237. For a critical edition of the Latin text based on MS Florence C 8.1173, ff.//f. 185r–218v, see Jean-Marie Mérigoux, 'L'ouvrage d'un frere precheur florentin en Orient à la fin du XIIIe siècle. Le *Contra legem Sarracenorum* de Riccoldo da Monte di Croce', *Memorie Domenicane* 17 (1986), 1–144, translated into (modern) Italian in Ricoldo da Montecroce, *I Saraceni: Contra legem Sarracenorum*, a cura di Giuseppe Rizzardi (Firenze: Nardini, 1992), 55–181.

translation of Dimítrios Kidónis' Greek version completed possibly in the 15th century, but certainly not later than the first decade of the 16th century.[2]

Two early editions of Riccoldo's book, containing Riccoldo's work in Bartholomaeus Picenus de Montearduo's Latin retranslation of Dimítrios Kidónis' Greek version (f. IV) and published under the title *Contra sectam Mahumeticam non indignus scitu libellus* in Paris in 1509 and 1511 respectively,[3] are to this day held in the Russian National Library (Российская Национальная Библиотека / РНБ) in St Petersburg, founded in 1795 as the Imperial Public Library (Императорская Публичная Библиотека / ИПБ) and opened to the public in 1814.[4] In addition, the Russian National Library also holds a copy of the first, 1543 edition of Theodor Bibliander's *Machumetis Saracenorum principis, eiusque successorum vitae, ac doctrina, ipseque Alcoran* etc.,[5] where Riccoldo's book in Dimítrios Kidónis' Greek version as well as in Bartholomaeus Picenus' Latin retranslation can be found.[6] Though it is not clear when these two copies found their way to St Petersburg and eventually into the Imperial Public Library, it can be assumed that they were there from an early time of the library's ex-

2 For a brief summary of the reception of Riccoldo's *Confutatio Alcorani* in Russian scholarship, see Aleksej G. Dunaev, 'Кидонис Димитрий', in *Православная энциклопедия*, XXXII (Moskva, 2013), 640–656, esp. 649a–c. Of the new, not completed yet *Православная энциклопедия*, ed. Patriarch of Moscow and all Russia, Moskva 2000ff., thus far (2023) 71 vols (A – Feofan Zatvornik) appeared in print, accessible also online through https://www.pravenc.ru/.

3 *Ricoldi Florentini Confutatio Alcorani seu legis Saracenorum; ex graeco nuper in latinum traducta per Bartholomeum Picenum de Montearduo* (Basileae [Basel]: ex officina [Nicolai] Kessleri, 1507, 34 ff., 4°); cf. further, *Rícoldi ordinis praedícatorum contra sectam Mahumeticam, non indignus scitu libellus* (Parisijs [Paris]: ex officina Henrici Stephani, anno MDVIIII [1509], in 4°); *Contenta Ricoldi ordinis prædicatorum contra sectam Mahumeticam, non indignus scitu libellus. / Cuiusdam diu captiui Turcorum prouinciæ septemcastrensis, de vita & moribus eorundem alius non minus necessarius libellus* [...]. / *Adiunctus est insuper libellus de vita & moribus Iudaeorum Victoris de Carben olim iudei nunc Christi miseratione Christiani* (Parisijs [Paris]: ex officina Henrici Stephani, Anno Domini 1511, Vltima Aprilis), ff. 2r–28v / 29r–62v / 63r–86v; and *Turchicæ spurcitiæ et perfidiæ Suggillatio etc.* [...] *Posterior Alcoranum Turchicæ perfidiæ instrumentum validissimis argumentis improbat, confutat, explodit. Est autem Richardi ordiniis prædicatorii e graeco (cum apud latinos minus cultus extaret) nuper translatus* [...], ed. Jean Lemaire de Belges (Paris: les Frères de Marnef sub Pelicano, MDXIIII [1514]), ff. 1r–48v / ff. 49r–87v. – On the Paris edition of 1509 see also the entry in Guillaume de Bure, *Catalogue des livres de la bibliothèque de feu M. le Duc de la Valliere*, 3 vols (Paris: chez Guillaume de Bure fils Aîné, 1783), I, 273, no. 835.

4 Shelf numbers 16.56.4.24 (Parisiis [Paris], 1511 edition) and 16.173.3.38 (Parisiis [Paris], 1509 edition).

5 Shelf number: 16.95.1.25a.

6 See notes 11 and 12 of this essay.